Global Citizenship Education in South Korea: politics, policy and practice at national, regional and school levels

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I, Ji Eun Kim, confirm that the work presented in my thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

In the past decade, South Korea has positioned itself as a global leader in Global Citizenship Education (GCED) and is actively engaged in the international policy process. In this context of state-led GCED, regional- and school-level initiatives to promote GCED have also emerged. One of such attempts is the GCED Policy School introduced by the Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education (SMOE); both GCED Policy Schools and SMOE serve as the main sites of inquiry for this study.

Qualitative studies on GCED have been thus far heavily dominated by Western-oriented perspectives and case studies and have often lacked a holistic and comprehensive approach for involving both policy makers and practitioners. In order to address this gap, this qualitative study analyzes documents and interviews collected from SMOE and seven GCED Policy Schools in Seoul, the capital of South Korea, through a constructivist interpretive paradigm. By engaging with multiple levels of stakeholders, this study aims to answer the following Research Questions:

1) Why did the SMOE introduce GCED as a key policy area?
2) How is GCED conceptualized in the policy?
3) How are global citizenship and GCED perceived and practiced by different practitioners at the school level (i.e., school leaders, teachers and students)?
4) What are the professional, material and external contexts that influence implementers' perceptions and practices?

In addressing these questions, two theoretical heuristics are used for analysis and have led to key findings. First, the GCED conceptual framework presents four different

approaches to GCED (i.e., neoliberal, tourist, humanitarian and critical); the findings suggest that the tourist and humanitarian models of GCED are more predominant than others in regional-level policy and in school practices of GCED. Second, this study also draws on Stephen Ball's policy cycle and demonstrates that the policy formation and the school-level implementation of GCED is neither linear nor straightforward but a consistent process of political compromises and recontextualization.

Impact Statement

This thesis investigates how Global Citizenship Education (GCED) in South Korea is shaped by national politics, regional policy-making processes, and school-based factors. Since the early 2010s, GCED has emerged as an important topic in both policy and academic discourses at multiple levels, from the local to the supra-national, in order to address the global challenges of the 21st century. Based on empirical data collected from the regional education authority and from seven schools in Seoul, the South Korean capital, this research aims to present how GCED is conceptualized and practiced at the policy and school levels, and to identify opportunities for and challenges to GCED implementation.

Throughout the academic literature concerning GCED-related policy and practice, previous studies have often had a narrow scope in terms of its empirical case or research participants. Especially, most studies related to Korea have focused on either national-level curriculum and policies, case studies of specific school-level programmes or a particular type of practitioner (mainly schoolteachers). With the intention of addressing this gap in the literature, this research provides a more comprehensive and holistic analysis involving different policy levels and stakeholders including regional policy administrators, school leaders, teachers and students. Therefore, future research can build on the findings of this research, which enhances the understanding of the sociopolitical and institutional contexts that shape GCED policy and practice.

Beyond academia, this research can contribute to public policy design for promoting GCED by providing background on the facilitating and hindering factors in GCED

implementation at the policy and school levels. As the United Nations' 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda has identified GCED as one of the collective goals to build peace and prosperity in the world and for all people, multi-level policy and public discourse on GCED will continue to evolve and hopefully achieve milestones. In this process, this study can aid in expanding existing knowledge and wisdom to inform opportunities for GCED.

The research findings have also given me greater conviction in the belief that becoming a global citizen is now not only an option, but a must in today's world, not solely for personal well-being but also for facilitating more peaceful and sustainable communities and societies. On that note, it is my wish that I can engage in the international policy arena to promote not only GCED but also its education for the future of humanity. Building upon my valuable experience at UCL, I would like to conduct more critical and reflexive research for the advancement of education policy and practice.

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List of Abbreviations

APCEIU	Asia-Pacific Centre of Education for International Understanding
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
ASPnet	Associated Schools Project Network
BERA	British Educational Research Association
CSAT	College Scholastic Ability Test
EIU	Education for international understanding
GCED	Global Citizenship Education
GEFI	Global Education First Initiative
ICCS	IEA International Civic and Citizenship Education Study
ICT	Information and communication technology
KAME	Korean Association for Multicultural Education
KEDI	Korean Educational Development Institute
KERIS	Korean Education and Research Information Service
KICCE	Korea Institute of Child Care and Education
KICE	Korea Institute for Curriculum and Evaluation
KRIVET	Korean Research Institute for Vocational Education and Training
MOE	Ministry of Education
MOFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MPOE	Metropolitan and Provincial Education Office
NCIC	National Curriculum Information Centre
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SMOE	Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education
TIMSS	Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
USAMGIK	United States Army Military Government in Korea
WEF	World Education Forum

Chapter One: Introduction

We must foster global citizenship. Education is about more than literacy and numeracy – it is also about citizenry. Education must fully assume its central role in helping people to forge more just, peaceful and tolerant societies.

United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, September 2012

1.1 Background: "Same Bed, Different Dreams" of GCED

In September 2012, South Korean UN Secretary-General, Ban Ki-moon, announced the launch of the Global Education First Initiative (GEFI). Aiming to build up global cooperation for the post-2015 development agenda, GEFI was based on three priorities, namely universal education, quality education and global citizenship education (GCED). While the former two priorities had long been integral parts of the global education development agenda, arguably more relevant to developing countries, GCED emerged as a policy agenda that attracted countries with more established education systems. The Republic of Korea (hereafter Korea) was one of these countries that decided to not only instill GCED in its education system but also "[position] itself to be a global leader in GCED" (Cho & Mosselson, 2017, p. 861). The Korean government hosted and funded a series of international events where GCED was at the centre of the discussions and that consolidated GCED's position as one of the key components for the post-2015 education development agenda.

As a former Assistant Programme Specialist at the Asia-Pacific Centre of Education for International Understanding (APCEIU), I witnessed the early development of various GCED policies and initiatives, from the local to the international. Established under an

agreement between the South Korean government and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), APCEIU is mandated to promote education for international understanding and global citizenship through educator training, research and material development. Prior to joining APCEIU, I had lived in several socio-culturally distinctive countries; I was born and grew up in South Korea until age 14, went to high school and a year of university in China, then my family immigrated to Canada where I pursued the rest of my higher education. My nationality also changed from Korean to Canadian at the age of 19. Partly due to my personal background which shaped my global identity, I had a genuine interest in the notions of multidimensional identity and citizenship. While I always cherished my international experience as privilege, I had often been exposed to both direct and indirect instances of cultural tension and diversity-based conflict; therefore, APCEIU's mission to promote education for international understanding and global citizenship not only appeared to be appropriate and attractive but also motivated me to join the organization.

One of the most interesting and striking observations I recall having during my time at APCEIU was that different stakeholders often had vastly mismatched and sometimes even conflicting perspectives of and approaches to GCED. The perceptive and attitudinal gaps were especially noticeable between the policy actors (e.g. policy administrators at the Ministry of Education, Metropolitan and Provincial Education Offices, etc.) and the school practitioners (e.g. school principals and teachers). I often sensed that while the former focuses more on the 'global' aspect of GCED, the latter prioritizes and searches for citizenship values and competences. For example, the staff of the Ministry of Education (MOE) and Metropolitan and Provincial Education Offices (MPOEs) closely

monitored the evolutions of the global development agenda and the international policy framework related to GCED and often requested insights and resources from APCEIU which has a strong presence in the global education development network. Furthermore, many of their initiatives related to GCED often included the objectives to promote global leadership and global network.

On the other hand, school leaders and teachers I met during the capacity-building programmes run by APCEIU mostly looked for the practical ways they can execute GCED in their immediate school and local settings, and subsequently impact their students' values, attitudes and understanding. My reading of *GCED Meets School* (2016), a compilation book of interviews with teachers who practice GCED at South Korean schools, further confirmed this observation. For example, one of the government-appointed GCED Lead Teachers (see Chapter 3) from this book remarks:

> I would like to focus on 'citizen' in global citizenship education. I mean, rather than global leader or leadership, I suggest having a broader perspective on one's characters to be a citizen (APCEIU, 2016, p. 101)

This teacher, therefore, indicated that she had developed her own interpretation of GCED distinctive from the globally oriented policy approach. The accounts of the motivated GCED practitioners in this publication not only constituted part of my original inspiration for this study but also provided valuable background data for my empirical analysis on the perspectives of school-based GCED practitioners (Chapter 6).

The overall perception of GCED policy and practice in Korea can be encapsulated, in my opinion, by an old Chinese idiom along the lines of "Same bed, different dreams," which describes a relationship between two people who are closely intertwined but fundamentally lack mutual communication and shared understandings. I came to

speculate that the different understandings of and approaches to GCED at the policy and school levels could possibly diminish the positive impact of GCED. Since my data from work was limited to give me a sufficient answer, I was eager to seek more academic and empirical ways to unravel the nature of various perceptions to GCED and, more importantly, the implications of such a gap in the successful implementation of GCED.

Furthermore, I rarely had a chance to interact with the main target as well as agent of GCED, namely the students. Reflecting on my own experiences as a youth, I was genuinely interested in how adolescent students are approaching the notion of global citizenship as I used to struggle to incorporate my own multiple identities based on the different countries and cultures I belonged to. In addition, considering that the UNESCO and academic literature I was familiar with often emphasized the learner-oriented, participatory pedagogies, the stories of GCED practices without the direct voices of students often seemed incomplete. Therefore, the desire to see a fuller picture of GCED implementation by collecting previously neglected puzzle pieces and thus improve its quality motivated me to include youth as an integral part of the empirical data from the research planning stage. I expected that this particular segment of data would help my research generate a unique contribution to the relevant field.

1.2 Global Emergence of Global Citizenship Education

This study is primarily research on global citizenship education. The emergence of GCED at the centre of vibrant academic and policy discussions has not been coincidental but rather a foreseeable response to a fast-changing transnational landscape. Over the

past few decades, the world has become interconnected and globalized at an unprecedented level, transforming economic, social, cultural, political, technological and environmental aspects in the daily lives of most human beings. More recently, we have also witnessed a rising backlash against globalization which has largely been politicized. The electoral success of the Trump administration in the United States and the Brexit Campaign in the United Kingdom are perhaps the most popular examples; in many other Western democracies, the stories have not been very different as observed in, for example, anti-immigrant policies and xenophobic sentiments (Norris & Inglehart, 2019). The growing popular support for nationalist, isolationist, and protectionist rhetoric has, therefore, created concerns that these may pose threats to peace, human rights and democratic ideals (UNESCO, 2018).

Furthermore, we have also been facing various human security issues such as environmental and energy crises, socioeconomic inequality and, more recently, global health threats such as the Covid-19 pandemic. And these challenges are often associated with structural and political constraints that require collective and collaborative responses from humanity. Unsurprisingly, the researchers, practitioners and policy stakeholders in education have been discussing various ways that the education system can better equip students with the skills, values and attitudes needed to address such global changes and challenges. GCED is one of these attempts to promote global sensitivities and responsibilities for social justice while articulating the interconnectedness and shared fates of humanity (Aboagye & Dlamini, 2021).

Although the direct usage of the term GCED may be relatively new to policy and educational research, it had several precedents which essentially overlap yet slightly vary

in their foci and approaches depending on the historical and sociopolitical contexts of the time period and geographic location (as we shall see in Chapter 2). For example, UNESCO's main education agenda has evolved along with the key development of international instruments which targeted: *educations for international understanding* (see, for example, UNESCO's (1974) Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms), *peace, human rights and democracy* (e.g. the Declaration and Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy, 1994-1995), and *sustainable development* (e.g. Declaration on the Decade of Education for Sustainable Development, 2002). Considering UNESCO's global reach and network of the Member State governments, it is no surprise that each of these milestones led to the generation of lively policy and academic discussions, which have prepared fertile ground for GCED discourse.

GCED as a domain of policy and academic work experienced critical momentum in 2012, as stated in the beginning of this Chapter, when the then UN Secretary-General, Ban Ki Moon, announced it would be one of the top priorities within the UN's global education development agenda (United Nations, 2012). Following vigorous transnational discussions and negotiations, in 2015 GCED was embedded as part of UN's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which provides a blueprint for "a plan of action for people, planet and prosperity" (United Nations, 2015, Preamble). In 2017, the UN also adopted a global indicator framework which aims to assess and monitor the progress in the implementation of SDGs; GCED was included as one of the key areas in this framework. This means that the progress of SDGs is measured partly by the "extent to which GCED

and SDG are mainstreamed in (a) national education policies; (b) curricula; (c) teacher education; and (d) student assessments" (UNESCO, 2019, p. 7). The emergence of GCED as a collective supra-national response to global challenges has prompted a need for a working definition and objectives of GCED that can be shared among different stakeholders and thus help achieve the common goals.

However, previous studies have suggested that GCED is still a heavily debated area of policy and academic research, and is subject to theoretical and ideological contestation (see, for example, Andreotti, 2006; Johnson & Morris, 2010; Pashby, et al., 2020; Leite, 2021). One of the major tensions that are discussed in GCED literature is the prioritization of nationalist and economic objectives which may overshadow perceived ideals of global solidarity. Relatedly, a growing circle of scholars has also suggested that there is a lack of critical perspectives in GCED (see, for example, Andreotti, 2011; Pashby, 2011 & 2018; Pais & Costa, 2017). They argue that, in the absence of critical engagement, GCED may only reinforce the power imbalance and social injustices which are often at the heart of the global issues it claims to tackle. It is one of the main tasks of this study to explore the different approaches to GCED in recent research and tensions among them (see Chapter 2) as well as how they are relevant to empirical cases of policy process and school practices (see Chapters 5 and 6). And ideally the findings can contribute to informing any and all relevant opportunities for GCED in policy and practice.

1.3 Locating the Research in Context

The literature on GCED is dominated by Western perspectives and applications (Parmenter, 2011; also see Chapter 2). More specifically, the majority of academic articles on GCED was written by authors affiliated with Western institutions and anchored on cases and discourses in Western nations. This may also be linked to the critiques that UNESCO and other international agencies convey Western ideals and values as being universal and normative (Pashby, 2018; Hatley, 2019). In the context of GCED, its multifaceted and often contested definition and concepts seemed to further complicate the issue of power imbalances in the discourse. Thus, the question remained: how does this domain of education, which has predominantly been shaped and discussed in the Western context, operate in a non-Western case such as Korea?

The study of GCED policy must take the specifics of the context into consideration since every case has different ways to mediate the tensions between national or regional specificities and the universal values promoted by GCED. The UK and other European nations, for example, have long been exposed to and explored the notion of supranational citizenship through the development of the European Union; Korea and other East Asian countries, however, have had very distinctive geopolitical and sociocultural contexts and there has been little discussion of regional-based citizenship or identity as a result (Sung, 2010). And in such a context, Korea has demonstrated a notable case in which a state-led policy process for GCED is attempting to integrate contested ideologies (Pak & Lee, 2018).

The distinctive political, economic and sociocultural features of contemporary Korea have largely been shaped from the beginning of the 20th century. Following the colonial occupation by imperial Japan (1910-1945) and the subsequent Korean War (1950-1953), which left the Korean peninsula divided into two adversarial regimes, (South) Korea then experienced rapid economic growth under authoritarian military governments in 1970s and 1980s. When the country finally underwent a democratic transition in the end of 1980s, the legacy of being one of the fastest growing economies continued with deliberate state reforms embracing globalization and neoliberal principles like free market competition and deregulation (Schattle, 2015). According to the 2021 data, Korea has become the 10th largest economy in the world by nominal GDP (The World Bank, n.d.). Korea is also one of the most densely populated countries among advanced economies (ranked at the top among OECD countries); this feature is associated with a high level of socioeconomic development as well as internal competition over resources. Meanwhile, education has always been at the centre of state policy which transformed Korea from a vastly illiterate nation to “one of the most literate and well-schooled nations in the world” (Seth, 2012, p. 15). The high zeal for education which is attributed to individual success and upward social mobility has often been pointed out to be one of the most striking features of Korean society (Sorensen, 1994; Seth, 2012). While education is credited to be the main driver of national economic growth, it has also become one of the major social issues and is targeted for criticisms including but not limited to issues such as the high level of stress and pressure on both parents and students, its preoccupation with college entrance, and the over-emphasis on tests and scores (Jones,2013).

Although presented very briefly (more detailed national contexts will be discussed in Chapter 3), the aforementioned historical and sociocultural backgrounds have made the relatively young nation-state of Korea an interesting case for the study of citizenship in general, and more recently in the context of GCED. Modern citizenship (or civic) education was first formally introduced during the post-colonial period by the US Army Military Government (1945-1948) (See Chapter 3). As Korea was highly dependent on the US for military and economic support, even its successive authoritarian governments strongly identified with Western ideals such as democratic citizenship, individualism and modernity which rapidly spread into the Korean education system (Seth, 2012). Yet they also faced resistance from or fusion with traditional Confucius collectivism and anti-communist ideology under precarious North-South relations (Cho & Mosselson, 2017). Furthermore, the myth of a homogeneous or monoethnic country dominated Korea during the 20th century and operated as an underlying assumption in its citizenship education which has been often injected with ethnic nationalism (Jho & Cho, 2013).

Around the turn of the century, however, shifts in both global and domestic contexts led to a demand for a new form of citizenship education which is not necessarily rooted in a nation-state base. At the global level, in addition to being one of the biggest contributors to the world economy, Korea has positioned itself as a global leader in political, economic and sociocultural movements including GCED (Cho & Mosselson, 2017). This strategic policy direction towards the promotion of GCED has been motivated by multifaceted intentions, which are mainly driven by neoliberal objectives (e.g. employability and global competitiveness, stronger leverage in international agenda) as well as domestic issues (e.g. rise of (anti-)multiculturalism, improved relations with North

Korea) (Pak & Lee, 2018). Some authors have pointed out that the government's stance on GCED tends to adopt international normative guidelines and neoliberal and humanistic objectives, but local and school-based agents have various and often distinctive interpretations and practices of GCED (Cho & Mosselson, 2017; Pak & Lee, 2018).

On that note, the state-led support for GCED prompted not only public attention and new policy initiatives but also the proliferation of academic discussions and scholarly works on GCED in South Korea. Most of the empirical research written in Korean, presumably targeting the domestic audience, were based on a particular case of classroom-level GCED programme, an exploration of teacher perspectives or analysis of the national curriculum and the textbooks (see Chapter 3). While such field research makes original contributions to the literature and have helped me to develop a better understanding of the school-level GCED practices, they were limited in number and scope. Furthermore, the aspects of different practitioners outside of teachers (i.e. school leaders and students) had not been given much attention. Interestingly, many of these previous research projects were conducted by scholars affiliated with government-funded research institutes or funded by the government itself; their final discussions often included policy recommendations (see, for example, Jho & Cho, 2013; Lee et al. 2015). Even in these cases, however, there was a lack of examining the different levels or layers of policy (i.e. regional education offices and schools) and the practice and interplay between them. Such limitation of the existing literature suggested an opportunity for this research, which sheds light on the sites of both policy making and policy implementation as well as on the perspectives of regional policy administrators and school practitioners, to provide a novel contribution to the field.

1.4 Research Questions

My central aim at the outset of this study was to establish a more holistic picture of how GCED is perceived and practiced at both policy and school levels in the case of Seoul, the heavily populated capital city of Korea. Although transferring decision-making power to strengthen regional and school autonomy has been given much attention in the past decade in Korea (see Chapter 3, Section 3.1.1), the regional- and school-level understanding and implementation of GCED are largely unknown in the context of this relatively new policy agenda. In addition, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, my encounter with different stakeholders (i.e. state-level and regional-level policy administrators, school teachers and principals) suggested that they often had distinctive understandings of and attitudes towards GCED. In other words, GCED is a multi-faceted concept with multiple interpretations, and international frameworks provide only an outline of how to implement GCED in practice. This raises the main research question: How is GCED policy conceptualized and implemented by regional policy actors and school practitioners?

To support this overarching central question, I formulated the following detailed Research Questions:

(1) Why did the Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education (SMOE) introduce GCED as a key policy area?
(2) How is GCED conceptualized in the policy?
(3) How are global citizenship and GCED perceived and practiced by different practitioners at the school level (i.e. school leaders, teachers and students)?

(4) What are the professional, material and external contexts that influence implementers' perceptions and practices?

In essence, this is qualitative research in which the research inquiry and design are twofold; the first part (Research Questions 1 and 2) is policy analysis based on data from Seoul's regional education authority, and the second part (Research Questions 3 and 4) is based on practitioner-focused data. In order to answer the Research Questions, I conducted interviews with thirty-two individuals including three SMOE administrators, five school leaders, seven teachers, fifteen students and two external experts. Furthermore, I collected policy documents, GCED textbooks as well as school documentation from seven participating schools (where the interviews were conducted) (see Chapter 4). In analyzing my data, I heavily drew on Ball's theory of policy cycle (see Ball et al., 1992) as well as on a global citizenship attributes framework devised for the purpose of this study; I will have an extended discussion of both frameworks in Chapter 2. I also adopted a constructivist interpretive approach which allowed me to explore and comprehend the questions at hand through the contextual perspectives of the participants and myself as a researcher (see Chapter 4).

I argue that the policy formation and the school-level implementation of GCED is neither linear nor straightforward but a consistent process of political compromises and recontextualization. The perceptions and values of policy actors and practitioners shape the ways that GCED is implemented, and more importantly, are shaped by the various contexts they are situated in. Some of examples of these contexts highlighted in my empirical data included professional and organizational cultures, financial situations, and intra-organizational relationships (see Chapter 5 and 6). These contextual factors have

multiple dimensions that require a comprehensive understanding of political, socioeconomic and cultural aspects at multiple levels including the national, the regional, and the schools. Therefore, I expect that this research with a holistic approach involving both macro and micro level analyses can make a meaningful contribution to the intersection of policy formation, policy implementation and empirical research.

Having described my previous professional experience linked to the topic of this study earlier in the chapter, I also acknowledge that I started this research project with certain personal biases and expectations. In retrospect, I believe I took very little critical reflection on the normative approach to GCED applied by UNESCO of which I generally view as acting with positive intentions. While my desire to contribute to the quality implementation of GCED led me to begin this research, the doctoral training certainly challenged my perspectives and helped me observe social phenomena with critical eyes.

1.5 Structure of Thesis

This thesis consists of seven chapters. In this Introduction chapter, I have explained the personal experiences and motivations that led me to embark on this research. I have also provided a brief context to this research and the Research Questions that help to define the topic and focus.

Chapter Two will present an overview of the major theories and concepts relevant to this study. There are mainly three collections of literature I examined for the purpose of this study: First, definitions and concepts of global citizenship and GCED; second, policy formulation and implementation at the national and regional levels; and third, the school-

level practices of GCED. This literature review helped me identify two conceptual frameworks – four different models of GCED and Ball's theory of policy cycle – for my empirical analysis. While the former serves as a heuristic tool for analyzing the different approaches to GCED policy and practices, the latter provides a background theoretical underpinning for the overall study of policy formation and implementation. In light of the theoretical and conceptual examinations, this chapter also has an expanded discussion on gaps determined in the previous literature and on the Research Questions that are devised to address these gaps.

Chapter Three will focus on the contextual setting of the study. As briefly explained earlier in this Introduction chapter, South Korea makes an interesting case on the study of GCED policy and practice. To substantiate this claim, Chapter Three first provides a historical overview of modern-day South Korea, including the socioeconomic and political situations and the contemporary education system. These details are important in understanding the development of educational precedents which eventually led to the promotion of GCED in Korea and how it was ultimately practiced in schools. This chapter will also review and analyze the previous research on the national and regional GCED policies as well as on school-level practices of GCED. The gap identified in this part of the literature review will further justify the Research Questions introduced in Chapters One and Two.

Following the extensive discussion on the research contexts and lessons learned from the previous research outlined in the first three chapters, Chapter Four will present the research design and methods that I chose to answer my Research Questions. I will first justify the use of a constructivist approach and the corresponding ontological,

epistemological and methodological assumptions. The rest of the chapter then explains the detailed methods of data collection and analysis, my reflexivity as a researcher, and ethical issues.

Chapters Five and Six present the findings from the empirical analysis. In Chapter Five, I focus on the policy analysis based on policy documents and interviews with policy administrators. Chapter Six is built on the analysis of practitioner-based data from seven participating schools. It will discuss how GCED is conceptualized and practiced at the school level and the contextual factors that facilitate or hinder the school practice of GCED.

Chapter Seven is the discussion and conclusion chapter. It will revisit the major findings of my empirical analysis discussed in Chapters Five and Six and discuss their implications in the context of my theoretical frameworks as well as the previous research. In particular, while Chapters Five and Six provide the analysis at each of the policy and school levels respectively, Chapter Seven will discuss any analytical junction (or disjunction) between these two levels. Finally, I will conclude this thesis with some remarks on research limitations, policy and future research recommendations and personal reflections.

Chapter Two: Theoretical and Conceptual Framework of the Research

2.1. Introduction

As globalization and a drastic increase in transnational activities have transformed the notion of citizenship and citizenship education, the relevant literature has also evolved in the past two decades. In particular, GCED has received growing attention from not only academics but also governments and transnational actors, since it is considered to be one of major educational responses to address the challenges and opportunities of the time.

Prior to examining global citizenship in detail, it may be timely to note that many parts of the world (mainly Western liberal countries) have recently witnessed backlash against globalization and liberalism; this is exemplified by the Brexit situation in the UK and the election of President Trump in the US in 2016 (Barrow, 2017; Norris & Inglehart, 2019). Such a trend demonstrates pre-existing and increasing public sentiment that disapproves of multicultural cosmopolitanism and related socioeconomic and cultural changes (Rizvi, 2022). Thus, some of the assumptions regarding shifting notions of citizenship (i.e. in favour of global citizenship) have become debatable. In the case of South Korea, although resistance to globalization is less apparent, the country has also experienced a rise in nationalism, particularly in the context of regional conflicts (e.g. the Anti-Japanese movement in 2019) (Silververg & Park, 2020). Accordingly, I argue, as laid out in a later section on GCED, that globalism (i.e. understanding the interconnectedness of the world today) and nationalism can go hand in hand, and global citizenship and GCED are now more important than ever to raise awareness of and respond to socioeconomic

challenges that have grown in public interest and dialogue with the rise of globalization – inequalities, injustices and antagonism.

This chapter primarily presents a literature review on previous research relevant to this study. It aims to examine current academic knowledge and debates about: 1) What are global citizenship and GCED? How are they conceptualised in academic theories and debates? 2) How is policy formulated and implemented by national and regional policy actors? And 3) how is GCED implemented in schools? What are the barriers and facilitating factors? While presenting what has already been established by previous contributors to the literature, the general premises and theoretical underpinnings of the study will also be discussed. Then, in light of this, I address some of the gaps in the literature and introduce four Research Questions that result from these gaps.

2.2 Global Citizenship Education

The first collection of literature I explore in this section concerns, unsurprisingly, GCED. As briefly mentioned in the first chapter, the flourishing literature on GCED in the past decade is far from converging on shared definitions or objectives but rather has presented increasingly diverse frameworks or approaches to GCED. And the existing and available definitions often have subtle differences or can even be vastly contradictory from one to another. Accordingly, it is important to understand the conceptual and theoretical variations and tensions among these different orientations of GCED because this knowledge will help interpret how GCED is conceptualized and practiced at both the policy and school levels. Therefore, one of the main objectives of this particular section

is to provide a conceptual framework from which to identify the different approaches to the notion of global citizenship (see Section 2.2.1.2). This synthetization of the different theoretical approaches to GCED will then be used as a heuristic tool throughout my empirical analysis in Chapters 5 and 6.

2.2.1 What is global citizenship?

The nature of citizenship has shifted to an increasingly multifaceted concept since the turn of the 21st century. Citizenship is, in essence, "a set of social practices which define the nature of social membership" (Turner, 1993, cited in Keating, 2014, p.43). Traditionally, this "social membership" was considered to be situated within national boundaries; in other words, the notion of citizenship was built upon the premise that it articulates the relationship between an individual and a nation-state. However, this presumption has been questioned in recent decades, and citizenship is suggested to have multiple dimensions, some of which are not limited to national borders. And this shift is considered by scholars to be a consequence of globalization (see, for examples; Osler & Vincent, 2002; Ibrahim, 2005; Davies et al, 2005; Reimers, 2006; Shultz, 2007; Reid et al, 2010; Dill, 2013; Goren & Yemini, 2017).

While the literature on globalization is massive and complex, the following themes are particularly prevalent as well as relevant to the discussion on the shifting notions of citizenship. For instance, the growth of transnational organizations and bodies – e.g. the EU, UN, OECD, World Bank, NGOs, multinational firms – poses both opportunities and challenges for nation-states as they can affect or even intervene in the decision-making

of nation-states and in the daily lives of their citizens (Merryfield & Duty, 2008; Reid et al., 2010). That is, local or national issues such as environmental crisis, food and health security, and terrorism are also usually global issues that a single nation-state or its citizens alone cannot effectively address and therefore the role of international organizations is increasingly relevant. Furthermore, not limited to but prominently in an economic context, internationalization and neo-liberalism represent the dominant approach to today's global economy. Therefore, the state has faced a new question of how to understand and form the 'national' citizenship when both the state and their citizens are vastly entangled in the 'transnational' or global economic system (Mitchell, 2003). Other scholars including Osler & Starkey (2003), Reimers (2006) and Dill (2013) also pay particular attention to the issues of migration/immigration and intercultural interactions. Across the world, demographic changes due to migration and/or immigration have complicated our previously accepted ways of defining the boundaries of national citizenship. Moreover, increasing interactions among people from different backgrounds have occurred not only physically but also virtually, often through rapidly advanced information and communication technologies, and beyond national borders.

These multifaceted transitions have a significant implication on the notion of (national) citizenship, especially as they often influence or challenge the existing sense of one's identity. In this era of globalization and multiculturalism, it is increasingly common for people who share national citizenships to start to define themselves identities that go beyond physical borders and are more diverse and complex than ever; some of the identifiers include ethnicity, language, religion, culture, etc. (Osler & Starkey, 2003). Furthermore, the national identity is not necessarily one's most salient identity either.

Therefore, multiple identities that transcend traditional national citizenship are being more emphasized and accepted in many contexts, as is being evidenced in states with more liberal acceptances of diversity (e.g. the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, etc.). And in such cases, many policymakers and academics have argued that new forms of citizenship (and education for it) are more relevant and necessary than ever, and one such type of these is global citizenship.

For now, I identify characteristics of (desired) global citizenship that are commonly acknowledged in the academic discourse and serve as underlying assumptions in this study. Firstly, it is generally agreed that global citizenship *does not entail legal status* that may conflict with national citizenship (Osler & Starkey, 2003; Schattle, 2008; Tawil, 2013; Guo, 2014; UNESCO, 2014; Tarozzi & Torres, 2016). National citizenship entails rights and responsibilities granted by legal frameworks; however, a global citizen does not have any prescribed privileges and obligations, and only makes voluntary actions to protect and promote universal values. On the other hand, global citizenship *represents a moral or ethical ideal* rather than a political concept (Dill, 2013; Jenkins, 2015; Tarozzi & Torres, 2016); as Dill explains, it is “a vision of what the good person should be, and what he or she needs in order to flourish and thrive in a cosmopolitan age” (p.3). Furthermore, global citizenship is associated with *a sense of belonging to a global community and humanity*, possibly in addition to a political entity or government (Osler & Starkey, 2003; Tawil, 2013; UNESCO, 2014; Tarozzi & Torres, 2016). It is important to reiterate that global citizenship does not intend to make people reject their national citizenship; instead, it encourages an enhanced understanding of one’s national identity and to comprehend various issues in

one's immediate context within broader national and global contexts (Osler & Starkey, 2003).

2.2.1.1 Global Citizenship – Various Approaches and Characteristics

Global citizenship is a complex concept that is subject to multiple interpretations. Some scholars argue that the term 'global citizenship' is self-contradictory because "nobody can be a citizen of the world as he is the citizen of his country" (Arendt, n.d., cited in Miller, 2012, p.228). This view associates citizenship mainly as political relationships with others. However, Osler and Starkey (2005) suggest an alternative and broader approach in which citizenship is defined as having three dimensions: Feeling, status and practice. This is useful in reflecting multiple identities one may have in this era of globalization and multiculturalization. According to Starkey (2018), a *feeling* refers to a sense of belonging to a community or, more likely, multiple communities. A *status* can be legal, like one's nationality, and moral, like one's entitlement to human rights. Lastly, citizenship is also a *practice* which is based on senses of agency and empowerment (Starkey, 2018).

For the purpose of this study, I intend to develop an analytical tool that mainly builds on Jho (2016) and, by extension, Andreotti and Pashby (2013). Extending the framework suggested by Andreotti and Pashby (2013), Jho's (2016) classification was particularly helpful as it discusses different approaches to global citizenship that are most relevant especially in the context of South Korean education policy and school-based GCED practice. Contextual consideration is useful since this study explores context-specific

outcomes of more general concepts and theories. As mentioned briefly earlier, I use this analytical tool as a heuristic. By this I mean an approach intended to provide a practical, rather than perfect, guide to understanding the different types and conceptions of global citizenship that emerged from my data. This heuristic helped me to navigate the large and complex data by providing structure as well as a framework to better categorize the information into more manageable subsets and thus to identify key themes and patterns in my research findings. So, the rest of this subsection explains the key attributes of four types of global citizenship (i.e., neoliberal, tourist, humanitarian and critical) as well as explores some of the criticisms each type is subject to. These different models of global citizenship will also construct a guiding framework (see Section 2.2.1.2) for the empirical analysis and discussion presented in this study. Furthermore, Section 2.2.3 will revisit some of the tensions that have already previously been mentioned between the different global citizenship models in the context of education.

The first approach is *neoliberal* global citizenship, which is closely associated with an economic-centric notion that values the transnational mobility of knowledge and skills (e.g. foreign languages, information and communication technologies, etc.) as well as the merits of a free, competitive market system (Shultz, 2007). In this perspective, a global citizen in what Stein (2015) calls the ‘entrepreneurial position’ is motivated by understandings on global competitiveness, capable of participating in a ‘liberal economy driven by capitalism and technology’ (Shultz, 2007, p. 249). The notion of a global worker is particularly relevant when compared to the neoliberal notion of a global citizen, whose key attributes include their economic functions and employability. Hammond and Keating (2017) distinguish the two concepts of global citizen and global worker while

acknowledging some overlaps between their characteristics. For the purpose of this study, I include the neoliberal citizenship model as part of the global citizenship framework because of its positioning as being the narrowest or the least inclusive approach of all.

As the concepts of internationalization and neo-liberalism continue to become entrenched in the always evolving political, economic and social currents on both international and national levels, their (often negative) influences on the formation and consolidation of citizenship have attracted increasing debate. One of the potential problems of neoliberal global citizenship is its tenet of meritocracy which, contradictory to its aim and popular beliefs, has been pointed out to perpetuate the economic and social inequality. In more recent years, renowned scholars (see, for example, Piketty, 2014 and Markovitz, 2019) have challenged the concept of meritocracy as an illusionary notion which functions as a seemingly rational and universal principle to legitimize the inequalities and "justify the position of the winners," who in this case is portrayed as successful neoliberal global citizens (Piketty, 2014, cited in Gale et al. 2017, p.12). In addition, the valuation of a neoliberal global citizen is often not limited to his or her individual achievements but also takes into account any and all contributions to national economic growth and successes (Oxley & Morris, 2013; Hammond & Keating, 2017). In other words, neoliberal global citizenship, despite its use of the word "global," is still often tied to nationalist agendas and thus are sometimes considered to be an extension of nationalist citizenship (Harmes, 2012; Choi & Kim, 2018).

Second is the *tourist* global citizenship approach, a term I adopted from Jho (2016). Jho explains that this approach emphasizes the acquisition of knowledge related to Other societies and cultures as well as respect for cultural diversity. This echoes the cultural

form of global citizenship from Oxley and Morris' typology, which can be described as being "open to those from other places, take an interest in their cultural practices, learn about these practices through reading, travel, and personal contact" (Waks, 2008, cited in Oxley & Morris, 2013, p. 310). This type of global citizens values one's exposure to and understanding of other cultures, which are often commodified and depicted as exotic and authentic. They are also characterized by being equipped with intercultural communication skills that require the respect for and adaptability towards different cultures. In her study of overseas gap year narratives, Snee (2013) points out that, in this approach, global citizenship is mainly "self-referential, as it is framed by the discourses of 'home'" (p.144). That is, a tourist global citizen attaches great importance to gaining global experience and cultural capital yet still operates within boundaries of one's own social and cultural background. Relatedly, Byram (2021) distinguishes between the tourist and the sojourner. According to Byram, tourists expect "their own way of living will be enriched by the experience of seeing others, but not fundamentally changed," whereas sojourners acquire "the capacity to critique and improve their own and others' conditions" (p.2). Sojourners, in this case, are closer to exhibiting the qualities of critical global citizenship, which will be discussed later.

One of the main criticisms that the tourist type of global citizenship faces is that the attributes of a tourist global citizen can be perceived as essentially representing forms of privilege and elitism. That is, one's capability to gain intercultural experiences and understanding through, for example, traveling, information technology and or other experiential activities is indicative of having resources that are not necessarily available to the general global population. In addition, it can be perceived that the mediums from

which one can gain intercultural experiences are increasingly recontextualized into "consumer" products, leading Tiessen and Huish (2014) to raise questions and challenges on whether this type of approach is to produce "globe-trotters or global citizens" (cited in Larkin, 2018, p.560). These concerns are derived from observations that the tourist model can be a very thin form of global citizenship based on soft notions of that a shared sense of humanity can mobilize:

> [at best] charitable benevolence towards others without committing to a deep analysis of historical and political processes that generate the problems being addressed and the privilege of those enabled to "help" (Andreotti, 2016, p. 116)

At least on a surface level, tourist global citizens can show positive interests and enthusiasm in other cultures, but may risk reinforcing cultural stereotypes and misconceptions and even be unintentionally racist due to the lack of any meaningful and or critical engagement.

Third, corresponding to Oxley and Morris's (2013) 'moral' global citizenship, what Andreotti (2006) refers to as 'soft' global citizenship, the *humanitarian* global citizenship approach is highly normative in nature. This approach emphasizes the global ethics which are perceived to be universal and calls for a sense of belonging through common humanity and commitment to universal values such as human rights, peace and cultural diversity. According to Shultz (2007), global citizens in this category are concerned with global development issues and global structures that may escalate poverty, inequalities, conflicts and violence. They feel, therefore, a sense of solidarity and responsibilities to make political, economic and social changes to challenge these issues and help people in poverty and under oppression. This approach is particularly prevalent in the normative international policy framework, for example, by UN and UNESCO (Pashby, 2018).

One of the main conceptual struggles in this approach is the notion of universal values that often act as guiding principles in humanitarian and moral responsibilities and actions. Several scholars have pointed out that the universal values promoted in the normative international framework, notably by UN and UNESCO, are often abstract and counterproductive to achieving the purposes they claim to serve (Pashby, 2018; Hatley, 2019). That is, the universal values defined by the dominant (Western) powers may overlook the fact that values are distinctive across different cultural and social contexts. This is why, while the aim of promoting universal values may be well-intended, the "universalistic moral direction [can be conceived as being] unable to manage diversity, difference and otherness" (Tarozzi & Torres, 2016). In other words, this position can possibly privilege the knowledge and practices of those with relative material advantages and undermine the potential capacities of communities in "imagining their own solutions and futures" (Stein, 2015, p. 246).

Finally, and more recently, *critical* global citizenship has become a subject of increasing attention in the literature (see Andreotti, 2006; Shultz, 2007; Stein, 2015; Pais & Costa, 2017; Pashby, 2018). Although relatively less visible in practice, this critical approach expands possibilities for global engagement, often contesting the aforementioned positions. This approach is often associated with critical and post-colonial perspectives, and emphasizes a nuanced understanding of power relations and structural problems that perpetuate social injustices and inequalities. It frequently counters the other models of global citizenship and echoes the respective criticisms discussed above, suggesting that they may even reinforce the global issues they aim to tackle; for instance, the idea and act of helping other countries in need often create new forms of what can be

considered Western imperialism (Andreotti, 2006; Pashby, 2012). Therefore, the proponents of critical global citizenship advocate for the deconstruction of the existing global structures and promote one's critical engagement and reflection on the localized context of global issues such as poverty and oppression.

While its emphasis on critical civic engagement is inarguably valuable, the critical model of global citizenship also has limitations. One of the potential problems is uncritical relativism. While the critical position's relativist idea that stresses the roles of cultural and social contexts may be useful in understanding the formation of values and beliefs, it can say little about how a global citizen should behave or on consolidated international standards for collective action. In addition, Stein (2015) and Pashby et al. (2020), for example, point out that the critical approach is still prescriptive in nature. Since the critical model, like other approaches, considers that different relationships need to be "reconciled through consensus or synthesis" (Stein, 2015, p.247), this process may also reproduce the power imbalances that this position aims to criticize. Therefore, these authors discuss the possibility of a post-critical approach or an Incommensurable Position (Stein, 2015) that does not necessarily prescribe the desired progress or future outcomes. This line of thinking suggests a more horizontal mode of coexistence by recognizing and even welcoming the different worldviews that appear to be incommensurable. It may be noted that although this research recognizes the potential value of this emergent position, it does not include the post-critical model as part of the analytical heuristic used for the empirical analysis; one of the main reasons being that this position is little evident and has few examples in practice and thus relatively less relevant to the empirical data (Pashby, et al., 2020).

The previous literature suggests that neoliberal and tourist notions of global citizenship have largely dominated policy and practices, while academic discourses often criticize such approaches and are in favour of humanitarian or critical approaches. The empirical analysis of this study (presented in Chapters 5 & 6) will identify dominant approaches in GCED policy and school practices, and thus contribute to the existing body of knowledge on GCED implementation. On this note, these different conceptualizations of global citizenship will be revisited in the following section to construct the conceptual framework of the study.

2.2.1.2 Conceptual Framework

Based on the discussion on the four different approaches to global citizenship (i.e. neoliberal, tourist, humanitarian and critical), I have devised a conceptual framework (Table 2-1) as a heuristic for the purposes of this study and for a more nuanced analysis. It identifies four models of global citizenship, which are stratified from a narrow to a broad approach. I suggest that each model embraces or is extended upon the model(s) preceding (on the left); for instance, the humanitarian model of global citizenship does not reject the neoliberal and nationalist objectives of pursuing economic competitiveness, while also appreciating competencies associated with the tourist model such as the understanding of cultural diversity and of intercultural communication skills. This sort of layered categorization is intended to indicate a continuum of the different models that demonstrate gradual transitions from one to another and address a possibly misleading classification of global citizenship in the

existing literature. Regarding the possibly misleading classification, the relevant research to date often creates or implies positive and negative dichotomy of global citizenship by separating the different models as if they are always in competition or conflict with each other. However, they usually have many overlapping areas or interfaces that are “spaces of ambivalence where the same signifiers are deployed with multiple meanings and signal some underlying commonality” (Pashby, et al., 2020, p. 146). Moreover, as it will be observed in the empirical data (Chapter 5 & 6), GCED policies or schools often combine two or more of these approaches in practice and have overarching goals which are rarely limited to a single model of global citizenship. Finally, as previous research based on empirical data suggests, one’s perceptions and behaviours are not static, and can evolve through various global learning experiences (Bentall et al., 2013; Massey, 2014); this conceptualization of global citizenship on a continuum is suitable for explaining such transformations.

However, it is important to note that this research does not intend to overlook the tensions between the different global citizenship models. As mentioned above, the practices of engaging and facilitating global citizenship often operate in the interfaces between different approaches that may even be contradictory to each other and thus counterproductive. In particular, I agree with a general “consensus as to the dangers of neoliberal orientations” to global citizenship (Pashby, et al., 2020, p. 157) and argue that the tenets of critical civic engagement and global solidarity should not be overshadowed by nationalistic economic and employability priorities. Having said that, I also suggest that mediating the tensions and the different points of view are fundamental to the functionality of global citizenship. Thus, one of the aims of this study

is to explore possibilities of defining creative spaces for the different global citizenship orientations. On that note, Section 2.2.3 will discuss some of the major tensions between the different approaches to global citizenship, particularly in the context of educational practices.

<Table 2-1. Conceptual framework – Four approaches to global citizenship & global citizen attributes>

NARROW			BROAD
Neoliberal	Tourist	Humanitarian	Critical
- Global & national competitiveness - Global mobility & exposure - Global leadership & employability - Information & technology competency - Foreign language skills - Knowledge of global economy, finance & industries	- Understanding & respect for cultural diversity - Knowledge of other cultures - Intercultural communication skills - Flexibility & adaptability	- Global awareness & cooperation - Engagement in humanitarian actions - Understanding of universal values such as human rights & peace - Sense of solidarity & shared responsibilities - Global partnership for development	- Understanding of power, privilege, equity & social justice - Engagement in global issues based on the understanding of their complexity - Building local-global relationships for action - Critical reflection of one's own positions & contexts

(Mainly adapted from Andreotti, 2006; Shultz, 2007; Oxley & Morris, 2013; Stein, 2015; Jho, 2016; Hammond & Keating, 2017)

This conceptual framework indicates desired attributes, competencies and values that the respective types of global citizens demonstrate, based on the discussion in the

previous section. It also places each model of global citizenship on a continuum from narrow to broad; in the context of this framework, narrower approaches (i.e. neoliberal and tourist) are relatively focused on a knowledge-based cognitive dimension and on individual/specific group interests, while broader approaches (humanitarian and critical) are more associated with the socio-emotional and behavioural dimensions of GCED and with a sense of responsibility for all of humanity. The narrow and broad approaches also echo the "thin" and "thick" notions of citizenship – thin, which is like narrow, entails little participation in civic life, while thick, which is closer to broad, implies taking an active stance in rights, obligations and social practices embedded in citizenship (Tilly, 1995; Golmohamad, 2004). I drew mainly on the work of Andreotti (2006), Shultz (2007), Oxley & Morris (2013), Stein (2015), Jho (2016) and Hammond & Keating (2017), which use different terms to map and describe some of the approaches included in this framework. Although Oxley and Morris (2013) point out that this 'global citizen attributes' approach may create a set of stereotypes about what a global citizen should look like, it can be a useful tool for this study in which the analysis is based on education policy and school practices; that is, the types of the empirical data (i.e. policy documents and interviews of policy makers, school administrators, teachers and students) often use the similarly practical language as in this framework, especially when discussing learning outcomes and learner attributes.

As mentioned earlier, these different conceptions of global citizenship in this framework are not clear-cut or isolated from each other. There are a number of studies exploring the interfaces between different models and that are based on theoretical positions that combine more than one model. For example, Pashby et al. (2020) present

a meta-review of GCED literature and discuss different discursive orientations (neoliberal, liberal and critical) and their interfaces which highlight “overlaps, conflations, contradictions and tensions within and between the different ‘types’ of” GCED (p.145). One of the more recent studies by Bosio and Schattle (2021) proposes a framework of *ethical* GCED which mainly integrates what I call the humanitarian and critical approaches in this study. On that note, the purpose of the global citizenship framework in this study is not to intensify the theoretical debate but to provide a heuristic that can help to better understand my empirical case.

Moreover, it is not intended to create a “good/bad scaffold” (Oxley & Morris, 2013) or imply that a certain type is more positive or negative over the others. Rather, I argue that the practice of global citizenship and GCED can embrace multiple approaches and should make an effort to mediate the possible tensions (which will be discussed later in the Section 2.2.3) among them. That is, since each approach has its own opportunities and challenges, different approaches can be employed in practice to make them complement each other. This argument intends to give more practical value to this study instead of repeating the existing debates which highlight the competing notions of global citizenship. Lastly, this is not an exhaustive list but a general guiding framework for further discussions.

2.2.2 What is Global Citizenship Education?

As noted above and Rizvi (2009) also points out, globalization and the increasing global mobility of information, people and ideas have contributed to shifting notions of

citizenship and opened up new avenues for educational research, policy and practice. That is, since one of the main functions of education has been to explore and transmit citizenship, states, academics, and international organizations are now turning to education to address the challenges and opportunities posed by this transition. Given these circumstances, the global dimension of citizenship education has attracted growing interest from all these actors.

Similar to global citizenship, education for global citizenship, or GCED, is also often ambiguously used to explain a range of ideas and practices. For a nuanced understanding of the current landscape of GCED, this section first explores the different roots and orientations of GCED and then highlights some of the existing tensions in GCED.

2.2.2.1 Global Education and Citizenship Education

Earlier discussions of GCED, especially in the field of education, consider it an evolved form of global education, of citizenship education, or a hybrid of the two (see, for example, Pike, 2000; Osler & Vincent, 2002; Davies et al., 2005; Ibrahim, 2005). In this approach, the authors connect the main themes of global education and citizenship education, while focusing on how these two streams of education can or should be evolved into a single mainstreamed educational approach called GCED (Evans & Kiwan, 2017).

Global education, as its name indicates, is rooted in a post-national context and mainly concerned with preparing learners for globalization and related emerging issues (Davies, et al., 2005; Marshall, 2007). While global education has a much broader base than

citizenship education as well as GCED, it tends to lack both theoretical and practical clarity (Davies, et al., 2005; Tarozzi & Torres, 2016). According to Evans et al. (2009), the following core themes of global education can be found in GCED: 1) Opportunities to understand the nature of globalised interdependent systems, and global and transnational governance; 2) opportunities to nurture world-mindedness, a sense of membership or kinship with all humanity; 3) opportunities for in-depth understanding of global issues; 4) opportunities for deepened understandings on diversity, cross-cultural understanding, and social justice; and 5) opportunities for participatory pedagogies that encourage cultivation of critical capacities for critical understanding, engagement and carrying out responsibilities as a global citizen (p. 22-23).

On the other hand, citizenship education has a longer history compared to global education, and has reinforced firm relationships between the state, education and citizenship. Education has played a crucial role in nation-building and conveying a form of citizenship desired by the state. Green (2013) argues that the state has long used education as a tool to "construct the very subjectivities of citizenship, justifying the ways of the state to the people and the duties of the people to the state" (p.86). Historically, (primarily in the European context) nationality and citizenship were considered to be virtually the same term, and this link, despite its obvious problems and limitations, had a strong influence on the establishment of national citizenship education (Davies, et al., 2005).

Along with this notion, some scholars have made a distinction between civic education and citizenship education and noted the transition from the former to the latter. Civic education, sometimes referred to as a nationalist model of citizenship education, often

has nationalist agendas which emphasize patriotism and national identities, and focuses on civic knowledge rather than activism or participation (Keating, 2014 & 2016b). The pitfall in this type of education is that it can be considered exclusivist as well as racist as it often emphasizes the supremacy of a nation-state and its history and culture. On the other hand, contemporary citizenship education does not regard nationality as the only citizenship identity and places more emphasis on active participation and increasing skills and competences such as political literacy, critical thinking and, more recently, financial literacy and digital citizenship (Starkey, 2015; Keating, 2016b).

Although some scholars such as Davies et al. (2005) bluntly assert that "we believe that national citizenship is now being weakened and that a new form of education is necessary" (p.69), it is important to note that the transition to post-national and more inclusive forms of citizenship education does not necessarily mean the weakening of national citizenship or nationalist education; even the opposite is the case in many contexts. That is, many countries have adopted GCED in their national education systems, while national citizenship education remains or becomes more salient (Goren & Yemini, 2017). Kennedy (2010) points out that, for example, Asian states such as Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan have bolstered their national citizenship education to *counter* globalized influences. Keating (2014) also argues that national citizenship programmes can use global citizenship as a means to reinforce the national and nationalist agenda. However, against any possible presumption of resistance to the expansion of globalization, national and global identities are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Instead, Keating (2016b) suggests a notion of nested citizenship in which different levels (i.e. local, national, regional and global) of citizenship overlap with and

complement one another. While acknowledging that, at least in theory, GCED is antithetical to nationalism and exclusive national identities, this study argues that GCED should aim at mediating the tensions between national and global identities by equipping learners with, for example, intercultural understanding and communication skills.

2.2.2.2 Other Roots and Orientations

GCED is multifaceted and trans-disciplinary (Ibrahim, 2005; Marshall, 2011; Parmenter, 2011; Oxley & Morris, 2013; UNESCO, 2014; Lee, et al., 2015). In addition to global education and citizenship education (discussed above), it encompasses the concepts, theories and pedagogies of other related educational areas, including development education, human rights education, peace education, democracy education, education for sustainable development, and education for international understanding (Osler & Vincent, 2002; Ibrahim, 2005; UNESCO, 2014). Some have also opted for "education for cosmopolitan citizenship," which is rooted in the framework of the liberal democracy and the notion of universal humanity and human rights (Osler & Starkey, 2003; Tawil, 2013; Starkey, 2021 forthcoming). "Transformative citizenship education" (Banks, 2008) or "critical citizenship education" (Johnson & Morris, 2010) particularly concerns the issues of social justice and power relations, and thus challenges any persistent colonial and imperial imaginaries. While these various educational practices are based on different origins, foci and traditions, they have overlapping objectives of and provide useful entry points for GCED. Tarozzi and Torres (2016) argue that terminological debates are irrelevant and even "useless" (p.19), and what is relevant and important is to

understand GCED as a promising educational agenda which can counter the challenges and dilemmas of traditional citizenship education.

In some notable cases, different groups have introduced GCED to update or replace existing educational programmes. For example, multicultural education has been a response to the challenges of globalization in many societies including South Korea, but multiculturalism, despite being a flexible and dynamic concept, "remained trapped in a set of nation-centric assumptions and continues to address cultural diversity within a national framework" (Rizvi, 2009, p.283). Therefore, in countries such as Canada and South Korea, GCED has gained momentum in policy and academic discourses as a way to move beyond their cultural assimilationist perspectives towards a deeper understanding of diversity and civic engagement (Evans, et al., 2009; Jho & Cho, 2013). Since multicultural education has been one of the major precedents to GCED in South Korea (see Chapter 3), the relationship between these two educational fields will be a point of analysis in the later empirical chapters.

Another example of GCED taking over and incorporating different fields of education can be observed in international policy initiatives. GCED has become one of the priority areas for UNESCO, building upon the existing works of human rights education, peace education and education for international understanding (EIU) (Tawil, 2013; Evans & Kiwan, 2017). EIU, which was initially developed in the post-World War era, has been partly repackaged in GCED; for instance, one can notice that the recent programmes and publications of the Asia-Pacific Centre of Education for International Understanding (APCEIU), a UNESCO centre specialized in promoting EIU, have increasingly replaced EIU with GCED to the point where the term EIU is rarely used (as seen in the APCEIU

website). As Korean educational authorities have closely followed and have also been engaged in the international policy process of GCED, its national education system has adopted the similar approach which will be discussed in Chapter 3.

2.2.3 Tensions in GCED

It is indeed a complex task to define GCED through its various roots and orientations. Now, the focus turns to three major types of tensions within GCED that are frequently discussed throughout the global discourse and also observed in the empirical cases of this study. The following discussion revisits some of the attributes and critiques of different and often competing approaches to global citizenship (Section 2.2.1.1) and expands upon the aforementioned conceptual framework (Section 2.2.1.2). Some examples of mediating these tensions will also be discussed where applicable.

2.2.3.1 Global vs National

Echoing the earlier discussion on shifting notions of citizenship (Section 2.2.1), GCED faces tensions between the different levels of citizenship, notably those of the global and the national (Davies, et al., 2005; Davies, 2006, Banks, 2008). Especially in recent years, we have seen a resurgence of exclusionary nationalism in many parts of the world that is (re)questioning and challenging notions of global citizenship and its related endeavours to promote international cooperation and global solidarity through education. Schattle (2008) explains that, from the outset, global citizenship is dependent on the voluntary actions and outlooks of individuals and groups rather than formal and legal institutions

which national citizenship is based on. Therefore, global citizenship is often framed as a fundamentally different model from national citizenship in policies and educational practices. The relationship between national and post-national (i.e. global) citizenships is often not clearly defined or explained in practice, and as a result GCED sometimes confronts resistance from a narrow form of (national) citizenship education.

Especially in the context of formal education which is a “state-enterprise” (Pashby, et al., 2020, p. 150), the notion of global citizenship can be conflated with the nationalist objectives of citizenship education which prioritizes national interest and security. Gaudelli (2009) discusses the nationalist perspective about global citizenship that is wary of the notion of global civics and identity, as they may “destabilize a sovereignty-based community of nations” (p.72). In line with this view, Engel and Siczek (2018) list “threat versus empathy” as one of the tensions in promoting global citizenship, suggesting that values such as global responsibilities and solidarity can be considered as threats to national loyalty and security. UNESCO (2018) refers to these concerns as some of the misunderstandings that GCED “over-prioritizes the need to address global challenges and interventions over local aspirations” (p.7). One theorization that may be useful in addressing this tension is the notion of *cosmopolitanization,* which is defined as “*internal* globalization, globalization *from within* the national societies” (Beck, 2002, cited in Starkey, 2021 forthcoming) This concept helps recognize the interconnection between the global and the local on the bases of global ethics and norms such as human rights (Starkey, 2021 forthcoming).

A more opportunistic nationalist position may be less critical about GCED yet reframe the concept of global citizenship to justify the inherent nation-centric goals. Educational

practices and policies have generally considered global citizenship to be complementary to national patriotism (Schattle, 2008). That is, the skills associated with global citizenship such as tolerance, respect for diversity and openness to other cultures can be deemed to have patriotic features that serve national agenda (Keating, 2014 and 2016b). This approach may help GCED to be more compatible with the dominant education system but is still problematic that the implementation of GCED may be limited to a few nationalistic priorities, notably economic competitiveness and advancement in the global marketplace. This heavily neoliberal perspective of GCED will be revisited in the next section.

While this study is based on the premise that global citizenship is a post-national concept that is more inclusive of multiple identities and sociocultural diversity, I agree with a number of scholars including Keating (2016b), who argues that GCED is not intended to reject or compete with national identity or national citizenship. Instead, GCED should incorporate and build upon a foundation of national citizenship education (Myers, 2006; Issacs, 2018; UNESCO, 2018). In other words, I suggest that GCED can encourage the "reimagining of national space" (Engel & Siczek, 2018, p. 16) that can then contribute to connecting one's national identity and local values with a broader global context and shared humanity. This approach which can improve the relevance of education also aligns with my global citizenship framework (Section 2.2.1.2) where a narrow conception of citizenship is regarded as a steppingstone to broader and more critical models of global citizenship.

2.2.3.2 Moral vs Economic

Many scholars have discussed a tension between the moral/ideal-driven and economic-driven objectives of GCED (Osler & Vincent, 2002; Reimers, 2006; Evans, et al., 2009; Camicia & Franklin, 2011; Marshall, 2011; Dill, 2013; Schattle, 2015; Goren & Yemini, 2017; Pais & Costa, 2017), which are directly linked to humanitarian and neoliberal models of global citizenship respectively. Reimers (2006) has described these two features of GCED as "education for global civility" and "education for economic competitiveness," while Dill (2013) uses the terms "global consciousness" and "global competencies." The former terms are related to the understanding of one's self as a part of a global community and having solidarity and empathy with humanity; whereas the latter terms represent the neoliberal approach that emphasizes one's capacity for successful participation in the global economy and marketplace.

The particular tension between these two approaches to GCED is often centred around the question of whether it is possible to cultivate a person into a "global citizen" and "global worker" at the same time, when current education policies and practices are often dominated by neoliberal ideals anchored on marketization, commercialization and competition. As education is usually framed by the national government based on national needs rather than globally shared interests, GCED, in many cases, also served as a means to strengthen the economic competitiveness of learners in a global market (Schattle, 2008). The sweeping neoliberal approach to GCED inevitably clashes with the moral and humanitarian ideals of GCED, which are notably promoted by the normative international policy frameworks (Pais & Costa, 2017). Although broader models of GCED that emphasize global interdependence, ethical values and critical thinking have long

been articulated, especially in the academic discourse, it is a relatively recent development that policy makers and educators are incorporating and adapting them in practice (Keating, 2016b). Therefore, in the context where the needs and demands of nation-states are still persistent and even strengthened, GCED is often commodified for building leverage in a competitive global marketplace (Engel & Siczek, 2018). The GCED literature is generally critical about economic motivations being the leading rationale for GCED and education in general. The primary concern being that emphasizing an economic-centred aim may be perceived as placing the value of education to be relative to individual and national prospects of success in the global economy; and that this narrow approach may undermine the fundamental role of education in "[ameliorating] social inequities, a divisive and insidious malady that consistently undermines all possibility for true social cohesion" (Tarozzi & Torres, 2016, p. 172).

Despite their seemingly contradicting features, there are empirical cases of educational programmes where both moral and neo-liberal ideals are given space (for example, Camicia & Franklin, 2011; Dill, 2013; Hammond & Keating, 2017). However, some authors suggest that they are not always given balanced consideration, nor do they coexist in harmony. For example, Goren and Yemini (2017) name the US and China as examples where GCED "is strongly geared towards serving national [economic] interests, as opposed to its more cultural and moral foci" (p.11). Marshall (2009) points out that social-justice and economic instrumentalist agendas coexist in tension in the UK citizenship curriculum while the latter is more dominant than the former. In South Korea, some authors also argue that public discourse and education are closely aligned with neo-liberalism while emphases on humanitarian ideals and moral responsibilities are

largely window dressing (Schattle, 2015; Cho & Mosselson, 2017; Choi & Kim, 2018); my empirical analysis will examine both national and regional objectives to promote GCED, and this assertion will be revisited (Chapter 5). On that note, I agree with Pais and Costa (2017) that recognizing the contradiction between the current neoliberal hegemony and GCED is an important starting point for "a change towards more ethical, solidarity and democratic practices in education" (p.11). In other words, GCED can contribute to what Dill (2013) calls "cosmopolitan thriving" by both global employment competencies and ethical virtues (p.64).

2.2.3.3 Activism or 'Civilizing Mission'

Scholars and international organizations that have developed a theory and practice of GCED generally agree that GCED emphasizes the active role and participation of the learners (Davies, 2006; UNESCO, 2014; Oxfam, 2015; Lee, et al., 2015; Bosio & Schattle, 2021). This view is particularly apparent in the moral/humanitarian approach to global citizenship, which emphasizes the knowledge, skills and values for social change and development. This perspective also highlights the relevance of education, which means that the contents are directly applicable to the individual, local, national and global contexts of the learners. In conceptualizing GCED, the GCED Working Group, a collegium of 90 organizations and experts, has made a strong common emphasis on "individual or collective action or a willingness to act to advance a common good" (Brookings Institution, 2017, p. 4). Tarozzi and Torres (2016) also point out that bringing about changes through action is one of the key objectives of GCED and the idea of participation in the global context is "embodied in a concept of active citizenship stressing

the importance of learners' empowerment and of the transformative" attitude (p.13). Therefore, the knowledge and understanding of global issues and their underlying contexts are not enough; one should be able to act with necessary skills to deal with these challenges.

However, some scholars, especially those who support the critical and transformative model of global citizenship which in turn is based on post-colonial theory, have argued that the activities and initiatives within the GCED framework often lack a critical understanding and examination of the issues that are being tackled. In her observation of a training session for young activists working on the global poverty issue, Andreotti (2006) points out that such action-based practices of GCED sometimes fail to address the following essential question of GCED: Whether and how should we "address the economic and cultural roots of the inequalities in power and wealth/labour distribution in a global complex and uncertain system"? (p. 41) She further argues that, without such contemplation, the growing activism in GCED may only recreate the power relations that caused the social injustices and inequalities in the first place and become just another 'civilizing mission.' Relatedly, humanitarian actions often use the concepts of universal values and humanity as rationales, which are considered to be largely informed by the hegemony of Western ideology (Camicia & Franklin, 2011; also see Section 2.2.1.1). Therefore, activism in this context can be seen as a new and more subtle form of Western imperialism which, despite the seemingly good intentions, reasserts the cultural dominance of powerful (Western) nations.

In sum, while the notion of active citizenship is valuable in empowering learners and initiating potentially effective interventions, actions for change should be preceded by

critical engagement with the core issue and understanding the power relations and complexity underneath (Andreotti, 2006; Shultz, 2007; Pashby, 2018). Accordingly, whether or not school-based participatory GCED activities take into account these critical and transformative approaches will be one of the discussion points in the analysis of GCED school practices (Chapter 6).

2.3 Education Policy Formulation and Implementation

The previous section established the theoretical foundation of GCED for this study. Moving forward, this section explores the literature on how education policy is formulated and implemented. A UNESCO document defines policy as “a broad statement that sets out the government’s main goals and priorities” (UNESCO, 2013, p. 7); that is, policy is not just a piece of text, but that it reflects how and, perhaps more importantly, why a government seeks to change certain social practices. Accordingly, the policy process is also a political process which involves struggles between different values and powers; therefore, these are important parts of any policy analysis that aims to ameliorate social issues.

As GCED is a relatively new policy agenda, the study of GCED policy has also been rather underdeveloped. Thus, one of the main contributions that this study intends to make lies in the empirical analysis of a regional GCED policy (Chapter 5). And this policy analysis will largely be informed by the following theoretical discussions on policy and policy process.

2.3.1 What is policy?

Despite its frequent appearance and application to our daily lives, defining or conceptualizing policy is not a simple task. Ball (1993) points out that the meaning of policy is often taken for granted and the term ‘policy’ is often used to describe different “things” or activities, even in a single context. Specifically, Gordon et al. (2014) identifies “(i) defining objectives, (ii) setting priorities, (iii) describing a plan and (iv) specifying decision rules” as some of the activities that ‘policy’ represents (p.8).

As a useful approach to such a complex notion of policy, Ball (1993) suggests two ways of conceptualization: Policy as text and policy as discourse. In the former, policies are regarded as “textual interventions into practice” (p.12) and representations that are encoded and decoded in complex ways by multiple actors and their actions. On the other hand, the strongly Foucauldian approach to policy is centred at the notion of discourse, which is “about what can be said, and thought, but also about who can speak, when, where and with what authority” (p.14). This study adopts both approaches in that it views policy as both the ‘product’ and the ‘process’ of negotiations, compromises and decision-making (Bell & Stevenson, 2006).

These conceptualizations of policy can be practical in understanding some of the operational definitions of policy in the context of education. For example, UNESCO’s definition of policy presented at the beginning of this section uses the term “broad statement”; here, policy is taken as texts and ‘things’ that are produced by policy authors. On the other hand, Lingard and Ozga (2007) suggest that “education policy has been characterised as the authoritative allocation of values within education system” (p.3). This

statement raises a series of questions such as: Who and how allocates whose values? It signifies a broader process of constructing meanings and exercising power relations which may not be “irreducible to language and to speech” (Foucault, 1977, cited in Ball, 1993, p.14). Although this study does not use the specific Foucauldian discourse analysis as an analytical method, it is still interested in power relations that constitute knowledge and practice in the context of GCED policy.

In both cases, one of the important and frequently addressed issues in policy is raised - to what extent does the state affect the policy process? The discussion on the role of the state in the formation and effects of policy seems timely and relevant, especially in consideration of globalization and thus an increasingly complex policy environment which involves international, national and local actors with diverse backgrounds. It also makes a good transition point to the next section where the education policy process is discussed.

2.3.2 Policy process

As mentioned earlier, the role of the state in the policy process is a frequently discussed issue in the literature on policy research. The traditional policy study has viewed the state as the primary actor in the policy process; however, many authors have noted a shift in focus from a top-down approach to a bottom-up one in policy research during the last few decades (Sabatier, 1986; Fitz, et al., 1994; Taylor, 1997; Viennet & Pont, 2017). Policy research via the top-down approach typically considers policy formulation and policy implementation to be separate phases, and tends to put stress on

the former and policy intention of the state. This approach faces criticisms that the hierarchical and linear model of a state-centric policy process often neglects the agency of actors other than the state, and undermines the process of creative interpretation and recontextualization (Bowe, et al., 1992; Ball, 1993; Ball, et al., 2012). Therefore, an increasing body of policy research has expanded to exploring the policy effects and how implementation unfolds. It also recognizes that the notion of the state is not monolithic and embraces different levels and actors within the state (Bell & Stevenson, 2006; Exley, 2016).

There are mainly two different views on policy process (Bell & Stevenson, 2006; Gordon, et al., 2014; Minogue, 2014). On the one hand, it is seen as a rational process where the problem in hand is technical and the way of resolving it is straightforward and controlled. Conflicts among different stakeholders and over their perceptions of the issue are recognized but not considered to hinder the systematic process. On the other hand, as this study advocates, policy is political. Policy process is neither tidy nor stable; it is based on consistent power struggles and negotiations at each stage.

Based on the stance that policy process involving both policy formulation and implementation is not simple or linear but complex and iterative, this study specifically draws on Ball et al.'s theory of policy cycle (1992). The policy cycle theory is concerned with how policy is made and re-contextualized by different agencies other than states. Based on Barthes' distinction between readerly and writerly texts, Ball and his colleagues (1992) describe policy texts as 'writerly' - that these texts are contextualized and interpreted by different policy implementers; policy writers cannot control or impose the

meanings of the texts on the readers. They conceptualize three primary contexts which constitute the process of a policy cycle:

- Context of influence refers to where a policy process is normally initiated and the related discourses are constructed through struggles among different stakeholders.
- Context of policy text production is where policy is put into various forms of texts including official documents, commentaries, media, speeches, official videos, etc.
- Context of practice is where policy is subject to interpretation and recreation.

By suggesting a micro-based analysis of policy recontextualization, Ball's policy cycle theory inherently faces the criticisms of the bottom-up approach and its conception of the state; in other words, there is a question of whether it overemphasizes the "ability of the Periphery to frustrate the Center" (Sabatier, 1986, p. 34). For example, Hatcher and Troyna (1994) criticize Ball's policy cycle theory as downplaying the power of the state in policy-making and its effects. In his response, however, Ball (1994) further clarifies his theoretical perspectives. He explicates that while he does not deny the important role of the state in the policy process, his main concern is that the traditional state-controlled model of the policy process possibly leads to disempowerment of the social actors and schools involved. The increasing complexity in the education policy arena as well as the environment where education policy is enacted (mostly schools) suggests that the same intended policies can hardly yield the same effects in different settings. Therefore, Ball's theory is relevant and useful in unfolding the contextual complications that impact the policy process. The empirical contributions of this study concern all three contexts indicated above; more specifically, Chapter 5 based on policy analysis is mainly related

to the contexts of influence and text production, while Chapter 6 on school implementation of the policy focuses on the context of practice.

The following two sub-sections discuss the literature on policy formulation and on policy implementation respectively, especially in light of my research case which concerns a regional-level policy process. It should be noted that, as mentioned above, these two policy phases are not isolated from each other. Instead, they are part of an interactive and political process where policy is formed and reformed by multiple actors. Furthermore, these two levels of policy analysis will be brought together in the Discussion and Conclusion chapter (Chapter 7).

2.3.2.1 Policy formulation

The first two Research Questions of the study particularly concerned with why and how regional-level policy makers develop and make sense of a specific education policy initiative. Policy formulation can be defined as:

> a stage of policy-making where a range of available options is considered and then reduced to some set that relevant policy actors, especially in government, can agree may be usefully employed to address a policy issue (Howlett & Mukherjee, 2017, p. 6).

This definition recognizes, once again, that examining and selecting policy options are a political process where power relations determine what does and what does not get done.

While it has traditionally been assumed that the state is the principal agent of policy formulation and “public policy remains a state activity” (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 16), the notion of state has become much more extensive and complex. Within the state authority, there are different levels (e.g. national, regional and local) and actors; which often work

in collaboration but there also exists tension and contestation between and within them. Some authors are also concerned with the effect of globalization which has caused a shift from government to governance; in other words, national governments are no longer only producer of education policy and supranational institutions are increasingly involved in many of the state policy functions (Bell & Stevenson, 2006; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). In addition, 'third sector' or non-state actors (e.g. non-profit organizations, community services, etc.) operating outside state and market have also been pointed out as being capable of providing effective policy alternatives and addressing social problems (Exley, 2016). The study of policy formulation, therefore, should take into consideration the multidimensional conceptualization of the policy; therefore, Chapter 3 will discuss the context of South Korea in detail.

While policy development by a regional education authority and its relationship with other policy actors (e.g. the Ministry of Education and the schools) are of particular interest in this study, the relevant literature is largely context-specific. For instance, in the case of England, the functions and powers of Local Authorities have been diminished and even marginalized whereas the Department for Education has extended its leverage (Ball, 2012; Exley, 2016). On the other hand, in South Korea, the Metropolitan and Provincial Offices of Education (MPOE) have gained an increasing level of policy authority and autonomy during the past decade. While the next Chapter will describe the sociopolitical and historical contexts of education authority in South Korea in more detail, the remainder of this subsection focuses on a particular policy process literature relevant to this study.

As mentioned earlier, who has power and how this power is exercised in the policy process are some of the central questions to be asked in policy research (Bell &

Stevenson, 2006). In the South Korean case, the role of Superintendent (who is elected via direct popular vote since 2007) in policy formulation appears to be prominent. On that note, the literature on policy entrepreneurs is of particular interest and relevance. Mintrom (2015) defines policy entrepreneurs as “political actors who seek policy changes that shift the status quo in given areas of public policy” (cited in Gunn, 2017, p.265). In South Korea’s case, ever since the implementation of a direct election system, the Superintendent of Education has increasingly become a political figure who has been classified by the media and civil society organizations (which often includes teachers’ unions) as either a progressive or conservative candidate and expected to adopt certain policy directions, respectively. For example, progressive superintendents (elected in 14 out of 17 metropolitan and provincial electoral areas in 2018) collectively support issues such as the political participation of students, protection of student rights and expansion of eco-friendly free school meals, and emphasize peace and reunification education (Seo, 2019). Significant policy changes in some regions including in Seoul can partly be explained by the performance of superintendents acting as policy entrepreneurs whose key qualities include social perceptiveness, and abilities to define problems and turn ideas into actions (Mintrom & Norman, 2009).

Policy formulation consisting of devising and defining policy solutions to problems is usually followed by implementation of the given policy. The next subsection discusses how policy is put into practice and what factors impact implementation.

2.3.2.2 Policy implementation

Policy implementation is about putting policy into practice and "getting things done" (Minogue, 2014, p. 17). A policy implementation study should go beyond identifying what these things are and whether they are getting done; it should explore *how* things get done and what makes the implementation work or not work. Throughout policy implementation literature, two intertwined keywords seem to prevail: 1) Context; and 2) complexity. First, context shapes how implementation unfolds. When education policy implementation takes effect, it happens in various contexts at both macro and micro levels. The broader contexts include social, political, economic and cultural dimensions that constitute the education system. The micro-level contexts concern the immediate surroundings where individual implementers are situated; for example, in the case of education policy targeting schools, elements such as a school's physical and cultural environment, and the members of a school's community, their social interactions, personal backgrounds and prior experiences can make the implementation outcomes diverge markedly. Furthermore, these contexts are not static but consistently shifting (Ball et al, 2012).

Second, building upon the first point of multidimensional contexts, policy implementation is a highly complex process. In particular, as the focus of policy implementation research has shifted to multiple levels of actors and to an iterative process of policy (re)interpretation, the scale of complexity in policy implementation has greatly extended. A number of conceptual and theoretical models or approaches have been developed in an effort to unravel the increasingly complex nature of education policy implementation; for example, Honig (2006) suggests that policy implementation in practice and research should examine how and why policy (goals, target, and tools),

people (actors involved in the policy process) and places (where an implementation takes place) interact among them. Spillane et al. (2002), paying extensive attention to the dimension of implementing agents, argue that policy implementation is driven by a complex cognitive or “sense-making” process of these actors. In particular, these theories commonly suggest the significant role of human agency in policy implementation and it aligns with one of the main analytical objectives in my empirical work engaging different policy implementers such as school leaders, teachers and students.

The seemingly limitless number and range of contextual factors and their complex relations could make a policy implementation study look somewhat impractical and discouraging. However, I subscribe to the view that regards understanding of education policy implementation as a purposeful process to bring desired change in schools and education system (Fullan, 2015; Viennet & Pont, 2017) and “through implementation of policy, change in education is actually possible” (Mason, 2016, p. 440). And bringing change in education by contributing to academic literature and to the practitioner domain is essentially the end goal of this study.

While the theory of policy cycle introduced in the discussion of policy process constitutes a premise of this study by providing a general approach to policy research, Ball’s contextual dimensions complement the theory as a more practical and operational framework. This is useful because, as in this study, it particularly concerns schools where implementation is ongoing. Ball et al. (2012) present the following set of contextual dimensions as a heuristic device for policy implementation research:

- *Situated* contexts: Locale, school histories and intakes

- *Professional* contexts: Values, teacher commitments and experiences, 'policy management' in schools
- *Material* contexts: Staffing, budget, buildings, technology, infrastructure
- *External* contexts: Degrees and qualities of local authority support, pressures and expectations from broader policy context (e.g. school rating, etc.)

As the authors note, this list is not exhaustive, and the different dimensions are interrelated and can overlap. Among these dimensions, the analysis of school-level policy implementation in Chapter 6 will mainly focus on the professional, material and external contexts since they frequently emerged in empirical data. On that note, the next section takes a step further and discuss the junction between GCED and policy implementation at the school level, in accordance with the purpose of this study.

2.4 School-level Implementation of GCED

So far, this chapter has explored the separate bodies of literature on GCED and policy process. This third section examines the intersection of these two collections of literature. That is, since one of the main foci of this study is to explore how a regional GCED policy initiative is being implemented in schools, the question of how school-level factors – e.g. school administrators, teachers and school cultures – hinder or facilitate the implementation of GCED is another major point of discussion. In addition, as the empirical component of the research includes students as policy stakeholders, their role as policy (re)interpreters is also of interest. Therefore, this section draws on literature concerning

the school-level implementation of both citizenship education and GCED, and discusses the impediments and enablers of GCED implementation.

As briefly mentioned earlier, formal education and citizenship formation have long been intertwined. It has been widely agreed that schools play a crucial role in citizenship formation (Crick, 2005; Reimers, 2006; Print, 2007; Reid, et al., 2010; Marshall, 2011; Pashby, 2012; Maitles, 2013; Green, 2013; Keating, 2016b). This statement does not intend to underplay the fact that learners also develop their understandings of citizenship and their roles as citizens in different learning environments beyond schools. For instance, the contextual framework of the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICSS) 2016 identifies the wider community (local, regional and national and supra-national levels above schools and home), the home, the peer environment, and the individual themselves as learning environments outside of schools that impact learning outcome of citizenship education (Schulz, et al., 2016). Le Bourdon (2018) also discusses “informal spaces” where ‘real-world’ experiences and social interactions enhance GCED outside structured learning environment. However, as schools are a public space, both in local and global senses, per Reimers (2006), they “have greater potential to be aligned with transnational efforts to promote global civility” when compared to other spaces (p. 276).

The literature on the practice of GCED at school is largely based on specific and often narrow cases (i.e. particular countries, and local districts, schools or programmes). This seems inevitable, because the notion of citizenship is never universal and always influenced by the given social, cultural and political contexts (Jho & Cho, 2013). And while the respective existing literature applies to different contexts, there are several

determinants of (in)effective GCED implementations that are commonly discussed. It is noted that these factors are often interconnected and some of them also reiterate earlier discussions on contextual elements in the policy implementation literature. In addition, since the conceptual premises of the study point to the importance of context, it may be necessary and useful to expand the following discussion in the context of South Korea (Chapter 3).

2.4.1 Open and Safe Learning Environment

Many scholars point out that the impact of GCED practices is largely influenced by the degree to which a school's environment is open, safe and democratic (Osler, 2005; UNESCO, 2014; Lee, et al., 2015; Viennet & Pont, 2017). That is, students should be able to freely express their opinions, and get involved in discussions and in decision-making for what impacts their well-being at schools. In many cases, expected learning outcomes of GCED are offset by factors like authoritarian decision-making processes at schools and students' distrust in governments; students easily notice any discrepancy between what they learn and what they experience in real life (Ibrahim, 2005; Osler, 2005; Maitles, 2013).

Creating a more open, safe and democratic school culture requires a school-wide approach and especially the support of school leadership. Otherwise, student participation in a school's governance system is likely to be a specious formality. In one of the examples provided in a study of English schools, a teacher states that "students are consulted about almost everything and then the Head and Senior Management do

what they wanted in the first place" (Keating & Kerr, 2013, p. 11). On the other hand, effective school leaders are capable of creating positive environments for policy implementation. In a case- study on successful multi-ethnic schools considered successful in England, school leaders prioritized the creation of "secure, accepting, collaborating, stimulating community in which everyone is valued," often going through negotiations and confronting resistance (Booth et al. 2000; cited in Bell & Stevenson, 2006, p.145). Therefore, the perception and role of school principals in creating school environments favourable to GCED implementation will be another point of discussion in Chapter 6.

2.4.2 Professional Culture

Echoing the professional context of Ball's contextual dimensions noted earlier, it is generally agreed in the literature that teachers play a key role of constructing how GCED is implemented in schools. Here, the notion of teacher as a curricular-instructional gatekeeper may be particularly useful (Thorton, 1989; Jho, 2006); simply put, any educational policy or activity is transmitted and filtered through the decision-making of teachers, based on their value systems and conceptions of the subject matter. In such recognition of teacher agency, most authors commonly point out the commitment of teachers as one of the main facilitators of GCED implementation. Throughout the international and Korean literature, effective GCED practices are considered heavily reliant on teachers who are highly motivated and committed to engaging their pupils in GCED, even in cases where well-developed curriculum or official aid is not present (Osler,

2005; Schweisfurth, 2006; Gaudelli & Heilman, 2009; Jho & Cho, 2013; Lee, et al., 2015). Such minded teachers often support each other by forming networks and even engaging with teacher education institutions outside of the schools, as has been seen in a number of South Korean cases (Schweisfurth, 2006; Lee, et al., 2015; Pak & Lee, 2018).

On the other hand, outside these exceptional cases highlighted in the previous research, it is more common to observe that teachers may lack competence or confidence in discussing controversial issues, and have limited experiences or training to have an adequate knowledge and or a skill base necessary to apply, for example, the type of transformative and participatory pedagogy relative to GCED (Maitles, 2013; Jho & Cho, 2013; Keating & Kerr, 2013; Bentall et al., 2014; UNESCO, 2015). Even in cases where teachers are interested and motivated in engaging with GCED, the effect of such practices is possibly limited because they can easily stay in their comfort zones and only use familiar content and pedagogies (Rapoport, 2010).

Depending on the particular school culture, some of these teachers also face tension with other colleagues or school administrations that do not have similar understandings of or interest in GCED (Schweisfurth, 2006). In a study of GCED Lead Teachers in South Korea, most of these highly motivated teacher participants reported that GCED is often seen by their colleagues as another time-consuming policy initiative (Pak & Lee, 2018). Relatedly, the support of school leaders again appears to be imperative in facilitating and extending school-based GCED practices by, for example, encouraging their teachers or themselves to innovatively engage with both national and school curriculum (Bentall et al., 2014; Hameed, 2020). Whether teachers and school leaders are supportive of GCED is often dependent on their cosmopolitan dispositions, which in turn rely on their personal

experiences and values. On that note, Chapter 6 will further discuss the professional culture and the collegial tension as well as the individual dimensions based on the accounts of teachers and school principals.

2.4.3 Priority Issues and Socioeconomic Context

Some studies have also pointed out that, even when school administrators and teachers generally have positive attitudes toward GCED, they have to set priorities in which GCED is pushed to the back burner and thus the impact of GCED is often undermined. For example, teachers often report that curriculum is overloaded and exam-oriented, which leaves little room for creative applications of GCED; they also sometimes have to deal with pressures from the anxiety of parents who tend to evaluate a school's performance by exam results (Lee & Leung, 2006; Maitles, 2013). In addition, teachers' general workloads are already so heavy that teachers are reluctant to take up additional tasks (UNESCO, 2014). These issues are also apparent in the South Korean case where academic performance and college entrance are prioritized in schools and thus the school community does not see any need for GCED (Jho & Cho, 2013; also see Chapter 3).

Some previous research suggests that one of the determinants for schools in setting priorities is the socioeconomic context of the school. Goren & Yemini (2017), based on their qualitative research on 15 teachers from 7 Israeli schools, found out that teachers perceived GCED is better suited for students with strong socioeconomic statuses. This finding is further evidenced in the South Korean case as it demonstrates the gap in the implementation of GCED across schools with various socioeconomic backgrounds. For

instance, schools in socioeconomically wealthier areas were more receptive to GCED programmes and activities, as the members of the school communities have relatively higher interests in, as well as better understandings of GCED (Lee et al., 2015; Cho & Mosselson, 2017). This echoes strategic or elite cosmopolitanism discussed in reference to the neoliberal model of global citizenship which emphasizes one's capability of participating in global competitive economy. This perspective inevitably privileges those with better global mobility and socioeconomic capital to develop global competency. On the other hand, their counterparts in under-resourced areas faced perceived resistance from their members because they do not see GCED as a necessity but as "additional burdens" for the students (Cho & Mosselson, 2017, p.10). This rather unfortunate reality hinders GCED opportunities because, as Keating (2016a) notes, global learning activities could have possibly promoted the cosmopolitan dispositions of students regardless of their socioeconomic statuses. In other words, although students in socioeconomically less wealthy areas may stand to potentially benefit the most from GCED, they deliberately reject or are excluded from opportunities for to receive it (Goren & Yemini, 2016; Cho & Mosselson, 2017)

This section has discussed different factors that hinder or promote GCED practices at schools. The next chapter will revisit some of these discussions in light of the particular context of Korea. Furthermore, Chapter 6, which is mainly based on the accounts of school administrators, teachers and students, will be presented to validate or challenge the previous literature. But before concluding this chapter, the next section discusses the research gaps observed in the previous literature and presents the Research Questions formulated to address these gaps.

2.5 Gaps in the literature and relevance of the study

One of the major gaps in the current literature on GCED is the power relations in the discourse. According to Parmenter (2011), “the global literature on GCED is massively dominated by Western, English-speaking states” and the knowledge/ideologies favoured in these societies (p. 369). Therefore, the ideal characteristics of global citizens discussed earlier are largely based on Western notions of globalization, citizenship and education (Evans & Kiwan, 2017). In addition, while the theoretical and conceptual discussions on GCED have notably developed, there has been a relative lack of empirical research which is essential in validating such theories and concepts and in discovering their implications for the real world. Therefore, this research can contribute to the existing literature by providing an empirical study of how these Western-centred concepts and ideas are re-contextualized in a non-Western case.

In recent years, in opposition to the Western-centred premises and the unequal power structure in the GCED discourse and practices, a number of studies has employed a critical theoretical lens for their respective research analyses (for example, Pais & Costa, 2017; Cho & Mosselson, 2017; Pashby, 2018). While this approach has made invaluable contribution to the literature by challenging various assumptions and filling the theoretical gap, it may sometimes be “overly critical” for or too distant from the pedagogical and curricular realities of schools (Marshall, 2011, p. 422). Therefore, I believe that the research based on practical and empirical insights is essential for the literature.

In addition, I would like to emphasize that this study offers a distinctive contribution to the literature by incorporating student-focused empirical data. The literature review in this

chapter suggests that the discussion on the GCED implementation at the school level has mainly focused on the agency of teachers and school leadership. However, the empirical contribution of this study intends to position students as part of the policy (re)interpreter and thus the role of student in GCED practices is another important point of interest. The GCED and policy implementation literature rarely puts students at the center of discussion and students' voices are usually absent. This may reflect how students are generally perceived in the policy process as well as school setting; their capacity to exercise their rights and responsibilities is often undermined (Keating & Kerr, 2013). Often unintentionally, students are portrayed merely as policy subjects who are passive in receiving the information provided by teachers. There is little known about the perspectives of students and "how they conceive, experience and engage in values as they are presented" in GCED (Mason, 2016, p. 83). Once again, I revisit Ball's policy cycle to support my argument that students are "significant policy actors" capable of recontextualizing education policy and programmes (Ball, et al., 2012, p. 14). Ball states that students, along with their teachers, are consumers of policy texts (Ball, et al., 2012). Considering that the GCED literature often emphasizes learner-centred pedagogies (Evans & Kiwan, 2017), the lack of empirical research involving students leaves a significant gap in the literature.

Relatedly, throughout the literature concerning GCED-related policy and practice, studies often had a narrow scope in terms of its empirical case or research participants, focusing on one or a few parts of the policy cycle. This was also the case in the Korean literature on GCED. While the next chapter will investigate the literature specifically focusing on the Korean context, it may be appropriate to briefly point out some of the

main research gaps in the case of Korea here. In Korea, a research interest in GCED has certainly increased in recent years, yet much of the empirical research has been 1) focusing on either national-level curriculum/policies/discourse, 2) based on case studies of particular school-level programmes and/or 3) targeting a particular type of practitioners, mostly school teachers (for example, Jho & Cho, 2013; So et al., 2014; Lee et al., 2015; Schattle, 2015; Pak & Lee, 2018; Choi & Kim, 2018). Therefore, considering the local education authority (i.e. Metropolitan and Provincial Offices of Education) and schools have been given increasing autonomy in making and implementing educational policies and programmes in the past decades, this research can provide a novel contribution to the literature by providing a more comprehensive and holistic analysis involving different policy levels and stakeholders (i.e. regional policy administrators, school leaders, teachers and students).

In efforts to address these literature gaps mentioned above, the main research question of the study asks how GCED is conceptualized and practiced in a case of specific regional policy in Korea. As mentioned in Chapter 1, this question intends to explore different perceptions, attitudes and practices towards GCED both at the policymaking and school levels, and thus identify hindering and facilitating factors for GCED implementation. More specifically, I have formulated four Research Questions as follows in light of the previous discussion:

(1) Why did the Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education (SMOE) introduce GCED as a key policy area?

(2) How is GCED conceptualized in the policy?

(3) How are global citizenship and GCED perceived and practiced by different policy implementers at the school level (i.e. school leaders, teachers and students)?

(4) What are the professional and external contextual factors that influence implementers' perceptions and practices?

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has presented an overview of three collections of the previous literature – 1) global citizenship and GCED, 2) the education policy process, and 3) school-level implementations of GCED – that are relevant to my research project; and has discussed how they inform the study. Furthermore, it has identified the research gaps in the literature, and finally, presented the Research Questions formulated in response to these gaps. By answering these Research Questions, I intend to deepen the understanding on the politics of policy formulation and implementation, as well as on the policy recontextualization by school practitioners, in the context of GCED. This process will also substantiate my argument that GCED in policy and practice can negotiate or should at least aim at mediating tensions among different models of global citizenship and desired global citizens. On that note, the next chapter will provide an overview of the contextual settings of the study, highlighting the social, economic and political backgrounds in Korea as well as the country's education system. This knowledge will then inform how specific GCED policy and practice discussed in the empirical chapters are situated.

Chapter Three: South Korea and GCED in Context

3.1 Introduction

In June 2018, while I was in the midst of conducting the fieldwork for this study in Seoul, the major media headlines were fully occupied with featuring the so-called “Jeju Yemeni refugee incident” – more than 500 refugees from Yemen arrived in Jeju Island, a popular tourist destination off the Southern coast of Korea, and applied for asylum (Ock, 2019). This was an unprecedented event for Korea that a large number of refugees with little cultural and ethnic affinity entered the country in such a short period of time. The public reaction to the refugees was dramatically divided; on one side, a number of demonstrations against the refugees took place across major cities in Korea. These protesters claimed that the Yemeni refugees are exploiting loopholes in Korean refugee laws and demanded full-scale reviews and revisions of any refugee-related legislations. They also raised concerns about potential security threats posed by what they call “fake” and mostly male refugees, channeling popular anti-Islamic sentiment (Ock, 2019). Anti-immigrant protesters appeared to have considerable appeal in public support as a record number of over 700,000 petitions opposing the asylum-seekers were submitted via the presidential office’s website (Haas, 2018). On the other side, although seemingly less visible in comparison, rights groups and progressive intellectuals voiced their concerns about anti-refugee rhetoric. They argued that Koreans also have a historical reminiscence of being war refugees and that the government should uphold its international commitment to providing humanitarian aid to those in need (Kim & Lee, 2019). While this incident was in nature closely associated with a number of topics prevalent in global

citizenship literature (e.g. global social justice, national and ethnic identities, multiculturalism, etc.), it also revealed an imperative need for GCED that can help challenge the cultural and ethnic intolerance and exclusivism that can be considered deeply rooted in Korean society.

Korea makes an interesting case for the study of global citizenship education for several reasons. First, as discussed in the previous chapter, global citizenship or GCED has been a heavily Western/anglophone-centred field. Parmenter's (2011) literature-mapping exercise involving 250 academic articles on GCED showed that 85% of the authors were based in the USA, UK, Australia and Canada. While the case studies of these English-speaking Western countries dominate existing literature on the subject, the Korean case is expected to provide some new perspectives. Second, Korea has experienced a dramatic shift in its national discourse on citizenship education over the past three decades. As we shall see in the next section, citizenship education in Korea has historically been based on the notion of a homogenous state; however, rapid globalization since the 1990s has resulted in a sharp increase in the number of foreign migrants and thus ethnic/cultural diversification now poses challenges to this assumption of national homogeneity. In other words, Korea has faced a need to redefine who belongs (or does not belong) in its society. Third, in line with the aforementioned transformation, the Korean government formally introduced a global model of citizenship education to its education system in the 1990s, and the country has become one of the leading countries in regard to active state support of GCED on the international scene today. Therefore, how the state-led GCED policy influences and interacts with regional-level policy and school practice is also of interest in this study.

As this study assumes that the conceptualization and practice of GCED at both policy and school levels are informed by their respective contexts, it is important to understand the political, social and economic aspects of Korea. Therefore, this chapter will first provide a brief historical overview of modern South Korea, highlighting its nation-building process and education policy priorities which relate to the development of its citizenship education. The next section (3.3) will then discuss existing research on the implementation of GCED in the context of national and regional policies as well as in school and classroom settings.

3.2 Nation-building, Citizenship, and Education in South Korea

As discussed in Chapter 2, citizenship has traditionally been characterized as an attribute associated with a nation, and citizenship education is considered to have played a critical role in promoting national development. Therefore, brief historical overviews on the nation-building (Lim, 1999) process and the formation of national identity in Korea will be useful for understanding the current state of development in its citizenship education. The modern (South) Korean history that has led to the current statuses of citizenship and education traces back to the Japanese Occupation period (1910-1945). During this period, Imperial Japan administered a highly centralized, direct and intensive rule over its colony (Seth, 2010). While the overall legacy of this colonial period in the social, political and economic developments of Korea continues to be furiously debated amongst scholars by all sides (See, for example, Haggard, et al., 1997; Kohli, 1997; Lim, 1999), it is certain that Japanese colonial rule reshaped almost every aspect of Korean society.

Social, economic, and political developments that eventually led to the transformation of Korea into an economically strong state rapidly occurred largely due to Western notions of modernization introduced by the Japanese. During this period, as access to education was largely limited, the general population became increasingly frustrated with the growing gap in educational advancement. This sentiment eventually fed into a strong social desire for institutional education; therefore, the so-called “Education Fever,” or the popular zeal for education among Koreans, was partly shaped during the Japanese occupation period and now continues to influence present-day society (Seth, 2012).

The Korean people gained independence from Japan in 1945, after Japan’s surrender to the US in World War II. However, seeking postwar spheres of influence in the region, the US and the Soviet Union continued to play decisive roles, which led to the peninsula being divided into two Koreas (Seth, 2010). In the South, the United States Army Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK) was set up and implemented a trusteeship under a Military Governor from the US. With the absence of a concrete policy prepared by the US, Korea was again faced with social, economic and political confusion until American-educated, anti-Communist Syngman Rhee was elected 1948 as the first president of the new Republic of Korea (South Korea) (Kim, 1988). Nonetheless, as Kim (1988) sums up:

> [the American Military Government] provided a stabilizing force during the difficult days of transition from Japanese colonial rule to independence. It also helped to establish important elements of democratic thought and procedure theretofore unknown in Korea (p. 80).

The US military government in Korea during the post-colonial period may also be credited for progressive advancement in the field of education, as it introduced universal primary education and provided the core structure of a national education system (Kim, 1988; National Archives of Korea, 2017). During this post-liberation period, students who had

long desired access to institutional education poured into schools at a rate rarely seen in other developing countries (Seth, 2012); the enrollment rate in secondary schools doubled between 1945-1947 (Paik, 2001).

Since the division of the Korean Peninsula after World War II, the two Koreas experienced intensifying political and ideological tensions. As a result, the Korean War (1950-1953) kicked off following North Korea's full-scale invasion of South Korea on June 25, 1950. This is arguably the most tragic event in modern Korean history as the war left a deep ideological split and consolidated separate systems of government between the two countries (Seth, 2010). In addition to devastating human and physical losses (Koh, 1993; Paik, 2001), the War also created fundamental changes in the power structure of and political socialization in South Korea. During the war, the military, or the Republic of Korea Armed Forces, expanded six-fold and emerged as the country's largest and most powerful institution. Subsequently, the military would dominate the country for nearly three decades in the post-armistice era, despite efforts made by the civilian government during the immediate post-war period to keep the military under control (Koh, 1993). Furthermore, South Koreans were deeply penetrated with anti-communist sentiment, often based on personal accounts of war tragedy. Successive governments and administrations, especially the military regimes, skillfully manipulated such sentiments to legitimize and consolidate their powers (Koh, 1993).

Despite the turmoil during and after the war, various actors continued the foundational efforts for constructing the national education system. Following the armistice, one of the first and most vigorous policies undertaken by the newly formed South Korean government was to push compulsory elementary education. As a result, by 1959, the

attendance rate for primary-school-aged children reached 96%, a standard comparable to developed countries (So, et al., 2012). Another important step forward in this era was the introduction of the first national curriculum in 1954. Since then, a standardized and government-regulated curriculum has been enforced nationwide. Like in many other countries, the South Korean national curriculum has gone beyond being the aggregation of subjects taught in schools, to playing an important role in creating and imposing national identity (So, et al., 2012).

In the midst of the post-war chaos and the struggle to rebuild a war-torn nation, South Korea underwent a long-lasting period of several military regimes (1961-1987), which was then followed by a democratic transition (1987) driven by domestic grassroots movements and international pressure (Seth, 2012). From the 1960s to the early 1990s, the most significant change occurred in the rapid economic development, first under the macroeconomic planning of the authoritarian military governments, and later by a more open market economy supported by civilian governments (Kim, 2002). Growth was further accelerated following the Asian Financial Crisis in 1997-1998, when South Korea underwent its worst economic downfall since the Korean War – the country was essentially forced to open trade and to the intake of foreign capital to avoid monetary collapse, leading to the creation of a more flexible labour market in the 2000s (Paik, 2001).

These significant economic changes have brought about significant societal changes to South Korea in the form of globalization. Ethnic diversification has become major issues for the country in the 21st century. Previously regarded as an ethnically homogeneous country, South Korea has witnessed fast demographic changes since the 1990s, mainly from migrant workers arriving largely from China and Southeast Asia, as

well as via international marriages (Moon, 2010). A precursor to these increases can be seen in the Kim Young Sam administration's proclamation of globalization as a major state policy back in 1993-1998 (Moon, 2013). Furthermore, terms like "multiculturalism" and "multicultural society" have become prevalent in the public discourse, reflecting a country in transition to better attempt including different ethnic groups and cultures (Hong, 2010). However, despite such changes, Moon (2013) argues that Korean ethnic nationalism is still the prevailing discourse in Korea today, partially because its globalization initiatives often regarded globalization as a means for economic development and promoted "national unity and 'Koreanized' globalization" (Moon, 2013, p. 428).

Following the inauguration of a civil government in the late 1980s, the South Korean education system also went through a series of reforms and the government revised the Education Law to "realize the constitutional ideals aiming at the education system of a liberal democracy" (Framework Act on Education, 1997). When Korea experienced the economic crisis in the late 1990s, education was again targeted for further reforms. As an emphasis on quantitative expansion rather than the quality of economic growth was pointed out to be one of the reasons behind the economic crisis, the demand for a quality workforce emerged (Kim, 2002). In addition, the rapid globalization and multiculturalization that have been occurring since the 1990s further highlighted the need for education reform. Accordingly, education policy began to place an increasing emphasis on cultivating competent human resources, especially in the global context. To carry out and facilitate the new policies, South Korea discovered a need for teachers qualified to drive these changes; for example, one of the more recent capacity-building

efforts introduced in this regard was to introduce a new teacher evaluation system in 2011 which calls for peer reviews and student and parent surveys (Yoo, 2018).

In more recent years, a series of political turmoil has reinstated active citizenship and grassroot democracy in Korea and has transformed the context of citizenship education. In March 2017, the impeachment of President Park Geun-Hye was ordered by the Constitutional Court of Korea, following months of massive and peaceful “candlelight protests” against what was considered by some as abuse of presidential authority (Kim, 2017). This historical event revived the legacy of the historical democratic movements that eventually brought down the authoritarian military regime exactly 30 years prior. The successive administration headed by Moon Jae-In, a former human rights lawyer and activist, started off with expectations to empower civil society and to focus on human rights issues that had often been neglected by more conservative administrations in the past.

The Moon administration marked another crucial milestone in 2018 when the leaders of the two Koreas met and jointly declared that they would sign a peace treaty. Moon’s pro-engagement policy towards North Korea and the inter-Korea summits that occurred during his tenure dramatically advanced a more amiable relationship between the two Koreas that have technically been at war for almost 70 years. However, North-South relations turned for the worse in 2020 and tensions reached a high point when North Korea demolished an inter-Korea liaison office in response to propaganda fliers launched across the border by North Korean defectors in South Korea (Sung, 2020). Since relations with North Korea have consistently influenced public discourse on how to define and promote national identity and liberal democracy, such shifts inevitably had impacts on the

directions of education policy and school education. While the implications of transforming sociopolitical contexts on citizenship education will be discussed more later in this section, the empirical findings of Chapter 5 and 6 will also examine how GCED engages in current political affairs in the context of policy and school practices.

3.2.1 The structure of the contemporary education system

The current structure of the Korean education system has mostly been laid out in the Education Act of 1949. The “single ladder” school system comprises six years of elementary school, three years of middle school, three years of high school (general or vocational), and four years of university/college or two years of junior college (So, et al., 2012; Kim, 2002). In general, students start elementary school at the age of six, but parents can choose to enroll their children at the age of five or seven (Yang & Choi, 2006). The first nine years of elementary and middle school are compulsory and free education, and the completion rates reached 100% for middle school and high school by 1980 and 2000 respectively. Meanwhile, according to the latest statistics by OECD, in 2019, the enrolment rate of 19 and 20 year-olds in Korea is 73 and 70 percent

respectively, which is one of the highest among OECD countries (OECD, 2021). This indicates that most high school graduates choose to enter universities or colleges.

Historically, the Korean education system has been highly centralized, as seen in the single, standardized national curriculum and universal textbooks. However, with the birth of democratic government, a series of education and curriculum reforms began to deviate from such a centralized system in early 1990s. These reforms, for example, introduced

“optional activities,” which are extracurricular activities organized by schools, and the latter again directed to give more autonomy to individual schools (So & Kang, 2014; Moon & Koo, 2011) while allowing schools to increase or decrease 20% of class hours and gave teachers more room to design their own curriculum (So & Kang, 2014). Individual schools have also been allowed to choose from government-authorized, privately published textbooks for some of the compulsory and elective subjects (Moon, 2013).

Kim (2002) points out two distinctive characteristics of Korean education: The egalitarian ideal and the zeal for education. These features are relevant to both quantitative and qualitative improvements of education in the past century. In 2020, the share of the populations with at least a secondary education and a completion of tertiary education for young adults (25 to 34) was 98% and 69.3% respectively, the highest among the OECD countries (OECD, 2021). On the qualitative perspectives, Korean students have consistently achieved high results in international assessments such as OECD’s Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) and the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) in recent years. South Korea has been one of the top-performing countries in PISA since its first assessment in 2000 and the proportion of high-performing students is increasing; South Korea was the highest performing country in the 2009 PISA and ranked fifth among OECD countries in the most recent 2018 PISA (OECD, 2010 & 2019).

Teacher quality has been often pointed out as one of the main reasons for high educational achievement seen in Korea (Min, 2021). As the education system rapidly expanded in the 1960s to 70s, South Korea faced a general shortage of teachers, while the teachers themselves had limited higher education experiences; therefore, the

government imposed national policy measures to cultivate and support qualified teachers, including the establishment of 4-year colleges and universities focusing on teacher education (Sorensen, 1994; NCEE, 2021). In 1991, the Special Act on the Improvement of Teachers' Status was enacted to "promote the development of education by treating teachers with honor, giving better treatment to teachers and consolidating the guarantee of their status" (Special Act on the Improvement of Teachers' Status 1991, Article 1). This legislation guaranteed the job stability and offered "specially preferred" salaries. As a result, in the present day, teaching in the public education system is considered a highly attractive career with one of the highest salaries among OCED countries, and the teacher education colleges and programmes are comprised of applicants with top-10-percent academic records (Coolahan, et al., 2004; Min, 2021).

However, despite the increase in access to education and qualitative improvements, expressions such as "education in crisis" or "school collapse" have been commonly used by Korean commentators to describe the education system in South Korea (Kim, 2003). So and Kang (2014) point out three challenges that the current education system in South Korea faces: A low level of student interest in academic learning; a declining index of student happiness; and a prescribed national curriculum that leaves little room for teacher interpretation and autonomy. Furthermore, as one's academic achievement is considered to be directly linked to one's social success, society has largely become fixated with the competitive education system and College Scholastic Ability Test (CSAT), or national college entrance exam, which has long been a key determining factor for college admission (Sorensen, 1994; Coolahan, et al., 2004; Lee, 2017; Lee, 2017).

This increasing obsession with education has also led to the extensive expansion of shadow education, or supplementary private tutoring outside the formal education system that is often illustrated by images of students studying late at night in *hagwons* or cram schools (Lee, et al., 2010; Choi & Park, 2016). Shadow education has been one of the most contentious issues in Korean education policy. According to official statistics from 2021, 75.5% of primary and secondary school students participate in shadow education and have spent on average 7 hours per week engaged in private tutoring outside schools (Statistics Korea, 2022). One of the main concerns regarding this high demand for shadow education is that it exacerbates educational inequality; high income families spend five times more on private tutoring expenses than low-income families (Statistics Korea, 2022). It also has significant implications on school education, considering the extent that it impacts teacher practices and student engagement; for example, teachers may have difficulty addressing the widening academic gap between their pupils while students may find school education redundant and irrelevant (Lee, et al., 2010).

Partly in response to the concerns mentioned above, the national curriculum and the education system in general have been making ongoing attempts to deviate from a test-driven, competition-oriented education, as well as allowing some level of decentralization in education and school administration. While the next sub-section (3.2.2) will examine the government's policy responses to the aforementioned issues more in detail, Chapter 6 will discuss the implications of these challenges in the context of school-level practices of GCED.

3.2.2 Policy priorities and trends in education

An OECD report once included the remark that “one of the most striking features of Korean society is the extremely high profile of education as an issue of public interest” (Coolahan, et al., 2004). Indeed, education is such a social preoccupation so that education policy is not only pressured to address any emerging public issues but also subject to often fierce public scrutiny. This sub-section therefore discusses how education policy priorities and trends have evolved in accordance with economic, political, and social changes in South Korea. This discussion also informs the development of citizenship education, which is the focus of the next sub-section (3.2.3).

There are mainly two executive entities overseeing education policy in South Korea: The Ministry of Education (MOE) (national level) and the Metropolitan and Provincial Education Offices (MPOEs) (regional level). Both institutions have distinctive and overlapping roles which demand cooperation but also cause conflict between them. The MOE is responsible for the overall education policy from primary and secondary education to tertiary, vocational and lifelong education. It also funds and works in collaboration with various research institutes that specialize in specific policy areas: For instance, the Korea Education Development Institute (KEDI), the Korea Institute of Curriculum and Evaluation (KICE), the Korean Research Institute for Vocational Education and Training (KRIVET); the Korea Institute of Child Care and Education (KICCE); the Korean Education and Research Information Service (KERIS). Not surprisingly, these research institutes have increasingly been active and visible in the research and literature on GCED in the past decade.

One of the main issues in the discussion on education policy process in South Korea is the distribution of authority and responsibility between the central government (i.e. MOE) and regional Education Offices. In the past, national education policies were transmitted to the regional government levels, which is where the MPOEs played a subordinate role of transmitters or intermediaries of the policy directives. The administrative structure of education was strictly hierarchical and linear, and so policy decisions were largely conveyed top down – i.e. from MOE to MPOEs, and again from MPOEs to schools (Cha, 2016; Y. Kim, 2020). And since a significant portion of the regional Education Offices' annual budgets come from MOE, the former is still inevitably dependent on the latter to a certain extent. However, especially since the inauguration of a democratic government at the end of 1980s, regional autonomy and decentralization emerged as key aspects of national reform including the education policy arena (Kim, 2020).

Following a long series of gradual changes, it is generally considered that the introduction of direct elections for the regional Superintendent of Education in 2010 marks the beginning of a substantive decentralization of the educational administrative system in Korea (Cha, 2016; M. Kim, 2018). Furthermore, the Moon Jae-In administration (2017-2022) pushed for the delegation of decision-making authority on early childhood, elementary and secondary education to the respective regional Education Offices as one of its key National Policy Tasks. Therefore, while the National Curriculum developed and monitored by MOE has continued to provide the foundational framework and set boundaries for formal education, the regional Education Offices and schools are encouraged to develop their own curricula that can meet the needs of the respective

communities (Ministry of Education, 2021). In addition, the Education Offices have increasingly funded particular local initiatives without any grants from MOE for promoting regional-specific projects. This has been the case of Seoul's GCED policy and Chapter 5 will discuss the dynamics of regional-led policies in greater detail. More recently, President Moon Jae-In's election pledge stated that his administration would:

> reorganize the administrative functions to transfer authorities related to primary and secondary education to the Metropolitan and Provincial Education Offices and to individual schools while MOE would focus on tertiary, lifelong and vocational education (The Minjoo Party of Korea, 2017, p. 221).

Despite criticism today that this pledge has not been fully delivered, the overall trend of decentralization in the education system is acknowledged to be targeting not only regional education autonomy but also decision-making autonomy of among the individual schools.

I have identified that there are mainly three factors – i.e., economic, political and social – contributing to the emergence of new education policies and shifts in policy priorities. First, national economic and educational policies have been developing hand in hand. Education has been recognized as a key driver to South Korea's economic growth – growing from one of the poorest countries in the world to an advanced industrial country (Jeong & Armer, 1994). Indeed, education policies have been designed to cultivate the very human resources that would eventually fulfill the economic and industrial needs of each respective period. Kim (2002) illustrates the shift of policy priorities for economy and education between 1960s and 2000s as follows:

<Table 3-1: Policy foci for economy and education>

Period	Economy	Education
1960s – mid-1970s	- Early 1960s: From import substitution to export driven, light labour intensive - Selective strategic industries in 1970s: export-acceleration, heavy and chemical industries	- Expansion/upgrading of primary & lower secondary education - Emphasis on TVET (Workforce Planning*)
Mid-1970s – 1980s	- Structural adjustments from late 1970s: steel, shipbuilding, etc. - From imitation to innovation in 1980s: electronic industry	- Expansion/upgrading of upper secondary education - Expansion of tertiary education - Strengthening of TVET
1990s – present	- Enhancing national competitiveness in early 1990s - Knowledge-based economy from mid-1990s	- Quality enhancement for K-12 - Public investment in higher education (e.g. Brain Korea 21*) - Lifelong Learning

*Note: Workforce Planning was employed until late 1970s as a tool to link education and training, and the labour market. Brain Korea 21 (BK 21) introduced in 1999 is a government competitive/performance funding scheme (1.2 billion USD for seven years) to stimulate R&D Training in information technology, biotechnology and other cutting-edge technology areas.

(Source: Kim, 2002, p.31)

As displayed above, the development of national education policy was largely sequenced to shift its focus from primary to secondary and then from secondary to tertiary education. This was to meet the quantitative and qualitative demands of the labour market and the key industrial sectors of the times. Kim (2002) adds that “vocational education was not as emphasized as general education until the skill level of the workforce increased” (p.39).

Second, education policy in South Korea has tended to shift in accordance with whichever political orientation the incumbent administration leans towards. Especially since the transition to a democratic government in late 1980s, South Korean politics have

been mainly dominated by two political positions – conservative and progressive. Over the course of seven presidential elections that have since occurred, the country has seen a decade of conservative administrations (Roh Tae-Woo, 1987-1992; Kim Young-Sam, 1992-1997); followed by another decade of progressive administrations (Kim Dae-Jung, 1997-2002; Roh Moo-Hyun, 2002-2007); and then again taken over by conservative presidents (Lee Myung-Bak, 2007-2012; Park Geun-Hye, 2012-2017). This pattern of political transition seen every two administrations has continued in one of the most recent presidential elections as well – the progressive Moon Jae-In administration took office in 2017. And though conservative and progressive administrations have so far historically shared some overlapping philosophies and objectives in education, they have also focused on different policy priorities based on their respective political ideologies. The conservative governments have typically emphasized autonomy and competition in education. For example, the Lee administration (2007-2012) presented the slogan of 'Autonomous Diversified Education System' to advocate for items such as the expansion of evaluation on academic achievement, the disclosure of regional and school grades, the diversification of school choices, and a teacher evaluation system (Yoon, 2014). On the other hand, progressive administrations have supported standardization and equality in education; they have commonly stressed education welfare that aims to provide equal educational opportunities (Lee & Kim, 2010; Yoon, 2014). In line with this position, the current Moon administration's most controversial education policy has been the abolition of elite private high schools (Lee, 2017).

Finally, some critical social events and issues have led to the emergence of or a re-emphasis on particular education policies and programmes. One of the most notable

examples in recent history is the promotion of character education. In 2011, a middle school student from Daegu, a major city in southwestern South Korea, committed suicide after being bullied by two classmates. This incident presented a severe shock to the Korean society and reignited nation-wide debates on not only the issue of school violence but also the education system as a whole (Lee, 2015). Subsequently, character education emerged as a policy response from the government, arguing that the prevalence of knowledge- and competition-centred education had weakened the development of good character among children and youth (Park, 2017; to be discussed further in Section 3.2.3.1). Another example is the institutionalization of safety education following the ferry-sinking disaster which led to the deaths of 250 high school students during a school trip in 2014 (Yu, 2016). More recently, the Me Too movement against sexual abuse and harassment has also sparked the public's attention towards gender education (Gang, 2022). In all the cases stated above, the government's policy response was accompanied by the introductions of or revisions to legislations which make the corresponding education points mandatory in schools.

3.2.3 Development of citizenship education

According to Reid et al. (2010), the study of civic and citizenship education of any society should examine the evolving factors including state, education, citizenship and democracy at the macro-level, as well as the curriculum-in-practice at the micro-level. Like in any other societies, in Korea, the notion of state and citizenship have changed over time according to the different priorities of different governments, and such transformation was reflected in the respective education policies. Citizenship education

in Korea has historically evolved around its nation-building process, which is largely based on the formation of national identity (So, et al., 2014); So et al. (2012) point out that “Korea’s national identity has developed through conflicts between the traditional values of the past and the newly accepted values of the present” (p. 798).

In terms of the traditional value, Confucianism, a legacy of pre-modern Korea, is still relevant and influential in Korean society today. Especially in the context of citizenship education, the Confucian value of “harmony,” which asserts the harmonious relationship between an individual and the others/community/state/universe, provides a basis for Korean identity (Jho & Cho, 2013). Some scholars have pointed out, however, that the strong Confucian tradition sometimes negates the more liberal notions of multiculturalism that have been increasing in Korean society in recent decades, and also contributes to the culture of authoritarianism, nepotism and male-centred practices (Moon, 2013; Jho & Cho, 2013).

On the other hand, new sets of values have historically entered Korean society in the past. For example, following the end of the Japanese occupation period, the US government was a key actor committed to nation-building in South Korea, which had been left with deep economic and political troubles. Modern citizenship education started in earnest with the introduction of “Social Studies” and the ideals of western (especially American) liberal democracy under the US military government (Jho & Cho, 2013). The US government as well as American private and religious organizations were keen to promote ideals and values that would facilitate liberal democratic nation-building; they shared the common objective “to instill in Korean youths a civic-mindedness that would prepare them to participate in a democratic society” (Brazinsky, 2007, p. 189).

However, since Korea instituted universal education by the late 1950s, military governments were able to mobilize schools and curriculum to implement military and ideological training among students that was counter to the US approach to citizenship. Under the military regime, citizenship education, or more precisely civic education, has permeated the education system, mostly in the framework of (National) Ethics. It emphasized the nation above individuals for political purposes as well as for the country's defense (Choi, 2010), while promoting anti-communist and autonomist ideologies towards the formation of national identity during this period (So, et al., 2012). In the meantime, the concept of democracy was often distorted to emphasize loyalty and duty to the state rather than human rights and other democratic values (Seth, 2012). A universal and centralized education system enabled the state to easily convey a national ideological training; but ironically, it also contributed to revealing the contradiction between the reality of an authoritarian regime and liberal democratic values to students, teachers and the general public, who came to play a central role in the democratization process (Seth, 2012).

Civilian governments since the late 1980s quickly abandoned anti-communist and authoritarian styles of citizenship education and revised the national curriculum again to promote liberal democratic citizenship. There is no official subject for citizenship education, but Social Studies and Ethics have been the core subjects through which citizenship education has been delivered in the national curriculum (Park, 2017). In 1993, the newly revised Social Studies curriculum aimed at promoting "democratic values and attitudes" in students to encourage their "participation in society." The curriculum was modified again in 1997; its mission statements included "understanding civil rights and

duties," "cultivating decision making and reasoning skills," "being interested in and actively participating social issues," "respecting human values and Korean tradition," and "building up open-minded and a global view suitable for a global society" (Choi, 2010, p. 175). This movement was further accelerated by the active participation of civil society in revising education policies. NGOs formed by teachers and parents at both local and national levels pushed for the modification of the national curriculum in which its contents would comply with the norms of a democratic society (Seth, 2012). One related example is the institutionalization of human rights education, a central theme to democratic citizenship education. Although these shifts in education policy were installed by strong popular demand and backed by vigorous government support, that does not mean the process was fully serene and effective. Attempting to teach democratic citizenry following decades of authoritarian legacy was challenging; in particular, Korea had a low level of human rights awareness especially prior to 1990s as the national priority was more focused on sustaining the military regime's authority and on economic development (Sung, 2010). So et al. (2012) point out that the national curriculum reform process in the 1990s was often undermined by "co-existing and contradictory Confucian, pragmatic, autonomist, anti-communist, and democratic values, throwing the Korean identity into confusion" (p.800).

The IEA International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) provides valuable information on the current status of citizenship education in South Korea. This study, which aims to explore "student value beliefs, attitudes, behaviors and behavioral intentions relating to aspects of civics and citizenship" (Schulz, et al., 2016, p. 1), was administered in 2009 and 2016. Notable findings include that South Korea's student test

scores on civic knowledge ranked third among 38 participating countries, while the level of students' participation in civic activities was among the lowest in the 2009 study (Schulz, et al., 2010; Kim, 2010). Such results may have indicated the concentration on developing traditional knowledge-based citizenship learning over an active and democratic citizenship. Overall, the scores of both civic knowledge and engagement improved in the 2016 study; in particular, the score differences in students' participation in civic activities at school between 2009 and 2016 were among the highest. This result may signal that the Korean school system has gradually shifted to be more open to student participation (Jang, 2017).

3.2.3.1 Citizenship education and character education: collaborative but also competing

In Korea, education for civic virtues and good citizenship have been linked to the moral and social developments of individuals for the sake of social security and stability. Therefore, when youth problems such as high suicide rates, increasing episodes of school violence and the lowest level of happiness among OCED countries persisted, schools became an easy target to blame for the failure to cultivate personal qualities such as integrity, social responsibility and respectfulness (Park, 2017). One of the government's policy responses was to legally impose character education in the formal education system. Consequently, citizenship education and character education, both defined as cross-curricular subjects, have demonstrated collaborative but also competing relationships within school education.

Notably in the context of western democracies, character education and citizenship education have been described as two different and often contested domains. According to Davies et al. (2017), in general and very broadly, ‘citizenship’ is more emphasized in Europe whereas ‘character’ is more commonly promoted in North America and East Asia. In any case, education for both citizenship and character has expanded in focus and emphasis in curriculum and school practices. Some scholars have argued that character education can contribute to the development of values and attitudes that are essential in citizenship education (Sim & Low, 2012; Davies, et al., 2017). They view character education and citizenship education as complementary endeavours and that the development of individual traits emphasized by character education (e.g. honesty, compassion, open-mindedness, etc.) are required for the political engagement of pupils (Peterson, 2020). On the other hand, those critical of character education suggest that it can be counterproductive to the development of active citizenship. For example, Kisby (2017) points out that:

> the focus of character education is on personal ethics rather than public ethics, and with addressing important moral or political issues at the level of the individual rather than at any other level (p.8).

These criticisms often consider character education as being a means-to-an-end and instrumental and argue that its behaviourist view of human nature assumes “children are not naturally moral but must be explicitly taught morality” (Bull & Allen, 2018, p. 393). Davis (2003) notes that some versions of character education may even be morally wrong, citing as an example the making of volunteer hours a requirement for high school graduation because it simply results in forced volunteering.

In Korea, while there have been some scholarly efforts to refine the conceptual and theoretical distinctions between character education and citizenship education (e.g. Jeong, 2010; Yoon, 2019), policymakers and practitioners seem to consider the two domains to be much more closely related. Several Korean sources including policy research papers and newspaper articles even explicitly state that they are, in essence, the same (Han, 2012; Yoon, 2019). Nonetheless, the different political roots of citizenship education and character education have been a major source of confusion and contest. As mentioned earlier, character education is largely considered a policy initiative by a conservative government in reaction to a persistent rise in youth problems (Yoo, 2016). Since then, the effectiveness of character education has continued to be a point of public and policy discussions. One of the main criticisms is that the relevant laws and policies may have increased the quantity of character education, but this does not guarantee its qualitative improvement; for example, schools sometimes carry out character education in vague forms simply to meet the imposed requirement (Yoo, 2016). A similar pattern was also observed in my empirical data in the context of GCED (see Chapter 6). In addition, some have also questioned the political intention behind this top-down provision; Park (2017) argues that, by promoting character education, the conservative government may have indicated a preference for “citizens who have good character but who lack critical thinking skills and active participation to keep society in order” (p.26). That is, a person with ‘good character’ as defined by the conservative government is a moral yet passive and obedient citizen who is somewhat distant from having the social and political qualities that are emphasized by democratic citizenship education.

Following the transition to the progressive administration in 2017, democratic citizenship education from the view of progressive political background has resurged. Since then, democratic citizenship education and character education have been infused in policy and school practices. In 2017, MOE under the newly inaugurated administration abolished the Character, Physical and Arts Education Division and created the Democratic Citizenship Education Division. However, the description of the newly created division stated on the MOE website indicates that its responsibilities are directly inherited from the very division it had replaced (Ministry of Education, n.d.). An MOE officer who was previously in charge of character education explained in a newspaper interview:

> The frame is different. No matter what the name is, the educational content is the same at schools. Because a good citizen and moral character have an inseparable relationship. But a problem exists in the framing that 'character education = conservative' and 'democratic citizenship education = progressive,' which has been built by the policy makers (Yun, 2018).

This remark demonstrates a lack of critical engagement in defining and conceptualizing 'character' and 'citizenship' at a policy level, while presenting an example of how political contestation can lead to seemingly unnecessary policy distractions. The confusion and ambiguity at the policy level have directly impacted school practices. Lee et al. (2019) explain that the 2015 Revised National Curriculum indicates Social Studies as a subject for citizenship education and Ethics for character education. School practitioners, however, have generally perceived that the two domains have little distinction, and their seemingly redundant contents add to students experiencing an overall sense of fatigue (Lee, et al., 2019).

3.2.3.2 Globalization and multiculturalism

Another notable factor that has influenced the dynamics of citizenship education in South Korea is rapid ethnic and cultural diversification experienced during globalization seen in the 1990s. While scholars note that Korean ethnic nationalism has been persistently strong in various state-led policies, some important changes have been made in the formal education system and to the national curriculum in particular to embrace globalization and multiculturalism (Moon, 2013). For instance, through their content analysis of the South Korean national curriculum documents since 1995, So et al. (2014) have summarised five distinctive elements that the national curricula have newly emphasized to integrate cosmopolitanism: 1) Cosmopolitan values as national curricular objectives; 2) foreign language education; 3) cultural diversity; 4) education for sustainable development; and 5) human rights education. These changes in curriculum have also had a direct impact on textbooks. While in the past, South Korean society had been portrayed as being racially and ethnically homogenous in textbooks, they started to recognize the increasing diversity in society, and more recently they address social equality issues among diverse groups (Moon, 2013; Jho & Cho, 2013). This movement was accelerated by official textbook reform undertaken by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology in 2007 to “remove the words from the textbook, which have connotations of superiority of a single race and homogeneous cultural tradition” (Olneck, 2011, p. 675).

In line with this transformation, the South Korean government formally introduced a more global type of citizenship education to its education system in the 1990s (Moon & Koo, 2011). The study of national curricula and textbooks between the 4th (1981) and 8th

revisions (2007) reveals that the appearance of global citizenship themes (i.e. globalism, environment, human rights) increased consistently during the 1990s and more dramatically in the 2000s while national citizenship themes (i.e. nation, family and tradition, responsibilities, unification, democracy, rights) are mentioned less frequently over time (Moon & Koo, 2011). This shift can be explained by a number of challenges that South Korea has been facing since the 1990s. In addition to the aforementioned social structural changes due to globalization and multiculturalization, increasing diplomatic conflicts with North Korea and other neighbouring countries, have also prompted the need for introducing a new type of citizenship education that can foster students capable of actively addressing such challenges (Jho & Cho, 2013; Han, et al., 2015).

Prior to the nation-wide policy support for GCED, multicultural education was the most prominent precedent that deliberately explored notions of citizenship beyond the nation-state and Korean ethnicity. According to K. Kim (2017), since the MOE first implemented a multicultural education support policy in 2006, its scale and budget continued to expand for a decade. On the academic front, the Korean Association for Multicultural Education (KAME), founded in 2008, has also grown significantly and has strong links with renowned scholars such as James Banks, who also acts as an editorial board member for KAME's international journal of Multicultural Education Review. However, the scope of multicultural education policy was very limited in the sense that it was clearly aimed at benefiting pupils from multicultural backgrounds, which is significantly narrow segment of the general population when compared to Western states such as the US and the UK. This approach is considered to have intensified the othering of minority students and thus

mainly perpetuated marginalization and stigma. Perhaps relatedly, Lee et al. (2020) criticizes that economic and social inequalities in Korea have been even more deeply embedded due to state-led multicultural education. And the so-called multicultural families tend to have a particular connotation that is related to specific demographics, mainly immigrant women and foreign workers from developing countries and regions (e.g. Southeast Asia) as well as ethnic Koreans from China. Critics have argued that multicultural education has not adequately addressed the lack of socioeconomic and cultural capital among students considered to be from such families (Kim & So, 2018; Lee, et al., 2020). In Chapter 5, the relationship between multicultural education and GCED will be explored, based on the empirical accounts of regional policy administrators.

Incidentally, the aforementioned ICCS in 2016 newly included global citizenship as one of the key concepts in its research framework (Schulz, et al., 2016). Subsequently, the 2016 study included questionnaires to measure students' awareness of and concerns on global issues such as pollution, terrorism, water and food shortages, infectious diseases, climate change and poverty. In this regard, South Korean students who considered these issues as global recorded below the international average with the exception of climate change. This may illustrate a possible lack of understanding of and willingness to act on these imminent global threats among Korean students. On that note, the next section provides more details on the recent development of the GCED policy discourse in national and regional contexts as well as on school-level GCED practices.

3.3 Overview of GCED: South Korean Contexts

Prior to its initial exposure to international policy development in GCED in the 2010s, South Korea rarely considered academic or policy discussions on GCED (Sung, 2010). However, there was a number of antecedents, notably the Education for International Understanding (EIU) and via multicultural education. Although sometimes used interchangeably, these two types of education have different backgrounds and objectives from policy perspectives. First, EIU was an outward facing policy in response to rapid globalization. In 1995, the first civilian government launched an education reform which included directives to provide education responsive to the globalized world (Lee, et al., 2015). The government appointed the National Commission for UNESCO as the Centre of EIU and, in 2000, the UNESCO Asia-Pacific Centre of Education for International Understanding (APCEIU) was established in Seoul. Being an institution under the auspices of UNESCO and financially supported by the South Korean government, APCEIU is mandated to promote EIU, now referred more frequently as GCED, in the Asia-Pacific region including South Korea. On the other hand, as mentioned in the previous section, multicultural education emerged in South Korea in response to internal challenges posed by an increasing number of migrants and the influx of Other Cultures (Jho & Cho, 2013).

Then in 2012, as noted in the first chapter, then UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon launched the Global Education First Initiatives (GEFI). Since Ban is a South Korean national, his GEFI received significant attention in South Korea. In addition, among the three priorities, the first two focusing on universal and quality education were relatively

irrelevant in the Korean context. Yet the last objective of GCED was considered to be an area where the Korean government could have political leverage at the international level (Pak & Lee, 2018). In 2014, South Korea joined as one of the 16 GEFI Champion Countries which catalyzed “political and financial support for education by leading by example and advocating for GEFI” (UNESCO, n.d.). Along with this development, in 2013, the Korean government also hosted the “Technical Consultation on Global Citizenship Education,” the first UNESCO meeting where the conceptual, definitional and implementation issues of global citizenship education were discussed. Furthermore, in May 2015, during the opening ceremony of the World Education Forum 2015, President Park Geun-hye also officially declared that the country would support the promotion of global citizenship education at both domestic and international levels (Han, et al., 2015).

As part of the endeavours, the MOE introduced the GCED Lead Teacher system. The Ministry has appointed the GCED Lead Teachers from all 17 metropolitan and provincial areas in South Korea annually based on their continuing pedagogical and research achievements in GCED. Representing various subject areas, these teachers have played a central role in promoting GCED by sharing best practices and developing pedagogy. APCEIU was put in charge of providing training workshops to these teachers who are then responsible for hosting workshops in their own regions. The Ministry has also included the promotion of GCED as an objective of their budgetary provision and, in 2016, allocated 22 billion KRW (approximately 19.4 million USD) for policy development, teacher training, etc. (Lee, et al., 2015).

Despite the seemingly smooth and vigorous process of the national-level GCED policy, a number of tensions has been pointed out in the Korean GCED literature. First,

the state-led GCED policy has inevitably reflected the pursuit of national interest and competitiveness. Several studies on Korean GCED have shown evidence that there is a strong presence of neoliberalism in Korea. For instance, Cho and Mosselson (2017) have argued that the Korean government's push for promoting GCED is largely based on the neoliberal and humanistic conceptualizations of GCED. They argue that, by positioning itself as a global leader of GCED, South Korea reproduces the hegemonic ideals which diminishes the potentials of GCED as a transformative and critical pedagogy. Choi and Kim (2018) reiterate this position by indicating the prevalence of a neoliberal agenda and nationalist rhetoric in Korean social studies textbooks. However, by characterizing Korea's GCED policy as a 'soft' state-led initiative, Pak and Lee (2018) suggest that the impact of the central envisioning may be less prevailing because GCED is not a mandated nor closely evaluated initiative. While these studies contributed to the understanding of the state-led approach to GCED, there has been little research on regional GCED policy initiatives, despite the increased power of regional Education Offices in this area. Therefore, one of the aims of this thesis is to fill this gap by engaging with regional policy administrators (See Chapter 5).

In addition, even within the national government, different stakeholders appeared to have distinctive perspectives and interests in regard to GCED. For example, Lee et al. (2015) point out that the MOE and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) have competed over the leadership in the GCED agenda setting process; the MOE has supported education-focused agenda while the MOFA weighed in the discussion with more development-focused interests. Indeed, the MOFA has shown its expanded presence in the state-led GCED policy. For instance, the Ministry co-organized and co-sponsored a

number of international events and conferences on GCED, and more recently, its work unit dedicated to the UNESCO-related affairs led a process of launching the Group of Friends for Solidarity and Inclusion with GCED, an international alliance for promoting GCED (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2020). While these initiatives reiterate the claim that Korea's efforts to use GCED as a means of expanding its political leverage in the international community, it is the interest of this study whether relatively less attention has been paid to the actual practitioners of GCED.

The formation of GCED-related policy by the national government was influenced by multi-level actors. In addition to the international organizations and their policy frameworks mentioned above, for example, Pak & Lee (2018) and Noh (2018) also suggest that the South Korean government's GCED policy partly built upon the pre-existing, active works of NGOs mostly in international development and humanitarian aid. Furthermore, this policy context set the scene for regional education policymakers to develop their own GCED policy initiatives. While the empirical case of this study will reiterate this point in Chapter 5, the remainder of this section briefly introduces some examples of the distinctive policy development at the regional level.

In addition to the policy and financial support from the central government, the Metropolitan and Provincial Offices of Education have also implemented independent policies for GCED. Among eleven regions with the Education Offices, Seoul and Gyeonggi Province (surrounding the capital city of Seoul) were the earliest and the most active regions to devise GCED-related policies. For example, both Offices have newly established a Democratic Citizenship Education Division which is in charge of GCED (Lee, et al., 2015). Following this organizational restructuring, they have initiated policies

and programmes targeting the promotion of GCED. Gyeonggi developed and published textbooks for GCED in 2017 and they have been used by five regions including Seoul (Ji, 2019). In Seoul, one of the most representative initiatives was the appointment of the GCED Policy Schools, which are the main sites for the empirical case pursued in this research. These schools have been selected based on applications explaining their motives and strategies for implementing GCED and provided with annual funding of 10,000,000 KRW (approximately USD 9000) each (SMOE, 2018a). Since the first appointment of 13 GCED Policy Schools in 2017, SMOE has increased the number of beneficiary schools to 30 in 2020 (SMOE, 2020). Chapter 5 will provide an in-depth description and analysis on the background of and approaches to GCED policy by the Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education (SMOE).

3.3.1 Schools and classrooms

As suggested by the theory of policy cycle (see Chapter 2), the aforementioned recent policy developments do not necessarily lead to the immediate and positive realizations of the policy objectives set for the schools and classrooms. This is because policy interpretation and implementation are contextual. Therefore, to better understand the findings of school-level empirical analysis (Chapter 6), it is important to discuss what the contexts of and the facilitating (or hindering) factors for GCED practices are.

Similar to its circumstances in the policy arena, GCED has also been a relatively new phenomenon for Korean schools, even though there were several precedents which provided the basis for its recent development. Prior to the emergence of GCED, the 2007

Revised National Curriculum newly included EIU, Education for Sustainable Development, human rights education and multicultural education as its cross-curricular learning subjects. Since then, schools have begun to acknowledge and practice GCED-related topics and concepts within the framework of these fields. And as the National Curriculum continues to evolve to deepen and expand its scope of GCED, the visibility and impact of GCED has gradually increased at the school level. School practices of GCED have typically taken place sporadically and on short-term bases, often in the form of voluntary activities of teachers and students (e.g. teacher research groups, student clubs, etc.) (Kim & Lim, 2014; Lee, et al., 2015). Although these practices provided some of the exceptional cases of bottom-up approaches to GCED, their scale and influences were limited. On the contrary, the GCED Policy Schools, the main site of the practitioner-based empirical data for this study, will present an under-researched case of more structured, long-term GCED programmes (see Chapter 6).

Despite strong enthusiasm from both national and regional governments on the promotion of GCED in recent years, South Korean schools and teachers have reported difficulties in implementing GCED. In a questionnaire survey of 1,968 teachers from 99 schools, only 29.2% of the schools responded that they were practicing GCED; and over 60% of the teachers responded that they had no experience of teaching GCED (Lee et al. 2015). Furthermore, in the 2016 IEA International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS), the percentage of South Korean teacher participants who felt they were ‘very well’ or ‘quite well’ prepared to teach GCED-related topics and skills such as ‘human rights,’ ‘the global community and international organizations’ and ‘emigration and immigration’ ranked at the bottom among 22 countries (Schulz, et al., 2018). These

quantitative study results suggest a lack of sufficient conceptual understanding and teaching efficacy in GCED practices at the school level. In line with such a limitation, while GCED-themed classes and activities have focused on exploring cultural diversity and enriching the understanding of and respect for Other Cultures, they often reproduced and connoted the Western-centric and post-colonial paradigms (Kim, 2019; Yoon, 2020). Given this knowledge from previous research, it is the interest of this study to investigate if the heavily invested GCED Policy Schools face the similar challenges and what type(s) of GCED they practice (see Chapter 6).

Previous research has indicated that the hindering factors for school-level GCED practices in South Korea largely echo the discussions in Chapter 2. For example, Pak and Lee (2018) found some of the most motivated and professionally trained GCED practitioners including GCED Lead Teachers reported a lack of collegial support at their schools. In addition, Kim (2019) and Yoon (2020) have argued that GCED are often ignored in favor of emphasising standardized testing and concentrating on college entrance statistics, as neoliberal and nationalist discourses are entrenched in the educational system. Finally, Lee et al. (2015) and Kim (2019) found that socioeconomic gaps between schools were one of the main drivers leading to a quality gap in GCED experiences; schools in privileged areas usually have more cultural and economic capital to mobilize the interest and resources for GCED activities that will often take place as extracurricular classes. This thesis builds on this work to examine the hindering factors in the specific context of the GCED Policy Schools (see Chapter 6).

One of more distinctive factors in the Korean case is that school culture has been known for being traditional and hierarchical largely due to Confucian cultural norms; Kang

(2013) explains that Korean teachers' communication styles tend to be linear and directive, and that students are often not given opportunities to openly and effectively communicate not only with teachers but with their peers as well. While many GCED guidelines emphasize student-centred pedagogies, Korean students, many of whom are accustomed to the cramming education system, often lack interest in student-based extracurricular activities such as debate and student councils (Jho & Cho, 2013; Lee et al., 2015). This point creates tension with the policy recontextualization theories in Chapter 2 which perceived students as important policy actors. The empirical analysis in Chapter 6 will discuss this tension; that is, to what extent students can be capable of policy reinterpretation within top-down school cultures.

Despite these challenges, some studies have also identified opportunities and potentials in school practices of GCED in South Korea. In their research of GCED Lead Teachers, Pak and Lee (2018) noted that intrinsic motivation and moral purpose of these GCED practitioners acted as a driving force to overcome unsupportive environments and lack of resources. These teachers also reported that throughout the GCED training and their subsequent teaching experiences, they had come to have more reflective and critical attitudes towards students' favouritism of Western cultures and made efforts to debunk stereotypical perceptions of developing countries. In addition, Yoon (2020) suggested that teachers have utilized the 'Free Learning Semester Programme' to experiment with more long-term and intensive GCED programmes. First piloted in 2013 and then expanded nation-wide in 2016, the Free Learning Semester Programme refers to an exam-free period of one or two semesters during the middle school period designed to help students explore their career aspirations through experimental and participatory learning (Ministry

of Education, 2015). This case of using the “crack” in the system, as referred by Yoon (2020, p.30), can be seen as an opportunity to practice transformative pedagogy that is GCED within an environment relatively unrestrained from the pressures of the National Curriculum, textbooks and grade-based evaluation.

It is still relatively recent that GCED has received the active support of the government and become a subject of state-led policies. Accordingly, a number of previous studies point out that the academic discourse on GCED in South Korea is concentrated on the macro or theoretical discussions while there is a lack of field research with school- and classroom-based data (for exceptions, see Jho & Cho, 2013; Lee et al., 2015; Kim, 2019; Yoon, 2020). In particular, the student voices are largely absent in the literature despite GCED being often described as learner-based pedagogy and being distinguished from traditional top-down teaching methods. Therefore, this research is envisaged to capture new developments in GCED by investigating both policy-based and practitioner-based empirical data and especially by engaging with the students.

3.4 Conclusion

This historical overview of political, economic and social development in South Korea in this chapter implies that the nation-building and the evolution of the education system have facilitated each other. As noted earlier, education has historically been a top priority in South Korean national policy as well as in public discourse; according to 2018 data, Korea’s total spending on public education as a percentage of total government expenditures is one of the highest among OECD countries (OCED, 2021). While

“Education Fever" has been credited to driving the unprecedented socioeconomic growth of modern South Korea, it has also been blamed for causing or accelerating many challenging social issues. This conflicting attitude towards education has been a driving force behind the challenging yet vibrant discussions in the education policy arena and on school education.

The rapid globalization of the past three decades has posed new challenges and opportunities for the South Korean education system, as it would in any other country and or geography. In particular, encouraged by international policy development, the national and some regional governments have been determined to actively disseminate GCED. By exploring the contexts of policy making as well as of school-level practices in GCED, this chapter further facilitated the use of Ball’s policy cycle theory which emphasizes the various contexts that shape policy processes (see Chapter 2).

Having identified research gaps, refined the Research Questions and explored the relevant contexts for the study in the past chapters, the focus now turns to research methods and design that were employed to best address the main inquiries of this study.

Chapter Four: Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction/ Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

As presented in previous chapters, this research aims to explore how regional Global Citizenship Education (GCED) policy is introduced and implemented at the school-level by looking at the case of GCED Policy Schools, a policy initiative by the Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education (SMOE) in South Korea. More specifically, Chapter 2 and 3 identified the gaps in the previous literature which led me to devise the following Research Questions:

(1) Why did the Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education (SMOE) introduce GCED as a key policy area?
(2) How is GCED conceptualized in the policy?
(3) How are global citizenship and GCED perceived and practiced by different policy implementers at the school level (i.e. school leaders, teachers and students)?
(4) What are the professional, material and external contextual factors that influence implementers' perceptions and practices?

To answer these questions, this research was designed to be a qualitative study; this chapter will first discuss and justify this methodological approach. The next section then explains the research setting (i.e. SMOE and GCED Policy Schools) and research design which outlines the process of conducting the empirical part of the research. The following two sections mainly concern the details of the ways in which the empirical data for this study was collected and analyzed. Finally, the rest of the chapter will discuss my role as a researcher in relation to data as well as the ethical issues in this study.

4.2 Methodological Approaches

The study is primarily a qualitative research-based study. In education, qualitative research has rapidly grown in terms of its applicability and the number of researchers who have used qualitative methods over the past decades (Cooley, 2013). While it is a challenging task to define qualitative research, it is possible to identify some key concepts or characteristics of this research approach. Gibson and Brown (2009) point out three ways in which qualitative research distinguishes itself from the other notable form of inquiry – quantitative research. First, qualitative research concerns the "thick description," or the details of the contexts where the research inquiry unfolds. Second, it takes a naturalistic approach which examines a social phenomenon in its natural setting. Last, reflexivity, or reflecting on the role of the research is an integral part of the data collection and analysis.

These distinctive characteristics of qualitative approach made it the most appropriate research method to answer the research questions of this study. The research questions of this study essentially ask how a particular education policy is generated and implemented given that different actors have different perspectives influenced by different contexts. Especially in the context of South Korea, the education policy literature has traditionally been centred on state policy, partly because the South Korean education policy was considered to be highly centralized. Moreover, relatively less attention was paid to policy implementation in general until the late 1980s, because it had never been considered as a major part of the overall policy-making process due to the country having a society that historically functioned in a top-down, hierarchical system (Lee, 2012).

Despite increasing discussion regarding decentralization of the education system and shifting more authority on-site, especially at the regional education offices and schools, there has been a lack of scholarly work focusing on the “thick description” of the regional-level education policy and its implementation at schools. In addition, there are rarely effective and thorough follow-up measures to evaluate and adjust a particular policy especially at regional level, partly because it is a time-consuming process and requires additional workload and budget. Therefore, while the subjective nature of education policy makes the qualitative approach an effective way to respond to the inquiry, this research method also helps provide a valuable contribution to the field of regional policy study.

Qualitative research inherently faces criticism of lacking objectivity and generalizability. Cooley (2013) also points out that the dominance of policy researchers and policy makers with quantitative background (i.e. statistics, economics, business, etc.) has often discounted the contributions of qualitative work, as they prefer scientific methods to find simple, clear-cut answers to problems. Like other social science disciplines, however, education is concerned with human beings who do not act in simple and predictable ways. Moreover, the education policy arena has become increasingly complex, involving a wider range of stakeholders with diverse perceptions and behaviours. As a former Assistant Programme Specialist at APCEIU (see Chapter 1 and also discussed below), I often sensed the different attitudes towards and different interpretations of GCED among policy makers and implementers at multiple levels. In particular, the discrepancy between policy administrators and schools was apparent; this observation motivated me to conduct this research which focuses on depth over breadth, and words and meanings over numbers.

Within qualitative research, I follow the constructivist research paradigm which signifies a certain set of ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions. First, the ontological implications highlight that multiple realities exist and each reality is constructed by individuals with distinctive experiences and perspectives (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). This approach reiterates my initial observation that the multiple interpretations of GCED exists through different stakeholders coming from and working in different contexts. It is also well-aligned with Ball's policy cycle (1992), the theoretical framework which this study is partly anchored on. As discussed in Chapter 2, the policy cycle theory suggests that policy is not just a static text but a process of reinterpretation and recontextualization. It focuses on the agency of multiple actors other than the state in the policy process. That is, policy generation and implementation are not linear processes; instead, policy is made and remade by different stakeholders in different contexts. The increasing complexity in the education policy arena, as well as environments where education policy is enacted (mostly schools) also suggests that the same intended policies can hardly yield the same effects in different settings. Thus, it is improbable that there is an objective and generalizable reality in a particular education policy.

Therefore, in terms of the epistemological stance, this research approach suggests that these multiple realities need to be interpreted and values "the understanding of a whole phenomenon via the perspective of those who actually live and make sense of it" (Suter, 2012, p.344). In the context of policy cycle, an adequate understanding of policy implementation can be obtained by examining how different implementers understand and (re)interpret the given policy. In this process, collaborative efforts between the

researcher and participants to co-construct their realities are particularly valued. This research is therefore useful in challenging some of the previous beliefs and revealing new contextual understandings of policy- and school-level implementations of GCED.

These ontological and epistemological assumptions lead to the discussion of methodology, or "how knowledge should be gained" (Hatch, 2002, p. 12). In order to understand and gather information on how the policy actors make sense of the policy and put it into practice, the study mainly uses two qualitative research methods – document analysis and interviews. The details of why and how these methods were used are discussed in the following sections.

4.3 Research Design and Context

Maguire and Ball (1994) identified three types of qualitative research in the context of policy: First, the "elite" study, which refers to a policy formation study based on the account of senior policy makers; second, the policy trajectory study, which encompasses policy background to the initial stage of policy implementation; and last, the policy implementation study, which focuses on the translation of policy texts to practice. This research overlaps with all three orientations listed above. This thesis first considers "elite" decision-making by senior policymakers and examines how SMOE's GCED policy was initiated and developed. This part of the empirical analysis helps to address Research Questions 1 and 2 (and reported in Chapter 5). The perceptions of key decision-makers (e.g. Superintendent) are analysed, albeit indirectly, based on documents and the account of policy administrators. It also concerns the micropolitics of the policy making

and development not only within a regional policy context but also at national and international levels. The thesis then moves on to consider policy implementation which corresponds to Research Questions 3 and 4 (and reported in Chapter 6). It addresses the complex process of policy interpretation and the recontextualization that takes place once on the policy implementation site, which in this case is GCED Policy Schools in Seoul, South Korea.

This study explores multiple levels of research sites and sources to understand the main inquiry. Table 4-1 outlines how this research relies on the data from national, regional and school levels as its sources of inquiry and knowledge as well as means to develop the discussions.

<Table 4-1: Multiple levels of inquiry>

Levels of inquiry	Sites of inquiry	Sources of inquiry
National	MOE	Policy documents National curriculum
Regional	SMOE	Policy documents Policy administrators
School	GCED Policy Schools	School documents School principals Teachers Students

This multilevel research design provides a number of advantages, especially as I believe that the existing literature has tended to take narrow scopes focusing on just one level or only on certain parts of these levels and thus lacks comprehensive analysis. To

begin with, the constructive paradigm of this study is interested in the social and structural contexts that construct the subjective realities and knowledge, and thus examining these different levels can help to gain contextual understanding on how GCED is conceptualized and practiced. This approach also enabled me to address two types of gaps: First, the gap between macro (i.e. policy) and micro (i.e. practitioner) is linked to my initial observation as a former Assistant Programme Specialist at APCEIU (see Chapter 1). In brief, my observation of how policy administrators and school practitioners described and regarded GCED led me to construct a hypothesis that these two levels have different conceptual and practical approaches towards GCED; this served as a starting point for devising my Research Questions. Using this theoretical framework and qualitative research methods, any emerging patterns and themes at each level became subject to this cross-level examination. Second, there are also gaps within each of the macro and micro levels. That is, the perceptions and implementations of GCED within each group of policy-based and practitioner-based data were neither linear nor consistent. By combining inter-level and intra-level analyses, this study intends to peel away and provide insight into multiple layers of complexity. While Chapter 3 discussed the development of GCED policy in the context of a national-level discourse and a corresponding site of inquiry (i.e. MOE), the remaining section focuses on the research settings at other levels of inquiry.

4.3.1 Fieldwork sites

This study is centred around the case of a regional GCED policy initiative, GCED Policy Schools, by SMOE. Among 17 Metropolitan and Provincial Offices of Education in Korea, SMOE is responsible for students residing in the capital city of Seoul, which accounts for 16% of the total South Korean students in preschool to high school (Korean Education Statistics Service, 2018). Seoul is without a doubt the most urbanized and cosmopolitan city in South Korea, with a continuing steady increase in its foreign population from diverse cultural backgrounds. The capital city is also where most top-ranked South Korean universities reside and is well recognized for its high level of "education fever" or strong zeal for education. Based on these characteristics, it may not be a surprise that SMOE is one of the most active and invested regional governments in general as well as in terms of GCED in Korea. Therefore, I suggest that Seoul provides an interesting case where, at least in theory, regional-level educational experiments in GCED can readily feed into the school curriculum. In addition, Seoul serves a pragmatic value in terms of accessibility of research data. Due to my previous professional experience at APCEIU, located in Seoul, South Korea, I already had connections to policy administrators, local educators and GCED experts in Seoul; therefore, I was able to gain access to the fieldwork sites (i.e. SMOE and GCED Policy Schools) and recruit research participants easily.

GCED was one of the main election pledges of the current Superintendent of Education Cho Heeyeon. Prior to the election in 2014, he was known as a progressive academic and a democratic social activist. Along with other pledges focusing on education reform, Cho put forward a promise for "open global citizenship education" (Cho,

2014, para. 5). Under the newly elected superintendent of education, SMOE underwent a large-scale reorganization and, as part of this change, the Democratic Citizenship Education Division was newly established in 2015 (to be further discussed in Chapter 5). The GCED Policy Schools initiative was subsequently launched under the direction of this division as promised.

According to SMOE's GCED Basic Plans (2017 & 2018), GCED Policy Schools are selected based on individual school applications highlighting the desired GCED programmes and the respective schools' plans for implementation. Once selected, GCED Policy Schools are provided with a yearly budget of 10,000,000 KRW (approx. USD 9,000) with the option to extend at the end of each year (SMOE, 2017). Among the GCED Policy Schools, three schools were selected as GCED Research Schools for a duration of two years (2017-2019); one of the main distinctions of these schools is that school administrators and teachers in charge of the programme are entitled to earn credits for career promotion (SMOE, 2017). Since the launch of the initiative to the beginning of my fieldwork in June 2018, there were seventeen schools (six elementary schools, six middle schools, five high schools) selected as GCED Policy Schools. The process of recruiting seven GCED Policy Schools (including two GCED Research Schools) and the participants from these schools will be further described in the next section.

4.4 Methods of Data Collection

As explained above, the empirical contribution of this study is twofold: The first part is policy analysis, based on national- and regional-level policy processes; and the second

part is policy implementation study, based on data from school practitioners (i.e. principals, teachers and students). In each part, both written documents and interviews were collected as the primary source of research data. This approach offered several advantages. Most notably, the different types of data collected at each stage were used as a means of triangulation against each other. Triangulation refers to the use of two or more methods of data collection that "involves cross-checking multiple data sources and collection procedures to evaluate the extent to which all evidence converges" (Suter, 2012, p.350). In qualitative research, triangulation is commonly used as an effective way to increase concurrent credibility of the study (Bowen, 2009; Cohen, et al., 2011; Suter, 2012). Additionally, an interpretative relationship was established between the two different levels of analysis which enabled me to observe any patterns across the policy-basis and practitioner-basis data. A brief overview of the data collection methods is as follows:

<Table 4-2: Overview of data collection methods>

	Methods of data collection	**Data sources / types**
Part 1: National- and regional-level policy analysis (RQ 1 & 2; reported in Chapter 5)	Document analysis	- National Curriculum - MOE Annual Plans and GCED-related policy documents - GCED textbooks and teaching guide - SMOE Major Work Plan (2017, 2018) - GCED Basic Plan (2017, 2018) by SMOE
	In-depth interviews	- SMOE officers (n=3) - External experts (n=3)

Part 2: School-level policy implementation study (RQ 3 & 4; reported in Chapter 6)	Document analysis	- GCED Policy Schools Activity Reports - School documentation (School curriculum, information brochures, etc.) - *Global Citizenship Education Meets Schools* (Compilation of interviews with GCED Lead Teachers)
	In-depth interviews	- School principals (n=5) - Teachers (n=7)
	Group interviews	- Students (n=15)

4.4.1 Sampling research participants: SMOE, GCED Policy Schools and external GCED experts

Sampling in qualitative research is characterized by emphasizing depth over breadth, and prioritizing the yield of rich data rather than the generalization of findings to a large population (Suter, 2012). Thus, qualitative research often uses a purposive sampling method, in which the participants are hand-picked on the basis of their relevance to and knowledge of the research topic (Denscombe, 2014; Suter, 2012).

In this study, I first adopted a purposive sampling approach. I specified the participants for policy analysis to be former/present SMOE officials who were/are in charge of GCED Policy Schools or have a good understanding of SMOE's GCED policy in general. They were expected to be key informants for understanding the policy formation process (for example, the respective weighting of international, national and regional influences) and policymakers' perceptions of GCED.

For the policy implementation study in the case of GCED Policy Schools, I decided to interview school administrators, teachers and students to have a holistic and comprehensive understanding of the school-level policy implementation. Among GCED Policy Schools, middle and high schools were prioritized with the expectation that this age group may facilitate a more reliable interview process and present more examples of student-empowered GCED activities.

From the launch of the GCED Policy Schools in 2015 to the beginning of the fieldwork process in 2018, there were six middle schools and five high schools participating in the programme. I initially included both past and current GCED Policy Schools, that existed as of the time of the fieldwork period, as potential participants because it was expected to yield more abundant data to address issues such as what the experiences of the post GCED Policy Schools programme are like or whether there are recurring themes across the previous and current participating schools.

Following initial purposive contacts with several participants (made via referrals by my existing contacts who had been working with SMOE and some of the GCED Policy Schools), I adopted a snowball strategy and asked them to recommend more participants. Using these approaches, I ultimately interviewed three former and present SMOE officials (n=3): 1) One junior SMOE official who was responsible for GCED Policy Schools at the time of the interview, 2) one former SMOE official who was in charge of general GCED policies in the first year following the establishment of Democratic Citizenship Education Division, and 3) one senior SMOE official in charge of policy development and with previous experience in co-developing GCED teaching guides.

I also interviewed five former or present school principals and seven teachers from seven GCED Policy Schools (one elementary, two middle and four high schools). It may be noted that, although middle and high schools were prioritized, one elementary school was added because APCEIU staff and two of the participants highly recommended the principal of this particular school as a key informant on the GCED policy and practices at the school level. This principal has been classified as one of the most active and experienced practitioners of GCED in this study (see Chapter 6). The following Table 4-3 presents background information on the school principal and teacher participants.

<Table 4-3: Participants' details – School principals and teachers>

School Principal	Gender	Years of teaching experience	Teacher	Gender	Years of teaching experience	Subject specialism
P1	F	>30	T1	F	20-30	Science
P2	F	>30	T2	F	10-20	English
P3	M	>30	T3	M	>30	History
P4	M	>30	T4	F	>30	Korean
P5	M	>30	T5	F	20-30	Ethics
			T6	F	20-30	Geography
			T7	F	<10	English

For five of the middle and high schools, I also conducted interviews with a group of two-to-five students (n=15 in total; see Table 4-4). For each group, the participants shared common experiences in GCED-related classes or activities, often led by the teacher who was also interviewed. Heterogeneity of the participants was pursued as much as possible across the study in order to stimulate different points of view and deeper insights into the subject matter. In terms of the socio-economic characteristics of participants, they were expected to be fairly homogenous within each group because they all come from the same local intake area of the given school. One exception was School 5, which is a

boarding school that recruits students nationwide. This school is also distinctive for being an international high school, which is a special purpose school designed to “cultivate people of global talent” (Enforcement Decree of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, 2019, article 90). The students at this school were expected to relatively have more first-hand global experiences or higher interest in GCED activities; the credibility of this supposition and any empirical implications in the case of this particular school will be discussed in Chapter 6.

<Table 4-4: Participants’ details – Students>

Students	Gender	Grade*	Students	Gender	Grade*
1	F	MS 3	9	F	HS 3
2	F	MS 3	10	F	HS 2
3	M	HS 3	11	F	HS 3
4	F	HS 3	12	F	HS 3
5	F	HS 3	13	F	HS 3
6	M	HS 3	14	M	HS 3
7	F	HS 2	15	F	HS 2
8	F	HS 2			

*MS: Middle school / HS: High school

Lastly, I also interviewed three GCED experts (n=3) including a university professor of education and two programme specialists at APCEIU, who have been given pseudonyms (External 1, External 2 and External 3 respectively). External 1 is an author of a number of sources cited in this study and has led and published on a number of research projects on the topic of South Korean GCED, including a policy report based on an analysis of social studies textbooks and interviews with teachers. External 2 and External 3 are a Chief of Section and a senior Programme Specialist respectively at APCEIU who have abundant experience working with MOE, SMOE and also schools that promote GCED.

In summary, the following table illustrates the list of the interview participants as well as the identifiers assigned to each of them.

<Table 4-5: List of research participants>

SMOE-level (n=3)	1	SMOE 1, Supervisor, Democratic Citizenship Education Division					
	2	SMOE 2, Former Senior Supervisor, Democratic Citizenship Education Division (Multicultural Education)					
	3	SMOE 3, Senior Supervisor, Policy and Safe Planning Division					
GCED Policy Schools (5 principals, 7 teachers, 15 students)		School	Level*	Principal	Teacher	Students	Notes
	1	A	ES	P1			Research School
	2	B	MS		T1		Research School
	3	C	MS	P2	T2	S1, S2	
	4	D	HS	P3	T3	S3, S4, S5	Principal retired
	5	E	HS		T4	S6, S7, S8, S9, S10	International high school
	6	F	HS	P4	T5	S11, S12	Principal transferred
	7	G	HS	P5	T6, T7	S13, S14, S15	Principal transferred
External experts (n=3)	1	External 1, Professor					
	2	External 2, Chief, APCEIU					
	3	External 3, Programme Specialist, APCEIU					

*ES: Elementary school/ MS: Middle school/ HS: High school

Partly due to the nature of the purposive sampling method, certain limitations exist in the sample listed above. As mentioned earlier, the qualitative research approach taken by

this study prioritizes depth over breadth by exploring inquiry with attention to detail and context. In line with this approach, the participants were selected based on their relevance to and expertise in the specific case of a regional-level policy initiative (i.e. GCED Policy School); most of the participants had already had considerable exposure to GCED and approached this research with generally positive and enthusiastic attitudes. Therefore, bias was likely to occur in the data collected from these participants. Further to this issue, Patton (2014) discusses the breadth-versus-depth trade-off *within* the qualitative research design and sampling. This study, for example, opted to conduct relatively short interviews (typically 45–60 minutes) in seven schools, instead of undertaking an intensive observation in a single school over an extended period of time. The next section will further explain some other considerations taken for interviews to mitigate the limitations of the sample.

4.4.2 In-depth interviews

As I am interested in the 'thick' description of how the regional GCED policy was initiated by local government and has been implemented at schools, I also used interviews as the primary means of data collection. An interview in qualitative research aims to "generate knowledge in relation to a topic of interest and situates data in their social settings through the process of interchanging viewpoints among people of interest" (Lin, 2016, p. 160). In a constructivist approach, an interview is particularly useful as it provides both participants and the researcher with an opportunity to co-construct the knowledge fed into the study through direct collaboration (Hatch, 2002). It is also a very

flexible research tool that can gather a wide range of information from factual data to detailed personal views, which are required to answer the research questions (Atkins & Wallace, 2012). Used alongside the collected documents, interviews can also reveal and clarify the underlying meanings of texts (Hatch, 2002).

Hatch (2002) explains that the limitation of interviews is tied to its central strength – finding out "what is in and on someone else's mind" (p.92). However, Hatch (2002) also points out that there are a number of possible constraints caused by both respondents and researchers that undermine the effectiveness of interviews. For instance, some teachers may be reluctant to make even fair criticism of their colleagues or school leadership in fear of being identified. Berry (2002) specifically discusses the challenges of interviewing elites who may exaggerate their roles and thus increase the amount of missing information. The researcher may also lack skills in interview techniques to avoid these shortcomings. Some of the measures undertaken to help in this regard will be discussed later.

The interview distinguishes itself from ordinary conversation by being a constructed event with explicit purposes and thus requires careful and thorough planning and undertaking, which will be discussed in this section (Cohen, et al., 2011).

4.4.2.1 Recruitment procedures

In the process of preparing my field work for the data collection, I first approached potential participants at SMOE and GCED Policy Schools through referrals from my previous coworkers at APCEIU. As a UNESCO centre mandated to promote GCED in the

Asia-Pacific region, the Centre has been cooperating with the Ministry of Education and local Education Offices in South Korea to organize capacity-building programmes for teachers and school principals and to distribute educational materials. Therefore, APCEIU staff members are familiar with SMOE officials and principals/teachers at GCED Policy Schools. The initial contacts were made in early 2018 while I was still outside South Korea; I sent out emails with an information sheet detailing the purpose of the study, the interview procedures and the use of information provided by the participants (see Appendix 2). Despite a few instances of rejection and no replies, I confirmed appointments with two SMOE officials and two schools prior to arriving in South Korea in June 2018.

Once initial contacts were established with these participants, I adopted a snowball strategy and asked them to recommend or to connect me with more participants. In addition, upon arrival in Seoul, I was able to meet in person and connect with more former co-workers as well as with an academic whom I had worked with on a GCED-themed research project in the past. These personal contacts provided me with background and practical information useful for the data collection. In Seoul, I had lengthy informal conversations with one of the senior staff members at APCEIU and the professor, and the detailed notes that resulted from these conversations were used as data upon procuring their consents. Through these processes, I was also able to obtain additional contact information for SMOE officials and GCED Policy Schools.

When a point of contact (either a school principal or a teacher) was established at a school, I asked this person to help organize subsequent interviews with a principal/teacher and or students from the same school. Two of the schools, however,

informed me in advance that their school principals would not be available for interviews. In Chapter 6, I discuss the implications of these rejected interviews which may signal the lack of common understanding or support for GCED at the respective schools.

Especially for student data, I initially asked the principal or teacher of the participating middle and high schools to help recruit four-to-five students for 45-minute-long focus groups. One of the middle schools notified me in advance that it would be difficult to schedule focus groups. While all other middle and high schools agreed to help organize student groups, some teachers or principals found it difficult to schedule interviews with groups of more than three students for longer than 30 minutes. Therefore, I adjusted the research design and instruments to be with a group of two-to-five students for 30 minutes.

All the interviews with SMOE and school participants were face-to-face and audio-recorded. They took place in environments where the participants felt comfortable in (i.e. SMOE offices, GCED Policy Schools), “as context is heavily implicated in meaning” (Cohen, et al., 2011, p. 368). It was also intended to maximize the convenience for the interviewees and the use of everyone’s time. In cases where the school principals of the previous GCED Policy Schools have been transferred to another school, the interviews were conducted at their current workplace.

Interviews with SMOE officials, school administrators and teachers were in an individual in-depth interview format. Each interview lasted for 45 minutes to 1.5 hour depending on the participant’s availability. Group interviews with students were generally shorter in duration (about 30 minutes to one hour) as they often took place during the break time between classes. The following section delves into the interviewing methods used in more detail.

4.4.2.2 Interviewing methods

Informal conversations / Background interviews

As briefly explained above, I conducted unstructured, conversational interviews with three GCED experts on the topics of multi-level GCED policies and of school practices for GCED. While some scholars may refer to these “casual, friendly, and informal interviews” as tactics for generating more authentic and naturalistic data, this interviewing method also faces criticism for creating the potential for manipulation by researchers (Given, 2021; Swain & Spire, 2020). However, in the case of my conversations with these participants, I rarely tried to guide or control the talks but rather was in the position of an active listener. Given that these experts were previously my superiors with more extensive experiences, it was clear to them that I was seeking advice and information for my research.

Unlike other interviews during the fieldwork, these conversations needed no effort to build rapport to facilitate the talk. Instead, the participants actively provided rich and informative data without any distraction of a recording device. When parts of the conversations appeared to have the potential to be included in my findings, I often revisited the information with the informants later and also asked for consent to use in this study. The data collected in these conversations were used for background information and also included in the data analysis.

Semi-structured interviews

All the interviews other than the expert interviews described above can be classified as semi-structured interviews. As its name indicates, semi-structured interviews sit between structured interviews and unstructured interviews. Like structured interviews, semi-structured interviews start with a clear set of issues and questions to be addressed. However, they allow the interviewees to be more flexible in the ways they articulate on the issues and respond accordingly, like unstructured interviews. The difference between semi-structured and unstructured interviews is then the degree of letting the interviewees develop their ideas and leading the interview (Denscombe, 2014).

For all interviews with policy administrators and school practitioners, an interview guide was developed to ensure the consistent and efficient execution of interviews (see Appendix 1). In brief, the guide was divided into four parts: 1) Opening statements, 2) background questions, 3) essential questions, and 4) closing statements. In the beginning of the interviews. I started the interviews with casual conversation and a brief introduction of myself in efforts to establish good rapport with the participants and put them at ease (Cohen, et al., 2011; Atkins & Wallace, 2012). While consent forms (see Appendix 2) were sent via email prior to the interviews, I also explicitly informed the participants of the purpose of the study and how the information provided would be used and protected. The opening statements were followed by the background questions that mainly addressed the personal and organizational information relevant to the study. Then the essential questions were prepared based on the previous literature and context research as well as in the framework of broader research questions. The main themes included in these guiding questions were the subjective definition of global citizenship; policy/school-level

decision-making processes for GCED; personal and professional experiences related to GCED; and facilitating and hindering factors in the implementation of GCED. Finally, the closing statements included the acknowledgement of participants' contributions and inviting them to share any additional information, questions and or feedback.

The interview guides were adapted to the different groups of participants. In particular, wording for the research descriptions and questions were carefully developed to be more specific and comprehensive for the group interviews with middle and high school students (see the below) (Daley, 2013). While the interview guides were useful in generating reliable and comparable data, there was also always room for both the interviewer and the interviewee(s) to alter the direction of the conversation and thus reveal relevant yet unknown information. Powney and Watts (1987) call this type of interview approach as the "informant interview," making a distinction from the "respondent interview" in which the researcher keeps a tight control of what kind of questions and answers can be posed (cited in Atkins & Wallace, 2012). As an informant, the participants were invited to contribute to the research outcomes with their authentic perceptions and interpretations.

One-to-one interviews

With the SMOE officials, school principals, teachers and external experts, I used the one-to-one interview method. One-to-one interviews are the most common form of interview; Denscombe (2014) points out four, mostly technical, advantages for the researcher using this method: 1) Easy to arrange, 2) easy to specify ideas with specific people, 3) easy to control, and 4) easy to transcribe.

These individual in-depth interviews were effective and provide valuable opportunities to deeply explore perspectives of the informants. On the other hand, because it is a private social encounter, building good trust and rapport with the interviewee was particularly important for an open and vigorous one-to-one interview session. This concerns being polite, respectful and attentive in both verbal and non-verbal ways (Cohen, et al., 2011). Especially because the age hierarchy is deeply embedded in Korean culture and I was visibly younger than most of the adult participants, the interaction with them was accompanied by politeness and respectful attitudes. It was also important to consider making the interview setting informal and comfortable for the interviewee; for example, seating arrangements were made not to be face-to-face so that the interviewer and the interviewee can make eye contact without feelings of confrontation (Denscombe, 2014; Atkins & Wallace, 2012).

Group interviews with adolescents

The youth participants were interviewed in small groups. At a practical level, group interviews can dramatically increase the number of participants and thus be helpful in collecting data on a larger variety of experiences and opinions (Denscombe, 2014). Especially when the informants are adolescents, a group setting is advantageous since it can minimize the power imbalance between the researcher and the participants. Eder & Fingerson (2011) point out that while the interviewer's role of controlling the interview inevitably creates the power dynamics, the researcher gets the added power associated with age in studies of youth. This is again specially the case in Korean Confucian culture.

However, the adolescents may feel more comfortable and relaxed in group settings where they outnumber the researcher and can interact with their peers.

As it is important yet challenging to keep a group of adolescent participants engaged and active, the size of each group also needs to be smaller and the length of time for sessions should be shorter than for adults (Vaughn, et al., 1996). Therefore, in the case of this study, each group was comprised of two-to-five students from the same school and each group interview session lasted between 30-45 minutes.

While using the same interview guide (see *Semi-structured interviews* above), I adapted some of the interview questions to provide "developmentally appropriate questions and probes that reword the research question(s) and allow these teens to express their thoughts or views" (Daley, 2013, p.8). For example, instead of asking for the subjective definition of global citizenship or GCED, I rephrased the question as, "What makes one to be a global citizen?" I also emphasized that there are no right or wrong answers and tried to encourage the participants to share their thoughts and experiences openly without feeling pressure or judgement.

4.4.3 Sampling and gathering documents

Documentation is one of the commonly used forms of data in qualitative research. Documents are particularly useful in this study where rich description of a single phenomenon is pursued (Bowen, 2009). It is often used to complement and triangulate other types of qualitative data, notably interviews and observations. Because most of the documents used in this research are unobtrusive and nonreactive, in that they are not

subject to manipulation of participants, they can validate or provide additional insights to participant-driven data (Hatch, 2002). And in cases where a participant is engaged in the process of generating or manipulating a document(s), this provided a valuable opportunity to explore the context of text production (see Section 2.3.2). Furthermore, how the participants interpret and use some of the documents was another important point of analysis in this research. Finally, the documents can also be accessed relatively easily, without interrupting the research process (Denscombe, 2014).

Jupp and Norris (1993) suggest that there are three different theoretical paradigms in document analysis – the positivist, the interpretative, and the critical. As discussed earlier in the Chapter (Section 4.2), this study adopts the interpretative approach which, unlike the positivist approach, does not believe social phenomena are objective. Instead, it is assumed that the collected documents are not neutral yet constructed meanings are attributed to them by the writers as well as the readers. In addition, this study is also concerned with the critical approach which is closely associated with discourse analysis and investigates the aspects of social structure, power relations and class. In other words, the national and regional policy documents, curriculum, textbooks and school-level documents are considered to be the products of political process and “the language that is used to legitimize that process” (Codd, 1988, p. 235).

4.4.3.1 Sampled documents in context

Policy-level documents

For the policy analysis, sampled documents were limited to either government-issued or government-approved items at the national and regional levels to ensure "authenticity, credibility, accuracy and representativeness" (Bowen, 2009). The official positions and key messages of the state and regional governments that these documents represent had important analytical values for the purpose of this study. The following Table 4-6 describes the main documents that were included in the analysis.

<Table 4-6: List of policy documents>

	Documents	**Author/Publisher**	**Year**
National	National Curriculum	MOE	2009, 2015
	MOE Annual Plan	MOE	2017, 2018
	Comprehensive Plan for the Vitalization of Democratic Citizenship Education	MOE	2018
Regional	GCED Textbooks (*Global Citizens in the World Village*) and teaching guide	Four Metropolitan and Provincial Education Offices	2017
	SMOE Major Work Plan	MOE	2017, 2018
	GCED Basic Plan	MOE	2017, 2018

The policy documents written by the MOE and SMOE are limited as they only range from 2017 - 2018, since 2017 was the year the GCED Basic Plan was first introduced by the SMOE and 2018 was the year this fieldwork study was performed.

The National Curriculum serves as a basis of formal education in Korea and provides a coherent framework outlining the core knowledge and contents taught in schools. Since its introduction in mid-1950s, the curriculum has been periodically revised to reflect the rapidly changing needs of an emerging Korean society (Sang, et al., 2016). This study concentrated on the two latest versions, the 2009 and 2015 Revised National Curriculum, which began to be implemented in 2013 and 2017 respectively. In particular, the Social Studies curriculum was the main focus of the analysis, as it is the core subject for citizenship education.

Finally, the GCED textbook titled *Global Citizens in the World Village* was developed and authorized by the Gyeonggi Provincial Office of Education in 2017 and co-funded by four Metropolitan and Provincial Education Offices including the SMOE (see Appendix 4 for the cover image and page samples). The General Guideline for the textbook explains that the World Education Forum 2015 set the tone for expanding GCED and prompted the necessity of developing a GCED textbook. This textbook was published at three different levels – elementary, middle and high schools – along with teacher's guides, and was initially used by five regions including Seoul. The inside back cover shows a list of authors, who are all in-service school teachers, and the chapter that each of these authors was responsible for respectively. The SMOE disseminated the textbooks to all schools in Seoul and most GCED Policy Schools have since used them in their regular classes and/or co-curricular activities. This research prioritized the middle and high school materials for the analysis in order to correspond to the levels of participating schools and research participants.

School-level documents

The second part of the study focusing on the policy implementation used documents that demonstrate the empirical cases of GCED being put into practice at schools. While a wide range of school-level documents was available, the ones that are produced by the participating schools and focused on by their GCED programmes were prioritized and analyzed in depth. For example, GCED Policy Schools Activity Reports have been published on the SMOE website; each school describes how GCED is conceptualized, approached and practiced. In addition, some of the GCED Policy Schools went further and independently developed resource books based on their GCED programmes and achievements, suggesting higher levels of commitment to GCED.

There were also some other school-level documents that were less scrutinized yet still provided important background information and supplementary research data. *GCED Meets Schools* (APCEIU, 2016) is a compilation book of interviews with GCED Lead Teachers (see Chapter 3) and served as part of the original inspiration for the study (see Chapter 1). In this book, the interviews are based on two main questions: 1) What is your personal understanding/interpretation of GCED?; and 2) what are examples of GCED practices? These questions and responses from the book helped me to devise the guiding questions for these interviews. Furthermore, more general school documents were also used; these include the School Education Plans (annual documents describing school-based curriculum), annual reports and information brochures. They usually had a GCED-related section of varied lengths and depths that explained the relative gravity of GCED in their school curriculum and priorities. Table 4-7 below summarizes the types of school-level documents and which schools provided them.

<Table 4-7: List of school-level documents>

	School	Level	Type of documents			
			GCED Policy School Activity Report	GCED Research School Implementation Plan	School Education Plan	Other documents
1	A	ES	o	o		GCED Research School research reports* School brochure*
2	B	MS		o		
3	C	MS	o		o	
4	D	HS	o*		o	
5	E	HS			o	
6	F	HS	o		o	GCED Policy school activity resource book*
7	G	HS	o		o	GCED Policy School activity resource book*

(*: not available online)

4.4.3.2 Procedures to collect documents

While conducting the literature review and preparing the fieldwork, I was able to obtain most of the documents listed above in electronic formats. With exception of some of the school documentations, all of the documents were openly available to the public through various websites. In particular, SMOE has an online bulletin board dedicated to GCED on its website, where GCED-related policy documents, reports, textbooks, teaching guides and official announcements are shared. Throughout the research period, I regularly checked this site for updates. Other useful websites included the National Curriculum

Information Centre (NCIC), where the national and local curriculum documents were collected, and APCEIU, where a full-text of *GCED Meets Schools* was available.

During the fieldwork period of June – July 2018, I also collected the hard copies of these documents. In addition, a number of the schools I visited for interviews provided me with their school documents which are not sometimes available online (see Table 4-7). While all these documents were carefully reviewed, they had different levels of priority in terms of analysis. The next section describes the methods and processes for analyzing the different types of empirical data discussed in this section.

4.5 Methods of Data Analysis

So far, this chapter has explained and justified the use of the constructivist qualitative research method in this study as well as the data collection process. Having interviewed 32 participants and collected relevant documents, the next step was to analyze the data. The analysis of qualitative data is often considered to be arduous because it is "a dynamic, intuitive and creative process of inductive reasoning, thinking and theorizing" (Basit, 2003, p. 143). It was indeed one of the most lengthy and challenging parts of this research; yet it was also the most crucial part of this study. The data analysis was guided by theoretical and conceptual underpinnings, which have been described in Chapter 2, and more importantly, following a constructivist interpretive tradition, informed and co-constructed by research participants.

This study mainly adopted a thematic analysis approach to uncover commonalities, relationships and differences in the data (Gibson, 2015). Echoing Gibson (2015), it may be noted that the thematic analysis in the context of this study does not imply a specific theoretical orientation but rather describes a set of procedures and techniques used to identify and make sense of the dominant themes discovered in the data. Furthermore, the analysis of data was not an isolated phase but a consistent and evolving process that was prepared prior to the data collection and was undertaken throughout the fieldwork and during the write-up stages.

As mentioned earlier, the main purpose of using both interviews and documents, the two main sources of empirical data for this study, was to triangulate them against each other for improved credibility. Perhaps more importantly, the disagreement or different views between the two data sources on a single topic or event suggested a crucial point where deeper investigation is merited. Therefore, comparing patterns and themes between the interviews and documents, and then searching for contextually informed reasons for such discrepancies were an integral process of refining and strengthening the analysis. While the result of data analysis will be discussed in depth in the next two chapters, the rest of this sub-section explains the process and details of transcribing, translating, coding and analyzing data.

4.5.1 Transcribing and translating

All the interview recordings were transcribed by me and into MS Word files. Taking an interpretivist approach, I considered the transcription as not just a mechanical procedure

but as a crucial analytic tool which involves repeated examinations of and critical reflections on the data. While I tried to preserve as much detail as possible from the recordings, I focused on contextualizing the meanings and perspectives in participants' discussions rather than producing strictly verbatim transcripts. Stammers, repetitions and grammatical errors were often omitted or revised to make the transcript more legible and the core message of the participants clear. I also made separate side notes to signal any information that might be useful to my analysis (e.g. emotional expressions, infrastructural settings, etc.).

The transcription was not translated into English immediately but on an as-needed basis. As a study based in a non-English speaking country yet to be published in English, this required important and strategic considerations for translation. Abfalter et al. (2021) point out that a researcher involved in a cross-language study needs to make decisions involving the "compromise between focusing on the data source or on the target audience" (p.471). In particular, because not all of the terms and concepts frequently used in the context of this South Korean case are universal or may have exact English counterparts, I was consistently concerned with how to prevent any context or meanings getting lost in translation. Therefore, throughout the coding and analysis phases, the original Korean terms were often used simultaneously to preserve the context-specific nuances of the language in the data. Moving on to the write-up stage, I carefully chose English words and concepts to ensure the credilibity of the original data and the perspectives of the participants, while trying to effectively communicate the findings to the academic community.

4.5.2 Coding and analysing the data

Having all the data (i.e. interviews and documents) ready in text forms, I identified empirical codes which “pull together data from the various research data sources” and “create general descriptions and claims about the content of that data.” (Gibson, 2015, p. 3) This process was largely guided by a priori codes that were developed prior to and during data collection (Table 4-8). In preparation for the interviews, I deductively created a list of themes and keywords based on the literature review (Chapter 2) and from my own understanding of the subject built through my work experience at APCEIU and via informal conversations with colleagues. These a priori codes were grouped into two categories: First, policy-based; and second, school-based. Each category was again divided into sub-categories based on Research Questions. As shown in the table below, the themes concerning the conceptualization and practice of GCED were informed by the conceptual framework for different approaches to global citizenship, namely neo-liberal, tourist, humanitarian and critical. (see Chapter 2, Section 2.2.1.2).

<Table 4-8: A priori codes>

Site of Inquiry	Research Questions	Themes
Policy	Reason for introducing GCED as a main policy area (RQ 1)	International/UN/UNESCO National/MOE/Top-down Regional/SMOE/Superintendent Bottom-up/Teacher groups/NGOs
	Conceptualization of GCED (RQ 2)	• Neo-liberal: Global competitiveness, global worker, employability, foreign language skills (English) • Tourist: Cultural diversity, interaction with Other Cultures, foreigners/foreign culture, intercultural communication • Humanitarian: Universal values, human rights, peace, global cooperation • Critical: Social justice, inequality, privilege, power relations
School	Practice of GCED (RQ 3)	
	Conceptualization of GCED (RQ 3)	
	Constraints/Facilitating factors for GCED (RQ 4)	College entrance (Crowded) curriculum School leadership Socioeconomic background School culture/Hierarchy

Following each interview, I also revisited field notes and tried to make notes of any recurring or unexpected themes. In this data-driven or inductive process, I tried not to be influenced by a priori codes and to create a new set of codes directly from the raw data collected from my participants. Once the transcripts were completed, I identified and refined more codes from the data, and have attached detailed descriptions to my codes. The inductive coding was not static but continued to evolve as I brought in more data, notably those of policy and school documents. It resulted in code families involving both

general and specific themes and codes (see Appendix 3) and they were, in turn, given working definitions and matched with relevant quotes. For each analytical theme, I tried to engage both interviews and documents for the purpose of triangulation. While general patterns across the two data sets were the primary concern, any contradictions between them were also of interest for more refined and rigorous analysis.

The following Table 4-9 demonstrates an example of themes and codes as well as their working definitions and matching data identified for Research Question 1, "Why did the SMOE introduce GCED as a key policy area?"

<Table 4-9: Sample themes and codes for Research Question 1>

Themes & codes	Definitions	Quotes & contents (interview/document)
International UN UNESCO WEF	The role of international policy actors in SMOE's promotion of GCED policy	As host country of the 2015 World Education Forum, MOE made a strategic decision to actively engage in and influence ongoing international discussions on the post-2015 education development agenda (i.e. GCED) where it could demonstrate global leadership (E1) GCED was a practical and reasonable choice, because it was a part of the initiative by Ban Ki-Moon, who largely had favorable public support in Korea (E1) Background to the development of 'Global Citizenship' textbook: Atmosphere supportive of GCED since the 2015 World Education Forum (SMOE, 2018a, p.24)
National MOE National Curriculum	The role of the national government (i.e. MOE) in SMOE's promotion of GCED policy	The MOE has zero influence… What I like about GCED is, unlike multicultural education that was all based on the MOE's budget, I can do my own policy planning because the budget is all from us. (SMOE 1)

		One of the ideals of an educated person in the 2015-revised National Curriculum: a global citizen, having a sense of community, who lives together as practicing solicitude and sharing (SMOE, 2017a, p.1; SMOE, 2018a, p.2) (National) government-level support to GCED: Inline with thinking that education is a fundamental solution to violent extremism and conflict, I believe that we should further expand and strengthen GCED… South Korea has been making various efforts such as developing a GCED curriculum in connection with the national curriculum. (President's special speech at UNESCO 70th anniversary in Paris, 2015) (SMOE, 2017a, p.1)
Regional SMOE Superintendent	Internal motivation and organizational aspects of SMOE's promotion of GCED policy	The Superintendent himself is very interested in GCED (SMOE 1) I believe it came from the Superintendent's educational philosophy. He has an expertise in GCED and had done the relevant activities throughout his career as a university professor. (SMOE 2)
Bottom-up Teacher Groups NGOs	Role of non-governmental groups in SMOE's GCED policy	In fact, when [the 2015 WEF] was told to be organized in Songdo [Incheon], our research institute had already been doing global activities … Until 2015, there was no policy whatsoever. There was no policy for GCED. So when SMOE set up the booths [for the GCED side event at 2015 WEF], they mainly exhibited the activities of our institute and student clubs. The approach to [GCED in Seoul] was initially centred on practice cases, with the absence of policy. (T4)

In keeping with the interpretive paradigm in which this study is situated, the coded data was carefully analyzed, focusing on the contexts of the policy and practice. Largely adopted from Keating (2009), the analysis was based on four types of readings as follows:

- *Reading 1*: Focused on deductive coding and a priori codes that are built on the theoretical framework and previous literature
- *Reading 2*: Focused on inductive or data-driven coding
- *Reading 3*: Focused on the interpretive context by relating the data to the socio-political context
- *Reading 4*: Synthesized from the previous readings and related to the findings back to the theoretical framework

While *Readings 1, 2* and *3* were often repeated without any particular sequence, *Reading 4* mostly took place in the final analytical stage. The analysis based on these readings was an iterative process that first examined the policy-based data and then the school-based data. Lastly, I also conducted a cross-analysis between the two levels of data, especially in the context of a policy cycle theory (see Chapter 2, Section 2.3.2). These multiple readings enabled me to familiarize myself with the extensive amounts of data which demonstrate a relationship between the different themes and codes.

One of the most important and challenging aspects of the analysis was to go beyond the descriptive account of the data. While exploring commonalities across the data was useful in identifying transferable findings, it could easily be degraded to present a collection of similar instances. Therefore, I also paid attention to the differences or unusual cases which may have significant analytical value; it was important not to undermine the “lived experiences in favour of a general comparative understanding” (Gibson, 2015, p. 7). On a similar note, what is not being told in the data was another focus in the analysis. When the data appeared to be absent of a priori codes or themes that were often prevalent in the previous literature or given context, reasons for the

discrepancy were further explored. Based on all these considerations, the findings were carefully produced and examined; and they will be presented in the next two chapters.

4.6 Reflexivity

Reflexivity in qualitative research refers to “the process of reflecting on the role of the researcher in the construction of meaning and, critically, of data” (Gibson & Brown, 2009, p. 8). I, as a researcher, came into the study with a particular set of beliefs, values and attitudes towards the research topic, especially due to my previous work experiences at the UNESCO APCEIU which is mandated to promote GCED. This professional background gave me insider perspectives; for example, in general, I was familiar with and supportive of the normative and humanitarian understandings of global citizenship which were shared by many of the participants. I also had the positionality as an outsider to the regional education office and schools where I was presented as an external researcher working outside Korea. According to Hellawell (2006), a researcher should ideally have both insider and outsider perceptions since “both empathy and alienations are useful qualities for a researcher” (p.487). While both positions have their own drawbacks, I tried to make most out of this dual positionality; for instance, as an insider, I was able to gain easy access to key informants and data and share the similar interest and working language with most of my participants. On the other hand, as an outsider, I often had a sense that the participants were more open and honest without fear of being judged or putting themselves into an unfavorable situation. Using this outsider positionality to maximize the objectivity, I also tried to distance myself from the data and engage it with

fresh eyes. In this process, this study provided me with invaluable opportunities to critically examine and challenge my own perspectives; and this transition will further be discussed in the final chapter.

Furthermore, my personal background has also contributed to the formation of my own subjectivity. I was born in South Korea, educated in South Korea, China and Canada, and currently live in France. My family immigrated to Canada when I was 19 years-old and my nationality has also changed from Korean to Canadian. While my professional and personal experiences are valuable assets to my study and provide me with considerable knowledge and understanding of the research subject, I am aware that my subjectivity inevitably influenced the data gathering and analysing processes. Therefore, it was important for me throughout the research process to reflexively apply my own subjectivities in ways that make it possible to understand the tacit motives and assumptions of my participants (Hatch, 2002, p. 9).

4.7 Ethical Issues

It was of my concerns that the participants may have felt pressured to participate in studies in which they had reservations because of their relationships with each other or the feeling of professional obligation to the researcher respectively. This is related to two cultural aspects of Korea: hierarchy and relationship. First, as government and schools are hierarchical organizations and respect for senior members or elderly is culturally embedded in Korea, lower-level officials at SMOE, teachers and students could have difficulty to reject if their superiors ask them to participate in the research. In addition, as

I was contacting potential participants through referrals of my previous co-workers, the participants may also have been reluctant to reject because of their relationship with the middleperson. Therefore, I made efforts to make them understand not only the purpose of the study and what exactly the study would expect from their contributions, but also their participation was completely voluntary, through both verbally and written informed consent forms.

All issues concerning research ethics complied with the Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research (2011) by the British Educational Research Association (BERA). Voluntary informed consent was sought from all participants; written consent forms clearly stated the processes for their participation and how the results would be used (BERA, 2011). They also clearly informed that they had the right to withdraw from the research at any time (BERA, 2011). Particular attention was paid to the work with youth participants as they are often perceived as being vulnerable to exploitation in research due to their lack of social power (Hatch, 2002). For each student group interview, it was confirmed with the teacher or school administrator that no written consent from parents or guardians of the students would be needed. Instead, I acquired written and verbal from the students consent prior to the group interviews. Throughout the research and to all the participants, I tried my best to remain approachable and available, so that they would feel comfortable in raising any questions or concerns regarding my research.

Additional ethical issues were considered for two of the student interviews where teachers were present. In both cases, the teachers volunteered to stay and observe the student interviews which followed their own. I paid close attention to ensure that the student participants did not seem discouraged by the disclosed confidentiality to speak

out. While these interviews raised concerns that the presence of teachers may create the power imbalance against the youth participants, they did provide rare opportunities to observe direct interactions between teachers and students as well as the overall school culture.

Although there was no plan for sensitive information to be collected, the in-depth interviews and group interviews included personal information and experiences of the interviewees. Confidential and anonymous treatment of participant data was applied wherever possible (BERA, 2011); for example, I used pseudonyms and the singular “they” pronoun to ensure that any personal information cannot be traced. However, in the case of the SMOE officers and GCED Policy Schools who form a relatively small community, the participants may become identifiable by even a basic description of the context. For example, SMOE officers in charge of GCED are publicly identifiable through the SMOE website and via policy documents where their names and contact information are shared. This possibility was discussed with the participants prior to data collection.

4.8 Conclusion

The constructivist interpretive paradigm in which this study is framed led to a qualitative research design based on two methods of data collection – document analysis and interviews. Working within the guidance of a theoretical framework and in the specific contexts of this study, the collected data provided valuable insight into how GCED is conceptualized and implemented at both policy and school levels. The interpretive approach also informed the role of the researcher and participants as well as the

collaborative relationship between them throughout the course of data collection and analysis. While the subjective experiences and perspectives of the participants formed an integral part of the data, my own reflections on and critical examinations of the data developed these findings. These analytical findings will be discussed in the next two chapters.

Chapter Five: Regional Policy Process for GCED: Why SMOE Promotes GCED and How They Conceptualize GCED?

5.1 Introduction

As noted in Chapter 3, various sociocultural, political and economic contexts such as the rise of multiculturalism, the growing leverage in the global market, and international politics have made GCED an interesting and attractive educational approach in Korea since the turn of the century. Then in 2012, the UN's Global Education First Initiative prompted the promotion of GCED as a state policy objective in earnest. It is worth noting that this development coincided within the regional context of Seoul, where its education authority, the Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education (SMOE), also introduced GCED as one of its policy priorities. This regional policy shift was partially inspired by the UN initiative as it will be explained in the following sub-section.

This chapter, which is the first part of two empirical chapters, is based on policy analysis, responding to the first two Research Questions: 1) Why did the SMOE introduce GCED as a key policy area? and 2) how is GCED conceptualized by the SMOE? These questions are important in understanding the policy process in this study, which is informed by the contexts of influence and text production in particular from Ball's policy cycle theory (see Chapter 2, Section 2.3.2).

In the first section, and in response to the first Research Question, I demonstrate how and to what extent the policy entrepreneurs (namely the Superintendent of Education in

the SMOE) and the MOE have influenced the SMOE's strategy to promote GCED. Here, I suggest that, while the Superintendent's policy directives played a key role in promoting GCED, the MOE's role demonstrated ambivalence.

In response to the second Research Question, the rest of this chapter discusses findings from the analysis of SMOE's GCED policy, from which I have identified four emergent themes that inform SMOE's approach to GCED: 1) The definition and the objectives of GCED, 2) contrasting attitudes towards nationalist and internationalist discourses, 3) the relationship with other educational themes, and 4) institutional contexts. Building upon the discussions, I argue that the SMOE adopts an inconsistent and ambivalent approach to GCED as its policy swings predominantly between the tourist and humanitarian models. It is also notable that SMOE's GCED policy heavily engages with the international policy discourse while deliberately keeping distance from the neoliberal and nationalist approaches; I suggest that these findings are indicative of SMOE's efforts to diversify and broaden its citizenship education to be inclusive of a notion of post-nationalist citizenship.

5.2 International Influences and National-level Ambivalence

The first Research Question mainly concerns the context of influence, in reference to Ball's policy cycle, where policy is initiated and formed through interactions and struggles among different stakeholders. In the case of SMOE's GCED policies, I argue that both international and national policy contexts exert significant yet ambivalent influences on the regional policy process. The interviews and policy documents suggest that SMOE's

GCED policy coincided with trends in national policy at the time which, in turn, were heavily influenced by developments in international policy on GCED. According to the two GCED policy experts interviewed for this research, the Korean government, as host country of the 2015 World Education Forum (WEF), made a strategic decision to actively engage in ongoing international discussions on the post-2015 education development agenda where it hoped it could demonstrate global leadership. This point echoes previous literature suggesting that neoliberal objectives, such as increased leverage in international politics, have weighed heavily on Korea's state-level policy direction (see Chapter 1, Section 1.3). Having directly worked with the MOE, these GCED experts pointed out that the government actively took part in the Global Education First Initiatives (GEFI) (2012) especially as the campaign was led by then UN Secretary-General Ban Ki Moon, who is a South Korean national. Consequently, it publicly announced its support for GCED (one of the three priorities of GEFI) and commenced policy initiatives such as appointing and training GCED Lead Teachers. The SMOE administrators and external experts generally agreed that these developments further strengthened the legitimacy of the superintendent's policy direction.

SMOE's policy documents also repeatedly indicated that state-level policy instruments (including the National Curriculum and the MOE's support for GCED) provided the foundations for their GCED policies and programmes. For instance, presenting its objectives, the SMOE's 2017 GCED Basic Plan refers to the National Curriculum which states that one of the "ideals of an educated person" is "a global citizen, having a sense of community, who lives together as practicing solicitude and sharing" (SMOE, 2017a, p.1). This document further cites the South Korean President's speech at UNESCO in

2015, which explicates the government's support from the very top to promote and strengthen GCED as follows:

> Thinking that education is the fundamental solution to violent extremism and conflict, I believe that we should further expand and strengthen GCED… Korea has been making various efforts such as developing a GCED curriculum in connection with the national curriculum. (President's special speech at UNESCO 70th anniversary in Paris, 2015)

Indeed, the central government expanded its efforts to be involved in the global education development agenda and related policy processes, which are notably led by the UN and UNESCO since the 2010s. For example, the South Korean government hosted and funded UNESCO's Technical Consultation on GCED in 2013 and World Education Forum in 2015. It is perhaps no surprise to see that internationalist and normative policy discourses of UN and UNESCO (Hatley, 2019) appear to have influenced policy-making and the GCED conceptualization process at the national level. For example, the MOE's 2017 Annual Plan document provides a simple definition for GCED as "education for universal values such as world peace and cultural diversity" (MOE, 2017, p.24), which appears to merely be an inclusion of keywords frequently found in UNESCO and UN documents on GCED. Such mixing of the national and international policy frameworks sets the tone for the SMOE's introduction of GCED as a key policy area.

However, current and former SMOE administrators commonly pointed out that the MOE has not played much of a role in actual GCED policy operations, either at the national nor regional levels. This was further confirmed by the two external experts who had been working with both MOE and SMOE. First, at the national level, the MOE has delivered few policy actions to integrate GCED into the national education system. One of the reasons identified by the research participants is the lack of administrative and

organizational support for GCED within the MOE. When the MOE took on its new agenda of promoting GCED prior to WEF 2015, the division that led the agenda development was the International Education Cooperation Division and the main personnel were the staff in charge of cooperation and communication with international organizations. According to both of the external expert participants, as the barriers between different divisions at the Ministry are high, GCED was rarely transmitted to other divisions, especially the ones that directly impact the formal education system. This meant that GCED had less of a chance to be blended into curriculum and national education policies.

Meanwhile, in January 2018, the MOE established the Democratic Citizenship Education Division (Go, 2017). However, despite the general understanding that GCED and democratic citizenship education share similar objectives and characteristics, the way that the MOE conceptualizes democratic citizenship education appears to be considerably different from the mainstreamed approaches to GCED in international policy (See Chapter 2). According to the MOE website, its democratic citizenship education aims to “improve civic values and attitudes which are expanded to participation and practice, and raise students as citizens who practice autonomy, respect and solidarity” (Ministry of Education, 2018b). This description of democratic citizenship education is quite different from the earlier definition of GCED in MOE’s 2017 Annual Plan document (i.e. “education for universal values such as world peace and cultural diversity”). That is, the former makes no references to one’s identity and or responsibilities as a member of humanity beyond national boundaries. This narrow definition of democratic citizenship is further confirmed by the Division’s main responsibilities listed on the MOE website; character, arts, reading, physical, peace, peaceful reunification and “love of country” education are all included as

part of democratic citizenship education, yet it has no mention of GCED. This observation suggests that democratic citizenship education may be used to accommodate seemingly irrelevant areas of education and even take some nationalist overtones. This pattern of a hybrid approach was also observed in the regional-level GCED policy and school-level practice of GCED (see later in this chapter and Chapter 6).

More evidence suggests that GCED has not been fully incorporated into the responsibilities of the MOE's Democratic Citizenship Education Division which is managed by the National Curriculum Policy Bureau and has immediate influence over the national curriculum and textbooks. For instance, the term "GCED" (as well as global citizen or global citizenship) is also completely absent in the *Comprehensive Plan for the Vitalization of Democratic Citizenship Education* (MOE, 2018). Furthermore, when the 2018 International Conference on GCED was co-hosted by the MOE, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and UNESCO, once again, the International Education Cooperation Division was responsible for the event organization within the MOE, as opposed to the Democratic Citizenship Education Division (External 2). In spite of earlier public and international announcements that the MOE would promote GCED within the national education system, the actual administrative arrangements appear to make it difficult for GCED to gain a steady footing in the South Korean education system.

Furthermore, the SMOE participants suggested that a regional education authority like the SMOE has been independent from the MOE in terms of making and implementing GCED policies. SMOE administrators commonly indicated that the MOE has no practical impact on their activities largely because the SMOE GCED programmes are all supported

by their own local budget. SMOE 1, who was in charge of GCED policy at the time of the interview, remarked:

> The MOE has zero influence [on GCED policy in the SMOE]… What I like about GCED is, unlike multicultural education [which was their previous responsibility] that was all based on the MOE's budget, I can do my own policy planning because the budget is all from us. I can do things as I want to, which I believe to be honouring Mr. Superintendent's will.

Therefore, while the MOE played a role in establishing the environment and conditions favourable to the promotion of GCED in the early stages, especially by its active engagement in the international policy process, I argue that its influence over the SMOE's GCED policy has remained fairly insignificant with regard to actual policy implementation.

5.2.1 The Superintendent of Education as a key figure

As noted in Chapter 3, education policymaking in South Korea has increasingly been decentralized, and thus regional officials have played a growing role in decision-making. In line with this trend, SMOE officers and school educators who participated in this research pointed to the election of the then new Superintendent of Education Cho Heeyeon as the most important driver for GCED policy in Seoul. In 2014, Cho, a former sociology professor and social activist, succeeded a conservative superintendent who lost in his bid for re-election (Park, 2014). As noted in Chapter 3, the Superintendent of Education has increasingly become a political figure despite the constitutional principle of political impartiality on the topic of education. Although political parties are legally prohibited from actively participating in the Superintendent of Education elections, the media and educational stakeholders usually divide the candidates into conservative and

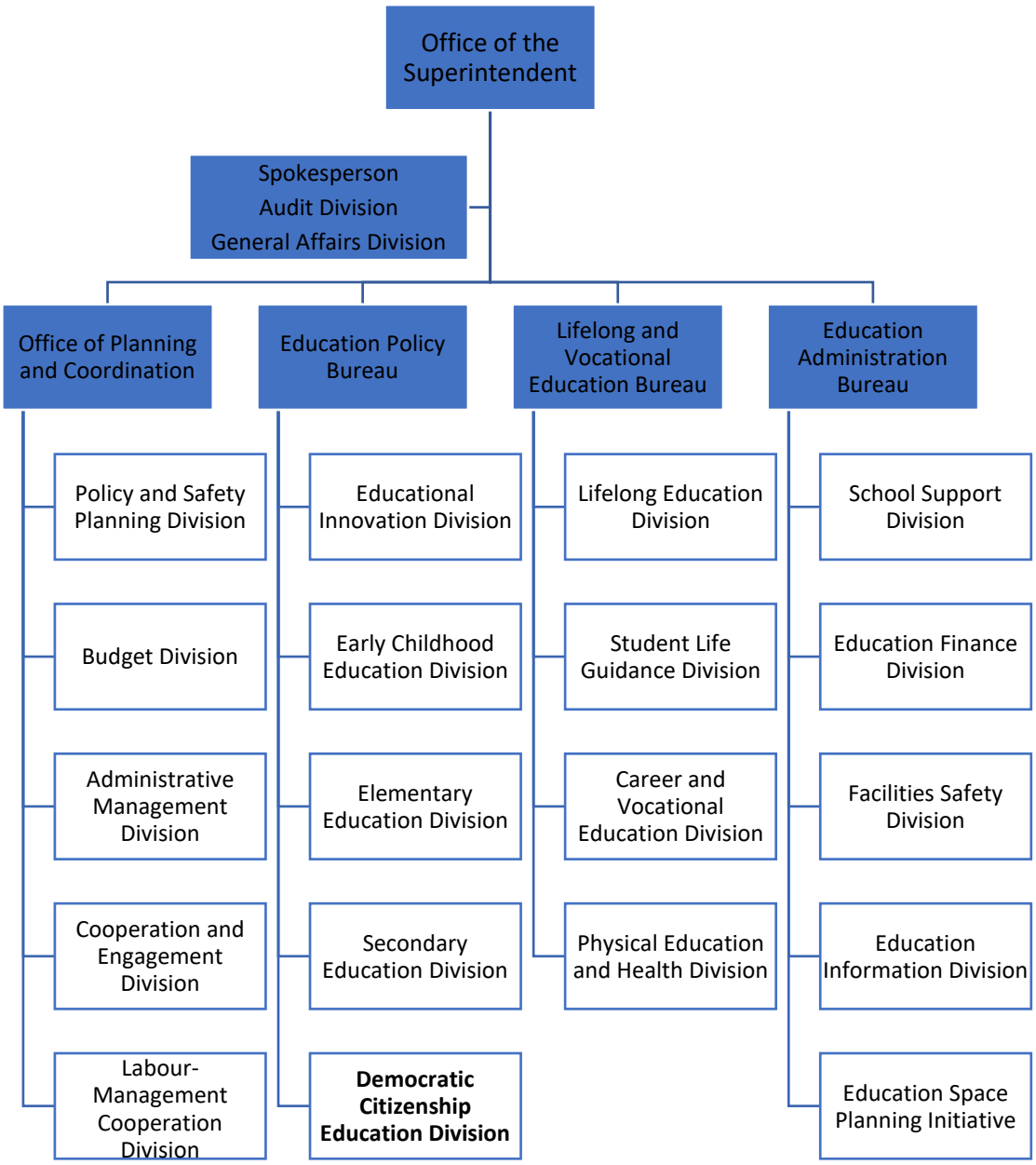
progressive camps based on their background and policy pledges. Accordingly, the 2014 election is known for launching the era of progressive Superintendents of Education, as progressive candidates (including Cho) claimed sweeping victories in 13 out of 17 electoral region elections (MBC News, 2014).

Following his inauguration, Cho pushed for reorganization of the SMOE. Figure 5-1 illustrates the organizational structure of the SMOE at the time of the fieldwork in 2018. Alongside the mergers and abolishing of redundant work units as well as the reallocation of staff, one of the most important changes in this reform was the establishment of the Democratic Citizenship Education Division. As part of its claim to be “cultivating key talent who will lead the sustainable future society,” the division is described as being responsible for “democratic citizenship education, open global citizenship education and student human rights education” (SMOE, 2014). According to SMOE participants, among 17 metropolitan and provincial Education Offices, the SMOE was the first to create a dedicated team and to allocate staff in charge of GCED.

This was a predictable direction of policy, particularly when considering the personal and professional experiences of the new Superintendent. He is known to be a “practical intellectual” and is a renowned theorist on social activism in South Korea; as well as a civil activist who co-founded one of the country’s most active civil organizations – People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy in 1994 (Lee, 2013). As a progressive candidate, Cho has publicly stood against education centered around competition and hierarchization, and has supported welfare and democracy in education. In particular, as one of his key election pledges, Cho put forward a promise of “shifting and developing

from democratic citizenship education towards open global citizenship" (Cho, 2014, para. 5).

<Figure 5-1: Organizational structure of SMOE (2018)>



(Source: reproduced from the SMOE website)

A number of examples evidenced that Cho has a vision for GCED based on broad approaches (i.e. humanitarian and critical), in reference to the GCED conceptual framework (Chapter 2, Section 2.2.1.2). For instance, one of the SMOE participants remarked:

> SMOE 1: The Superintendent himself is very interested in GCED… I think he has a regional focus as well as targets… Looking at his articles, I think his direction is not like being global as we see on TV…
>
> Researcher: Is it more western-oriented?
>
> SMOE 1: De-westernizing. I think it is completely de-westernizing and is more focused towards disadvantaged areas such as [the Chinese cities of] Yanbian and Ha'erbin where there are disadvantaged ethnic Korean diaspora… And to encourage exchange with these populations.
>
> Researcher: He seems to be more interested in humanitarian projects.
>
> SMOE 1: Yes, he is.

These statements indicate that Cho may take both "soft" and "critical" approaches to GCED, to use Andreotti's terms; he is described as favouring humanitarian actions for socioeconomic development while challenging the notion of the West and Western values being global and universal (Andreotti, 2006).

In another example, Cho has also advocated universal education over implementing a "gifted and talented" approach only for select students. According to a SMOE participant, following Cho's inauguration, he downsized science education for the "gifted and talented" from an entire division to a significantly smaller subdivision (SMOE 2). On the other hand, he proffered plans to establish a special school in every district of Seoul for and expanded education-related welfare especially to socioeconomically marginalized students (Cho, 2018). This example further demonstrates Cho's policy disposition pursuing liberal and humanitarian ideals, which are in alignment with a humanitarian

model of GCED in particular (Chapter 2, Section 2.2.1.2). The following section (5.3) will explore whether this disposition is transmitted to actual policymaking and the policy text.

Research participants from the SMOE commonly described the Superintendent as "being very interested in GCED" and "having expertise in GCED." According to the SMOE administrators, Cho provided direction in general policy for promoting GCED while allowing administrators to take care of the programme details. In addition, following Cho's re-election in June 2018 (which took place just prior to the beginning of the fieldwork for this study), the study participants predicted that GCED would further be strengthened over the course of following few years. The Superintendent's predominant influence on GCED policy, as described by the research participants, seems to be in line with the notion of a policy entrepreneur (see Chapter 2, Section 2.3.2.1); namely, his work of policy advocacy led to policy shifts and has largely shaped the process of policy formulation in particular.

5.3 Regional-level GCED Policy Analysis: Four Emergent Themes

Having explored various underlying contexts influencing SMOE's policy making with regard to GCED, the rest of this chapter presents a thematic analysis of their GCED policies. It is primarily based on SMOE's policy documents – SMOE Major Work Plans and GCED Basic Plans from 2017 and 2018 – and interviews with SMOE administrators. These two types of research data were used to triangulate each other and provide illustrative examples (see Chapter 4). Where relevant, the GCED textbooks funded and authorized by the SMOE will also be incorporated into the discussion to develop a better

understanding of the main findings. While the primary analytical focus was to identify which model(s) of global citizenship (in reference to Chapter 2) SMOE's GCED policy is predominantly based on, other theoretical variables such as policy recontextualization and multi-level policy actors (e.g. international organization, national government, etc.) will also be taken into consideration.

5.3.1 Definition & objectives of GCED

One of the most apparent ways to understand SMOE's approach to GCED was via examining how policy documents and policy makers define and conceptualize GCED. In general, the analysis suggests that the SMOE adopts an inconsistent approach to GCED, which mainly swings between the tourist and humanitarian models of global citizenship. As suggested in the layered models of global citizenship in Chapter 2, humanitarian GCED can be seen as a partial extension of its tourist counterpart; that is, the humanitarian model of global citizenship embraces the main attributes associated with the tourist model while extending its scope to global solidarity and social actions. However, as we will see, the descriptions of some provisional programmes under GCED-related categories suggest that, in practice, the humanitarian notion of GCED may be undermined to seem merely rhetorical at times.

Overall, GCED as depicted in SMOE's policy documents are based on two main notions: first, an *understanding of diversity* and second, a *sense of belonging to humanity*. These two notions correspond with the core values associated with the tourist and humanitarian models of GCED respectively. As suggested in Chapter 2, implementation

of the two models can complement, rather than compete with, each other – the tourist model which emphasizes international understanding and knowledge of global issues fulfills a cognitive dimension, while the humanitarian model which emphasizes respect for universal values and social actions conforms to the socio-emotional and behavioural dimensions of GCED (Chapter 2). SMOE's policy documents often use both notions of GCED to support and legitimize the implementation of GCED policy.

For instance, the 2017 GCED Basic Plan states that the objectives of GCED are to:

> - Create mutually respectful school cultures through education for respecting human rights and understanding cultural diversity
> - Cultivate the ability to, based on the awareness of being a member of global society, socially participate at various levels in order to undertake global challenges, and to communicate and cooperate with others
>
> (SMOE, 2017a, p.2)

In the 2018 counterpart, which was written by a different author than the 2017 document, the objective is simplified to: "To cultivate global citizens living together in the global community." It is notable that this author defines "SMOE's GCED" as:

> education that makes the learner aware of one's existence as living together in the global community, internalizing and attitudinize the values of co-existence, tolerance, equality, solicitude and respect. It is required by all members of society living in the globalization era. (SMOE, 2018a, p.2)

While reiterating the emphasis on one's sense of belonging to the global community that has been stated in the GCED objectives, the 2018 definition of GCED is based on a much more passive notion of GCED than the 2017 document. For example, the objectives of GCED in the 2017 document converge towards multi-level social participation and thus are strongly humanitarian; on the other hand, the definition of GCED in the 2018 document has little indication of social actions and leans towards the narrower, tourist model of GCED.

In addition, the two documents present the expected outcomes of GCED as follows:

<Table 5-1: Expected outcomes of GCED in 2017 and 2018 GCED Basic Plans>

	Expected outcomes of GCED
2017 GCED Basic Plan	An improved ability to understand inter-dependency in the world and matters in global contexts Development of altruistic thinking and respect for others in students by deconstructing societal prejudices, promoting cultural diversity, and increasing tolerances to change Communication and cooperation skills in order to work with others to solve global issues and cultivate attitudes that take action starting from the most basic issues (SMOE, 2017a, p.13)
2018 GCED Basic Plan	Establishment of implementing system of GCED which is a core task of Seoul Education Preparation of foundation for global talent through the development of global citizenship competencies Creation of the basis of social integration through improving capability to accept diverse cultures Expansion of cognitive capacity that enables one to see the new changes of globalization from the perspectives of empathy and coexistence (SMOE, 2018a, p.15)

Once again, they show how different policy authors recontextualize GCED in different ways. It is easily noticeable that the two authors interpret the term “expected outcomes” from different standpoints; that is, the 2017 document enlists the expected outcomes of GCED for the students whereas the 2018 author considers local-level or even broader social implications of GCED. Furthermore, demonstrated in the case of definition and objectives of GCED, the 2017 GCED Basic Plan takes a broader approach than the 2018 document. While the 2017 document places emphasis on active engagement in global issues and social change, it even goes so far as to bring in critical-transformative

perspectives by acknowledging the notion of interdependency and deconstruction of social prejudices. However, the 2018 document adopts a much narrower approach to the extent that it also echoes the neoliberal model calling for global talent and competencies. As discussed in Chapter 2, this emphasis on global worker rather than global citizen may undermine contributions to the shared community by prioritizing the enhancement of the individual's social capital.

From a critical viewpoint, these Expected Outcomes which involve all from narrow to broad approaches to global citizenship (see Chapter 2, Section 2.2.1.2) demonstrate a rather naïve perspective that GCED is always positive. These documents do not discuss potential limitations of their GCED policy and programmes and thus describe as if GCED is an all-around solution for multi-level issues. In a similar vein, they seem to assume that the expected value change and competencies are achievable automatically through the implementation of GCED. This premise undermines the fact that enhancing cultural diversity, for example, is a negotiated and contested process, which may recreate power relations across different cultural and ethnic groups (See, for example, Pashby, 2018).

Turning to some of the detailed SMOE programmes and strategies that are aimed at schools in Seoul, it seems that the tourist approach is more predominant while the humanitarian perspectives embedded as part of the policy objectives are possibly undermined. For example, one of the implementation strategies in the 2017 GCED Basic Plan is titled "Experience-Oriented GCED" which involves "foreign experience programmes" (p.11). Furthermore, as part of the "Cooperation with GCED-Related Institutions," the document proposes "special lectures by foreign ambassadors at schools" and "exchange activities with overseas sister schools" (pp.12-13). These programmes

focus on exploring and enhancing the knowledge of foreign cultures and thus are arguably more in keeping with the tourist model of GCED. More importantly, the rest of the document mostly provides general themes and types of programmes yet leaves much space for the school practitioners to design and implement specific programmes. Accordingly, how the school administrators and teachers perceive GCED is likely to be a key factor in deciding which GCED model is being employed in practice. And in fact, the interviews with the school practitioners suggested the tourist approach to GCED is indeed often prevalent at schools; this point will be discussed in depth in the next chapter.

While the GCED Basic Plans discussed so far are specific to SMOE's GCED policies and written by the Democratic Citizenship Education Division, the Major Work Plan is a larger annual document that outlines SMOE's main priorities and activities for the year. The 2017 and 2018 versions of this document also exhibit a rather inconsistent approach to GCED, especially by listing a wide range of programmes under the aim of "raising global citizens" (SMOE, 2017, p.46; SMOE, 2018, p.44). In particular, their emphasis on foreign language education and international exchange reiterates a potential inclination towards the tourist model of GCED, stressing the ability to communicate with people from diverse cultures. The majority of the relevant policy plans focuses on English education; this is unsurprising as English is often the default language of communication across different cultures and nationalities (Hammond & Keating, 2017). In addition to English, other second language education offered by the SMOE includes Chinese, Japanese, German and French. In particular, of the second languages other than English, Chinese language education gets active support from the SMOE. For example, the 2017 document describes a plan to allocate 60 native Chinese language teachers across Seoul whereas

only one native teacher is available for French. As part of their international education exchange offerings, the SMOE also organizes Chinese language camps where teachers and students visit China for language learning and cultural experiences. This relatively heavy attention on Chinese language education aligns with demographic changes occurring in Seoul where the Korean-Chinese population has been in steady increase (Oh, et al., 2015). It may also reflect a new underlying strategy promoting the geopolitical interest in regional partners, echoing the ‘de-westernizing’ attitude of the Superintendent (see Section 5.2.1).

5.3.2 Relationship with other educational disciplines

Another analytical theme that informs SMOE’s approach to GCED is its relationship with other educational disciplines. GCED, like its precedents and related educational areas, is considered to be a cross-curricular subject rather than a regular curricular subject having a defined curriculum slot. Furthermore, notably contrasting with multicultural education, GCED has not been legally enforced and so schools have autonomy on how GCED is delivered in their own settings. In reference to this context, both the ambivalent approach to GCED by the SMOE and the ambiguity in definition of GCED can also be interpreted as a practical way to accommodate the various educational policies and areas that had been attempted prior to GCED. Throughout the SMOE policy documents, GCED textbooks as well as interviews with SMOE administrators, GCED was commonly recognized as an overarching concept encompassing a wide range of themes and topics such as human rights, peace, sustainable development, social justice and

cultural diversity. In other words, I argue that the flexibility and adaptability of the SMOE's GCED policy are considered to be a major strength from a policymakers' perspective.

GCED is not static nor a completely novel field of education. Rather it has been built upon a number of other educational programmes as discussed in Chapter 2. In particular, as mentioned in Chapter 3, Korea's multicultural education which has been mainstreamed by the central government was one of the main educational areas frequently mentioned in regards to GCED in all the documents examined as well as in the interviews. For example, throughout the 2017 GCED Basic Plan, multicultural education is suggested as one of the main learning subjects within GCED, along with other cross-curricular subjects including democratic citizenship education, human rights education, education for sustainable development. Taking a step forward, the GCED textbooks hint that multicultural education needs an improved alternative. The high school GCED textbook states that:

> In the past, multicultural education in our country put an emphasis on integrating students with diverse cultural backgrounds to school and on getting along with other students. However, it should be focusing on helping students with different cultural backgrounds understand and respect each other's cultures, and on cultivating capacities to create new cultures through sympathy. (Lee et al., 2017, p.70)

It explicitly reconstructs the direction of multicultural education to go beyond the previous melting pot model and clearly indicates the textbook's disapproval of cultural assimilation and support for cultural pluralism.

This question of transition from multicultural to global citizenship education was also often discussed during the interviews with SMOE administrators. In particular, SMOE 1, the SMOE officer in charge of GCED at the time of the field research, had a strong understanding of such policy direction as they had previously been in charge of the

SMOE's multicultural education policy and programmes. They pointed out that the term "multicultural" has a distorted and discriminative connotation in Korean society – in the case of Seoul, "multicultural area" usually refers to a particular area of southwest Seoul where the Korean-Chinese migrant population is concentrated and thus a major part of the SMOE's multicultural education is to directly target students from this area. On the other hand, GCED has an image of having a broader focus and being associated with international organizations such as UNESCO, and from the officer's experience, GCED programmes receive much more positive responses in the field compared to its multicultural education counterparts. Therefore, this SMOE administrator positioned GCED as taking over and surpassing multicultural education; in fact, the 2018 GCED Basic Plan that they drafted defines that "SMOE's GCED inherits and intensifies the tolerance aspect of multicultural education which is being restructured into GCED" (SMOE, 2018a, p.2).

In addition to multicultural education, GCED is also being considered to be embracing or superordinate to other various education fields and programmes, notably including areas such as human rights, peace, international understanding, and sustainable development. One of the examples that shows this approach is the tables of contents from GCED textbooks (Table 5-2) which provide snapshots of themes and topics that GCED is considered to cover and be centred around.

<Table 5-2: Tables of Content from Middle and High School GCED textbooks>

Middle school	High school
I. Understanding Global Citizenship Era of the global village & global citizens Global village of living together	Unit 1. Understanding Global Citizenship I. Globalization & global citizens Global citizens in the era of globalization Meaning & role of global citizens
II. Environment & Sustainable Life Climate change Disappearing forests & meadows Sustainable life	Unit 2. Tasks of Global Citizens I. Environment & Energy Energy crisis Environmental issues crossing borders Worldwide climate change
III. Cultural Diversity Globalization & cultural standardization Diverse cultures & coexistence Multicultural society & me	II. Cultural Diversity & Multicultural Society Diverse cultures Understanding of multicultural society Multi-culture & Korean society
IV. Poverty & Inequality Poor people in the prosperous world Globalization & fair capitalism	III. Economic inequality Poverty & inequality Fair trade International development cooperation & official development assistance
V. War, Refugees and Peace Today's war Refugees, unsettled lives Proactive peace	IV. War, Peace & Human Security International conflict & peace Understanding of human security Human security & role of global citizens
VI. Human Security Meaning of human security Understanding of food security	
VII. World order Maintenance of world order Global citizens in the world	Unit 3. Global Citizens Opening the Future I. Global Citizens & Sustainable Development Millennium Development Goals & Sustainable Development Goals Sustainable development & international organizations Cooperation of global citizens for the future
Appendix: International organizations that move the world	Appendix: Universal Declaration of Human Rights

(Source : Hwang et al., 2017; Lee et al., 2017)

This table suggests that GCED has a trans-disciplinary nature and is an overarching subject in the curriculum. The 2017 GCED Basic Plan also takes a very similar approach so that it lists nearly identical subject areas that can be incorporated as part of GCED: Democratic citizenship education, human rights education, multicultural education and education for sustainable development. Furthermore, as one of the specific policy actions, the SMOE also provides funding to both student and teacher clubs that engage in GCED-related learning and educational activities; and specifies themes of eligible clubs to be "peace, human rights, environment, multiculturalism, globalization, and economic justice" (SMOE, 2017a, p.6).

All these cross-curricular subjects including GCED face limitations partly due to the nature of their policy backgrounds. Discussing the positioning of GCED in relation to the larger curriculum and school activities, a SMOE administrator (SMOE 3) explained the challenges that cross-curricular subjects face as follows:

> For example, when the Sewol Ferry Incident [1] occurred, the Ministry of Public Administration and Safety responded by saying 'we need safety education. Do safety education for x plus hours.' Then it is made into a law and decree. Next time when there is a gender-related incident, the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family makes [instruments that require schools to do gender education for] at least x number of hours per year. And there comes the government-produced [history textbook] issue[2], if the historical view is problematic then they make something else. These become the Creative Experiential Activities or cross-curricular [courses] … which are already more than full. This is a very deformed structure. It is really a deformed structure. I think this kind of thing needs to be sorted out and laws need to be organized first, otherwise the problem persists. Since various social demands come down to regular classes through the Ministry of Education and to schools through the curriculum, schools are obliged to do all these things while finding it difficult to secure hours even for students' extracurricular activities or clubs.

[1] The Sewol Ferry Incident refers to the sinking of a ferry ship in April 2014. It claimed over 300 lives, of which 250 were high school students who were on their way to a school trip.

[2] In 2015, the conservative Park Geun-Hye government instructed an administrative directive to introduce single, government-issued history textbooks, which prompted a nation-wide controversy

Although GCED has not been imposed by legal provisions, the active support of state and regional governments can possibly create a similar burden on schools. In this context, GCED is likely to confront competition with other cross-curricular subjects for an already packed timetable. Furthermore, schools are pressured to deliver and report on their cross-curricular activities merely to fulfill the legal requirements. Consequently, both the interviewee and previous literature criticize these cross-curricular classes and activities as tending to pursue the formalities rather than focusing on the quality of contents.

Recognizing the above concern, the 2015 Revised National Curriculum consolidated 39 cross-curricular learning subjects into 10 themes including safety and health, character, career, democratic citizenship, human rights, multiculturalism, reunification, Dokdo[3], economy and finance, and environment and sustainable development (Jung, 2021). As discussed in Chapter 3, the National Curriculum has been prescribed to assert state governance over formal education in Korea and therefore this change was directly transmitted to school curricula. From a policy perspective, GCED has been used as a means to consolidate and complement many of these themes (notably but not limited to character, democratic citizenship, human rights, multiculturalism, and sustainable development), and adopting different models of and approaches to GCED are useful in this process. However, it is arguable that, while the flexibility and adaptability of GCED are usually depicted as a strong point by policy documents and administrators, they can potentially pose a problem of meaning "everything and [having] little or no real meaning" (Pashby, 2018, p.164). This critique echoes the 'light touch' approach to the Citizenship

[3] Dokdo is an island located between the Korean peninsula and Japan and a geopolitical hot spot at the center of territorial dispute between the two countries

curriculum in England; allowing the schools to develop and practice their own citizenship education has empowered certain schools, but others struggle to find effective and consistent implementation (Keating and Kerr, 2013). Similarly, the policy approach which relies on GCED's flexibility and adaptability without clear guidance or structural support may benefit schools that are highly motivated and have sufficient resources (e.g. GCED Policy Schools), yet the under-resourced majority of schools will attempt to cram GCED items into their already busy timetables simply to tick yet another state mandated box. Chapter 6 will revisit the issue of delivering GCED in an already crowded curriculum as well as in relation to other cross-curricular subjects. It will also discuss how the understanding of GCED as an umbrella concept is also prevalent among school educators.

5.3.3 Nationalist vs internationalist discourses on GCED

Another thematic pattern that was apparent in the policy analysis was the contrasting attitudes towards the nationalist and internationalist discourses on GCED. In this section, the discussion of the findings is twofold; the first sub-section discusses how SMOE deliberately dissociates its GCED policy from the nationalist model, and the following subsection then presents the observation that SMOE's GCED policy was profoundly infused with international normative policy frameworks.

5.3.3.1 Absence of nationalist discourse

Throughout the analyses of policy documents and interviews, it is notable that they show intentional and deliberate distancing from the nationalist approach to GCED. This is distinctive since previous research has shown that governments tend to promote the national and nationalist conceptions of citizenship (See Chapter 2 and 3).

SMOE's policy documents frequently mention "global community" and "global village" in various contexts and emphasize a sense of belonging to the community transcending national boundaries. However, the material rarely addresses the role of students as national citizens. Furthermore, while the policy documents point out cultivating students' global talents or global competencies as an expected outcome of GCED, it is hard to find an implication that this aim is linked to the promotion of national interests or economic competitiveness, which has traditionally been emphasized by the government as discussed in the literature review (see Chapter 3).

In some cases, the analyzed documents appear to intentionally keep distance from taking a nationalist approach to GCED. For example, in a section explaining why GCED is necessary, the 2017 GCED Basic Plan states that "in addition to obtaining competency to proactively adapt to and to participate in the globalization process, it is required to promote perception and attitudes to direct towards *universal values which go beyond national interest*" (SMOE, 2017a, p.1, emphasis added). On the same note, the General Guideline for the GCED textbooks (2017) states that:

> broadening the prospect of public education that was traditionally organized and operated on the basis of nation-state, education for raising human beings who pursue universal values of humanity has come to be necessary (p.6).

In line with this stance, GCED textbooks present an even more intense case and are particularly relevant and useful in the analysis as they contrast to the existing Social Studies textbooks that stand on the nationalist model. For instance, the high school-level GCED textbook deliberately disapproves of nationalism. In a unit entitled “Meaning and Role of Global Citizens,” an activity listed as “Understanding the Conflict Elements of Global Citizenship” presents a list of European political parties that support nationalist and far-right policies such as limiting immigration, strengthening border controls and leaving the European Union, and interprets these policies as examples of “closed democracy” and “national centrism,” which clash with global citizenship (p.21). By asking a question of how this tension should be relieved, the textbook posits that global citizenship should be distant from nationalist perspectives.

Prior to the emergence of GCED as a new educational trend, state-led multiculturalism and multicultural education were mainstreamed and the influence was reflected in government-authorized textbooks including in Social Studies. In his analysis of high school Social Studies textbooks, Jho and Cho (2013) suggested education on cultural diversity and multiculturalism is approached as a means of equipping students for the arrival of a more multicultural society in South Korea and thus to strengthen national competitiveness. For instance, one textbook states:

> The number of foreign workers and immigrants via marriage is increasing in our country. Foreigners who have immigrated to our country help to resolve the manpower shortage issue caused by the decreasing birth rate in our country. In addition, immigrants by marriage, those who arrived via marriage to a Korean citizen, are similarly helping to address the decreasing national birth rate issue as well as the issue of gender imbalance in agricultural and rural areas. (Quoted in Jho & Cho, 2013, p.28)

This statement interprets demographic changes from international migration in South Korea solely from the nationalist perspectives; it focuses on how such changes affect the socioeconomic dynamics of the country and contribute to national interests, without recognizing various personal and cultural aspects.

On the other hand, GCED textbooks depict the multiculturalization of South Korean society in a different manner. While these textbooks also remark on the country's demographic changes, they portray immigrants as "important members of society" and state that "(immigrants') diverse cultural backgrounds and life experiences are valuable and should be respected" (Hwang et al., 2017, p.61). They present the country's ongoing transition to a multicultural society as a natural part of global trends which needs to be celebrated. And these narratives emphasize the collective efforts necessary to reach a desired form of multicultural society such as being "inclusive," "mature" and where the "lives and values of different people create harmony," which corresponds to the desired form of global community depicted throughout the GCED textbooks. There is, however, no implicit assertion of how or why multiculturalism can be realized for the sake of the national interests. Although the analysis is based on a limited scope of GCED rather than on broader education policies and curriculum, the findings may be indicative of even a partial transition from the previously nationalist-dominant to more globalized discourses in South Korean education.

It should be noted that the existing Social Studies textbooks have a significantly larger audience than the GCED textbooks. Social Studies is a mandatory subject from middle school to the first-year high school and is a core elective subject for second and third-year high school students, whereas the GCED textbooks are used only in select schools

that have voluntarily chosen to run GCED courses or utilize them as supplementary textbooks. This means that the notion of post-nationalist global citizenship can possibly be diminished if the rest of the curriculum and textbooks are predominantly nationalist as shown in the above example. As discussed in Chapter 2, at least in theory, multiple citizenships (i.e. nationalist and global citizenships) can co-exist since it is common for one to have multiple identities and sites of citizenship. However, in reality, the different approaches to citizenship in the curricula and textbooks between GCED and other subjects can be a source of confusion and clash of views in the classroom. The next Chapter will further discuss how school practitioners interpret GCED in relation to the more widespread nationalist notion of citizenship and whether they have faced any tension due to the gap between the two.

A rosy view on the multicultural transition taking place in South Korea is potentially as problematic as a nationalist or assimilationist approach because of its lack of critical engagement. The way GCED textbooks identify the role of students in developing multicultural societies is rather naïve and simplistic; students are told to be more embracing and respectful of other cultures and, in this way, various conflicts caused in the course of multiculturalization can be resolved and social harmony can be achieved. Arguably, the multicultural society in South Korea takes on much more complex aspects and, to appreciate it properly, there needs not only cultural understanding but also consideration of historical, economic and even diplomatic contexts, which are not being discussed in the GCED textbooks.

As in the case of multiculturalism, what is not being discussed in the GCED textbooks also has a useful analytical implication. In particular, as they often intentionally avoid

nationalist discourse, issues that are critical to the South Korean context are not being mentioned, even in the case of immediate relevance to a given topic. One of the most evident examples is the near absence of the Korean War in the chapters on war and conflict. There is one activity entitled “Exploring peaceful conflict resolution” which makes reference to a Korean film based on the Korean War; it gives an example of a fictional episode from the movie where the characters in conflict reach reconciliation through music. Although the Korean War was one of the most significant historical events that has influenced every social, economic and cultural aspect of contemporary Korea, it is mostly absent from the discussion of war and peace. Instead, the images and texts in these chapters are dominated by the violent conflicts and refugee issues in Arab and African countries. This othering of wars and the people who experience them exposes a potential pitfall of GCED as it may undermine the relevance of GCED to learners. In other words, GCED can be trapped in its emphasis on “global” and therefore fails to relate the learners to their own social, cultural, political and economic dimensions.

A similar approach to othering and neglecting also seems to be apparent regarding North Korea. Throughout the GCED-related policy documents and GCED textbooks, the discussion about North Korea is almost invisible. In the case of the middle school GCED textbook, a paragraph in the unit entitled “Multicultural Society and Me” writes, “[we] need to have attitudes that respect and understand people from different cultural backgrounds from us, such as marriage immigrants, migrant workers, *North Korean defector residents*, and international students" (p. 61, emphasis added). However, GCED textbooks do not explain how the culture of North Korean defectors is different or can be appreciated. This observation echoes Sung’s (2010) argument that GCED in South Korea should consider

the specificity of a national division and thus should include general understanding and tolerance towards North Korean culture and society. Coincidentally, two months prior to the field work, an inter-Korean summit took place and was arguably one of the most significant events in recent Korean history. However, GCED, at least in the policy and textbook contexts, appeared to provide little room for engaging students in discussions on the fast-evolving relationship between the two Koreas.

5.3.3.2 Active engagement with the international normative policy framework

While SMOE's policy documents and the interview participants suggest that their GCED policy is keeping a distance from nationalist discourse, it appears to actively engage with international normative policy frameworks, which are markedly humanitarian-based in nature (as noted in Chapter 2). SMOE policy documents often use the UN and UNESCO documents and other normative policy instruments which typically emphasize global solidarity and humanitarian actions, in order to inform the reader on the conceptual context of GCED and legitimize their policy objectives.

For instance, the appendices of the SMOE's GCED Basic Plans are largely comprised of sections for information on how the UN and UNESCO have developed and promoted GCED as a global agenda. These documents contain verbatim extracts on the concepts of GCED taken from UNESCO documents, as well as summarized descriptions of the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the 2015 World Education Forum (WEF) and the Global Education First Initiative (GEFI). They also repeatedly put forward measures to utilize the UNESCO Associated Schools Project Network (ASPnet) Schools in Seoul,

with a purpose to “spread UNESCO ideals in school” (2018, p.8). A SMOE participant (SMOE 1) confirmed that they were aiming at increasing the number of UNESCO ASPnet Schools from about 30 to 100 and at providing financial support to these schools as part of their efforts to expand GCED at the school level.

The above examples suggest that the SMOE considers international organizations and their policy documents to be primary and credible sources when it comes to defining and conceptualizing GCED. There is little indication, however, that the SMOE makes efforts to deconstruct the normative and often moral-driven version of global citizenship and GCED promoted by the international policy framework (see Pashby, 2018; Hatley, 2019). Instead, it seems to feed into the SMOE policy without being much scrutinized. It is perhaps understandable given that the purpose of these documents is to describe or present policy agenda rather than stimulating conceptual discussions; on the other hand, there is also a practical advantage in adopting the conception straight from the international organizations. SMOE 1 remarked that, although they were sometimes personally skeptical about the work of the international organizations such as the UN and UNESCO, these “brands” were useful and helped them to receive positive responses on their work, because:

> The UN and UNESCO … (make) people in general think, while they may not understand the subject matter, (GCED) is something very good, very helpful to me. That it looks cool.

In other words, the international policy is used by regional policymakers for policy legitimization. A similar kind of strategy was also employed by the national government, which actively supported and engaged in the global education development agenda driven by the UN and UNESCO (see Section 5.2).

The GCED textbooks and their teaching guides are even more explicit in showing their attachment to the internationalist and normative perspectives of GCED. The teaching guide states that one of the main motivations leading to the development of GCED textbooks was the widespread sentiment to support and expand GCED at schools in South Korea following the 2015 WEF. Since the WEF was organized by the UNESCO and was an occasion to finalize the post-2015 global education agenda prior to the UN's launch of SDGs, GCED in this South Korean context was arguably influenced heavily by the moral and humanitarian ideals of the UN and UNESCO.

In addition, the last chapters of both the middle and high school GCED textbooks focus on the work of international organizations and NGOs in shaping global development agenda and promoting global cooperation, and the appendices of each textbook respectively contain lists of international organizations and the full text of the UN Declaration of Human Rights (see Table 5-2). Furthermore, throughout the textbooks, activity content and side notes are often used to introduce international treaties, international days observed by the UN agencies relevant to the main topics and the themes of the chapters; for instance, side notes are added to the topic of climate change in order to make connections with the Paris Agreement (UN Framework Convention on Climate Change), refugees via the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), and war and peace via the UN International Day of Peace. In general, they describe the role of international laws and organizations as maintaining world order, mostly connoting their positive functions.

Meanwhile, these textbooks show a lack of critical examination of international organizations and their normative approaches to global citizenship. They demonstrate

few examples of limited efforts to prompt critical thinking on the roles and operations of international organization. In one of these few instances, a section under a title “Why International Organizations Exist” from the middle school GCED textbook writes:

> Despite the positives that international organizations bring, on the other side of the same coin, they have limitations as well. While international organizations are unrelated to the national interests of an individual state, powerful nations may have great influence in the actual operations of international organizations. In addition, there are cases where international organizations suggest inappropriate solutions for local issues that are difficult for the international community to deal with and thus worsen the local situation. (Hwang et al., 2017, p.126)

In addition, in a unit from this same textbook entitled “Maintenance of World Order,” there is an activity that invites students to read a passage about UN peacekeeping in Africa and to discuss conflicting views on the effectiveness of the operations. Outside these few exceptions, the documents usually highlight the “meaning of existence and value of international law and international organizations to stable maintenance of world order,” as stated in one of the unit introductions from a textbook (Hwang et al., 2017, p.124), and rarely question the legitimacy of international organizations and their activities.

Another example of how SMOE’s GCED policy may lack a critical reflection on international development discourse is due to how it addresses the norm of universal values – it is one of the main notions that the SMOE inherits from the international policy discourse on GCED. The term “universal values” or “human universals” is mentioned throughout the GCED Basic Plans to describe the concept of or justification for GCED. However, there is little questioning of what exactly these values are nor how ‘universal’ they are. When both GCED Basic Plans by SMOE echo UNESCO documents to introduce the concept of GCED as being based on universal values such as “peace,

human rights and diversity" (SMOE, 2017a, p.14; 2018a, p.16), they overlook that each of these values does not have a single, universally-recognized conception. Moreover, the so-called universal values in the recent international discourse on GCED may reinforce a form of Western imperialism as it has largely been dominated by "soft" or liberal humanitarian approach based on western ideals (Pashby, 2018; Hatley, 2019; also see Chapter 2, Section 2.2.1.1). This appears to the case not only in concise policy documents but also in textbooks, which have relatively larger spaces for discussion but are mostly muted on the possible clash between Western-oriented and Asian/Korean values. In other words, the promotion of universal values while overstepping local dynamics tends to be vague or in the worst cases appears simply as empty rhetoric.

While the internationalist and normative approaches to GCED do not reject the notion of national citizenship, it is arguable that they are better compatible with a post-national model of citizenship (see Chapter 2). Therefore, the data suggests that the SMOE has broadened the spectrum of its citizenship education to be inclusive of post-national global citizenship, by deliberately keeping a distance from the nationalist discourse of GCED and promoting the cosmopolitan notion of citizenship often associated with international organizations.

5.3.4 Institutional Contexts

Lastly, the discussion regarding various institutional contexts is meant to provide understanding on how SMOE conceptualizes GCED. The interviews with the SMOE administrators and external experts suggest that internal elements such as general policy

strategies, work culture, and staffing and organizational structure have influenced the way GCED policy is shaped.

One of the main reasons that SMOE's GCED policy takes an inconsistent approach and is absent of a clear definition seems to be derived from the policy authors' lack of previous experience in and commitment to GCED. In other words, the SMOE administrators in charge of GCED have a relative lack of expertise or conditioning to develop in-depth conceptualizations of GCED; the interviews with the SMOE participants particularly support this finding. According to the interviewees, SMOE policy documents were written by administrators who had little direct experience in GCED prior to being assigned to their SMOE posts. Two of the administrators I interviewed were either previously or currently in charge of the SMOE's GCED policies and both mentioned they familiarized themselves with GCED only after taking the jobs. For example, SMOE 2, a former chief of the Open Global Citizenship and Multicultural Education Team, said that GCED had not been their focus of work until GCED made its first appearance as a policy area following the creation of the Democratic Citizenship Education Division where they were transferred to. SMOE 1, the administrator directly in charge of GCED at the time of this research, also explained that their professional experience relevant to GCED was limited to a year-and-a-half period when they worked in human rights and multicultural education; they referred to themselves as a "layperson in multicultural or human rights (education)." Meanwhile, SMOE 3, who were in charge of the SMOE's general policy research, had extensive prior experience related to GCED; they also remarked on a lack of expertise among the policymakers. They said:

> from a policy point of view, in fact, officials or members of the Education Office who make programmes are not people who have abundant sensitivity toward democratic citizenship education, GCED or human rights.

A number of interviewees also pointed out the SMOE's narrow perception of GCED that it promotes international exchange and foreign language education, often connoting it as a weakness. One of the examples given by them was the SMOE's common practice of assigning candidates with university degrees in the English language to positions in GCED affairs, although, according to SMOE 1, the day-to-day work rarely requires any English skills at all. In fact, both of the research participants who worked in the unit responsible for GCED were English majors, with one being a former English teacher. SMOE 1 indicated that while this appears to be an internal personnel policy, it also reveals a misconception in GCED and it is difficult to ensure the staff in charge of GCED have "sensitivity towards global citizenship and diversity." This staffing strategy may, once again, signal SMOE's policy orientation towards tourist GCED, which highlights intercultural communication.

The staff-related analytical findings lead to a discussion on how the personal aspects of the administrators in charge can potentially impact the policymaking and implementation processes (see Chapter 2). Because these administrators tend not to be people who have always been interested in or dedicated to GCED and often regard GCED merely as work responsibilities, it is unlikely that they make extra efforts to develop an original conceptualization of GCED based on extensive research. When asked how they would define GCED, both SMOE administrators who have worked directly on GCED were passive in giving their own thoughts but referred to various documents or remarked: "To me, GCED is very difficult … and I cannot say with confidence that I have the

qualifications [for GCED] 100 percent" (SMOE 1). In explaining the drafting process of the 2018 GCED Basic Plan, SMOE 1 also indicated that they borrowed and assembled the objectives of GCED from various organizations and tried to simplify them into more digestible core concepts. They also added:

> As SMOE administrators we do have our own thoughts [about GCED] but our role is to reframe the Superintendent's thought to fit the field.
>
> There are things that schools demand and want … While the Superintendent's GCED does not get lost in its direction, I would also like to combine the opinions of the schools. That is how we create and operate the [GCED] programmes.

While these statements reiterate how critical the role of the Superintendent is in guiding policy direction (Section 5.2.1), they also imply that the policy administrator plays a passive role of adopting and mediating different conceptions of GCED rather than actively defining and developing GCED.

There are also administrative aspects that hinder the policy's potential. For example, considering that staff usually get relocated to different positions every one-to-two years, the administrators are unlikely to proactively search for ways to promote and sustain GCED for the long-term. Even if they do, there is no guarantee that the plans will be continued by a successor. In this regard, SMOE 1 remarked:

> [The frequent staff rotation] is a limitation of the Education Office. The work is not sustained, and its character also changes depending on the staff in charge.

In addition, SMOE 3 also pointed out an issue of the organizational structure:

> I have been involved in making different Divisions, and these divisions get to have different teams under them; there is no choice but Multicultural Education Team, GCED Team, Student Autonomy Team, Reading and Humanities Team have been assigned under [the Democratic Citizenship Education Division]. The reading and humanities programmes can surely be worked out within Democratic Citizenship

> Education, but I still have a question if it is right to be there considering the organizational context.

This statement reveals an administrative limitation of a governmental office; there is a long list of both new (i.e. GCED) and traditional work agendas that need to be distributed throughout the organization, and, given the formalized bureaucratic structure, it is not always possible to designate certain tasks to the most appropriate and relevant work unit or personnel. This issue is reminiscent of the earlier point that seemingly irrelevant areas such as reunification education and education for patriotism are listed as part of GCED in the SMOE's Major Work Plan.

5.4 Conclusion

Overall, the policy analysis in this chapter showed that the SMOE lacks a clear and consistent definition or conceptualization of GCED. Among the four approaches to global citizenship (neoliberal, tourist, humanitarian and critical) presented in Chapter 2, both tourist and humanitarian models seemed to be most predominant in the SMOE GCED policy texts and among policy authors. In particular, the heavy engagement with the international normative policy framework (notably by the UN and UNESCO) and the deliberate dissociation from the nationalist notion of global citizenship demonstrate the SMOE's policy direction towards a post-national model of citizenship education. On the other hand, these approaches are often short on critical engagement and possibly remain a narrow conception of GCED in the policy implementation. This gap and inconsistency can largely be explained by strategic and institutional factors, which have been discussed in the two previous sections (5.3.3 and 5.3.4); namely, the positioning of GCED as a

flexible and overarching concept to accommodate various existing fields of education, and the lack of previous experiences related to GCED among the policy authors.

This chapter also reiterated that policy is recontextualized at multiple levels and by different policy actors; for instance, the international and national policy discourses were recast in the regional GCED policy, and the same type of policy documents yet written by different authors demonstrated considerably different conceptions of GCED. On that note, the next chapter will continue to examine how GCED is reinterpreted in different sites of policy implementation, namely the GCED Policy Schools in Seoul.

Chapter Six: Policy as practice: How is GCED Conceptualized and Practiced in GCED Policy Schools?

6.1 Introduction

This chapter is the second part of my empirical analysis, which focuses on the school-level implementation of GCED. Responding to RQ 3 and 4, this chapter aims to identify how GCED is conceptualized and undertaken by the school practitioners, to determine their predominant approaches (i.e. nationalist, tourist, humanitarian or critical). The analysis is mainly based on two types of data from seven GCED Policy Schools in Seoul – first, school documentation (mainly school curriculum and activity reports); and second, interviews of school administrators, teachers and students (see Chapter 4).

Based on the findings from school-based data, I argue that while the participants generally exhibited a broad understanding of GCED, the actual practice of GCED was often scaled down to take narrower and ambivalent approaches that mostly swayed between tourist and humanitarian models. This discrepancy between perception and practice is caused by a number of constraining factors which will be discussed in the last section of this chapter.

6.1.1 Two underlying contexts for school-level analysis

While the practitioners' perceptions and actual practices of GCED exhibited similar patterns across the participating schools, the range and depth of the implementations at

each school were often reliant on the following two factors: 1) The degree of activity or passivity by school principals and teachers; and 2) the school levels (i.e. elementary, middle or high school). Therefore, this section discusses these underlying contexts which will aid in understanding the subsequent sections on school-based analysis.

6.1.1.1 Active vs Passive GCED Practitioners

The school principals and teachers interviewed in this study generally demonstrated broad understandings of GCED that are, on average, based on the humanitarian and moral approaches. The levels of their interest and competence in GCED, however, were typically reliant on where the person is located on a spectrum that ranges from active to passive GCED practitioners. The active versus passive categorizations is common in the pedagogy literature, as in, for example, the discussion of active and passive learning. Bonwell and Eison (1991) identify some characteristics associated with being active in learning: a high-level of involvement, engagement, motivation and higher-order thinking such as analysis, synthesis and evaluation. These are useful criteria that help defining active and inactive (or passive) GCED practitioners, which will be presented in this sub-section to facilitate the subsequent discussion on how GCED is perceived and practiced by these school practitioners.

On the *active* end, educators have had prior training and teaching experiences in GCED and identify themselves as being passionate about the practice of GCED. Most of these educators explained that their previous experiences in overseas educational exchange or volunteering triggered their interest in global issues and developed their

notions of global community. For example, one middle school principal described the development of her interest as follows:

> As an English teacher, I was always interested in the diverse cultures that are introduced in English textbooks… I also did ICT teacher activities run by APEC [Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation]. I teamed up with teachers who are good with computers and visited schools in Thailand to teach how to utilize computers… It is how I came to be interested [in GCED] (Principal 2, School C).

These teachers echo Bentall et al. (2014) who report that teachers with first-hand partnership experience of a developing country had a strong desire to involve their learners in understanding and making a difference in their own communities. The active school principals and teachers voluntarily initiated applications to be GCED Policy Schools and they have clear and vigorous ideas about how to implement GCED at their schools. They also emphasize prioritizing GCED throughout the curriculum and school activities. These educators were also well-known among the participants for their efforts in GCED. For instance, one of the most passive GCED practitioners mentioned and described one of the most active GCED practitioners as follows:

> There is a teacher at [name of the school] who works hard for GCED… I think that this teacher's educational approach is well aligned with what she believes in and that is the best case [in teaching GCED] (Teacher 2, School C).

In the *middle* of the spectrum are educators who have positive but textbook understandings of GCED. Unlike their active counterparts, they tend not to have as much direct prior experience with GCED but still empathize with its necessity. Being at a GCED Policy School usually served as the main driver for these educators to be interested in and to start to study GCED. For these educators, GCED is not necessarily the priority but they believe it still teaches important values and attitudes. In particular, for school principals, among their primary motives for applying to be a GCED school was the

additional funding provided, which they saw as means to also help support their schools in general. They seemed to be resourceful administrators with regards to external funding sources and to have strong talents for school administration. Additionally, there was also one case of a school leader who did not apply for his school to be a GCED Policy School but nevertheless actively supported the application, which was submitted by a subordinate teacher.

Lastly, the most *passive* type of educator is one who has little prior exposure to or interest in GCED yet is assigned as a person in charge of a GCED Policy School programme anyway. While this type believes that GCED is necessary and beneficial to students, they often criticize the way that GCED Policy Schools are implemented. One teacher in this category bluntly stated:

> At our school, everyone dislikes GCED… It is not that people dislike the concept itself but the way the (GCED Policy School) project was decided and processed… It started with decision-making that suppressed teachers (Teacher 2, School C).

These teachers tend to be English language teachers who are tasked by others, likely their superiors, to lead GCED implementations at their schools despite having no relevant backgrounds; the erroneous implication being that GCED is "international" and thus requires administration by people who are proficient in English.

Among the five principals and seven teachers who participated in this research, I identified that there were five active and two passive GCED practitioners, while the remaining five participants were dispersed in the middle of the spectrum. It may also be noteworthy that, as mentioned in Chapter 4, there were also school leaders I was not able to interview; both schools had active teachers who were reluctant to put me in touch with their principals because, in the teachers' words, "They did not understand well the details

of GCED Policy Schools and simply let the teachers take full charge.” Although they did not contribute to the research data, it seems likely that these school leaders can also be categorized as passive GCED practitioners at GCED Policy Schools.

6.1.1.2 School level

In elementary school (attended from ages 7-12), active parent participation is often considered to be necessary to ensure successful implementation of any educational activity and thus it is relatively easier to involve all students, teachers and parents in GCED activities. According to the interviewees, primary school teachers are relatively younger and tend to be more enthusiastic about new activities in general. They are also given more flexibility to restructure lessons as they are usually in charge of one class of students for all their subject matters, which changes to a revolving structure with different teachers at the later levels.

In middle school (attended from ages 13-15), students tend not to be fully independent, yet they desire more autonomy compared to their primary school counterparts. Some interviewees indicated that middle school students are considered to be relatively difficult to manage, largely because of the physical and emotional changes that typically occur in children in this age group. And so while GCED activities will require significant levels of teacher guidance, expectations in terms of reactions by and or participation from students are low.

At the high school level (attended from ages 16-18), student participation in GCED is sometimes driven by college entrance applications, which can be both positive and

negative for GCED activities. As noted in Chapter 3, high schools in Korea are usually under pressure to demonstrate strong performances measured by their students' college admissions results, and thus faculty members may encourage students to passively participate in GCED activities simply to boost their extracurricular activities records. On the other hand, high school students tend to be more autonomous and have more specific career plans; my data shows that, if they think certain GCED-related school activities may have positive impacts on their academic records, they can become proactive and passionate about the subjects and activities. This dynamic between GCED and career development will again be discussed in more depth later in this chapter (Section 6.4.5).

6.2 School-level Conceptualization of GCED

6.2.1 School curriculum

In all the participating GCED Policy Schools, the integration of GCED to the existing school curriculum was one of the main strategies to promote GCED at the schools. While the next section will discuss examples of GCED practices in various settings in detail, this section will examine how official school curricula at GCED Policy Schools integrated and interpreted GCED.

The majority of SMOE administrators, school principals and teachers have indicated that GCED in essence is not dramatically new or different from the existing formal education; one has always been able to find various GCED-related topics and contents already in the national curriculum and textbooks. As discussed in Chapter 3, in South

Korea, while the National Curriculum serves as the backbone of the educational content and to textbook development, recent educational reforms have stressed the increasing autonomy of schools and teachers. In this context, most schools publish a School Education Plan which outlines the annual school curriculum based on the prescribed education-related laws and regulation, National Curriculum, characteristics of local community and student dynamics.

Most of the school principal participants expressed a shared experience of initially attempting to promote GCED at their schools by starting with the integration of GCED items and events in the existing timetable in a cross-curricular way. For example, one of the principals stated:

> When a school implements specific education, every school has a different focus. We, through discussions, decided on a few themes according to our school's circumstances … GCED can go into all the subjects in the curriculum. We cannot do it in every class, but depending on the lesson units, we can absorb certain topics into the classes. They accumulate and then develop into a considerable amount of GCED. So when the curriculum is organized and the big structure is made, it is the teachers who deliver (Principal 5, School G).

The school leader participants commonly indicated or implied that GCED is already everywhere or can easily be incorporated into existing curriculum by pinpointing the components of GCED. The process of infusing GCED into the school curriculum is sometimes described to be smooth and even effortless. However, the examination of school curriculum documents suggests that, while they mirror the generally broad understanding that the school practitioners hold, the presence and leverage of GCED in the larger context of the schools' curricula seem to be rather ambivalent.

Indeed, official school curriculum documents from the participating GCED Policy Schools often included a section presenting specific plans for promoting GCED. In particular, a cross-analysis of the purpose of GCED as described by the participating schools demonstrates some common approaches. Overall, the school curriculum documents exhibit a broad understanding of GCED, which is similar to the general levels of knowledge and attitudes displayed by the school leaders and teachers who participated in interviews (as will be discussed in the next sub-section). Most of the documents exhibited a humanitarian approach to GCED which commonly emphasizes values such as human rights, peace, environmental sustainability and cultural diversity, as well as calls for active participation to resolve global issues and to contribute to the global community.

One exception, however, was School C, which seemingly took on a more narrow, nationalist model of GCED; the school curriculum states that its GCED aims to “cultivate people of talent who establish and reflect on the pride for our culture through recognizing and respecting diverse cultures and ethnic groups.” It suggests a notion of cultural diversity that is self-referential and is seen as a way to strengthen national pride and cultural self-esteem. Additionally, School C’s repeated use of the expression, “cultivate people of talent,” is often associated with a neoliberal aim of education to develop students who will be successful at the workplace or, in this context, in the global market (Shin, 2018). On the other hand, School D presented objectives for GCED that hint at taking a more critical approach as follows:

- Experience various cultures of different countries and develop ability to translate world issues to their own issues

- Learn, think on and practice the qualifications of a democratic republic and of global citizens
- Practice citizenship in daily life as a member of school community

These objectives suggest the idea of linking global issues with its students' own surroundings and or local circumstances and therefore explores the interdependency between various levels (e.g. global, national, local and personal).

Another point that may be worth mentioning is that two of the schools (E and F) used the same exact phrasing, "Expand global citizenship of coexistence, consideration and respect" in their respective documents. While such socio-emotional characteristics of (desired) global citizenship frequently appeared in the interviews and documents during the research, these documents by Schools E and F seem to borrow this exact phrase from SMOE's 2017 GCED Basic Plan document which was discussed in Chapter 5. This may be an example that demonstrates the educational policy text as being static, which challenges the policy cycle theory discussed in Chapter 2; the policy text is consumed by school-level implementers without being recontextualized for each school's respective distinctives settings.

While the parts of the school curriculum documents dedicated to GCED seemed to indicate broad approaches to GCED, the presence of GCED is much less visible in the descriptions of general directions or objectives for the overall school education and curricula. In one exclusive case, School D directly mentioned GCED in one of their General Directions as follows:

> To invigorate student autonomy, club activities, and various after-school activities and to cultivate students to be healthy democratic citizens especially through cooperative society activities, socio-economic education and GCED (School D, 2018, p.11)

In some other cases, the schools also put forward school-wide educational goals such as “democratic citizenship for living together” (School G) or “character education to learn autonomy, responsibility, sharing and consideration” (School C); while both democratic citizenship education and character education are closely associated with GCED, the focus is on the development of personal behaviours and attitudes to respect the principles and expectations within the school community.

In general, the educational vision and objectives that can be considered as overlapping across the participating schools include development of creativity and autonomy, self-directed learning competencies, and career education. While these aspects can potentially intersect with GCED, they are arguably more related to the school’s more traditional academic- and performance-oriented goals. In addition, the mapping of the entire curriculum at these schools also suggests that GCED is positioned as one of many educational initiatives and programmes. Therefore, the impact of GCED can potentially be undermined by other priorities. The last section of this chapter will discuss the constraints that an overcrowded curriculum and competition from different priorities pose on GCED implementation in more detail.

6.2.2 School practitioners: ‘global’ and ‘citizenship’ education

In general, most participating educators indicated that they have positive attitudes towards the notion of GCED itself and have solid understandings of GCED, usually corresponding to the humanitarian model. Based on the discussions of how the participants conceptualize GCED, I identified that, as a heuristic, there are two dominant

conceptual interfaces: The tourist-humanitarian and the humanitarian-critical. The tourist-humanitarian interface has a relatively narrower conception that emphasizes the global dimension of GCED while the humanitarian-critical interface takes a broader approach advocating transformative learning and active participation. Despite the obvious overlapping between these two interfaces that are rooted in the humanitarian model, the practitioners in different interfaces often have subtle but distinctive priorities and interpretations, which can then lead to tensions.

6.2.2.1 Tourist-Humanitarian GCED

"Global," "world," and "international" were among the most frequently mentioned words in my interviews. The discussions on the global aspect of GCED often suggested that the participants have a tourist-oriented humanitarian approach. They focused on the recognition of cultural diversity and international understanding, which are usually based on the knowledge and explorations of new cultures (see Chapter 2). This type of discourse was most apparent among the most passive practitioners who were often not able to elaborate on their own understandings of GCED. For instance, unlike active participants who typically gave lengthy description of how they conceptualize GCED, one of the most passive practitioners in this research gave a very brief answer when asked "what do you think GCED is?": "I personally think that GCED is about recognizing diversity and building capacities for tolerance" (Teacher 2, School C). Another passive teacher gave a similarly simple response: "Globalization is happening, so I think (GCED) is about learning to understand other countries and other cultures" (Teacher 7, Schools G).

A number of more active GCED practitioners also demonstrated the tourist perspective when they identified the opportunities for international exchange as one of their main motives to apply to become GCED Policy Schools and to secure funding; this often requires considerable budgets, especially if mutual visits are planned. One school principal stated:

> We started with a very small aim to broaden our insights through international exchange… Schools in wealthier areas go to Europe or Australia, but as you will see, our school is in a rather poor environment. We cannot afford [an international exchange programme]… And so we decided to apply for funding because we lack money (Principal 5, School G).

Indeed, this principal's annual school curriculum document had a GCED implementation plan which highlights his intended direction under the section titled "Course of Action":

> To provide students with opportunities for direct and indirect experiences of other countries' cultures through various exchange activities with a sister school, and to instill global citizenship based on international understanding through the understanding of and respect for other cultures (p.90)

In line with this emphasis on international exchanges for students, another example that demonstrates narrow interpretations of GCED is that the English department and or English language teachers are put in charge of implementing GCED, especially in schools where school leaders are the ones who initiated the GCED Policy School. Teacher 2 who is an English teacher explained her experience as follows:

> In our school, GCED is completely run by the English Department. This is mainly because of the international exchange program. Everyone at our school thinks of GCED as opportunities for international exchange… and so they think GCED is the duty of the English Department. Science teaches ecology and Ethics teaches human rights, but they do not consider such subjects as related to GCED (Teacher 2, School C).

This echoes a similar practice at SMOE where English majors have thus far always been placed in charge of managing GCED policy, as discussed in Chapter 5. The connection between English education and GCED seems reasonable at first glance as English is typically the default language used as a means of intercultural communication, which is one of main competencies emphasized in the tourist model of GCED (see Chapter 2). In an illustrative case, one high school selected their student participants for an overseas school visit based on the students' English language examination scores. This kind of emphasis on English proficiency in GCED programmes may potentially reinforce a western-dominance in GCED and it serves to privilege a socioeconomic class with more social capital (see, for example, Yemini et al. 2019; Cho & Mosselson, 2017).

However, a school leader who used to work at SMOE suggested there has been a transition in the relationship between English departments and GCED in reference to the new policy direction being taken by SMOE. As she explained:

> [GCED] originated from Education for International Understanding that [within SMOE] the Foreign Language Education or English Education Team was in charge of. But as the Education Office went through an organizational restructuring in 2015, a Global Citizenship Education Team was created under the Democratic Citizenship Education Department. Since GCED was incorporated into the Democratic Citizenship Education Department, English is of course relevant, but (GCED) is now more associated with Social Science and Ethics… English used to be enforced with an aim to understand other countries as well as to introduce our own culture; now English is just one of many tools. No matter if we deal with the Third World or Southeast Asia, we should respect diverse cultures and be helpful to societies in need, but instead of thinking we are giving help, we should think we can coexist (Principal 2, School C).

This approach regarding English as a supporting tool for GCED rather than as a main objective or priority is also mentioned by a number of interviewees during my discussions. For example:

> Elementary and secondary education, or compulsory education, should be democratic citizenship education that equips students with the capacity to live as respectful, normal democratic citizens. And through what? Via tools like math, English, or science, students should be able to live as normal citizens after graduating from school (Principal 4, School F).

Indeed, this shift in the role of English in regard to GCED seemed to be more apparent when considering four out of six participating secondary schools had non-English teachers leading the GCED Policy School tasks. In addition, many of the wide range of GCED programmes and activities, which will be discussed in detail in the next section, do not require English skills.

Within the tourist-humanitarian interface, the participants also underscored senses of belonging to humanity and to the global community. Both active and passive GCED practitioners demonstrated a shared sentiment that GCED is imperative to help their students understand and respond to a rapidly changing world and the major global challenges humanity is facing. The following statements were made by two of the school leaders:

> [The question of "what is GCED?"] is the same as asking what we need the most to live in this world. I think what we need the most are the abilities to collaborate and communicate with others and that is why we need GCED (Principal 4, School F).

> There are many issues that we, as one country or one region, cannot resolve or humanity should resolve collectively; so global citizenship is to recognize this and cultivate a sense that we cooperate and solve the problems from universal perspectives (Principal 5, School G).

This approach also stresses the notion of global interconnectedness and shared responsibilities, as described by the following principal:

> I think GCED is [aimed at building] the most ideal human type. Even not ascribing a big meaning to a global citizen, GCED is to raise a student who is upright, contributes

> to the international community, and widely benefits society. And the boundary of this benefit reaches not only one's local area and country but also the international community and the whole world. So one can make the world more peaceful, more harmonious, more prosperous and a place where people can better communicate with each other… I think that is GCED (Principal 2).

This broader understanding of the global facet of GCED is also prevalent in official school documents. For example, the Implementation Plans of two GCED Research Schools that participated in this research commonly described their motivations for undertaking the project as follows:

> GCED, which regards the world as an organism and educates coexistence and cooperation, can be an excellent tool to help overcome the limits of our education (School B, 2018, p.1).
>
> It is imperative to have GCED for raising global citizens who solve global issues such as poverty, inequality, conflict, human rights and environmental pollution as well as practice and act for a better world (School A, 2018, p.1).

These statements indicate that their approaches to GCED not only involve exploring and appreciating other cultures (i.e. the tourist model) but also call for a sense of solidarity especially to effectively respond to the global challenges. In other words, while these values and attitudes are imperative to the humanitarian approach, global-oriented GCED is only half-fulfilled without participation and action (Tarozzi & Torres, 2016). In line with this view, and as I shall argue in the next sub-section, most active GCED practitioners in this research emphasized a more critical and transformative approach to GCED.

6.2.2.2 Humanitarian-Critical GCED

Although less prevalent than the discussion of tourist-oriented GCED, a 'critical' dimension of GCED was also stressed, especially by the participants classified as the most active practitioners. Some of the main differences of the humanitarian-critical interface from its tourist-humanitarian counterpart is the emphasis on multifaceted identities beyond national boundaries and active social participation. In this section, each of these aspects will be discussed in relation to GCED.

First, most active principals and teachers expressed that GCED should go beyond emphasizing national identity, that it must encourage students to have multi-level identities. One teacher participant stated:

> If I am asked what GCED is, first, it should go beyond the identity of divided nations and forced patriotism. Another aspect is universality of human rights; universal human rights is a very important point at GCED. So I think it should surpass things we do vaguely to know other countries, for example, education for international understanding, and go towards understanding cultural diversity as well as bonding or solidarity among citizens, all based on the universality of human rights (Teacher 3, School D).

This remark highlights an aspect of GCED that promotes the development of one's global identity and solidarity, which suggests a broader form of the humanitarian model. It also echoes a regional-level GCED policy strategy that promotes post-nationalist citizenship (Chapter 5).

The participants also discussed a wide range of knowledge, skills, values and attitudes that a desired global citizen should be equipped with. While many of these points overlapped with the tourist attributes discussed in the previous section (e.g. communicative and language skills, curiosity about Other Cultures, etc.), many of the

participants also discussed more humanitarian themes of or approaches to GCED especially from the post-national and transformative learning perspectives. For example, they commonly emphasized the universal values of human rights, peace and sustainable development as some of the core themes of GCED:

> I thought that school education had to be directed towards democratic education that cultivates citizens of a republic, and peace and universal human rights are important part of it; therefore I have had a consistent interest in GCED (Teacher 3, School D).
>
> I used to have an ambiguous understanding of Education for International Understanding; then as it was developed as part of curriculum and evolved into GCED, I have realized that (GCED) is about not only respect for cultural diversity but also human rights, peace, sustainable development, conflict resolution, etc. and come to have a greater interest in it (Principal 2, School C)

These statements represent the moral conception of GCED which is potentially associated with post-national citizenship. It may be hard to say that they are fully taking the critical approach, because, as also seen in the policy analysis (Chapter 5), even the most active GCED practitioners did not discuss or recognize that values are distinctive across different cultures and contexts and thus the idea of universal values can potentially be counterproductive.

However, when such emphasis on humanitarian and moral values is combined with the notions of responsibility and social actions, it presents an opportunity for the humanitarian-critical interface. In particular, the teachers and principals classified as the most active practitioners stressed the participatory aspect of GCED more than the other participants. Participants in this category explained:

> While Education for International Understanding, Democratic Citizenship Education and Multicultural Education are all essentially based on knowledge and

> understanding, I believe that GCED has no meaning if it is not based on practice and participation (Teacher 4, School E).
>
> The way of implementing GCED should focus on student participation and bring about such change in class. It is of no use if handled theoretically, and it is important to make [GCED] put into practice (Principal 1, School A).

The active civic participation is an attribute which is emphasized in the critical models of GCED; the above statements consider it to complement and expand upon the GCED competencies including knowledge, values and attitudes. Although these participants did not elaborate on specific types of practices and participation, action-based and advocacy activities which will be discussed in the next section provide examples where students are encouraged to localize and take a morally relativist stance on the aforementioned universal values.

6.2.2.3 Character education

In addition to the discussions on how the school practitioners conceptualize GCED, one distinctive theme observed in the interview data was the incorporation of character education to GCED. While the link (or disjunction) between character education and citizenship education is not a new topic, it may be a distinctive occurrence in the Korean context where character education is required by national law (i.e. Promotion of Character Education Law, 2015). As discussed in Chapter 3, character education has been promoted by the government in recent years partly to counter social issues and youth problems, which are considered to have an impact on the academic- and performance-centered education system in South Korea. In this context, some GCED Policy Schools seem to often blend character education and GCED together and or consider the

cultivation of character as one of the main objectives for bringing up global citizens. The following statements are made by one of the most active and passive practitioners respectively:

> GCED is … essentially an education to raise humans. Therefore, I think its basic philosophy should focus on character, and the virtues of character are included in all subjects. This is not just my idea but the 2009 National Curriculum already shows it. So based on the philosophical fundamentals of character, raising a human who can concern with the world, personal and community issues from different perspectives, that is what I think the aim of GCED (Teacher 4, School E).
>
> [The other teachers] all know the basics, that GCED is to raise children with good character, not only in Korea but also across the world (Teacher 2, School C).

Character education which focuses on personal ethics and moral values can indeed contribute to GCED by helping with students' socio-emotional development. However, there was little interpretation of what defines character, nor was there discussion of possible tension between character education and GCED. Although both domains are concerned with the values and attitudes for building good individual morals and relationships with others, character education tends to point at national development and integration whereas citizenship education underscores community engagement and social cohesion, partly due to their different roots (see Chapter 3). In addition, because of its strong focus on the individual rather than on public ethics, character education may clash with GCED which concerns one's connections with a wider range of communities at different levels. Without critical engagement on the notion of character, GCED with the additional aim of cultivating well-rounded character may fall short of its intended goals.

6.3 School-level Practices of GCED

GCED policy schools practiced GCED implementation by focusing on two target groups, namely teachers and students. While the latter was usually the primary focus, the former was identified as a prerequisite or an enabling factor for effective implementation. In support of the teachers, the schools organized *teacher development* opportunities such as GCED training sessions and teacher research clubs; while for the students, the schools infused GCED with their *regular curricular classes* and *Creative Experiential Activities* (CEAs). The rest of this section presents analytical findings from each type of school-level GCED implementation.

6.3.1 Teacher development

Both theoretical and empirical discussions have stressed that a successful implementation of GCED is, once again, highly dependent on the willingness, capacity, and efforts of its teachers (see Chapter 2, Section 2.4.2). In other words, teachers are a key variable which bridges perception to practice. Teachers themselves are also aware of this. Most of the participants pointed out that there is a gap between curriculum and actual practice in the context of GCED because of the lack of teacher competencies. The following statements by one of the most active GCED practitioners suggest that a teacher's competency is both a personal and structural issue:

> So when a curriculum is structured, it is the teachers who deliver it. Teachers develop the learning materials, discuss with other teachers of the same subject what kind of topic and focus can work with the materials. So the same subject classes can be on the same page and it can accumulate to great citizenship education, but this kind of

> effort is insufficient at the moment. Teachers do not have the awareness and the system does not work well either (Principal 1, School A).

Such comments echo the discussion from Chapter 2 that teachers act as "curricular-instructional gatekeepers" whose knowledge, experiences and beliefs impact their capacity to teach, their focus points, and how they deliver lessons in their classrooms (Jho, 2006). The participants generally agreed that GCED-related teacher training encourages teachers to dedicate more time and attention when they come across GCED themes or content in both the curriculum and in the textbooks across subjects. Furthermore, the teachers who are familiar with GCED are expected to be more supportive and have better understandings of GCED programmes and activities outside what are presented in the regular curricular classes.

Particularly in the initial stages of policy implementation, GCED Policy Schools often make significant efforts to expose their teachers to GCED and to form a consensus on operating as a GCED Policy School. However, the scale of the teacher development is often dependent on how active the practitioner leading GCED is and his/her seniority in the school. For example, a participant who was one of the most active GCED practitioners in this study and also a principal managed to organize GCED introductory sessions for all teachers at their school. On the other hand, in the more common case of when the leading GCED figure is active but only a regular teacher or is a school administrator but less active, teacher development activities are usually limited to being organized for small groups of willing teachers.

The capacity-building strategy for teachers in GCED policy schools mostly revolves around teacher training and teacher research clubs. First, *teacher training* is usually

structured in tiers. At a basic level, school administrators or teachers designated to GCED leadership organize information sessions to introduce the policy and GCED to the rest of the staff. In schools where the more active GCED practitioners are in residence, more intensive and comprehensive training programmes are offered to the rest of the teaching body. Such programmes often utilize an externally-based professional teacher training system in which teachers can take accredited training courses and receive credits to be applied towards career promotions. In South Korea, the Ministry of Education, Metropolitan and Provincial Offices of Educations, and universities of education, all operate their own training institutes that provide a wide range of training courses for in-service teachers. In addition, both public and private organizations also offer teacher training programmes with specializations based on the respective mandates of the organizations. Therefore, teachers from GCED policy schools may participate in GCED-related training offered by related organizations or will design their own GCED training programmes for which external experts are invited for consulting.

Views on the effectiveness of these teacher training programmes were varied and ambivalent. On the positive side, a school leader remarked:

> [Before applying for GCED Policy School] I organized a teacher training session on GCED targeting all teachers… When a newly appointed principal wants to start something, if teachers do not agree, that means they are being forced. For the teacher group, autonomy is very important. So if they do not agree by heart, it is very difficult to force them. So it is important to make them believe [GCED] is a good thing (Principal 1, School A).

She added that through teacher training, she was able to convince leaders of key departments that GCED is a “blue ocean,” or an area high in new demand, and to apply to be a GCED Policy School. On the other hand, one of the passive teachers mentioned:

> Teacher training… I think my own realization should be reflected in my own teaching; it is not something that educating and training can do. Even if you have (positive) personal experiences in GCED, if someone pushes you, you don't want to do it even more (Teacher 2, School C).

Second, *teacher research clubs* are internally led initiatives at Policy Schools, typically driven by the most active GCED practitioner in residence. These teacher groups often set a list of books, provide resources and host regular meet-ups to foster discussions and dialogue. They collaborate to develop lesson plans and teaching materials for applying GCED pedagogy to their own primary subjects, and organize various teaching activities such as co-teaching and demonstration classes.

All seven of the participating schools in this research indicated via individual interviews or in their GCED Policy School documents that they had teacher research clubs specializing in GCED. However, how effective and well-organized these clubs are appears to be ambiguous in some cases. For instance, one of the teacher participants repeatedly expressed frustration in not being able to mobilize support from their colleagues despite the GCED Policy School Implementation Plan stating this school had five teacher research clubs in relation to GCED. This may also be an example of school documentation (planning, activity reports, etc.) often being exaggerating and ambitious, as a number of participants similarly pointed out.

6.3.2 Regular curricular classes

Practitioners from all the GCED Policy Schools who participated in this study responded that they make efforts to integrate GCED into their schools' respective

curricula and regular classes. In South Korea, the national curriculum provides the core content and criteria necessary for the organization and operation of regional and school curricula (see Chapter 3). As previously mentioned, the participating SMOE administrators, school principals and teachers responded that GCED concepts are already present across the National Curriculum and textbooks, even if most teachers may not be aware of it. The impact of GCED, however, is presumably less potent when an instructor is not knowledgeable of it and is thus unable to actively incorporate it into their lessons, as discussed in the section above. One of the most active practitioners in this study explained that most teachers find it difficult to rearrange their topics and reconstruct their lessons within the framework of GCED, especially because of the multidisciplinary and cross-curricular nature of GCED which makes GCED sound vague and thus burdensome.

Some documents written by GCED Policy Schools, notably Activity Reports that they were required to submit to the SMOE by the end of the funding year, provide specific examples of GCED implementation in regular curricular classes as follows:

<Table 6-1: Examples of GCED implementation in regular curricular classes in two high schools>

School	Subject	Lesson themes / Examples of class activities
G	Society & Culture	How to respond to Korea's increasingly multicultural society
	English, World History	Image and reality of Africa
	Essay Writing	Film-making based on themes including human rights
	Economy, Science	International trade and biodiversity preservation
	Law and Politics	Resolution of international conflicts due to climate change
	Science, Korean History	Pros and cons of nuclear energy, nuclear weapons
D	Geography	Conflict due to cultural differences
	General Social Studies	Understanding multicultural society
	World History	Islamic society and culture
	Korean History	Korean War, war and peace, post-war life
	Earth Science	Environmental effects of breakwater construction, NIMBY phenomenon

The table above demonstrates how two of the participating high schools integrated what they defined as GCED topics into their mandatory subject classes, excerpted from their activity reports. Furthermore, when asked about their own experiences applying GCED in their respective class, some of the teacher participants also gave examples illustrative of similar thematic approaches:

> The subject of Geography contains a lot of themes handled in GCED, like prejudice and cultural diversity. It is a subject that is appropriate for the actual application of GCED (Teacher 6, School G).

Another teacher provided a document demonstrating that their Philosophy class was organized taking into consideration GCED; the class covered themes including gender,

ethics, justice, common good, individual rights, free will and happiness, etc., which were identified by the teacher in charge as some of the basic concepts or areas a global citizen must demonstrate an adequate understanding of.

The thematic contents listed above suggest that different models of GCED operate side by side with regard to the GCED theoretical framework (Chapter 2). It is notable that the most of the themes identified as being GCED-focused are typical in the tourist (e.g. multiculturalism, cultural diversity, etc.) and humanitarian (e.g. human rights, peace, shared responsibility towards environmental destruction, etc.) models of GCED. Meanwhile, the active GCED model emphasized by many of the participants does not feature prominently. Instead, their thematic orientation appears to be largely based on a rather passive and value-centered notion of global citizenship. For example, there is little indication that themes such as global solidarity, social justice, inequality and democratic participation are presented in the regular curricular classes as part of GCED. Therefore, they demonstrate a case where GCED implementation takes a narrower approach than that it is generally perceived by curriculum and practitioners. A similar pattern of a gap between perception and practice has been observed in different parts of the empirical data.

I also argue that these examples of GCED implementation in regular curricular classes need to be considered in light of some textual limitations. First, the tourist or humanitarian themes suggested in the school documents may not necessarily correspond to actual pedagogical approaches. For example, when a World History class discusses Islamic society and culture, it can take a tourist approach, which focuses on the appreciation for a foreign culture, or a critical approach which discusses power relations in the broader

global context. In addition, as discussed in Section 6.2.1, school documentation suggests that GCED-focused lessons make up a relatively small proportion of the entire school curriculum. Furthermore, some of the interviewees suggested that GCED is not just about delivering certain content but also about practicing the core values of GCED in a school environment (See Chapter 2, Section 2.4.1); therefore, they imply that there is a dimension of classroom-level GCED which is difficult to be written down in texts or measured.

Overall, the implementation of GCED in the regular curricular classes is usually led by teachers who have had GCED training or participated in the research clubs so that they feel more confident and comfortable instilling GCED in their classes. The participants generally agreed that these deliberate efforts require significant commitment and expertise of teachers, which act as a barrier to wide-spread implementation of GCED in schools. Therefore, most of the respondents identified an ideal form of GCED is one that is fully integrated and blended into the national curriculum and into regular classes so that any teacher can deliver the lessons without extended work and or efforts.

6.3.3 Creative Experiential Activities (CEAs)

While the scale of delivering GCED in regular curricular classes may seem limited, more GCED-intensive programmes and activities are organized as part of CEAs. Unlike many other countries where extracurricular activities take place outside the formal curriculum, in South Korea, CEAs are activities integrated into the national curriculum and thus all students are required to participate (Lee, 2015). Since CEAs are aimed at

decentralizing the formal education system and giving schools and teachers more autonomy, all GCED Policy Schools utilize class hours for CEAs to carry out more creative and experimental programmes and activities for GCED. Considering student needs and local environments, schools may allocate and design their own CEAs that focus on four activity categories – Independent, Club, Voluntary, and Career.

Within the parameters of CEAs, I have identified four types of activities that GCED Policy Schools in Seoul mainly implement as part of their GCED plans – 1) Specialized classes, 2) student clubs, 3) international exchanges, and 4) one-time/short-term events.

6.3.3.1 GCED-specialized classes

Among the seven participating schools, three schools implemented GCED-specialized courses. Typically, one class unit (50 minutes) per week is allocated for these programmes, which are administered across grade levels. These classes are operated often in collaboration with external organizations; in this way, it was intended to utilize the expertise of external course facilitators in order to reduce the pressure on teachers. The following table illustrates some of the examples of GCED courses, excerpted from school documentation and activity reports:

<Table 6-2: Examples of GCED-specialized courses from three schools>

School	Name of GCED course		Facilitator /Partner organization	Main topics
B	GCED X Arts and Design		Korea Arts & Culture Education Service	Cultural diversity, sustainable development, minority rights, cooperation
C	Gr 1	Mental health & Self-understanding education	Seoul Mental Health Centre	Depression and other mental health problems (e.g. stress, Internet addiction, exam anxiety, etc.), sociability
		What is happiness?	Center for Happiness Studies (Seoul National University)	Concepts and fundamentals of happiness, different approaches to happiness
	Gr 2	Education for Sustainable Development	NGOs, local community service centre, National Agricultural Cooperative Federation	Biodiversity, water conservation, climate change, waste, appropriate technology
	Gr 3	Respect for cultural diversity	UNESCO, British Council, local life-long learning centre, NGO	Globalization, multicultural society
		Human rights & peace		Human rights sensitivity, war and conflict, children's rights
D	Citizenship		Two teachers in charge of citizenship education	Democratic citizenship, social economy, labour rights

One of the tensions observed in this type of GCED practices was linked to external facilitators. The teacher from Middle School B explained that their school's GCED course was being run by two instructors from the Korea Arts and Culture Education Service (known as ARTE) due to the incumbent teachers being reluctant to take the lead. This teacher applied for ARTE's school support programme which sends arts instructors to the

school and requested the instructors to design a specific course for GCED. Thus, this course approaches issues such as cultural diversity, environmental sustainability and human rights through arts education. While the teacher agreed that this new pedagogical approach to GCED provided students with a different kind of learning experience, she spoke of difficulties mediating between the external instructors, who are enthusiastic and ambitious, and the students, who can be less focused in a class setting taught by temporary teachers. Overall, the teacher concluded that it would be difficult to expect significant learning outcomes from this type of GCED class. Nevertheless, she added that because students feel less pressure compared to in their normal classes, such easy and light approaches can also create a classroom environment favorable to GCED.

It is also notable that these schools often cram seemingly unrelated topics into GCED. As demonstrated in the case of C Middle School, topics such as mental health and happiness are often taught as part of GCED at GCED Policy Schools, despite that they are not commonly discussed in GCED literature. As indicated in Chapter 3, since the 2000s, terms such as “happiness education” and “character education” have gained considerable public and policy attention in South Korea, primarily due to a rise in social issues like school violence and student suicide. PISA results also show that South Korean students are ranked among the top in academic performance whereas their life satisfaction is ranked second to last (OECD, 2017). In this context, GCED policy schools, like any other schools in South Korea, are pushed to dedicate more time to education on students’ character development and happiness. Therefore, given the limited time and space in their school curricular, GCED policy schools sometimes create hybrid GCED courses, which can serve as occasions to embrace a wide range of educational activities

that may sometimes seem irrelevant to GCED. Echoing the GCED textbooks containing a wide range of themes, this may reinforce a paradox caused by an ambiguous conceptualization of GCED as Pashby (2018) noted: “It can mean and do everything and have little or no real meaning” (p.164).

6.3.3.2 Student clubs

Student clubs with GCED related themes are a newer phenomenon developing in GCED Policy Schools. Deliberate efforts are being made in all of the participating middle and high schools to encourage such student clubs in order to promote student-led and student-centred global learning experiences. Most of the student participants in this study were leaders or members of a GCED-themed student club; the interviews with them indicated that this particular type of activities provide notable opportunities for students to be active agents of GCED. It is also of an analytical interest for my earlier argument in Chapter 2 that students can be capable of policy reinterpretation.

These student clubs are relatively more organized and active at the high school level (age 16-18) as the students are at an age when they are viewed by many as being more capable of autonomous activities. The following table is a list of GCED-themed student clubs from three of the participating high schools that made their activity reports publicly available. The schools identified these student clubs as being GCED-focused, while I assigned classifications to the clubs based on the descriptions of their activities.

<Table 6-3: Examples of GCED-themed student clubs in three high schools>

School	Type of club	Main theme & focus
D	Academic/Research, Activism	Comfort Women
	Activism	Environment, biodiversity
	Community service	Growing a vegetable garden at school
F	Academic/Research	Different cultures across Asia
	Community service	Recycling and environmental protection
G	Academic/Research, Activism	Korean history focusing on the Japanese occupation period (Comfort Women issue)
	Media and publication	Internal and external news regarding GCED
	Academic/Research	Law-abiding spirit and related issues (e.g. hate speech, fair trade)
	Community service	Child rights and education for children from multicultural families
	Academic/Research	Global warming and other issues regarding environmental changes
	Academic/Research, Activism	Environmental sustainability
	Academic/Research	Chinese culture

As indicated above, these student clubs have a variety of thematic approaches which often overlap across the schools. The most common foci of their activities appear to be environmental sustainability and cultural diversity. Based on these themes, there are mainly two types of activities being organized - academic activities such as lectures, research and discussion; and volunteer activities including community service, and fundraising and campaigning for the respective causes.

Some examples of these student club activities and interviews with student participants suggest that they usually take mixed approaches between tourist and

humanitarian GCED. The student interviewees noted that they usually signed up for the GCED-themed clubs with rather narrow and vague motivations; for example, they expressed interested in “exploring different cultures” (Student 6), “making foreign friends” (Student 13), and “helping people in need” (Student 2), which are indicative of tourist and ‘soft’ humanitarian approaches. As club activities evolved, however, the students claimed that they often extended their scope and took broader and more action-based approaches, such as awareness-raising campaigns and in-depth research and discussion. They noted that they have come to have increasing concerns about larger global issues and to challenge cultural and racial prejudices they may come across in their lives. Some students even implied that the critical perspectives they were exposed to made them question what they came to consider “emotionally-manipulative” strategies taken by aid agencies to receive support as well as the lack of transparency they perceived regarding how donations are used (Student 11). These are important ethical issues that often involve gray areas and one needs the capacity for critical thinking and moral judgement to explore them. This shift in students’ understandings and their attitudes also align with my conceptual framework (outlined in Chapter 2, Section 2.2.1.2), which suggests that different approaches to global citizenship have many overlaps, and more importantly, the broader model is often expanding upon the narrower model. The evolution in students’ conceptions and learning outcomes of GCED seems to follow similar trajectories from a narrower (i.e. tourist) to broader (i.e. humanitarian and critical) model.

Another notable point in the analysis of GCED-themed student clubs is that some of the activities demonstrated components of nationalism, which is often considered to have

tensions with global citizenship (Chapter 2). For example, the issue of Comfort Women is a theme frequently visited not only in GCED-related student clubs but also in other GCED activities. The term ‘Comfort Women’ refers to women and girls who were forced into sexual slavery during the Japanese occupation period of Korean history at the turn of the 20th century; it has historically been and continues to be a highly controversial point in South Korea with regards to its modern political relationship with Japan (see Chapter 3). Accordingly, club activities related to this issue commonly involves students visiting surviving Comfort Women and organizing awareness campaigns and fundraising events for them. These activities have possibilities of having nationalistic overtones and intersecting with anti-Japanese sentiment that is widespread in Korea; previous literature often suggested the counterproductive relationship between nationalist discourse and GCED (see Section 2.2.3.1). However, school documents and interviews indicate that the Comfort Women issue is mostly discussed under the context of human rights and peace. Therefore, I argue that this serves as an example of the potential “reimagining of national spaces” (Engel & Siczek, 2018, p.16; also see Chapter 2) by bringing a localized issue to the broader context of solidarity and shared humanity.

Overall, the student participants seemed to be enthusiastic about the opportunities to take full control of their club activities. They were able to determine most of the aspects of their club activities while teachers only provided supporting roles. Therefore, in this context, students can be seen as active (re)interpreters of policy rather than passive policy subjects (Chapter 2, Section 2.5).

6.3.3.3 International exchange and exposure to Other cultures

International exchange is another area that many GCED Policy Schools focus on. Of the eight GCED Policy Schools that made their annual activity reports available to the public in 2017, six schools reported having overseas sister schools that they had regular interactions with. A GCED Policy School with an overseas sister school typically organizes activities such as letter exchanges, co-research projects, cooperative online classes, school visits and homestays. In addition to sister school programmes, GCED Policy Schools also occasionally hold events where students directly met with foreigners. For example, some schools invite foreign academics or activists residing in South Korea for lectures on cultural awareness. A number of participants from schools and SMOE pointed out that GCED policy schools are also frequently referred to by the government, universities, and other public and private organizations as representative schools when overseas educators, researchers and officials request for school visits in South Korea.

Arguably, this specific type of GCED activity is mainly based on a tourist approach as they focus on exploring cultural differences. Student participants who had participated in the international exchange programmes commonly described their initial motivation as “getting to know other cultures” and “socializing with foreigners.” A student who had visited Russia through school’s sister school programme stated that their definition of a global citizen is someone who can “communicate with and understand people of the world” (Student 15); but they had rarely had an opportunity to experience the world until their Russia visit as they were always circling between school, hagwon (cram school) and home.

Another example of a narrow conception of GCED in these international exchange activities is that they are highly dependent on facilitation by English language teachers. As mentioned in earlier in this chapter, particularly in schools where the decision to participate in GCED was made top-down or by the principal, English language teachers are often placed in charge of policy implementation; and international exchange activities that use English as a means of communication are pointed out to be the main reason for such appointments. However, Teacher 2, an English teacher, challenged this reasoning, stating that only a fraction of the GCED activities actually require any English skills.

Despite the general recognition in the literature that a broader model of GCED is more preferable than a narrower model, a number of principal and teacher interviewees suggested that the mere encounter with “foreigner” or “foreign culture” was still desirable and provided learning opportunities for students. This echoes Gordon Allport’s Contact Theory (1954); which illustrates, in brief, intergroup interaction can reduce prejudice towards the outgroup and thus diminish intergroup conflict (Zuma, 2014). Particularly for the schools located in lower socioeconomic communities, the participants acknowledged that their students do not often gain exposure to international experiences and thus the students often have stereotypical and prejudiced notions on foreign cultures created by media and second-hand sources. According to the educators, the students rarely have a chance to even meet foreigners in person. Therefore, in these schools, even brief interactions with foreigners are considered to be a significant educational activity; and so such occasions are seen as opportunities to better understand Other cultures and are considered GCED related.

However, this tourist approach based on exploring other cultures has an inherent risk of encouraging global reproductivity while overstepping global reflexibility (Snee, 2013). One example is the participants' respective narratives on the visits by African educators to two of the participating schools which demonstrates a tension that exists between appreciating and appropriating other cultures. Both schools had opportunities where several African educators made field visits and delivered classes on GCED topics such as peace and human rights and introducing their countries. Participants from these schools described their experiences as follows:

> I asked them [African educators] to prepare classes on the topics of peace and human rights. So many black teachers visited the school, all wearing their traditional clothes… [Students] may think that black people are ignorant or scary, but (the visit) also broke this kind of prejudice (Principal 1, School A).
>
> What our school kids benefitted [from GCED Policy School] compared to other schools was that they met people from various countries. Meeting itself means breaking prejudice. It is like Africa that I had known is different from the African people I met. They realize 'Wow, the African people are very intelligent and speak good English!' (Teacher 2, School C).

These remarks are illustrative of cultural and racial misconceptions that are common in public and thus serve as a motive for many GCED practitioners. However, they also reinforce the image of African educators as exotic by highlighting their traditional attire and skin colour, and the Western-centric norm by describing well-spoken English as evidence of competence. Throughout the discussions on international and cultural exchange activities, there was a lack of contemplation on a potentially overgeneralized and limited image of other cultures, and on the deconstruction of power relations and inequalities embedded in the discourse on cultural diversity.

Despite the tension discussed above, a number of participants suggested that it may still be necessary to first "let students know there are other cultures," especially depending

on the level of students' prior exposure to GCED. This is another example that corresponds to a layered conceptualization of GCED models as suggested in Chapter 2 – a broader model is built upon a basis of a narrower model. The same student who defined a global citizen using attributes of the tourist model also mentioned that her visit to Russia and the experiencing of a new culture prompted her to pay closer attention to general global issues such as intercultural conflicts.

6.3.3.4 One-off or short-term events

All GCED policy schools have executed a wide range of one-off or short-term events to pursue GCED objectives. Examples of such events include exhibitions, day camps, field trips, special lectures, festivals, fundraisers and conferences on various GCED-related themes. These activities are often organized in connection with or complementary to regular classes, student clubs or international exchange activities mentioned above in this section. A number of teacher and school leader participants expressed approval of fun and easy approaches that many of these activities take; they suggested that sudden and full-scale changes to implement GCED at their schools can rather be more difficult and inorganic.

However, a number of examples of these one-off events suggest that they lack a critical engagement with the purpose of GCED and thus may have little educational effectiveness. For instance, one GCED policy school's annual report listed its sports day as one of the main GCED activities simply because it began with students bearing the flags of different countries and included a traditional Filipino bamboo dance as a

competing sport. Echoing the earlier discussion on cultural appropriation in some of the international exchange activities, this kind of event is not only detached from the rest of the curriculum but also inadvertently perpetuates trivialized images of other cultures.

In addition, some of these events were also criticized by a few of the participants for being only for show and as superficial. On a similar note, some teachers confided that GCED is sometimes slipped into seemingly unrelated events which are again done so in order to document in the reports. These remarks reiterate the cramming of numerous topics in some of the GCED-specialized courses (see Section 6.3.3.1) and raise questionability on the actual educational impact of such events from a GCED perspective.

6.4 Constraints in School-level GCED Practices

So far, this chapter examined how GCED Policy Schools implement GCED. In general, the findings suggest that the school practices of GCED are based on a relatively narrower model of GCED compared to the school curricula and perception of the practitioners. In this next section, I identify five types of constraints and limitations that potentially lead to the gap between perception and practice. I argue that this gap observed at GCED Policy Schools is largely influenced by professional, material and external contexts in reference to Ball et al. (2012; see Chapter 2). This particular analysis and discussion will provide important insights into policy effectiveness and on potential areas for improvements.

6.4.1 Lack of sustainability and stability

All participating GCED policy schools discussed the issues of sustainability and stability for their GCED programmes. There are mainly two reasons for such concerns. First, the operation of GCED policy schools is heavily dependent on several or even a single faculty member(s) passionate about GCED, as also discussed in Chapter 3. Therefore, GCED activities often lose momentum once the key driving personnel leaves the school (in South Korea, school principals and teachers in public schools are transferred to a different school every four to five years). One school principal, who is one of the most active GCED practitioners with extensive relevant experience stated:

> [The sustainability of the GCED programme] has been my concern since the beginning and it is also the concern of all the schools… I cannot demand my successor to continue GCED… I think it has been integrated in the school curriculum so it will not disappear all at once. Some good programmes from the previous year will remain but eventually slowly vanish. It is inevitable (Principal 1, School A).

Through their personal network, their elementary school has been carrying out exchange programmes with schools in Kazakhstan and Australia; they noted that they will continue the programmes at their next school because they believe it highly unlikely the programme will be maintained at their current school under the other principals and teachers.

Second, after a term ends, former GCED policy schools have reported finding it difficult to secure new budgets to continue GCED programmes. Referred as the most 'material' of the contextual factors by Braun et al. (2011), school budget was an important determinant of the scale and type of GCED activities. All former GCED policy schools that responded indicated they have scaled down GCED activities following the end of a

funding year. On the other hand, a teacher from a school that had managed to receive the GCED Policy School funding for three consecutive years remarked that the continuous financial support had significantly helped build a school culture of GCED and thus it was easier to continue many of the GCED activities with limited funds.

As a strategy to partly overcome these issues, some GCED Policy Schools joined the UNESCO Associated Schools Project Network (referred to as “UNESCO Schools” in South Korea). UNESCO Schools are required to assign a teacher responsible for submitting an annual activity report. However, membership does not entail any financial support and is maintained on the basis of voluntary participation; it is therefore uncertain how long a school can be active in the absence of teachers willing to lead GCED initiatives and of sufficient budgets at each respective school.

6.4.2 Tension between faculty members

In keeping with the previous research and reference to professional contexts discussed in Chapter 2, teachers and principal participants in this study also reported that they faced tension with other colleagues who have little understanding of and interest in GCED. In particular, depending on who initiated the policy school and in what ways, different degrees of tension exist between faculty members. The least tense case among the interviewed schools was one where the teacher who was interested in working at a policy school initiated the process for their school to participate as a GCED Policy School in consultation with school administrators and fellow teachers. This particular teacher assumed responsibility to take care of implementation and of the administrative work in

order to reduce any burdens on their fellow teachers. However, in cases where a school administrator is passionate but teachers are not as interested or did not have a sufficient understanding of the policy, GCED can be perceived by such teachers as merely additional work to take on. One of the most passive GCED practitioners in this study bluntly noted that “funding means more work” (Teacher 2). On the other hand, from the perspective of school administrators, teachers who do not take interest in new educational initiatives are viewed as lacking professionalism and commitment.

As briefly mentioned in an earlier section describing passive practitioners, some teachers stated that the decision-making process to apply to become a GCED Policy School was top-down, closed and led by minority interest parties who did not take sufficient efforts for wider discussion or information sharing. An application requires that at least a third of the entire faculty agrees to the operation of being a GCED policy school in order to ensure teachers’ willingness to participate. However, at one particular school interviewed, a teacher complained that the principal gained consensus to apply via text messages to teachers asking for replies only if they disagreed during a school vacation period. And they claimed that in the absence of adequate information or open discussions, the majority of the teachers did not react or respond to the message which ultimately led to the application being processed. This example exposes potential ethical issues with top-down decision making that can not only stifle teacher engagement and morale but also inadvertently suppress the freedom of expression.

In another case, conflict was caused by the Research School system in which school administrators and teachers in charge of specific programmes can earn credits for career promotion. Of the seven GCED Policy Schools participating in this study, two were GCED

Research Schools for a duration of two years. Both an external expert as well as the school participants pointed out that some teachers in these schools are dissatisfied that only a few select teachers are credited when they also provided contributions for many of the related activities.

For school administrators and teachers who are active practitioners of GCED, one of the most important yet challenging aspects for a successful implementation of GCED at school is to first create a bond and a consensus among faculty members about the key concepts and approaches to GCED. They stated that there should be enough time and resources to discuss policy objectives and for planning for all faculty members, preferably prior to application. Otherwise, as many of the GCED interested educators have noted, their fellow teachers will ignore or reject requests when asked to support the efforts.

6.4.3 Overloaded curriculum and isolated subjects

As briefly discussed in the previous chapter, curricula also tend to be already overloaded so the addition of GCED subjects often creates necessity for compromises. As mentioned in the previous section, GCED Policy Schools typically utilize hours of CEAs for GCED activities. However, the schools are also legally bound to deliver a fixed number of class hours on, for example, safety education or sex and gender education. Thus, at some of the schools, adding GCED to their curriculum resulted in the need for extending school hours or in omitting existing programmes and activities to make room for GCED. Furthermore, participating teachers stated that while those already familiar with GCED may be willing and feel comfortable to integrate it into their lessons, uninitiated

teachers did not share such enthusiasm and felt they are being forced to add more lessons into regular subject classes which are already dense.

This sense of overload in curriculum has also contributed to “high walls” between different subjects and departments. One teacher remarked:

> It is not easy to knock down the walls between subjects. I not only have a low level of understanding of the other subjects but am also too busy to teach my own subject. There is no time to take a look at other subjects. But it often turns out that other subjects are teaching things similar to my subject, or they have some content that may be helpful to my subject. It is difficult to reach that level of exchange (Teacher 3, School D).

Some other participants also indicated that teachers usually have little interest and or capacity in having to learn what is being done by other teachers, in other classes or by other departments. Therefore, in the absence of sufficient interactions and discussions among teachers, some GCED activities are thought to be redundant or less efficient. On the other hand, some efforts to co-teach or collaborative lessons by teachers from different subjects were made in some GCED Policy Schools and the participants evaluated these attempts to have positive outcomes.

6.4.4 Rigid school cultures and learning environments

Most participants agreed on the importance of school culture and learning environment for successfully delivering GCED, echoing the theoretical discussion in Chapter 2. The more active and experienced an educator is in terms of GCED, the more they were concerned with and felt challenged by how to deliver GCED; what to teach was relatively a minor concern as they did not find it too difficult to relate the topics and content of their subject curriculum to GCED. Even if a teacher informs their students of the values

they believe to be positive, if the relationship between teachers and students is hierarchical, this may be a sign that the class is likely using a cramming method of teaching. This means that in this school's culture, members are reluctant to have open discussions and or that students are given little autonomy in their school lives. In this case, the effect of GCED is inevitably diminished, because the closed and vertical school culture and its learning environment contradict some of the core values and topics of GCED (e.g. respect for diversity, freedom of expression, tolerance, etc.) (Ibrahim, 2005; Osler, 2005; Maitles, 2013). On this note, one SMOE participant stated that "democracy in daily life" is a fundamental element to the success of GCED in schools (see Chapter 2, Section 2.4.1). I believe that this understanding is very important and relevant way to prescribe how GCED should be practiced everywhere.

The participants were somewhat ambivalent on the hierarchical and authoritative school culture. Some teachers mentioned that "kids today are not like those in the past," that they are more outspoken. The students also described their teachers (usually the teacher participants of the same school) as open and supportive; more active GCED practitioners seemed to have collaborative rather than hierarchical relationship with their pupils. However, this may be undermined by the bigger cultural tradition that stresses ethical obligations to older people; Korean students often display passive attitudes and are seen as subjects to be directed by their teachers (Kang, 2013). Indeed, during two of the student interviews where their teachers were present, students seemed to be more reserved and rarely raised questions or initiated conversations. They seemingly acted as "good students" who are compliant and do not challenge their teachers, as is expected of them in Korean culture.

In addition to creating an open, safe and democratic school culture, more engaging pedagogical approaches and learning environment may be beneficial to an effective implementation of GCED, some participants suggested. One principal remarked:

> I think it is important to deal with the themes of GCED, but the way to deal with them should be student-centered, and it should be student-participation that brings about the changes in the classroom. Theoretical approaches are of no use (Principal 2, School C).

Some of the student interviews also shared similar views. For instance, the student who visited Russia through their school's GCED programme mentioned that they were envious of their Russian friends' school lives which seemed to consist of many stimulating, hands-on activities. They added that it contrasted to their own school which has a "rigid atmosphere where everyone is always sitting down during the class." Another student also noted that what happens in the classroom is "one-way" and it is difficult to expand thoughts to reflect social issues.

In order to counter a rigid and top-down school culture, schools have been making efforts to foster more student autonomy and self-directed learning in recent years. Several principals and teachers interviewed mentioned that one of the first initiatives at the beginning of their posts was to invigorate their respective student councils which are "nominal at most Korean schools," according to one school principal. The active GCED practitioners also put priority on decentralizing classes and creating more open environments for communication with and among students. They indicated that the empowerment of students is a particularly important aspect of bringing up proactive global citizens. However, one of the middle school teachers remarked that her effort to have each homeroom class plan their own GCED activities failed because of a lack of participation by the homeroom teachers. This demonstrates not only the teacher's

disinterest but also the high level of dependency that students have on their teachers, as well as the lack of communication channels available to students.

6.4.5 Pressure on college admissions and career development

The participants often pointed out a larger and more systematic problem of the Korean education system, which is that it is highly focused on college admissions, and that this is an obstruction to not only GCED but also to other educational initiatives. One teacher criticized that, despite the recent developments in the global education agenda that emphasize non-academic and value-centered education, the Korean government and research institutions still lag behind and continue to prioritize education for college entrance exams.

Especially at the high school level, educators often feel pressured when certain GCED programmes do not appear to be of an immediate value for students and their college applications. The Comprehensive School-Record-Based Admission System has expanded in recent years to put less emphasis on College Scholastic Ability Test (CSAT) scores and to take more considerations on students' general academic and non-academic performances during their school years. Therefore, at least in theory, students have opportunities to be evaluated partly based on their participation in GCED activities. In reality, however, because they are afraid of causing any confusion or anxiety among parents and students, some schools are reluctant to allocate a significant number of class hours to GCED. One principal stated:

> A major barrier [to greater GCED promotion] is college admissions. Ultimately, GCED schools are still schools, which means we are evaluated according to our college admissions performances. So no matter how good of an education we provide the students, our efforts can seem meaningless if the college admissions aren't considered "successful" (Principal 4, School F).

Many teachers also told me that they try to limit the focus of their GCED practices to the content they believe overlap with school tests and the CSATs; therefore, GCED in this context is mainly for strengthening a student's competitiveness for college applications. Arguably, this type of GCED demonstrates an example of a strategic cosmopolitan approach closely associated with the neoliberal model, which has high implications for students' career developments (see Chapter 2). For the subjects that are covered in the CSATs, participants noted that teachers, students and parents often describe feeling anxious if the lessons deviate too far from the National Curriculum and textbooks. Therefore, unless the teacher is an active GCED practitioner, high schools largely do not deviate from the status quo for class content and pedagogy in an effort to equip students for the CSATs, even if they happen to be GCED Policy Schools.

In addition, some participants also suggested an inverse approach for utilizing GCED for college admissions. In non-CSAT classes and co-curricular activities, teachers stated they are relatively more flexible to impart GCED lessons, even if the implementation processes described may seem unconventional. An example of GCED not being implemented in accordance with its core values is when students' practical needs are identified first (e.g. making their student records more appealing for college admissions) – the GCED activities were designed to accommodate the students' needs to make their college applications more attractive. One principal mentioned that he encouraged his students to propose new student clubs relevant to their career plan. Taking advantage of

GCED's versatility, some of these clubs were classified GCED-based student clubs and have the benefit of receiving grants for their activities.

Interestingly, when the high school student participants were asked whether they had any concerns about whether their active participation in student clubs could possibly obstruct their academic performances, the answer was usually 'no.' It seemed, however, that such a response was due to either the student not intending to apply to a university in South Korea (in the case of international high school) or that the student would schedule such activities outside of exam periods.

6.5 Conclusion

Based on the school-level analysis, this chapter identified that both the school curricula and the practitioners take relatively broader approaches and hold progressive attitudes towards GCED promotion of globally-focused moral values and social action. The actual school practices of GCED are, however, often scaled down to demonstrate a tourist model for gaining cultural capital and for informing intercultural interactions. I further argued that this gap between perception and practice at GCED Policy Schools is largely influenced by professional, material and external contexts in reference to Ball et al. (2012; see Chapter 2, Section 2.3.2.2); specifically, factors such as a limited window of funding in terms of time, difficulty in engaging the teachers, overloaded curriculum, passive school cultures and prioritization of college admissions performances appeared to be counterproductive for establishing a more active and transformative model of GCED.

Chapters 5 and 6 have explored policy-based and school-based empirical data respectively in order to find out how policymakers and schools conceptualize and practice GCED. In the next chapter, I will discuss how these findings connect to the theories and concepts discussed in Chapter 2, and can contribute to the field of related practices and knowledge.

Chapter Seven: Discussion and Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

The final chapter of this thesis revisits the major findings of my empirical analysis and discusses how they connect to the theoretical framework and previous literature discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. Before discussing any significant patterns or relationships observed across the different levels of analysis, I will briefly return to the theoretical frameworks and research questions that constitute the foundations of this study.

Chapter 2 discussed the three major themes of literature relevant to my research project. The first of these was the literature on global citizenship and GCED. The second was the literature concerning policy formulation and implementation. Lastly, the third collection was associated with the school-level practices of GCED. Based on the literature review, two theoretical pillars were established for analysis. In line with the first collection of literature, I devised a conceptual framework that presented four different approaches to global citizenship - namely, neo-liberal, tourist, humanitarian and critical. Next, among various works discussed in the second and third collections of literature, this study adopted Ball's theory of policy cycle (Bowe et al., 1992; Maguire & Ball, 1994), which was complemented by contextual dimensions (Braun et al., 2011) that influence policy implementation at the school level.

While both theoretical frameworks served as heuristic tools for my empirical analysis in Chapters 5 and 6, they played different roles and had different applications. First, the global citizenship framework provided the specific analytical means to define and interpret

GCED (as described by the policy texts), the schools' documents, and the research participants. On the other hand, the theory of policy cycle provided more general, background premises for the study; that is, there are multiple contexts (i.e. influence, text production and practice) in the policy process and, as such, policy is reinterpreted in each context. Following the summary of my main findings, I will present and discuss their implications in relation to the Research Questions, in the contexts of the two theoretical pillars, respectively.

7.2 Summary of Findings

This research was a qualitative study which concerns multiple levels of contexts. First, it is centered on South Korea which has strategically positioned itself as a global leader of GCED. Second, the scope of empirical data was narrowed down to its densely populated capital city of Seoul. The policy-based data was mostly collected from Seoul's regional education authority, SMOE, which claims to heavily invest in GCED as one of its main policy objectives. Finally, Seoul's GCED Policy Schools were the main site for my collecting of practitioner-based data. These schools were the experimental grounds for the SMOE's policy initiative to promote GCED. Building upon this context, the study explored the policy processes and school practices of GCED from multifaceted angles based on extensive qualitative data generated from interviews with three policy administrators, five school principals, seven teachers and fifteen students as well as a large collection of policy and school documents. Unlike prior studies which often have been limited to only one level of analysis, this multi-level analysis of policy and school

practices aims to take a holistic and comprehensive approach to GCED research. As a result, it has demonstrated inconsistent and ambivalent attitudes to and understanding of GCED, often swinging between the tourist and humanitarian models, and across national, regional and school levels. There was also a general pattern that the practice of GCED often adopted a relatively narrower approach when compared to the written objectives and perceptions of practitioners.

One of the main objectives of Chapters 5 and 6 is to identify the prominent type(s) of or approach(es) to GCED in both the policy and school settings, drawing on the GCED framework presented in Chapter 2. Depicting the attributes of a (desired) global citizen across four GCED models (i.e. neoliberal, tourist, humanitarian, and critical), this framework serves as a heuristic tool for interpreting the policy-based and practitioner-based data. In Chapter 2, I also suggested a layered categorization of the different GCED models in order to avoid the possibly misleading and simplistic classifications of good versus bad GCED as seen in some of the previous studies. By identifying neo-liberal, tourist, humanitarian and critical approaches to GCED from ‘narrow’ to ‘broad’ ends of a spectrum, this framework viewed a broader model as expanding on a narrower model and thus these models are not mutually exclusive. The recognition of overlaps between different models was useful because, as Jho (2016) pointed out, curricular planning and pedagogical activities tend to combine two or more approaches in most formal education contexts. Indeed, all the different types of data used in my analysis indicated that both policy and school practices employ more than one model, in particular, usually the tourist and humanitarian models. In a theoretical sense, the combining of more than one approach in the policy process suggested a possible lack in consistent definitions and

objectives, which then led to creating confusion among policy actors and to diminishing policy efficacy. However, I further argued in Chapter 2 that it is more productive to see these different models as being complementary to each other, rather than overemphasizing the competing or conflicting aspects. In addition, although less visible in the empirical data, less common and even exceptional examples of the neo-liberal and critical models of GCED were highlighted to extend the understanding of the findings and acknowledge their complexities.

In Chapter 5, I first explore the respective weights of international and national influences on the SMOE's GCED policy. While both the international policy initiatives and the state-led support for GCED have built up an encouraging atmosphere for the SMOE's introduction of its GCED policy, this appears to have had a limited impact in terms of the practical implementation of the policy. SMOE participants unanimously claimed that the Superintendent of Education newly elected in 2014 was the main force behind the new policy direction. Indeed, one of the key election pledges of this former social activist and renowned progressive academic was to promote globally-oriented democratic citizenship; and upon his inauguration, the SMOE quickly established the Democratic Citizenship Education Division which has launched a number of GCED-focused policy initiatives. The role and capacity of the Superintendent in driving policy favourable to GCED reiterates the notion of policy entrepreneur. According to Mintrom (2019), "given the enormous challenges now facing humanity, the need is great for such actors to step forward and catalyze change processes" (p.307).

Keeping these contexts in mind, four themes emerged as the main findings of my policy analysis. First, the definition and objectives of GCED indicated by the policy

documents and administrators suggested that the SMOE predominantly takes the tourist and humanitarian approaches to GCED. Second, SMOE's GCED discourse appeared to intentionally keep distance from the nationalist approach while actively engaging with the international normative framework of GCED. Third, GCED is treated as a flexible and adaptable educational discipline that can embrace other fellow cross-curricular themes such as multiculturalism, human rights, peace and sustainable development. Finally, institutional contexts such as internal staffing policies and administrative culture often hindered the potential for even greater policy implementation.

Following my policy analysis, Chapter 6 focuses on the school-level conceptualization and implementation of GCED. The practitioner-based data as well as the various examples of GCED practices from cross-curricular perspectives, GCED-specialized courses and co-curricular activities suggest that, again, the tourist and humanitarian models are predominant. The findings in this chapter are built on the premise that the practice of GCED can mediate the theoretical tensions that may arise between the different GCED models. For example, students who had participated in student clubs or other school activities focused on international exchanges indicated that they initially held tourist-oriented motivations – they wanted to make foreign friends and or learn about cultures different from their own. As their activities and participation evolved, however, the students claimed that they had come to be more interested in wider global issues and activism. Awareness-raising campaigns, research and discussions undertaken as part of such international exchange activities also suggested that they adopted a humanitarian approach and even some exceptional cases of critical perspectives. A similar case where both the tourist and humanitarian models were given space was also observed in the

interviews with the active GCED practitioners. They often pointed to prior experiences of volunteering as educators overseas as one of the major turning points that led them to their eventual interests in GCED. These educators indicated that their experiences in international educational exchanges were driven by both a tourist-like curiosity for other cultures and humanitarian aspirations to contribute to the global community.

Finally, the empirical analysis concludes with five hindering and/or facilitating factors for school-level GCED practices, and they often validate many previous studies of implementations of major precedents to GCED, such as human rights education, peace education and multicultural education. First, the participating schools often struggled to continue the momentum for GCED due to budget and staff limitations. Second, the proactive practitioners of GCED faced tensions or indifference with less motivated colleagues, which then hindered the potential for the school as a whole. Third, an overloaded curriculum and isolation between different subjects left little room for cross-curricular themes such as GCED. Fourth, many school participants pointed out open and democratic school cultures that empower students as an important condition for successful school implementation of GCED. Fifth, the larger structural issue of highly competitive college admissions can act as barriers to GCED or inversely motivate students to view and use GCED simply as a means to build more attractive profiles for college applications. Later in this chapter, these school-specific factors will be revisited, particularly as references to the concepts of professional, material and external dimensions (Braun et al., 2011; Ball et al., 2012).

7.3 What Type of GCED Do SMOE and GCED Policy Schools Intend to Promote?

The primary purpose of this research was to investigate what type(s) of GCED the SMOE and GCED Policy Schools intend to promote. This is important because both global citizenship and GCED are multifaceted concepts that are often used ambiguously in different contexts. To help address this question, I devised a framework that presents four different approaches to GCED (see Chapter 2, Section 2.2.1.2). As a heuristic analytical tool, this framework helped explore and identify the practical implications of how the textual data and research participants conceptualize GCED. As mentioned in the previous section, the empirical data suggests that the tourist and humanitarian models were predominant in the policy and school practices of this study. This does not mean, however, that narrower neoliberal conceptions or broader critical approaches were completely absent. Therefore, I intend to discuss the different understandings of GCED, as well as the tension and contradictions and the opportunities for a more transformative GCED by taking into account the different levels of analysis.

7.3.1 Locating global citizenship education in the evolving national context

Challenges to the prevailing narrative that neo-liberal and nationalist objectives of GCED dominate policy and school practices in Korea are one of the major findings in this study. Previous literature in various country context settings often suggests that state-led GCED policy aims to serve neoliberal objectives of economic growth and national

interests (Marshall, 2009; Camicia & Franklin, 2011; Cho & Mosselson, 2017; Choi & Kim, 2018). However, the empirical data of this study suggests that the tourist and humanitarian approaches are most prominent in the regional GCED policy and GCED Policy Schools. This finding echoes Schattle's (2015) argument that Korean public discourse has evolved to "emphasize ethical and cultural sensibilities alongside economic competitiveness" (p. 64). While more regional- and school-specific explanations for this shift will follow, the evolving notion of global citizenship is discussed here in some of the national and sociocultural contexts.

As discussed in Chapter 2, GCED is closely associated with the notions of shared humanity and global community which entail moral and humanistic values that go beyond the limits of a particular state, ethnicity, culture and religion. Consequently, GCED within the parameters of state education faces the question of how it should mediate inherent tensions between affirming the universality of values and rights and the safeguarding of national interests and social cohesion. Traditionally, global-oriented or diversity-focused education in Korea has largely taken the neo-liberal approach which encourages learners to develop skills and competencies necessary for economic competitiveness and national advancement (Chapter 3). This instrumental approach was apparent in the case of multicultural education, a major precedent to GCED in Korea. Previous research on multicultural education through the analysis of the National Curriculum, textbooks and government-funded programmes revealed that they often described multiculturalism and diversity as means of strengthening national competitiveness and prioritized national cohesion over tackling structural problems reproducing closed ethnicism (Hong, 2010; Jho & Cho, 2013; K. Kim, 2017). In line with the strong neoliberal stance, it may not be a

surprise that the Korean government viewed the emerging international policy development for GCED as an opportunity to extend its global leadership and gain an edge in the global economy.

While the economic-centred and nationalist approaches are still prominent in formal education, a number of domestic and sociocultural contexts have signaled a shift in policy and political environments for GCED. Of the most obvious and dramatic changes have been demographic diversification which enabled Korea to overcome its geopolitical limitations and advancements in information and communication technology. South Korea is geographically located on a peninsula and so shares a border only with North Korea which historically has had less exposure to other cultures when relatively compared to, for example, European countries (Sung, 2010). Such characteristics contribute to the current Korean ideology of a mono-culture and homogeneity which then feeds into an ethnic sense of nationalism. However, physical interaction with other cultures has significantly increased as the number of non-Korean residents has increased annually since official statistics started being tracked in 2006. In 2019, this rate marked 4.87% (Ministry of Justice, 2021), fast approaching 5%, which is generally considered the threshold for entering into a multicultural society (Jho & Cho, 2013). This demographic change has inevitably influenced how national identity and global citizenship are discussed in the country.

This trend has further been accelerated by, as one of the SMOE participants noted, “connection to the world without barriers and online networking.” While I agree with Andreotti and Pashby (2013) who argue that a modernist assumption that technology enhances democratic engagement needs to be interrogated, I suggest that the use of

digital technology can provide major opportunities for GCED. For instance, previous research has shown how the Internet and social media has created a new sense of belonging beyond geography, and has extended political learning and participation in Korea, which has a reputation of being the world's most wired country (Roh, 2004; Park & Kaye, 2018). The school-based data of this study also demonstrates the extensive use of digital tools and resources in GCED learning, notably in student advocacy and international exchange activities.

Another important context that needs to be considered in the discussion of GCED policy and implementation is the division between two Koreas. The relationship with North Korea presents unique and complex implications for GCED in South Korea as the issue is associated with different identities and approaches. When North Korea is positioned as an external actor, the common instrumental approach seems to be prevalent. For example, a number of previous studies have demonstrated that the South Korean textbooks legitimize the reunification with North Korea as an extension of economic leverage and national homogeneity, which signify a neoliberal nationalist approach (Moon, 2013; Choi & Kim, 2018). However, locating North Korea as a domestic and internal issue often invites a broader approach corresponding to humanitarian and critical models of GCED. In South Korea, the North Korean defectors in steady increase have a dual identity as Koreans who share the same ethnicity but also immigrants with very different cultural and ideological backgrounds. Therefore, Sung (2010) argues that education concerning the North Korean issue should not only promote tolerance towards diversity but also discuss the underlying structural challenges constraining the North Korean defectors settled in the South. As noted in Chapter 3, the recent development in

inter-Korea relations has also proliferated the discussion of peace and reconciliation. Since most state and regional GCED policies and school practices of GCED explored in this study identify the North Korean issue as part of their objectives, the ways they engage with the evolving discourse of the divided nation offer an important context for understanding how GCED is conceptualized.

7.3.2 Lack of critical engagement

Previous studies on GCED in various contexts often suggested a lack of critical engagement in the conceptualization and practice of GCED. The analyses of contemporary GCED literature pointed out that GCED neglects ideas on inequal power relations, social justice and, more importantly, the historical and structural roots underneath these issues (Pashby, 2011; Andreotti, 2011; Pais & Costa, 2017). Other studies investigating teachers' narratives, curricula and textbooks (especially in South Korea) through critical or post-colonial lenses also criticized the marginalization of pedagogical space for critical and transformative GCED (Cho & Mosselson, 2017; Choi & Kim, 2018; Kim, 2019). While this study largely conformed to the previous findings, it also revealed some potentials for critical GCED especially at the school level; this aspect of emerging bottom-up GCED will be discussed further in the next sub-section.

One of the examples indicating the lack of critical perspectives was the approval and application of international normative frameworks by both policy makers and school practitioners. SMOE's policy documents and GCED textbooks had parts based on extracts from UN and UNESCO documents to define and describe GCED. Many of the

participating GCED Policy Schools were UNESCO Schools, which, according to SMOE, aim at “spreading UNESCO ideals” (SMOE, 2018a, p.8). Throughout the empirical data, there was little questioning or critical engagement of the international organizations and their GCED agenda; instead, the international GCED policy was often used by policy makers as a means of legitimizing SMOE’s GCED policies including the GCED Policy Schools. As a number of prior studies including Pashby (2018) and Hately (2019) pointed out, GCED constructs by international organizations promote a conception of universal values that undermine the complexities of social justice and privilege the Western dominance. Furthermore, normative values may possibly clash with an authoritarian teaching approach that is still prevalent in Korea (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.1). One research participant who is in the unique position of having the professional experiences of being a SMOE officer, a school teacher and a principal shared an opinion which seemed relevant to this premise:

> There are parts in human rights education and peace education that could be quite sensitive. It is for sure that human rights of all people should be respected, but too much focus has been placed on student human rights, which has in part made school education difficult… With their thinking system being incomplete, students can still be swayed to the left and the right… And in terms of order in the classroom and in the general academic atmosphere, some difficulties have occurred.

In other words, this participant indicated that the notion of human rights, a key to the normative universal values, interfered with “traditional” school culture which views students as being in need of adult guidance and prioritizes collective discipline over individual freedoms. In line with this point, Chapter 6 discussed the hierarchical school culture and learning environment as one of the contextual factors that constrains the practice of GCED.

One of the themes commonly discussed in the studies mentioned above was the Western-centric norms embedded in GCED. Kim (2019) explained that Western supremacy and Eurocentric values were embedded in the South Korean education system through the colonial and imperial legacies left behind following the Japanese and US military rules respectively. Her research participants (social studies teachers) criticized the dominance of cultural imperialism perceived to be found in social studies textbooks and curricula as a major factor constricting better implementation of GCED today. Cho and Mosselson (2017) also observed that some Western countries are depicted as global economic, cultural and political leaders in South Korean GCED texts. In this study, the research participants did not directly discuss this particular aspect of Western hegemonic norms. However, the analysis of GCED textbooks did provide further context to this line of thought established in prior studies. The content and images used in these textbooks often suggested a division between Western and non-Western countries and peoples by implying the former as ones that provide aid and serve as models for the latter, that are generally depicted as being in need of such help.

The discussion on the role of the English language at both the policy and school levels is also associated with the existing critiques about Western dominance being entrenched in GCED. On one hand, GCED programmes and activities envisaged by both SMOE and school practitioners as a whole still appeared to place a strong emphasis on the English language. International exchanges and networking programmes, in particular, often implicitly stressed English-language proficiency by setting it as a default for communication, and also provided justification for assigning English language teachers to be responsible for GCED tasks. These examples reiterate previous studies in non-

Western contexts such as the Philippines (Camicia & Franklin, 2011) and Japan (Hammond & Keating, 2017); they demonstrate that the emphasis on foreign language skills (especially English) is linked with a neoliberal imperative to enhance students' global competitiveness and employability in global marketplace. But on the other hand, the diversification and shift of language and regional focuses were also hinted at by research participants and policy texts. For instance, research participants (especially English teachers) expressed that GCED practices in wider contexts rarely required any English skills. There was also evidence of increasing engagement with regional neighbors, notably China, in policy objectives and student activities. On that note, more endeavours and potential to expand the scope of GCED to challenge the Western dominance will be discussed in the next sub-section.

7.3.3 Gap between top-down and bottom-up approaches to GCED

Prior studies on GCED specific to the South Korean context suggested a gap between top-down and bottom-up approaches, which will be recontextualized in the GCED framework discussed above. On one hand, the analyses of state-led policies, national curriculum and textbooks demonstrated that GCED is employed as part of nationalist and neoliberal imperatives (Moon & Koo, 2011; Schattle, 2015; Cho & Mosselson, 2017; Pak & Lee, 2018; Choi & Kim, 2018; Kim, 2019). These studies argued that global citizenship discourses in South Korea often reinforce national citizenship and Western-centered hegemonic ideals which are entrenched in the larger education system. On the other hand, a number of authors pointed out that GCED practitioners including school leaders,

teachers and NGO activists often have more intent to engage in cosmopolitanism and social justice, which correspond to broader humanitarian and critical GCED models (Schattle, 2015; Cho & Mosselson, 2017; Pak & Lee, 2018; Kim, 2019). This bottom-up GCED approach was often described to be emerging and open up potential for more transformative and critical pedagogies. However, these possibilities were considered to be diminished as practitioners face a number of constricting factors, which will be discussed in more detail later in this section.

In relation to a notion of top-down GCED, one of the settings of this study distinctive from the previous research and literature was that it was based on a regional policy initiative. In particular, the policy analysis presented in Chapter 5 focused on the role of a regional education authority (i.e. SMOE) in the making and implementing of GCED policies, while exploring the respective weights of international and national influences (in response to RQ1). In Chapter 5, the findings largely agreed with the prior studies, that the national government's approach to GCED indeed underlines hegemonic norms and neoliberal values. For example, the central government positioned themselves as a global leader in GCED and has hosted and funded a series of international events for discussing GCED as a global education agenda. Its nationalistic intention behind its GCED policy is also hinted when the MOE's Democratic Citizenship Education Division listed reunification and "love of country" or patriotism education as part of their major responsibilities. However, both the analysis of SMOE's policy documents and the interview data added a new empirical sub-national layer to the study of a top-down GCED policy. While SMOE's policy documents referred to the state-led initiatives as the foundation for regional GCED policy, SMOE administrators often described their GCED

policy operations as independent and free from state influence. Unlike the Ministry of Education (MOE), the Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education (SMOE) also appeared to be more explicit in supporting humanitarian and moral ideals (Chapter 5). And the regional analysis revealed that the main driver behind this policy direction was SMOE's Superintendent, who is also a renowned civil rights activist and an academic.

Another example of how SMOE developed its GCED agenda to be distinctive from the central government is that they often dissociated themselves from the nationalist conception of citizenship. For example, a policy text from SMOE wrote that GCED should "promote perception and attitudes to direct towards universal values which *go beyond national interest*" (SMOE, 2017a, p.1, emphasis added). The high school GCED textbook also described nationalist and far-right policies of some European political parties as examples of "closed democracy" and "national centrism," and that these are contradictory to global citizenship (2017, p.21). Although it is not an example of a top-down policy perspective, one teacher participant who was classified as an active GCED practitioner repeatedly emphasized that GCED should go beyond "forced patriotism" (Teacher 3); this remark indicates a sentiment of resistance to the nationalistic rhetoric which tends to be widespread in South Korean education as a whole.

While this study added new empirical insights on regional-level top-down GCED, I agree with the prior research and literature that bottom-up approaches by GCED practitioners extend opportunities for more critical pedagogies and global social justice. In their study on GCED Lead Teachers appointed by the central government, Pak and Lee (2018) reported an outcome of these teachers becoming more critical and reflective of Western-centric norms found in the curriculum and textbooks when planning and

practicing GCED. A number of the research participants in this study also expressed similar changes in perceptions (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.1). Some of the participating teachers and principals indicated that through their experiences in GCED training and GCED Policy School programme, they have become more familiar with the active and critical models of GCED and were encouraged to apply it to their own lessons. Furthermore, one of the unexpected results was that some of the student participants also demonstrated their critical and transformative perspectives by discussing issues such as the transparency in the distribution of charity donations and western privileges (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.3.2). The evolving understanding and attitudes among students reiterate previous studies including Bentall and Mcgough (2013) who suggest that increasing students' exposure to global learning can challenge their perceptions and behaviours, and lead to "more critical and personal engagement and the possibility of transformation" (p.47).

Nonetheless, the critical approach rarely transferred itself to actual school activities. A SMOE participant who was one of the most experienced GCED educators hinted at the reason for this gap. This interviewee exhibited his understanding of GCED as close to the critical model; for example, he repeatedly emphasized "daily citizenship" by which he meant the locating and reflecting of democratic values in one's personal positions and contexts. However, when asked about his experiences in bringing GCED to his class, he responded that, in practice, a sudden introduction of a broad model of GCED can make the class seem unnatural and contrived. That is, even when a teacher is familiar with the broader, critical model of GCED, GCED-based class or activities should also take into consideration of a number of pre-existing conditions (e.g. the level of students'

understanding of global issues, link with other educational contents, etc.). As a result, the school-level analysis suggested that some practitioners taught the concepts to students with relatively narrower model(s) of global citizenship.

A number of prior studies on various school practices of GCED in different countries and contexts discussed various factors that lead teachers to restrict their practices from taking broader approaches (see Chapter 2, section 2.4). For example, Goren and Yemini (2016) and Cho and Mosselson (2017) suggest that teachers perceive GCED to require socioeconomic resources and thus it “isn’t for everyone” (Goren and Yemini, 2016, p.843). Other hindering factors for school-based GCED implementation identified in previous research included a lack of institutional support and curricular guidance (Lee & Leung, 2006; Schewisfurth, 2006; Rapoport, 2010) as well as overpowering nationalist rhetoric that undermines a globally-oriented understanding of identities and cultures (Myers, 2006). The findings of this study, however, showed rather different stories, which constituted one of the original contributions of this research. Firstly, GCED Policy Schools, the main site of data collection for this study, are provided with financial resources and networking opportunities and have often organized teacher training and research clubs. Furthermore, presumably linked to this precondition, the participating schools described GCED activities as leading to the creation of more engaging school environments and learning opportunities, especially for socioeconomically disadvantaged students; this echoed the GCED Lead Teachers’ responses found in Pak and Lee (2018). Finally, as mentioned above and in Chapter 6, the research participants of this study generally demonstrated an understanding of global citizenship as a post-nationalist

concept and even explicitly perceived and disapproved of nationalist overtones in education policy and curriculum.

Nonetheless, there were other constraints on GCED Policy Schools that reflected the findings from the prior research and literature. For instance, the research participants of this study indicated that performance-driven accountability in education systems is heavily loaded with mandatory curricular classes which leaves little room for vibrant educational experiments and non-academic activities (Lee & Leung, 2006; Schweisfurth, 2006; Kim, 2019). In addition, some of the highly motivated teachers who are labelled as active GCED practitioners in this study also noted a sense of frustration due to lack of collegial support and cooperation (Pak & Lee, 2018). The implication is that, despite the interdisciplinary nature of GCED, cross-curricular teaching for GCED is difficult to implement in practice. Probably linked to this point, some participants also identified rigid and hierarchical school cultures as restricting GCED, echoing Evans (2006) and Schweisfurth (2006). Chapter 6 also discussed a few examples which overcome some of these hindering factors; notably, active GCED practitioners enabled most of these exceptional cases. Therefore, I reiterate the essential role of teachers in promoting and opening up opportunities for GCED (Rapoport, 2010; Goren & Yemini, 2016).

7.4 Back to the Policy Cycle

In the previous section, the discussion on what type of GCED SMOE and GCED Policy Schools intend to promote and practice revealed the complexities that can exist in the policy process. It connects to the theory of policy cycle which claims that there are

distinctive contexts where policy is made and implemented; and these contexts can not only be related, but they can also compete with one another. In addition, when specifically focusing on the context of practice, the framework of contextual dimensions further emphasized that school-specific factors can shape the way policy gets implemented in different ways, as shown above. On that note, this section will recontextualize the research findings in relation to the policy cycle theory.

7.4.1 SMOE's policy formulation as contexts of influence and text production

In terms of the policy cycle theory (Bowe et al., 1992; Maguire & Ball, 1994), the first two Research Questions were positioned within the contexts of influence and text production. In particular, the first Research Question intended to understand the respective weights of international, national and regional influences on the GCED Policy School initiative. The policy cycle was particularly useful in mapping the positions of international, national and regional policy actors and the relationships between them; they mainly constituted the context of influence, where policy is developed through a series of consultations and negotiations. The policy cycle theory further suggests that each context has intricate and political circumstances policy actors must respond to. Indeed, in the case of this research, different levels of policy actors, represented by international organizations (i.e. UN and UNESCO), MOE and SMOE, had varied impacts on the introduction of GCED as a key policy objective in Seoul. In general, while both MOE and the international organizations had ambivalent positions in the policy process, the SMOE Superintendent appeared to play a major role in bringing GCED to the centre of the stage.

As in previous studies (See Chapter 3, Section 3.3) the participants in this study suggested that MOE's public support for GCED and the global education development agenda led by the UN and UNESCO laid the foundations and provided motivation and legitimacy for regional GCED initiatives. However, it was the newly elected Superintendent who drove interest in GCED policy directly applicable to schools, especially by restructuring SMOE to establish a department dedicated to GCED. Despite the increasing authority and autonomy given to the regional Education Offices and Superintendents in particular, their influences on the promotion of GCED have been given relatively little academic attention in South Korea compared to national policy, curriculum, textbooks and school practitioners. Therefore, this study contributes to the literature by focusing on the regional-level policy initiatives related to GCED.

Along with the context of the influence, the context of text production, from which the policy documents are generated, also has its own complexities. In the case of this study, one SMOE administrator was usually in charge of GCED-related policy making and writing for a given year. SMOE participants who were directly involved in the production of GCED Policy School documents indicated that the contexts of influence and text production were tightly intertwined. They described the policy planning and writing as a product of research into national and international policy documents as well as of internal discussions. Partly because these various factors in the context of influence are neither static nor consistent, every policy author had a different understanding of GCED. Therefore, as observed in the Chapter 5, different policy authors used distinctive languages from each other even in preparation of the same type of policy document. This

finding added to the premise that different policy actors recontextualize and reinterpret the policy in different ways (See Bowe et al., 1992; Ball, 1994).

In addition, the policy authors also suggested that they play a role as mediators between the contexts of influence (e.g. Superintendent) and practice (e.g. schools). The SMOE participants of this study implied that there are possible competition and compromise between policy authors' perceptions and the political circumstances they are situated in. Furthermore, the policy writer cited in Chapter 5 indicated that, personally, they did not fully understand some aspects of GCED and sometimes questioned the identity of GCED; nonetheless, they still had a sense of responsibility to promote GCED because it was their assigned role and job (see section 5.3.4).

7.4.2 GCED Policy Schools as context of practice

The third and fourth Research Questions were concerned with school-level policy implementation, which is largely associated with the context of practice in the policy cycle. Ball's contextual dimensions discussed in Chapter 2 also informed this part of analysis; in particular, *external* (e.g. local authority support), *material* (e.g. budget) and *professional* (e.g. teachers' perception and experiences) contexts were relevant to the case (Braun et al., 2011). In this study, GCED Policy Schools were both the policy objective and the policy implementer; in other words, they were the site where SMOE's policy unfolded, and at the same time, created their own policy process to implement the policy. Within each of these schools, its members interacted and negotiated, developed GCED-centered programmes, and then implemented them. Therefore, I argue that this school-

specific policy process suggests the presence of a new policy cycle within the context of practice. In other words, these GCED Policy Schools had their own contexts of influence, text production and practice which made each case of policy implementation distinctive across the schools. This conceptualization advances the understanding of the policy cycle and policy implementation study particularly in the context of South Korean schools, which have been given increasing autonomy and decision-making authority and thus exhibit growing complexities (see Chapter 3).

In the context of influence within the school-level implementation stage, different factors had a varied level of influence over shaping the perception of the participants and practice of GCED. For example, many school leaders and teachers agreed that, apart from providing funds, SMOE had a limited impact on the implementation of GCED Policy Schools. According to the leaders and teachers, SMOE mostly played an administrative role of distributing funds and collecting reports and had very little control over how GCED Policy Schools plan and execute their GCED programmes. The participants showed a rather ambivalent view with regard to this aspect; some preferred to have full freedom over how they run GCED Policy Schools, while others wanted SMOE to provide more resources such as training and networking opportunities. Other actors who were more prevalent in this context were school leaders and teachers. Faculty members at GCED Policy Schools went through consultations and negotiations to develop GCED programmes, and in some cases, conflicts occurred during this process. For instance, in participating schools where school leaders were passionate about GCED but teachers were not as interested, the decision-making process of, for example, selecting a teacher(s) to be in charge of GCED would cause tension among faculty members.

In the school-level context of text production, a school curriculum was written and an implementation plan for GCED was generated. This process was generally undertaken by a single teacher or a small group of teachers. Like in the case of SMOE's policy author, the teacher(s) in charge of GCED could have different views among their fellow teachers and school leaders. Therefore, they refined personal understandings of GCED and created the conceptual and practical texts for implementation. And across the given schools, such texts most commonly featured objectives and specific plans for promoting GCED as part of the schools' curriculum documents. However, unlike their SMOE counterpart, the authors' of the schools' documents were often also the implementers of the documents and plans they wrote and set in place.

Finally, the context of practice in this study can be described as having two levels; first, the implementation of the GCED Policy School initiative prescribed by SMOE, and second, the implementation of GCED-themed programmes and activities devised by individual GCED Policy Schools. The analysis in Chapter 6 explored both dimensions that concerned the relationship in the external context (i.e. SMOE) as well as the internal struggles respectively. Research findings suggested that implementation was a 'writerly' process as called in Bowe et al. (1992) drawing on Barthes; the policy and school-level plans were reinterpreted and recontextualized by the school members who implemented them. One of the aspects distinctive to this context was the participation of students in the policy process. As seen in the regional-level policy formulation and school-level contexts of influence and text production discussed so far, students had little presence in decision-making processes. The student voice was also largely absent in the previous literature on policy implementation; which implied the students were considered to be passive

policy subjects or receivers. However, this study provided a new insight into student agency in the context of policy implementation. I argued that students are capable of reinterpreting the policy and their roles as active policy implementers are worth more attention. Although they were given limited space for participation in the policy process, the findings suggested that the student participants were highly engaged in student-led GCED activities such as the student clubs. They demonstrated themselves to be active policy actors by organizing activities around what they thought to be important themes of GCED.

As mentioned earlier, various contextual dimensions in reference to Braun et al. (2011) were useful in understanding the school-level conceptualizations and practices of GCED as well as the gaps between them. In terms of *professional* contexts, “the teachers’ values, commitments and experiences as well as policy management within schools” were the main concerns (Braun et al., 2011, p. 591). The distinction between the active and passive GCED practitioners discussed in Chapter 6 is largely informed by this particular context. Relatedly, these professional contexts influenced whether the school ethos and cultures are in favour of GCED implementation. For the *material* contexts, Braun et al. (2011) point out that the staff can also be seen as a school’s main asset. Indeed, the coming and leaving of active GCED practitioners posed both opportunities and challenges respectively for the participating schools. In addition, a school’s budget was a more obvious ‘material’ factor and a major determinant for the scale, type and sustainability of a school’s GCED programme. Lastly, the *external* dimensions in the case of this study mainly concerned the relationship between GCED Policy Schools and the SMOE. As a funder, the SMOE was an important facilitator for GCED implementation, yet

school practitioners had ambivalent views on the effectiveness of their support. On that note, the next subsection discusses the tensions between the two policy levels (i.e. SMOE and GCED Policy Schools).

7.4.3 Tension between policy contexts

So far, this chapter has discussed the implications of the research findings from each level of policy formulation and implementation respectively. The rest of this section discusses the policy process between these different levels. The empirical analysis indicated that the policy process moving from formulation to implementation is not always linear nor smooth, as Ball et al. (2014) argued; accordingly, there are some tensions between different policy contexts. Research participants who had experiences in working with different policy levels suggested that such conflicts can be explained by a lack of overarching policy structures or systems to provide coherent support for the promotion of GCED. This further caused the disjuncture between national-regional and regional-school levels of the policy process.

Research participants who have played different roles in GCED policy process (e.g. SMOE administrators, external GCED experts, author of GCED textbook, etc.) commonly pointed out the lack of comprehensive national-level plans and coordinated efforts to assure that GCED is given curriculum-wide attention and sustained in the long term. The expert interviews suggested that when the MOE initiated and publicly announced their support for GCED, one of the main motives was to demonstrate global leadership and national interest in the global education agenda, especially in the context of being the

host country for the 2015 World Education Forum. Partly due to this consideration, the MOE assigned a department normally in charge of international relations and external communications to manage GCED-related policies, rather than departments that administer education policy or curriculum. In a conventional case, education policy formulation at the national level would involve government agencies such as the Korean Educational Development Institute (KEDI) and the Korea Institute for Curriculum and Evaluation (KICE) to undertake relevant research, define objectives and recommend any measures to get in sync the National Curriculum and textbooks. By contrast, MOE's GCED policies were drafted rather hurriedly to legitimize their engagement in the international agenda setting process leading up to the Sustainable Development Goals (2015). Accordingly, the national GCED strategy was criticized by a number of the research participants for being detached from regional and school realities.

Several of the research participants also discussed the limitation of initiatives led by regional governments; these programmes and activities are considered to be highly reliant on co-curricular activities and thus difficult to integrate in the regular curricular classes. This observation echoes previous studies in finding that GCED in South Korean schools is often viewed as extra or club activities and reduced to be one-off events (Cho & Mosselson, 2017; Pak & Lee, 2019). Although regional educational offices and schools have been given more autonomy and decision-making authority in recent years, the education system is still very much centralized, especially regarding the National Curriculum and government-approved textbooks.

Given the SMOE's limited support for the GCED Policy Schools, the schools' practitioners exhibited somewhat mixed attitudes towards the centralized education

system. On the one hand, many participants indicated that any educational experiment or initiative that is not provided with clear and explicit curricular guidance (e.g. GCED) cannot be considered sustainable over the long term. For these practitioners, the ideal form of GCED would be one that is fully integrated into the National Curriculum. They claimed that the National Curriculum already has potential for bolstering GCED as its framework and objectives are in line with the core values promoted by GCED; however, cross-curricular themes including GCED are often detached from the mainstream curriculum (see, Chapter 6, Section 6.3.2). Therefore, the research participants argued for a restructuring of the core subjects as well as textbooks to absorb GCED so that it can reduce the additional labour expected of teachers in order to incorporate GCED in their teaching and school activities. On the other hand, some other school teachers and principals seemed to be somewhat more dismissive of central planning and to emphasize teacher autonomy which assures freedom and flexibility in deciding what and how to teach their students.

On that note, the findings strongly suggest that willing and passionate practitioners are key to mediating any tensions that hinder GCED implementation. The more experienced and senior the teachers or principals are, the more they stressed the role of teachers in GCED promotion. A school principal who was one of the more active practitioners in this study remarked:

> The teacher group is a group for whom autonomy is very important. So if they do not agree by heart, it is very difficult to force this group to do something. So it was important to make teachers believe by heart that [GCED] is something very good. And there always needs a person who can work at the core. A person who takes the core responsibility.

Teacher autonomy is one of the terms used frequently when discussing the effectiveness of school-level GCED implementation. As seen in Chapter 6, GCED was delivered in the most diverse and creative ways in GCED Policy Schools where the teacher(s) took the lead with clear visions and enthusiasm. On the contrary, even if a school leader is an active GCED practitioner, without the endorsement of the faculty as a whole, GCED is often perceived merely as an additional workload for teachers. A teacher participant from a school which faced this type of tension raises an important point for reflection:

> [When teacher autonomy and self-motivation are present, GCED] is highly effective. Enforcement can make things happen, but then the programme cannot be done properly. I guess the programme could still roll out perfunctorily. The school farm [sounds] great. However, it is necessary to look into the internal aspects of how the farm is being operated. On the surface, wow, [this school] grows a hundred plants! But are the members of the school happy in doing it? This is a very different issue.

While this participant acknowledges that the funding received for being a GCED Policy School helped offer their students unusual experiences such as school farming, they question the fundamental meaning of the GCED practices when the promoted values and morals are not internalized in teachers. Throughout the analysis process, I tried to consistently revisit this question of internalization to critically engage with what is written and shared during interviews.

7.5 Research Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research

In this section, I would like to discuss a few limitations inherent to this study and how they inform avenues for future research. First, although I argued that students are one of the main policy implementers who are capable of recontextualizing policy, their

contribution to the analysis was relatively limited compared to the adult participants. Students' (evolving) perceptions of global citizenship and their accounts for student-led GCED activities (e.g. student clubs) provided an unusual opportunity for engaging student voices in the GCED literature. However, student data was largely absent in a considerable part of the empirical analysis, because student interviews did not yield as much data as anticipated. Initially, I chose the focus group interview as a method of student data collection in order to maximize data richness via interactions within the group. However, especially given the limited amount of time I was permitted for performing the student interviews, each student had relatively short speaking times which hindered the opportunities for them to develop and elaborate more robust insights. Therefore, the previously under-researched topic of student agency in GCED policy implementation merits more academic attention.

The second limitation, which applies to both my research and GCED Policy Schools themselves, was that the types, themes and contents of GCED programme design and policy texts were given most of the attention in this study. While these elements provided valuable insights into how GCED is perceived and practiced at the school level, another important dimension to GCED – open and democratic classrooms and school culture – was not discussed extensively. Although I had an opportunity to observe one GCED-themed class led by an external instructor during my field study, this experience was too limited to generate any significant research data. Chapter 6 suggested the traditionally hierarchical school culture in Korea as a possible constraint to the practice of GCED, but this aspect of GCED deserves more extensive attention in both research and practice. In particular, most active GCED practitioners put greater emphasis on how and in what

environment GCED is delivered; arguably, GCED is much more effective when, for example, the school culture encourages its members to openly express their views, to be respectful of each other and to respect democratic values (Osler, 2005; UNESCO, 2014; Lee, et al., 2015; Viennet & Pont, 2017). However, this aspect of GCED is often undermined in practice in Korea. In the context of GCED Policy Schools, as in the case of any government-funded programmes, they often focused on planning and implementation of tangible activities that can be evaluated and written down in the reporting documents. Things such as school and classroom cultures that are difficult to be measured and evaluated are not often prioritized, at least in the documents. Therefore, in the research context, these factors are difficult to be considered in the analysis because there is little information on how school democracy is promoted and to what extent it influences GCED.

Finally, the last limitation of the study refers to the inherited nature of GCED policy – one of the goals of this research project, to bring changes in education to promote GCED, may be undermined by priority issues in policy and practice. This study began with a premise that the promotion of GCED is indispensable for equipping students with adequate values and skills needed to address the fast-evolving challenges of today's world. However, when put in a larger context of the formal education system, GCED is a relatively small-scale policy objective. GCED is not often the top priority and is in consistent competition with other areas of education for policy attention and budget. As discussed in Chapter 6, even in GCED Policy Schools that are publicly committed to promote GCED, the practice and impact of GCED were often undermined by academic or performance-centered priorities. Therefore, while this research contributed to a better

understanding of the dynamic policy process focusing on a regional-level educational experiment, areas of improvement at a larger scale may be better identified through further research which explores GCED policy and practice in the National Curriculum, textbooks of mandatory subjects, etc. or informal education.

Adding to this final suggestion, the recent global health pandemic has inevitably rearranged educational priorities in both policy and school contexts. The SMOE's major policy directives of the past two years have been dominated by COVID-19 issues; a few of the most recent examples include organizational restructuring at the end of 2021 to address the pandemic crisis and the approval of an additional budget of 50 billion KRW (approximately 40 million USD) to reduce the learning gap and expand preventive measures against COVID-19 (SMOE, 2022). Schools in Seoul only returned to being fully opened in November 2021 after nearly two years of swinging between online learning and limited face-to-face classes. This unprecedented circumstance has presumably influenced the scale and nature of GCED practices in schools. On one hand, GCED may still be struggling to find its space in school timetables that are as crowded as ever. On the other hand, as Seol (2021) argues, the global pandemic has opened up unexpected opportunities for GCED as it proliferated more global discussions on GCED-related issues such as the choice between social security and individual freedoms, widening socioeconomic gaps and inequalities, and addressing open hatred and discrimination (for example, against Asians). Therefore, building on the findings of this research, more empirical studies could illuminate what implications the current pandemic are having on GCED policy and practices.

7.6 Recommendations for Policy and Practice

Before concluding this thesis, I would like to present some of the main implications of this research for policy makers and schools. One of the major lessons that can be learned from this study is that regional government can potentially play a positive role in educational policy. My research shows the case of a powerful regional authority that saw value in GCED and created the beacon schools to promote GCED – this happened while the national government was, like in many other national governments, largely interested in gaining economic and political leverage through promoting GCED policy (see Chapter 5). This regional-level policy initiative was largely led by a willing and passionate leader, in this case the Superintendent, whom I identified as a policy entrepreneur (see Chapter 5, Section 5.2.1). Therefore, while previous research often points out the limitations of taking top-down approaches in implementing GCED policy as well as highlights the importance of GCED at a grassroots level (see, for example, Cho & Mosselson, 2017; Pak & Lee, 2018), this study demonstrated a case where a top-down approach can be effective in creating policy changes when the leader has a clear vision and strategy for promoting GCED.

Public policy design for promoting GCED can also build on the findings specifically related to the facilitating and hindering factors in GCED implementation at both policy and school levels. As the UN and UNESCO currently recognize GCED as essential for peace and prosperity and as the SDGs are targeted to be achieved by 2030, I believe policymakers, educators, and the public will continue to make GCED a focus over the next few years. In this process, the findings of this study can be integrated into public policy that acknowledges material, professional, and external contexts of schools (see

Chapter 6, Section 6.4) as well as of the tensions between different policy contexts as discussed earlier in this chapter. Such policy will help promote a shared vision and goals for GCED among national and regional policymakers as well as school practitioners.

Regarding the school-level implementation of GCED, GCED Policy Schools demonstrated a distinctive case which can be emulated in different settings. While a number of previous studies identified the lack of financial and institutional support as major constraints to the promotion of GCED (Lee & Leung, 2006; Schewisfurth, 2006; Rapoport, 2010, Goren & Yemini, 2014), this study identified additional budget and resources provided to GCED Policy Schools as important factors that contribute to bringing about opportunities and positive changes. Even the teacher participants who were skeptical about the way GCED was implemented in their schools agreed that their students benefitted from being part of a GCED Policy School – therefore, I suggest that, despite some tensions and limitations in the implementation process, a policy initiative such as the creation of GCED Policy Schools can help promote the foremost purpose of GCED, to empower students.

Finally, I would like to reiterate the importance of investing in teacher training for the promotion of GCED. The findings of this study indicated that what I classified as active GCED practitioners are the ones who can offset the hindering factors in school-level implementation of GCED (see Chapter 6) and implement GCED in their schools through innovative and creative measures. A number of these teacher and school principal participants suggested that international exchange or partnership programmes can be an effective entry point for teacher training, as they pointed out these experiences as having motivated themselves to be interested in GCED. In other words, even a relatively narrow

(i.e. tourist) approach in teacher training can help teachers create spaces that can possibly evolve into practices of humanitarian and critical GCED, as seen in Chapter 6 (Section 6.2.2.2). As education systems become more diverse and complex, teachers need to be equipped with the necessary skills and knowledge to effectively teach students about different cultures and backgrounds. By providing teachers with GCED training programmes that emphasize more inclusive and globally-oriented learning environments, schools and governments can ensure that students receive a level of education that better prepares them to be active and engaged global citizens.

7.7 Conclusion: Back to Reflexivity

As a former Assistant Programme Specialist at APCEIU, a UNESCO centre mandated to promote GCED through international educational activities, I used to have a rather normative understanding of the ideals of GCED and a positive orientation towards the notion of GCED built by UN and UNESCO. However, by positioning myself as the researcher for this study, I gained invaluable experience and opportunities to challenge my own belief system and critically engage with a wide range of academic literature on GCED. Concluding my study, I ask myself again whether I was critical enough in dismantling what I know and believe; I feel certain regret but also relieved that this is only one of the first steps in my research journey and learning process.

I would also like to remark on the Western-oriented perspectives that have intertwined with my research. As indicated earlier, one of my aims to embark on this research was to challenge the dominant Western perspectives in the literature of GCED by engaging in a

non-Western case of empirical data. Throughout the research process, I consistently questioned myself to what extent I was critically aware and resisting the Western knowledge and way of thinking; it was no easy task to denaturalize the western dominance that is so deeply entrenched. It was even more so when the participants were also, often unconsciously, under the sphere of western supremacy. At the beginning of each individual and group interviews, I briefly introduced myself and background to my study to build rapport and keep my participants informed. When I described my previous and current residency in Canada and France as well as membership within a higher education institution in UK, the participants usually reacted with envy and immediate surge in their interest in my research and the researcher. Recalling the critical model of GCED from my theoretical framework, I remain to ponder on how GCED can contribute to deconstructing these attitudes and cultural status quo.

As I mentioned in Chapter 1 and 4, I have lived, been educated and worked in a number of countries around the world. To this date, a simple and common question like, “Where are you from?” still makes me stop and speculate the meaning of and relationship between citizenship, nationality and identity. While I am making continuous efforts to refine my multifaceted identities through which I relate myself to the world, my personal background and experiences in diverse cultures have assured me that becoming a global citizen is now not only an option, but a must, not solely for personal well-being but also for more peaceful and sustainable communities and societies. On that note, it is my wish that this study can contribute to a more global society by helping to facilitate even a small change in education.

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Appendix 1: Interview guide

Part 1: Opening statements
• Introducing the researcher • Introducing the research project • Role of the researcher and participants: making collaborative efforts to co-construct knowledge and understanding • (Especially for students) There are no right or wrong answers; the Researcher is here to learn from their experience
Part 2: Background questions
• Participant profiles: years of experience, subject specialism, any previous personal/professional experience related to GCED • (GCED Policy Schools) School profile: socioeconomic dynamic
Part 3: Essential questions
<u>Common questions for SMOE, school admninistrators and teachers</u> • Definition/understanding of GCED/global citizenship: What do you think is GCED? What are the main characteristics/components of GCED? • Relationship between GCED and other educational programmes (e.g. multicultural education) • Impact of the sociopolitical context (e.g. North Korea relations, Me Too movement, etc.) on the implementation of GCED • Facilitating/hindering factors in the implementation of GCED <u>SMOE</u> • Why did SMOE introduce GCED as a key policy area? • Background to the establishment of the Democratic Citizenship Education Division • Policy process: Who are the main decision makers? Where does the budget come from and how is it allocated? <u>School administrators</u> • Motivation and process to apply for GCED Policy Schools • Key achievements and limitations as a GCED Policy School

- Relationship with SMOE – types of support

Teachers

- Strategies to incorporate GCED in their curricular classes
- Factors that impact the students' motivation and participation in GCED-related activities
- Role of school administrators in facilitating GCED

Students

- What does it mean to be a global citizen? Do you think you are a global citizen?
- What are the examples of activities/programmes that are related to global citizenship/being a global citizen?
- To what extent were you involved in planning and carrying out such activities?

Part 4: Closing statements

- Take time for any additional questions/feedback from participants
- Thank the participants

Appendix 2: Information sheet and consent forms for participants (English & Korean)

Information Sheet

Global Citizenship Education Policy Schools in Seoul – tell us about your experiences

What is this project about?

I am a PhD student at the **Institute of Education (IOE), University College London (UCL)**. My PhD research project is titled "**Implementation of Global Citizenship Education (GCED) Policy in South Korea: In the Case of GCED Policy Schools**"; it aims to explore how regional GCED policy is introduced and practiced at the school-level by looking at the case of GCED Policy Schools, a policy initiative by the Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education (SMOE).
I would very much like to talk to you about your views and experiences, as your stories will help me to make sure the project is as successful as possible. However, ***your participation is voluntary*** and you can withdraw at any time.

What happens next?

If you agree to take part in the project, the interview should take around 30 to 45 minutes. During this time, I will ask you a series of questions about your views on global citizenship and experiences in regards to the GCED Policy Schools/GCED in general. Some possible topics are:
[All participants] Your thoughts on what global citizenship/being a global citizen means
[All participants] Achievements and constraints of the policy (GCED Policy Schools)/ GCED activities
[SMOE officers] Goals, target and tools of the policy
[SMOE officers] Context and process of policy formation
[School leaders/teachers] Reasons for participating GCED Policy Schools
[School leaders/teachers] GCED delivering methods/strategies (in both curricular and extra-curricular settings)
[Students] Your experiences with [specific GCED-related activities]

If I agree to be interviewed, what will happen to the information I give you?

Your answers will be used to help me write my PhD thesis, which is subject to the review of the Thesis Committee at IOE UCL and viva examination.

Is the information I give confidential?

All the information you provide is treated in strict confidence. Your name will not be mentioned in any reports or discussions, and we will do our very best to remove any identifying details. Finally, the

information collected will be used for research purposes only. If you agree to be recorded, the audio-recording will be deleted after I have completed the PhD thesis.

If you have any questions about the project, please contact Ji-Eun Kim (ji.eun.kim.15@ucl.ac.uk/ phone number in Korea)

Consent Form

I understand the intent and purpose of this project to find out about the policy implementation of the GCED Policy Schools, as part of Ji-Eun Kim's PhD research.

I am aware that the research will involve a conversation with Ji-Eun Kim and that my participation is voluntary. I am also aware that the conversation will last approximately 30-45 minutes but if, for any reason, I wish to stop the interview, I may do so at any time.

I am aware that the content of this interview will be used for Ji-Eun Kim's PhD research, and my answers will be included in the thesis that will be submitted for assessment.

I am aware the data gathered in this interview is confidential with respect to my personal identity, that personal details (such as my name) will not be used in the thesis.

I have read and understand the explanation provided to me and I consent to take part in this stage of the research.

Participant's Name _____

Signed _____ Date _____

Researcher's Name _____

Signed _____ Date _____

안 내 문

(정책실무자용)

서울시 세계시민교육 정책학교 관련 박사 연구 참여

무엇에 관한 연구인가요?

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세계시민교육 정책학교와 관련된 귀하의 의견과 경험을 나누어 주신다면 본 연구에 큰 도움이 될 것입니다. 연구 참여는 온전히 본인의 자발적 의사에 의해 결정되며, 연구 과정 중 언제든지 취소가 가능합니다.

인터뷰는 어떻게 진행되나요?

본 연구에 참여하시는 것에 동의하신다면, 연구자(김지은)는 참가자와 30 분 - 1 시간 여의 인터뷰를 실시하게 됩니다. 인터뷰 중에 연구자는 세계시민의식, 세계시민교육 및 세계시민교육 정책학교와 관련한 참가자의 의견을 물을 것입니다. 예를 들면, 다음과 같은 주제에 대해 논의하게 됩니다.

- 세계시민의식 또는 세계시민의 의미
- 세계시민교육 관련 정책의 배경과 의사결정 과정
- 세계시민교육 정책학교의 목표와 실행전략
- 세계시민교육 정책학교 활동의 성과와 제한점

만약 연구 참여에 동의하면, 참가자가 제공하는 정보는 어떻게 사용되나요?

인터뷰 내용은 연구자의 박사 논문의 자료로 사용되며, 이 논문은 영국 런던대 교육대학원 논문 심사위원회의 검토와 구두 시험을 거치게 됩니다.

참가자가 제공하는 정보는 어떻게 보호되나요?

인터뷰의 모든 내용과 그 안의 정보는 엄격하게 익명으로 보호되며 온전히 연구 목적으로만 사용됩니다. 본인의 동의 없이 개인 정보는 절대 사용되지 않으며, 연구자는 참가자의 개인 신상이 노출되지 않도록 최대한의 노력을 할 것입니다. 참가자의 동의 하에 인터뷰 내용이 녹음될 수 있으며, 녹음 파일은 박사 논문 완성 후 완전히 폐기됩니다.

만약 본 연구와 관련해 문의사항이 있으시면 연구자 김지은에게 이메일 (ji.eun.kim.15@ucl.ac.uk) 또는 카카오톡 (ID:kimjangel)으로 언제든지 연락 주시기 바랍니다.

안 내 문

(학교관리자/교사용)

서울시 세계시민교육 정책학교 관련 박사 연구 참여

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- 세계시민교육 정책학교 활동의 성과와 제한점
- 세계시민교육의 교과과정 내 혹은 비교과과정의 구체적인 실천사례

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- 세계시민교육 관련 학교 활동과 관련된 경험
- 세계시민교육 관련 해보고 싶은 활동이나 제안점

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연구 참여 동의서

본인은 세계시민교육 정책학교의 정책실행에 관한 연구자(김지은)의 박사 연구 관련 의도와 목적을 이해합니다.

네, 이해합니다 ☐ 아니오, 이해하지 않습니다 ☐

본인은 연구 참여 동의가 자발적으로 이루어지며, 이에 따라 연구자와의 인터뷰가 진행될 것을 알고 있습니다. 또한 인터뷰가 약 30분- 1시간 동안 진행되며, 어떤 이유로든지 원하는 때에 인터뷰를 중단할 수 있음을 알고 있습니다.

네, 알고 있습니다 ☐ 아니오, 알지 못합니다 ☐

본인은 인터뷰 내용이 연구자의 박사 연구에 사용되며, 연구의 결과물인 논문이 심사를 위해 제출될 것을 알고 있습니다.

네, 알고 있습니다 ☐ 아니오, 알지 못합니다 ☐

본인은 인터뷰 내에서 수집된 개인정보가 연구윤리에 의해 보호되며, 개인 신상이 논문에 사용되지 않을 것을 알고 있습니다.

네, 알고 있습니다 ☐ 아니오, 알지 못합니다 ☐

본인은 연구 참여에 관한 동의서를 읽고 연구자의 설명을 이해했으며, 이 연구에 참여하는 것에 동의합니다.

참가자 이름 _____

서명 _____ 날짜 _____

연구자 이름 _____

서명 _____ 날짜 _____

Appendix 3. Sample codes and themes from inductive analysis

First-order codes	Second-order themes	Categories
Policy-based data		
UN and UNESCO initiatives actively supported by Korea (e.g. GEFI, WEF,…)	External policy actor	Key driver of regional-level GCED policy process
MOE used GCED to expand its leverage		
Superintendent was enthusiastic to promote GCED policy	Internal policy actor	
Deliberate distancing from nationalist perspectives	Different understandings of GCED	Regional-level approach to GCED
Active engagement with international normative policy framework (UN, UNESCO)		
Close relationship with multicultural education		
English major appointed as a person in charge of GCED tasks	Institutional contexts	
High barrier between Ministries and different divisions within SMOE		
School-based data		
Strategies to engage teachers	Teacher training	School-level implementation of GCED
Strategies to implement GCED in different subject classes	Regular curricular class	
Student clubs	Co-curricular Creative Experiential Activities	
Interntaional exchange/partnership programmes		
One-off/special events		
Difficulty finding fellow teachers to support GCED activities	Collegial tension	Hindering/ facilitating factors
Top-down decision making in the GCED Policy School application process		
Pressure on college admission	Priority issues	
Overloaded curriculum		
Hierarchical relationship between teachers and students	School culture	
Lack of autonomous activities for students (e.g. student council)		
High barriers between different subjects	Teaching environment	
Heavy teacher workload		
Inability to secure budget when GCED Policy School status ended	Lack of sustainability	
Teacher/school principal relocated every 4-5 years		

Appendix 4: GCED textbooks *Global Citizens in the World Village*

세계로 한 걸음

1 인간과 모든 생명은 함께 잘 살 수 있을까?

자료 1

스티브 커츠(Steve cutts) 감독이 만든 'MAN'은 인류가 지구에 등장하면서부터 벌어지는 이야기를 3분 정도로 간추린 애니메이션이다. * 관련 영상: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WlGlMYdaCUU(유튜브에서 'MAN'으로 검색)

자료 2

언제부터인가 맑은 하늘을 보는 일이 어려워졌어요. 봄이면 흔히 볼 수 있던 꿀벌을 만나는 일도, 바로 마실 수 있는 맑은 물을 발견하는 일도, 유전자 조작이 되지 않은 먹을거리를 찾는 일도 이제는 정말 어렵고 힘든 일이 되었어요. 이 모든 것이 인간과 생명을 존중하지 않고 '문명의 발전'이라는 이유로 자연을 무분별하게 개발하였기 때문이에요. 그로 인하여 생태계는 파괴되고 있어요.

저는 동물들이 너무 불쌍해요. 엄청나게 많은 돼지와 소, 닭들이 평생 단 한 번도 신선한 바람과 햇살 속에서 풀밭 위를 뛰어다니지 못하고 우리 안에 갇힌 채 성장 촉진제를 맞으며 몸집을 불리고 있어요. 알을 낳기 바쁘게 알을 빼앗기는 암탉들은 이제 알을 품는 것이 무엇인지도 잊어버렸다고 해요. 이러한 환경에서 자란 동물들은 바이러스성 가축 전염병으로 인해 죽는 경우도 많아요.

이러한 세상이 너무 무서워요. 더 이상의 파괴는 안 돼요! 이제 인간조차 살 수 없는 세상이 올 것 같아요. 제발, 우리 모두 인간이든 동물이든 생명을 존중하고 자연을 보호하면서 아름답게 사는 세상을 만들어 가요.

20○○년 ○○월 ○○일
생명이 울림

18 1. 세계시민의 이해

작동

1) 자료 1 의 동영상을 보고, 인간이 어떻게 지구를 파괴하는지 그 내용을 말해 보자.

2) 자료 1 의 동영상과 자료 2 를 보고 100년 뒤 후손의 입장이 되어 지금의 지구촌 사람들에게 전하는 가상의 편지를 써 보자. 그리고 짝꿍과 편지를 바꾸어 읽어 본 뒤 짝꿍이 쓴 편지에 대한 나의 답장도 써 보자.

후손의 입장

지구촌 사랑들에게

짝꿍이 쓴 편지에 대한 나의 답장

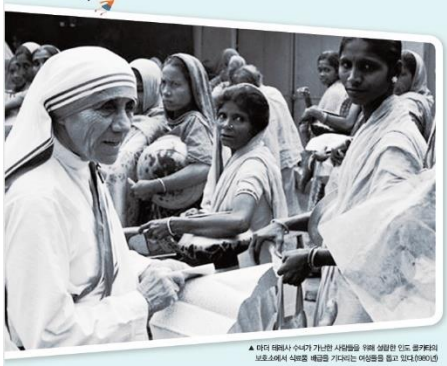
2. 더불어 살아가는 지구촌 19

더불어 살아가는 지구촌

2

이 단원에서는

• 지구촌 문제에 대하여 우리가 기져야 할 태도를 생각해 본다.



▲ 마더 테레사 수녀가 가난한 사람들을 위해 설립한 인도 콜카타의 보호소에서 식비를 배급을 기다리는 어린이들을 돕고 있다.(1980년)

마더 테레사 수녀를 세계시민으로 볼 수 있을까?

지구촌 문제, 나와 상관없을까?

우리는 텔레비전이나 인터넷 등을 통해 세계 각지에서 일어나는 일들을 매일 접하며 다양한 지구촌 문제들과 마주한다. 지구 상에는 빈곤과 불평등, 환경 오염, 기후 변화, 지역 갈등, 전쟁, 난민 등 해결하기 어려운 과제들이 있다. 이를 해결하기 위해서는 국제적인 협력이 필요하다. 그 이유는 문제의 발생 배경과 영향을 미치는 범위가 어느 한 지역에 국한되지 않고 각각의 문제들이 서로 긴밀히 연관되어 있어 당사국 또는 특정 국가의 노력만으로는 해결할 수 없기 때문이다.

이러한 문제는 언제든지 우리의 문제가 될 수도 있다. 그러므로 우리는 인간을 둘러싼 모든 생명을 존중하고 자연환경을 보전하며 더불어 살아가려는 노력을 해야 한다.

이를 위해 지구촌 공동의 문제에 관심을 가지고 문제 해결 방법에 대해서도 함께 고민해야 한다. 이미 국제적으로도 각종 국제 협약, 관련 국제기구의 활동, 국제 원조, *공정 무역 등 지구촌 문제를 해결하기 위한 협력이 활발하게 진행되고 있다.

★ 공정 무역
중간 유통 과정을 줄여 비용을 낮추는 효과를 내고, 기업에게 이익이 집중되지 않도록 생산자에게 공정한 대가를 지불하여 거래하는 새로운 무역 방식이다. 공정 무역 제품은 아동 노동을 사용하지 않고, 여성의 인권을 보장하며 안전한 작업장에서 친환경적으로 생산된다.

지구촌 문제와 이를 해결하기 위해 협력하는 모습

◀ 수천 명의 목숨을 잃어간 네팔 대지진(2015년 4월) 모습

▲ 한 비정부 기구(NGO)의 긴급 구호팀 직원들이 네팔 지진으로 가장 큰 피해가 발생한 고르카 지역 주민에게 담요를 전달하고, 다친 아동을 치료하고 있다.