The Pennsylvania State University

The J. Jeffrey and Ann Marie Fox Graduate School

# CAN NATIONAL CURRICULA FOSTER GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP?

A Dissertation in

Educational Theory and Policy

and

Comparative and International Education

by

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Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

December 2024

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## ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores whether Global Citizenship Education (GCE), as implemented within national education systems, cultivates global citizenship identity and attitudes among young adults. The research is grounded in the philosophical tradition of cosmopolitanism, which advocates extending moral and political obligations beyond the nation-state. Based on traditions of cosmopolitanism, my research investigates the capacity of GCE to foster a sense of belonging to universal humanity that transcend national parochialism. I critically examine the theoretical foundations of cosmopolitanism in the context of GCE and engage with critiques that question the feasibility of implementing such ideals within systems inherently designed to promote national identity.

Drawing on data from the joint dataset of the European Values Study 2017 and World Values Survey Wave 7 (Joint EVS/WVS 2017) and the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study 2009 (ICCS 2009), I conducted an analysis of a sample comprising 7,230 young adults across 30 countries to evaluate the long-term impact of GCE curriculum provision on the development of global citizenship. I operationalize GCE as the incorporation of three key learning topics into the national curriculum: human rights, multiculturalism, and environmentalism. Through the application of hierarchical linear modeling, I investigated the relationship of GCE to three dimensions of global citizenship: social identity, moral attitudes, and political attitudes. The findings reveal that while human rights education within GCE is positively correlated with political attitudes supporting global governance, the overall impact of GCE on global citizenship attitudes is limited. Contrary to my expectation, multicultural education, often viewed as a gateway to GCE, shows a negative association with global citizenship identity, challenging the assumption that it fosters global citizenship.

My research contributes to theoretical debates by highlighting the structural constraints of nationalism within education systems, which may hinder the promotion of cosmopolitan ideals. The findings suggest that GCE's effectiveness is constrained by these nationalistic objectives, raising questions about the ability of schools to cultivate global citizenship. Based on these findings, I recommend revising GCE monitoring to focus on outcomes, expanding curricula to better incorporate global perspectives, and strengthening the leadership of international organizations to provide a GCE framework with a cosmopolitan vision. Additionally, I suggest further research to investigate how nationalist ideologies influence GCE implementation and to explore the long-term effects of GCE.

*Keywords*: global citizenship education (GCE), Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) Target 4.7, cosmopolitanism, nationalism, national curriculum, human rights education, multicultural education, environmental education, Hierarchical Linear Modeling (HLM)

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## Chapter 1

# Introduction

The purpose of this dissertation is to illuminate and to assess the basis of two competing claims about what international organizations call "global citizenship education." Global citizenship education (GCE) is a movement aiming to instill social identity and civic attitudes in students who think of themselves as global citizens. The ultimate goal is to achieve the cosmopolitan ideal of peace and sustainable development. Some educators and scholars claim that GCE through schools is essential and that countries can make voluntary efforts to integrate global citizenship education into national education systems to respond to globalization. Others argue that school education led by national governments cannot be free from nationalism. In this dissertation, I aim to clarify these unresolved debates between optimism and pessimism for GCE in school education.

In recent history, humanity has made several meaningful joint efforts to avoid armed conflicts, guarantee the universal rights of individuals, and accelerate the prosperity of society. After the world wars, nation-states established the League of Nations and its successor, the United Nations. The UN provides various institutional mechanisms for deterring armed conflicts, protecting human rights, responding jointly to international threats such as large-scale epidemics or environmental disasters, and promoting international trade. Countries also participate in regional international organizations to coordinate international relations within regions. Under this international governance system, the cosmopolitan ideal of global harmony is actively pursued. This ideal of cosmopolitanism envisions a world where people see themselves as part of a global community rather than being solely bound by national or local identities. It seeks to

transcend national borders and foster a sense of shared responsibility for the well-being of all humanity.

The roots of global harmony date long before the UN. In *Toward Perpetual Peace* (1795/2006), Immanuel Kant proposed the principle of cosmopolitan rights, which states that everyone should be able to enjoy freedom and security even outside the state to which they belong. Kant argued that this was because everyone had a universal right to enjoy life as a descendant of planet Earth before belonging to a state. Living in an era of ceaseless wars, Kant borrowed "this satirical caption to the picture of a graveyard" (p. 67) for the title of his book, as peace seemed an unrealistic goal achievable only in a graveyard during his time. However, he argued that future generations would be able to realize perpetual peace in the real world, not merely in a cemetery. In his ideas about the conditions for ending armed conflict and achieving lasting peace in the world, securing cosmopolitan rights is the final step.

However, perpetual peace has not yet arrived. International political bodies including the UN and various international conventions have not ensured peace because they do not override the authority of nation-states, either normatively or realistically. In addition, despite the spread of cosmopolitanism due to the advancement of globalization, nationalism is a powerful ideology that motivates individual identity and civic participation and shapes the goals of nations. The idea of perpetual peace remains a dream, as nationalism easily renders such international efforts ineffective, even when it is evident that cross-border solidarity and cooperation based on cosmopolitanism would yield better results.

World crises remind us why global citizenship is essential, and not a matter of moral loftiness or political propaganda but necessary for the survival and prosperity of humanity. The COVID-19 pandemic paralyzed social and economic activities in all countries for several years since 2019, causing historic numbers of deaths. Continuous armed conflicts between and within countries, are creating many casualties, involuntary migrants, and victims of war crimes, and

driving not only the warring parties but also other countries and the international community into political tension and economic difficulties. Climate change and extreme weather conditions are discovered in many regions regardless of national borders, with cold surges in tropical regions (e.g., Texas in 2021), heatwaves striking high-latitude regions (e.g., Sweden in 2023), and extreme heavy rains or droughts (e.g., Afghanistan in 2021-2023).

International efforts to coordinate responses to these challenges have led to disappointment. When the COVID-19 virus spread rapidly from country to country through the international movement of people, national governments closed their borders and raced to secure vaccines, rather than focusing on a global action. However, countries were unable to completely control their borders, and the virus continued to spread from less developed countries that were unable to purchase vaccines, which only resulted in the pandemic being prolonged. In the wake of armed conflicts, including the wars between Russia and Ukraine and between Israel and Palestine, the international community is focused on taking sides rather than solidarity, and international organizations such as the UN and the International Court of Justice are failing to come up with effective measures, defeating the purpose of their establishment. Countries agreed to strengthen the global response to fight climate crisis by committing to the Paris Agreement. However, the Paris Agreement is not yet on track to achieve its target. While the United States has a pivotal role in the overall effectiveness of the Paris Agreement, its temporary withdrawal in 2020 for national interests and re-entry in 2021 under a new administration highlight how international agreements can be influenced by domestic politics.

Against this backdrop is the resurgence of nationalism, increasingly apparent in recent years as far-right parties and politicians gain influence across the globe. This trend has raised significant concerns, particularly regarding the global implications of nationalist movements in regions like the United States and Europe, which have historically been regarded as bastions of

democracy and champions of international solidarity. The rise of Donald Trump's political movement and the Brexit referendum serve as prominent examples of this nationalist shift.

A primary concern with the current form of nationalism is its exploitation of public anxieties to provoke division and incite political conflict. Bart Bonikowski (2017) argues that the current trend of nationalism in politics is closely tied to populism and authoritarianism. Nationalist leaders capitalize on public anxieties over economic instability and immigration, framing their policies around the concept of national sovereignty. These regimes frequently promote exclusionary practices and anti-elite rhetoric, deepening the divide between "us" and "them."

Political experts warn that if the current nationalist wave is not effectively addressed, it could have long-term consequences, potentially posing risks not only to international cooperation but also to the stability of democratic systems (Tamir, 2019; Cederman, 2019). By advancing radical and exclusionary policies, nationalist movements risk deepening intergroup conflicts and fueling xenophobia, racism, and intolerance. This atmosphere threatens to erode democratic principles, such as the protection of minority rights and the commitment to pluralism, on both domestic and international levels. Therefore, it is important for policymakers, international organizations, and civil society to implement proactive strategies to mitigate the negative impact of nationalist populism while promoting inclusive, democratic values that emphasize cooperation and global solidarity.

In order to address the reinforcement of nationalism and shared global responsibilities amidst world crises, scholars and educators call for global citizenship as a new form of citizenship rather than citizenship bound to national borders. The long-standing discussion on global citizenship, rooted in Enlightenment ideals of universal humanism, morality, and dignity, has evolved over time. With globalization, the goals of global citizenship now include human survival and prosperity, enabling it to address pressing global issues. Contemporary advocates of

global citizenship recognize that national and international issues are interconnected and argue that societies must abandon the short-sightedness of pursuing national interests and work together for the common good of humanity.

Educators and leaders of the international community have sought to facilitate the identity and civic attitudes of global citizens at the population level by providing GCE learning in schools around the world through internationally coordinated policies. The UN adopted Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in 2015, including the target 4.7, which requires each country to contribute to the promotion of GCE through the school system. In 2018, The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) reviewed concerns that parochial nationalism was becoming popular again globally and emphasized the need for national education systems to focus on SDG 4.7 to promote global citizenship in their GCE report (UNESCO, 2018a). The indicator developed by the UN to monitor the progress of SDG 4.7 and evaluation reports published by UNESCO show that, since the launch of the SDGs in 2015, significant progress has been made to mainstream GCE in most countries as of 2023 (UNESCO, 2018b, 2023).

The expectation behind these policy efforts for mainstreaming GCE in curricula around the world is that fostering global citizenship provides individuals with opportunities to discover and utilize the various benefits of globalization in their lives and can contribute to peace and prosperity from a global perspective. Each country is participating in the GCE project with the shared recognition that strengthening nationalism alone has limitations in achieving sustainable national development. However, some educators and researchers are skeptical about this achievement. They criticize that the quality and direction of GCE delivered in schools and classrooms do not match the policy goals. Based on the theoretical perspective that encouraging the cosmopolitan values of GCE is structurally constrained under a national education system that still prioritizes nationalist goals, this critical argument predicts that even if GCE in schools

succeeds in becoming formally mainstreamed, it will be unlikely to achieve its intended educational goals.

In this dissertation, I critically examine the efforts of the nation-state and school system to foster global citizens who transcend national borders through education to overcome the limitations of nationalism. Based on policy cases in several countries, including Israel and Korea, Claire Maxwell and her colleagues (2020) argued that the limitations of GCE are partly due to the failure of national education systems to break away from nationalism. They explained the intention of global citizenship education based on nationalism through the concept of cosmopolitan nationalism. Can this critique be investigated cross-national using individual-level data? GCE based on cosmopolitan nationalism aims to reform national education systems, strengthen legitimacy, and promote traditional national culture and prioritizes renewing national identity. I attempt to investigate the possibility of promoting global citizenship by drawing on recent data on over 7,000 young adults collected from 30 countries. Using these data, my dissertation contributes new empirical research to a critique of cosmopolitan nationalism.

In Chapter 2, I review the theoretical underpinnings of GCE, emphasizing the need for a global form of citizenship that transcends national borders to address global crises and shared responsibilities. I discuss the adoption of SDGs in 2015, specifically target 4.7, which promotes GCE through national education systems. Despite progress in integrating GCE into curricula, the chapter highlights the challenges countries face in fostering global citizenship due to lingering nationalism. I critically examine the nation-state and school systems' efforts to cultivate global citizens capable of transcending nationalistic limitations.

In Chapter 3, I delve into the concept of cosmopolitan nationalism, a framework to understand why nation-states promote GCE within their education systems and why GCE's current form differs from its theoretical models. I argue that the gap between GCE in theory and practice is not accidental but a result of structured distortions aligning with national interests.

Consequently, GCE as a standardized curriculum often transmits national values rather than fostering a true global citizenship identity. The chapter sets the stage for empirical assessment of whether current GCE practices contribute to adults' identities and values beyond national boundaries.

The research questions and hypotheses are presented in Chapter 4. They address the lack of empirical evidence on the effectiveness of GCE in promoting global citizenship and examine the long-term relationship between GCE curricula and global citizenship outcomes. The chapter outlines nine specific relationships between GCE learning topics, including human rights, multiculturalism, and environmentalism, and global citizenship dimensions, including identity, moral attitudes, and political attitudes. The chapter emphasizes the need for empirical analysis to understand the benefits and limitations of GCE provided in schools, considering various socio-demographic and country-level factors.

Chapter 5 outlines the research methodology, including the data sources, sample, variables, and analytical strategies. The study uses hierarchical linear modeling to analyze data from 7,230 young adults across 30 countries. Key variables include global citizenship outcomes and GCE learning topics. The chapter details the control variables at individual and country levels and discusses the use of multiple imputation to address missing data. The chapter provides a comprehensive framework for examining the impact of GCE on global citizenship.

The results of analysis are presented in Chapter 6, highlighting the relationships between GCE topics and global citizenship outcomes. The findings of this study offer little evidence that the level of GCE provided in schools is positively associated with attitudes of global citizenship of young adults. A strong correlation was only found between global citizenship education through learning human rights topic and people's political global citizenship attitudes. My analysis of the data confirms there are associations between global citizenship values, individuals' sociodemographic background, and country characteristics, as has been discussed in

previous research. Surprisingly, and disappointingly from the perspective of many advocates, global citizenship education as taught in schools is not found to be closely associated with people's global citizenship identity and attitudes. The findings suggest that GCE as implemented by nation-states has limited effectiveness in promoting global citizenship, primarily due to the persistence of nationalistic objectives within education systems.

Lastly, in Chapter 7 and 8, I build on the findings to discuss policy proposals to update the framework for implementing GCE. Specifically, these proposals address limitations in the GCE monitoring and indicator systems, the need for curricula reform in multicultural and environmental education, and the essential role of international organizations in providing guidance and leadership to advance GCE goals. The policy proposals aim to enhance the effectiveness of GCE by updating the current framework to better support global citizenship. The chapter emphasizes the need for a more robust and comprehensive approach to GCE that transcends nationalistic limitations and effectively fosters global citizenship attitudes and identities among students.

# Chapter 2

# Global citizenship and global citizenship education

## Global citizenship

"Global citizenship" is a term used by social science researchers, educators, and policymakers to encompass social identity and attitudes toward universal humanity beyond national parochialism.[1] Despite its ambiguity in definition, advocates view global citizenship as a valid concept to revisit the traditional framework of citizenship based on the current context of globalization. Scholars argue that the definitional ambiguity of global citizenship is because of the absence of a ruling authority which would afford rights and legal protection to such a global citizen (Bowden, 2003; Parekh, 2003; Oxley & Morris, 2013). Though there are international organizations, including UN and European Union (EU), which play a role as global and regional polity overarching nation-states, their limited political power and jurisdiction do not allow them to maintain their own concept of global citizenship that could replace national citizenship.[2] Therefore, global citizenship should not be understood as a legal status. Rather, global citizenship is a complementary idea that expands the conceptual boundary of citizenship by introducing global orientation (UNESCO, 2013; Gaudelli, 2016). From this perspective, Bhikhu Parekh (2003) criticized that to strive for global citizenship in the normative sense is neither practicable

[1] Some authors prefer to use "world citizenship" (e.g, Heater, 2002; Kleingeld, 2011) or "cosmopolitan citizenship" (e.g., Linklater, 1998; Osler & Starkey, 2003) instead of global citizenship. Despite slightly different highlights in the context and theory, they are interchangeable terms.

[2] Among international organizations, EU grants its citizenship to people who have the citizenship of a Member State. Although EU citizenship affords its holders rights and legal protections, it does not function as an independent citizenship without the national citizenship on which it is based. Article 20 (1) of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union states that: "Citizenship of the Union is hereby established. Every person holding the nationality of a Member State shall be a citizen of the Union. Citizenship of the Union shall be additional to and not replace national citizenship."

nor desirable, and suggested using "globally oriented citizenship" instead. However, regardless of its unclear definition, global citizenship has gained high visibility in the international society as an umbrella term for new social actions to respond to globalization, especially in educational policy (Davies, 2006; Schattle, 2009).

Theoretically, global citizenship grows out of the concept of cosmopolitanism in political philosophy. This emphasizes the moral claim of cosmopolitan theory: There is a duty to help others that should not be limited to one's country-men but, instead, should be extended to those who live beyond national borders. The idea of global citizenship invites people to actively engage in various global issues, including war and terrorism, humanitarian crisis, and climate change, and support global governance system as a global citizen. This cosmopolitan argument, which originated from ancient Greeks, was refined as a modern humanist vision during the European Enlightenment of the 18th century. Intellectuals of the time suggested moral and political norms of cosmopolitanism to realize the emerging idea of universal human rights (Anderson-Gold, 2001). Especially, in *Toward Perpetual Peace*, Immanuel Kant introduced a concept of cosmopolitan rights in which any foreign visitors receive hospitality from the host citizens, not based on philanthropy but based on the right of common possession of the earth. Further, he proposed an institutional form of union between states that supports and guarantees such cosmopolitan rights, which inspired the establishment of the League of Nations after the First World War (Kant, 1795/2006; Doyle, 2006).

Theoretical debates on cosmopolitanism were facilitated as globalization and postmodernism progressed in the late 20th century. Contemporary cosmopolitan theorists generally advocate a need to confront parochial nationalism and broaden people's moral responsibility to all humanity to respond to globalization (Kleingeld & Brown, 2019). However, there are important differences among these advocates. Despite their general agreement about the

basic conception and goals of cosmopolitanism, there are at least three different views about the moral nature of cosmopolitanism.

First, some scholars maintain that the ideal of cosmopolitanism can be achieved only when people are morally committed to universal humanity, without a predominant allegiance to their nation (e.g., Nussbaum, 1996; O'Neill, 2000). They argue that patriotism can lead to an exclusionary focus on the interests of one's own nation that undermines the recognition of universal human rights and the dignity of all individuals. Thus, their suggestion is that nationalist sentiment should be subordinated to universal principles that transcend national borders for people to become cosmopolitan.

The second group of scholars contends that moral responsibilities toward humanity can co-exist and should be fostered together with the love for one's country and culture (e.g., Appiah, 1996; Scheffler, 2001). They advocate the concept of "rooted cosmopolitanism," which emphasizes a dual commitment to one's own nation and universal humanity. Rooted cosmopolitanism suggests that people who love their own culture and fellow citizens can extend their affection and moral engagement beyond national borders when they learn about the beauty of other cultures. These scholars are skeptical of the strict view, arguing that people who feel they belong nowhere are unlikely to cultivate belongness to all humanity.

Third, there are scholars with critical perspectives arguing that the orientations of cosmopolitan morality should be critical and reflective rather than humanitarian (e.g., Falk, 1997; Mignolo, 2000; de Andreotti, 2014). They emphasize the need to critically understand and combat the asymmetric power structures between oppressors and the oppressed beyond national borders to ensure human rights and peace for all. Thus, they object to cosmopolitanism led by theory and institutional measures that focus on humanitarian aid, asserting that such critical cosmopolitanism can only develop from the voices of ordinary people. Instead, this approach highlights the transnational solidarity of non-elites based on grassroots movements.

Table **2-1**: Categories of global citizenship

| *Conception* | *Focus and key concepts* |
|---|---|
| Political global citizenship | Relationships of the individual to the state and other polities, particularly in the form of *cosmopolitan democracy* |
| Moral global citizenship | Ethical positioning of individuals and groups to each other, most often featuring ideas of *human rights* |
| Economic global citizenship | Interplay between power, forms of capital, labour, resources and the human condition, often presented as *international development* |
| Cultural global citizenship | Symbols that unite and divide members of societies, with particular emphasis on *globalisation of arts, media, languages, sciences and technologies* |
| Social global citizenship | Interconnections between individuals and groups and their advocacy of the 'people's' voice, often referred to as *global civil society* |
| Critical global citizenship | Challenges arising from inequalities and oppression, using critique of social norms to advocate action to improve the lives of dispossessed/ subaltern populations, particularly through a *post-colonial agenda* |
| Environmental global citizenship | Advocating changes in the actions of humans in relation to the natural environment, generally called the *sustainable development agenda* |
| Spiritual global citizenship | Non-scientific and immeasurable aspects of human relations, advocating commitment to axioms relating to *caring, loving, spiritual and emotional connections* |

*Source*: Oxley and Morris (2013, p. 306)

The conceptual framework of global citizenship that I have used to inform this dissertation includes various interrelated different streams of cosmopolitan theory. A useful classification has been offered by Laura Oxley and Paul Morris (2013) as shown in Table 2-1.

They identified eight conceptions of global citizenship that emphasize distinct understandings about nature and purposes, which includes political, moral, economic, cultural, social, critical, environmental, and spiritual. Those categories of global citizenship tend to overlap, and often combined in policy and research.

**Global citizenship as social identity**

Proponents of global citizenship hope for people to develop a new social identity based on a universal sense of belonging to humanity. They are informed by a critique of nationalism. Such advocates criticize the alignment of people's social identity with dominant political units, especially their nation. This alignment stimulates tribalism and marginalizes individuals who do not conform to the dominant national identity, leaving them socially and politically disenfranchised and reinforcing their status as misfits within their own communities (Habermas, 1992; Taylor, 1994; O'Neill, 2000; Fukuyama, 2018). By contrast with this identity politics, global citizenship identity can be an alternative that offers the utmost inclusivity, which allows people to overcome social fractions and achieve open-mindedness to the world (Falk, 2000; Heater, 2002; Skrbis, Kendall, & Woodward, 2004). Research shows empirical evidence across countries that many ordinary people in different social conditions willingly pursue global citizenship identity as a response to globalization. For example, Katharyne Mitchell and Walter Parker (2008) as well as Wing-Wah Law and Ho Ming Ng (2009) found that in their research on students in a western metropolitan area in the United States and those in Hong Kong and Shanghai respectively, students developed multiple, flexible, and relational allegiances and citizenships in response to social changes, including globalization especially. Also, Irene Skovgaard-Smith and Flemming Poulfelt (2018) reported that transnational professionals in

Amsterdam used cosmopolitanism to collectively construct their cultural identities as "non-nationals," minimizing national affiliations and cultural differences.

Other researchers, using cross-national large-scale data, found a worldwide tendency. The populations reporting global citizenship identity are growing as globalization progresses. Pippa Norris (2000) and Jai Kwan Jung (2008), for example, found a pattern among younger generations showing a gradual shift toward cosmopolitan identities, though globalization has not fundamentally eroded national identities. In addition, Peter Furia (2005) emphasized in his research that the common criticism that cosmopolitanism is elitist is not strongly supported by data. He showed that cosmopolitanism appeals to a significant number of individuals beyond privileged groups. Florian Bieber (2018) observed that, despite the prominence of nationalism by national governments in global politics since the 2010s, citizens are not predominantly inclined toward nationalist attitudes, with many continuing to identify with global identities.

Research in psychology has focused on whether it is possible for people to develop a social identity as a member of all humanity. In the early theory of social identity, an individual was though likely to identify with a social group by differentiating ingroups and outgroups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner et al., 1987). For example, people readily develop their national identity by identifying with their own nation as an ingroup while distinguishing themselves from members of other nations as outgroups. Therefore, researchers have questioned whether all humanity can be a viable social group since it has no distinguishable outgroups.

Recent research, however, suggests that a social identity can be formed even without the presence of outgroups, if substantial interactions within group are provided (Postmes, Haslam, & Swaab, 2005; Thomas, Mavor, & McGarty, 2011). Based on this revised framework of social identity formation, researchers found that people develop global citizenship identity with a sense of inclusiveness to global human community when they are consistently exposed to normative and environmental interactions with other people in the global context. Stephen Reysen and Iva

Katzarska-Miller (2013) found that awareness of one's connection with others worldwide, coupled with immersion in environments that value global citizenship, led to a greater identification with global citizens among college students. Similarly, Joseph de Rivera and Harry Carson (2015) reported that college students who had opportunities to build active personal relationships with people from other cultures and celebrate these connections developed a stronger sense of global identity.

Another focus of scholarly debates about global citizenship identity is on its relationship to national identity, which is one of the most prominent forms of social identity in the contemporary world. On the one hand, cosmopolitan theorists in the strict position argue that strong national identity compromises the formation of global citizenship identity (e.g., Nussbaum, 1996; Miller, 2000). On the other hand, those with the moderate view support the argument that national identity and global citizenship identity are in positive relationship facilitating each other, unless national identity is associated with chauvinism instead of patriotism (e.g., Beitz, 1999; Appiah, 2006). In addition to the continuing theoretical debates, empirical evidence hardly converges. For example, Sam Schueth and John O'Loughlin (2008) found a compromising relationship between patriotism and global citizenship identity using data from the World Values Survey 1995, while Burcu Byram (2019) reported a positive relationship between the two using data from a more recent cycle of the same survey in 2010.

**Global citizenship as civic attitudes**

Since the idea of global citizenship is flexible and includes many different forms, as previously shown in Oxley and Morris's typology, desirable attitudes of global citizenship may vary according to the context and focus. For example, when a part of the world suffers from a severe disaster, global citizenship as humanitarian aid will be called for. When environmental

activists advocate for global citizenship, they might emphasize moral responsibility against destructive economic development and toward protecting Earth's ecosystems. Alternatively, when focusing on the problem-solving aspect of global citizenship, the emphasis might be on skills and perspectives adaptable to different sociocultural contexts.

However, advocates generally agree that the very core attitudes of global citizenship derive from a moral cosmopolitan vision, urging that one's duty to provide aid should reach to people in need regardless of their national background (Waldron, 2000; Dower, 2002; Delanty, 2006; Cabrera, 2008). Such moral attitudes of global citizenship have become urgent in the current globalized world because of the increase in interdependence among people across national borders (Urry, 2000; Held, 2002; Arneil, 2007; Beck & Sznaider, 2010). It is now clear that a region's or nation's problems, including environmental degradation, economic injustice, violations of universal human rights, and inhuman crimes such as war and terrorism will impact all eventually. Therefore, this condition of global interdependence necessitates people to have moral attitudes transcending national boundaries not only because it is morally right but also because, as Peter Singer (2002) pointed out, "how well we come through the era of globalization (perhaps whether we come through it at all) will depend on how we respond ethically to the idea that we live in one world" (p. 13).

While moral attitudes of global citizenship are primarily defined as willingness to morally engage beyond national borders, scholars argue that willingness to dialogue with other cultures beyond national borders is necessary to develop such moral attitudes. Scholars admit that developing moral attitudes to help people outside national boundaries is a lofty goal. Therefore, to acquire motivations for moral behaviors that cross borders, a fledgling global citizen needs to learn positive attitudes toward other cultures, including tolerance and respect for cultural diversity, and affinity to cultural dialogue (Appiah, 1996, 2006; Nussbaum, 1997; Held, 2002; Delanty, 2011). Kwame Anthony Appiah (1996, 2006), for example, advocated that people's

moral boundary can be extended from fellow citizens to all humanity, primarily through cultural dialogues that extend the love for their own culture to other cultures beyond borders. Further, Richard Falk (2002) suggested that an affinity to dialogue can contribute to building "a shared understanding of what needs to be done to safeguard the human future" (p. 28) which can serve as a common ground of moral actions among global citizens.

Scholars have further concerns than moral philosophy. In addition to advocating for moral cosmopolitanism, some also have developed the political cosmopolitan ideal. This ideal supports a democratic political order transcending national boundary, provides another global citizenship attitudes in addition to the moral attitudes. Political cosmopolitanism in the present research refers to the weak proposition of the concept. In theory, strong political cosmopolitanism is regarded as a synonym of institutional (or institutionalized) cosmopolitanism which supports the notion of institutionalized world polity, so called world-state, that replaces the nation-states (e.g., Meyer et al., 1997). As previously mentioned, scholarship hardly incorporates this strong political cosmopolitanism in the framework of global citizenship.

Moral cosmopolitan theorists in the strictest position see moral attitudes as evidence of universal humanity and see this as a self-contained principle which does not require any other supplementary conditions (e.g., Kung, 1991; Nussbaum, 1997). However, other scholars find limitations that such moral conceptions of cosmopolitanism tend to be confined to moral decisions at individual level. Therefore, they emphasize political attitudes that overcome individualism. In order for global citizenship to produce effective moral engagement, individual actions of global citizens need to be organized and coordinated by political measures of global community (O'Neill, 2000; Carter, 2001; Dallmayr, 2003; Beck & Grande, 2007; Cabrera, 2008).

However, there are divergent perspectives on the specific objectives that political attitudes should aim for. The dominant view that advocates "cosmopolitan democracy" based on Kantian tradition supports the current global governance system led by UN as an institution

facilitating moral engagement across national borders. This perspective highlights the achievements of the UN systems in peacekeeping to prevent armed conflicts, safeguarding human rights, organizing humanitarian aid, and advancing environmental protection. By contrast, scholars from a post-colonialist perspective critique the existing global governance system as not genuinely democratic, asserting that it prioritizes the interests of individuals and nation-states with hegemonic power. They argue that, although the current system distributes humanitarian aid to the exploited populations in peripheral, non-Western societies, it does not offer marginalized people opportunities to escape exploitation and participate in international governance alongside those in power. Consequently, these scholars advocate alternative political attitudes to build global solidarity among ordinary people through civil movements "from below" (Falk, 1997; Kurasawa, 2004).

In sum, global citizenship advocates have linked moral and political attitudes. Moral attitudes are the key to global citizenship attitudes. They are based on the claim that one's duty to help people in need should transcend national borders, and presuppose an affinity to cultural dialogue, and tolerance and respect for other cultures. Political attitudes include willingness to support globally organized political order. The two are in complementary relationship to realize the ideal of global citizenship: Moral attitudes can be manifested as collective actions when supplemented by political attitudes.

## Global citizenship education

GCE is a widely supported alternative approach to conventional civic and citizenship education prioritizing the nation-state (Osler & Vincent, 2002; Schattle, 2009; Goren & Yemini, 2017). Advocates argue that GCE can equip people with global citizenship identity and attitudes by inviting them from their local lives to the cosmopolitan culture (Heater, 2002; Waldron, 2003;

Costa, 2005; Davies, 2006; Hansen, 2008, 2010; Marshall, 2011; Gaudelli, 2016). Through GCE, learners can situate themselves in the global context based on critical understanding about their local experiences. They learn that, despite often being viewed as peripheral and isolated, local experiences are indeed influenced by other societies beyond national borders and connected to global issues (e.g., Hansen, 2010). Further, GCE motivates learners to embrace cosmopolitan ethics, emphasizing shared values of all humanity, including human rights, cultural diversity, and sustainability, which should not be placed behind nationalist interests (e.g., Barrow, 2017). To achieve such goals, GCE underscores transformative pedagogies that encourage learners' critical thinking and civic participation (White & Openshaw, 2002; Blackmore, 2016; Torres, 2017).

Though "Global Citizenship Education" has become a popular term in educational policy and research since the late 1990s, various educational approaches that share visions and themes with GCE have been in practice from the post-war period primarily in countries in Europe and North America. Such approaches include multicultural education, human rights education, peace education, development education, education for international awareness, and global education (Green, 1997; Evans & Kiwan, 2017). Especially, global education has had a substantial influence on GCE. Global education introduced global orientations in universities and national education systems, which are inherited by GCE. Based on the interest in international politics during the Cold War, global education began to rise in the 1960s and provided opportunities to learn about various global issues, from cultural pluralism to human rights to war and peace. However, it often faced criticism for the lack of comprehensive framework and learning goals beyond awareness about individual issues (Burack, 2003; Hicks, 2003; Pike, 2013). GCE has emerged as an alternative to the waning global education due to the end of the Cold War and increasing complexity of globalization (Merryfield, 2000; Gaudelli, 2016). While both approaches share the focus on the global orientations, GCE is distinguished from global education

in terms of that it emphasizes a sense of belonging to all of humanity and civic activism as learning outcomes (Davies, Evans, & Reid, 2005; Davies, 2006, Scheunpflug & Asbrand, 2006).

**Policy context: SDG Target 4.7**

Over the past decade, national education systems rapidly increased their investment in and support for GCE. The inclusion of GCE in the global education agenda led by the UN and UNESCO boosted such advancement (Torres & Bosio, 2020; Pashby & Sund, 2020). With the adoption of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in 2015, mainstreaming GCE has become a global goal that all UN Member States should achieve by 2030. Specifically, the Target 4.7 and its accompanying measurement instrument, Global Indicator 4.7.1 outlined the goal.

> SDG Target 4.7: "By 2030, ensure that all learners acquire knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development" (UN General Assembly, 2015).

> Global Indicator 4.7.1: "Extent to which (i) global citizenship education and (ii) education for sustainable development are mainstreamed in (a) national education policies; (b) curricula; (c) teacher education; and (d) student assessment" (UN General Assembly, 2017).

As a specialized agency for education in the UN system, UNESCO serves as the primary coordinator for SDG Target 4.7. UNESCO contributed to the adoption of SDG Target 4.7 and is responsible for monitoring progress and supporting Member States for policy making and implementation (UNESCO, 2016). UNESCO's work to promote GCE is based on the international agreements and educational programs that have developed over the decades. These include the Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Cooperation and Peace, and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms published in 1974 (hereafter, the 1974 Recommendation), Education for Sustainable Development (ESD)

program in response to UN's Brundtland Report published in 1987, and Global Citizenship Education (GCED) program based on the UN Secretary-General's Global Education First Initiative (GEFI) in 2012 (Carrasco-Campos & Saperas 2012; Torres, 2017; Westheimer, 2020; Santamaría-Cárdaba, Martínez-Scott, & Vicente-Mariño, 2021).[3] Other international organizations, such as the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), Global Partnership for Education (GPE), United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), and World Economic Forum (WEF), are also contributing to the implementation of SDG Target 4.7 through their research, education programs, and advocacy activities (Bryan, 2022).

In its monitoring reports, UNESCO found that GCE is being mainstreamed in most countries to a substantial extent. The report was based on the data collected from each Member State's self-reporting in 2016 and 2020 guided by the 1974 Recommendation. The data were assessed on the four areas according to the indicator 4.7.1: national policy, curriculum, teacher education, and student evaluation. The result shows that most countries integrated GCE into their education systems in all areas at least to some extent. Countries that reported little or no progress in any one of the four areas consisted of less than 10% (six out of 76 countries in 2016, and five out of 60 countries in 2020). However, UNESCO suggested that this achievement could be overestimated, given the limited number and regional imbalance of countries participating in self-reports. Additionally, there could be inherent limitations of self-reports, such as potential biases and inaccuracies in reporting (UNESCO, 2018a, 2023).

[3] The UN and UNESCO use the acronym GCED instead of GCE to refer to their global citizenship education program. Within their framework, GCED and ESD are not regarded as separate programs. The two are in a complementary relationship under the shared vision of global citizenship, though the learning topics associated with them have different focuses. GCED is more associated with global challenges related to peace and conflict, while ESD with global challenges related to environmental warnings and natural resources (UNESCO, 2017). Therefore, scholars view that both GCED and ESD programs are under the umbrella of GCE (e.g., Sarabhai, 2013; Gough, 2018; Edwards et al., 2020).

**Key learning topics of GCE curriculum**

As conceptions of global citizenship are diverse (e.g., Oxley & Morris, 2013), the variations of GCE initiatives with different focuses and ideological backgrounds have been suggested and implemented around the world. In their meta-analysis of GCE approaches, Karen Pashby and her colleagues (2020) broadly categorized GCE into three types: liberal, neoliberal, and critical. Further, they argued that another five interactive types can be added as subcategories: neoliberal-liberal, liberal-critical, neoconservative-neoliberal-liberal, critical-liberal-neoliberal, and critical-post-critical. The discussion of the GCE curriculum in this study focuses on the liberal form of GCE. This is because liberal GCE is considered a conventional approach, while other types of GCE were proposed as responses to the limitations of liberal GCE (de Andreotti, 2006; Dill, 2013). Liberal GCE also aligns with the SDG Target 4.7 (Tawil, 2013).

Table 2-2 presents learning topics found in GCE curriculum. While GCE curriculum can include various learning topics, human rights, cultural diversity, and environmental issues are most commonly found topics. For example, William Gaudelli (2016) argued that these three topics are the foci of GCE curriculum not only because they are essential for achieving the learning outcomes in GCE, but also because learners can benefit from the well-established framework and abundant educational resources that have evolved over decades within these educational traditions. Similarly, reviewing GCE programs in English-speaking countries, Hans Schattle (2008) identified the following three areas as prominent learning topics: human rights based on moral cosmopolitanism, cultural diversity based on liberal multiculturalism, and sustainable development based on environmentalism. In addition to these learning areas, Schattle suggested that global competency influenced by neoliberalism emerged as a new GCE initiative.

These focus areas of GCE curriculum are also shared by the SDG Target 4.7. In the early discourse on GCE, Mary Pigozzi (2006) maintained that UNESCO endorsed respect for human

rights, cultural diversity, and the Earth's ecosystem as key concepts of the GCE curriculum, which reaffirms its humanistic approach to education. This perspective is mirrored in the measurement framework of SDG Target 4.7, with human rights education, intercultural learning, and education for sustainable development being three of the four key components of GCE curriculum. UNESCO included peace education as the fourth domain, continuing its longstanding commitment to promoting peace through education (UNESCO, 2018).

### *Human rights*

Human rights is a learning topic aligned to GCE because it orients learners beyond national boundaries, emphasizing commitment to personhood instead of national citizenship (Hawkins, 2009; Gaudelli, 2016; Huaman, Koenig, & Shultz, 2008). Educators suggest human rights education helps learners cultivate moral cosmopolitanism. For example, learning stories about victims of human rights abuse fosters empathy and willingness to advocate for the victims (Frantzi, 2004; Yamniuk, 2016). Further, human rights provide a solid legal foundation for practicing global citizenship, as they are protected by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and international human rights law (Monaghan & Spreen, 2016). Therefore, teaching human rights serves as a useful platform for GCE. However, when human rights education exclusively focuses on the national context, it may not effectively contribute to GCE. William Gaudelli and William Fernekes (2004) contended that if students learn human rights without considering global context, they are likely to be left with misunderstandings that people living in other societies have fewer rights.

Table **2-2**: Key learning topics in GCE curriculum suggested in prior literature

| *Topics* | *Gaudelli (2016)* | *Ramirez & Meyer (2012)* | *Pigozzi (2006)* | *Schattle (2008)* | *Tawil (2013)* | *UNESCO (2018)* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Human rights | Human rights | Human rights | Respect for the dignity and human rights of all people throughout the world and a commitment to social and economic justice for all; and respect for the human rights of future generations and a commitment to intergenerational responsibility | Moral cosmopolitanism emphasizing universal principles of human rights and human dignity | Human rights issues | Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (e.g., equality, inclusion, and non-discrimination, and justice and fairness) |
| Multiculturalism | Intra/intercultural learning | Social diversity | Respect for cultural diversity and a commitment to build locally and globally a culture of tolerance, non-violence and peace | Liberal multiculturalism emphasizing mutual respect and engagement across cultures | Intercultural issues | Cultural Diversity and Tolerance (e.g., inter-national understanding, solidarity, cooperation, and intercultural and interreligious dialogue) |
| Environmentalism | Sustainability | Discussion of the environment | Respect and care for the greater community of life in all its diversity which involves the protection and restoration of the Earth's ecosystems | Environmentalism emphasizing environmental awareness and responsibility | Environmental issues | Human Survival and Well-being (e.g., climate change, and environmental sustainability, caring for the planet) |
| Other topics | | Student centrism (with emphasis on pedagogies) | | | Issues of social and economic justice | Peace and Non-violence (e.g., friendly relations among nations, and preventing violent extremism) |

### *Multiculturalism*

Multicultural education contributes to GCE by introducing multiple and inclusive identities. Scholars argue that individuals tend to develop stereotypes toward other cultures when their chances to encounter people from different backgrounds are limited (Reysen & Katzarska-Miller; 2018). Multicultural education allows learners to overcome this obstacle as they engage in cultural dialogues. Scholars argue that learners can acquire an alternative perception on social identity through intercultural dialogues, perceiving it as multifaceted and adaptable, rather than rigid and nonnegotiable. Therefore, multicultural education encourages learners to transcend the dichotomy between "us" and "them" by promoting cultural diversity and a sense of belongness to all humanity (Gaudelli, 2016; Tarozzi & Torres, 2016; Khaedir & Wahab, 2019). However, such contributions of multicultural education can be limited when it only focuses on minority cultures within national contexts. In such cases, Jeremy Waldron (2003) argued, it becomes challenging to cultivate a cosmopolitan identity, even if learners acquire a more inclusive national identity.

### *Environmentalism*

From its early development, environmental education has been closely associated with global citizenship, placing an emphasis on local-global connections. This emphasis is epitomized by the widely adopted mantra "Think globally, act locally" that emerged during the first Earth Day in 1970 (Gough, 2018). Focusing on local-global connections, environmental education motivates learners to engage in grassroots civic movements and become responsible citizens of the planetary community including ecosystems and future generations (Mannion et al., 2011; Amos & Carvalho, 2020). Furthermore, with the integration of the concept of sustainable

Table **2-3**: Key learning topics of GCE and their learning focuses

| *Key learning topics* | *Learning focus to achieve global citizenship* |
|---|---|
| Human rights | Ethical responsibility toward people in need, regardless of their citizenship, grounded in universal human rights principles |
| Multiculturalism | Open and inclusive perspective toward people in other cultures, appreciating the value of cultural diversity |
| Environmentalism | Proactive approach to global environmental challenges, considering their local connections, to achieve sustainable development |

development, environmental education has assumed a crucial role in addressing the tension between environmental preservation and economic development. This expansion of scope encourages learners to connect environmental issues to broader concerns related to economic and social justice (Yanniris, 2021; Khoo & Jørgensen, 2021). Although such critical perspectives of environmental education and sustainable development education benefit GCE, prioritizing "local" action may lead to a narrow focus on the preservation of a country's natural resources. Such oversimplified environmental education possibly results in an instrumental view of the environment while ignoring the intricate relationship between the environment and humans (Gaudelli, 2016).

These core topics, human rights, multiculturalism, and environmentalism, align with the fundamental principles of GCE by fostering cosmopolitan moral, cultural diversity, and sustainable development. By engaging with these themes, learners are encouraged to view challenges through a global lens, recognizing shared responsibilities that transcend national boundaries. Table 2-3 provides an overview of each topic's specific learning focus.

**Concluding summary: perspectives on GCE**

In this chapter, I reviewed the arguments put forth by scholars advocating for global citizenship. In response to rapid globalization, many political philosophers, social scientists, and education scholars have developed ethical proposals suggesting that individuals must be equipped with global citizenship to actively confront globalization, overcome the limitations of nationalism, and build a sustainable future for all humanity. According to cosmopolitan theory, global citizenship encompasses the sociopsychological domains of social identity, moral attitudes, and political attitudes.

The UN and UNESCO launched initiatives to integrate GCE into national education systems as part of the SDGs in 2015, aiming to ensure that all learners acquire knowledge and skills needed for global citizenship. Under these initiatives, GCE is not offered as a new, independent subject; rather, various topics and objectives for learning about global citizenship are incorporated into existing school subjects, such as civic and citizenship education. In particular, human rights, multiculturalism, and environmentalism are the primary themes commonly emphasized by educational scholars. The most recent monitoring report, published in 2023, assessed that the mainstreaming of GCE in school curricula has been achieved to a significant extent in most countries (UNESCO, 2023).

However, despite advocates emphasizing that offering GCE in schools provides an opportunity for everyone to learn cosmopolitan ethics within local experiences, critical scholars have raised skepticism based on reviews of actual cases of GCE implementation. For instance, Claire Maxwell and her colleagues (2020) argue that the nation-states are motivated to achieve "cosmopolitan nationalism" rather than cosmopolitanism. In the following chapter, I will review these critiques, focusing on the claims that the implementation of GCE in schools is constrained, ignored, and distorted by dominant nationalist ideas.

# Chapter 3

# Critiques of global citizenship education

## Optimism and skepticism over GCE

While many scholars and educators support GCE through school education and expect a better future, some cast doubt on its effectiveness. Critics argue that, even if GCE is incorporated into the school curriculum, the aims of national citizenship education will always remain part of national curricula. The role of citizenship education - to reproduce national identity - remains unchanged. Therefore, GCE delivered in schools has inherent limitations in fostering identity and attitudes toward global citizenship. This criticism requires us to assess the outcomes of GCE in countries implemented within the SDG 4.7 framework. This has not ever been attempted previously, however. Since the current global monitoring system, which is based on the Global Indicator 4.7.1 as the primary evaluative measure, focuses on the inputs while ignoring the outcomes, whether or not GCE in schools contributes to people's identity formation beyond national boundaries is still in question.

Proponents of the current implementation framework hope that GCE curriculum will rehabilitate national citizenship education in schools. In their vision, GCE allows learners to develop skills and attitudes to overcome parochial nationalism and respond to challenges and opportunities of globalization. Educators argue that GCE makes this renewal of citizenship education possible by strengthening learners' critical thinking, building on educational traditions such as Paulo Freire's banking education method (Torres, 2017; Byker, 2013; Whiting et al., 2018; Hayden, 2013). In theory, when citizenship education encourages critical thinking, people will recognize that the love for their country comes from the love for liberty and justice that their

country allows rather than the country per se. Based on this critical recognition, citizenship education can facilitate one's learning for egalitarian cosmopolitanism while opposing blind patriotism (Gutmann, 2002). To achieve this goal, David Hansen (2008, 2010) emphasized the role of school curriculum and teachers in GCE. He pointed out that global citizenship is hardly drawn from one's experiences in local community without educational support. To achieve global citizenship, people need to "leave home," not in a material or literal sense but through critical thinking and imagination. His suggestion was that the school curriculum for GCE is a primary means to provides knowledge and perspectives, which can be delivered by teachers through conversation.

Scholars also recognized the role of GCE to respond to complicated identity of young people that traditional citizenship education has limitations to address. Studies show that, in response to globalized cultural experiences, students attending secondary schools in different countries, such as the United States, England, China, and Hong Kong, carry identity with multiple facets which cannot be defined simply as national identity (Osler & Starkey, 2003; Mitchell & Parker, 2008; Law & Ng, 2009). Therefore, Audrey Osler and Hugh Starkey urged that GCE should be introduced in schools because it offers a broader framework that acknowledges and incorporates students' multiple identities and global experiences while national citizenship education hardly provides such a context.

Moreover, a general trend has been observed that GCE is increasingly incorporated into national curricula around the world for decades. In their investigation of school textbooks in history, civics, and social studies in multiple countries around the world from 1970 to 2008, Francisco Ramirez and John Meyer (2012) found that students are increasingly exposed to a world that involves the reframing of local matters. The new focus was on global issues, the activation of global or transnational citizenship, and the construction of the environment as globally interconnected. Other researchers also reported a broad increase in global citizenship

perspectives in civic education curricula across countries in the world in the last decades (Bromley, 2009; Buckner & Russell, 2013). After SDGs launched, Jeremy Jimenez and his colleagues (2017) found an increase in the learning topics suggested in SDG 4.7 (including global citizenship, human rights, gender equality, and multiculturalism/social diversity). These topics steadily increased in school textbooks around the world since the middle of the 20th century. Interpreting this trend based on neo-institutional theory (e.g., Boli, Ramirez, & Meyer, 1985), one could argue that mass education, as a primary social institution, will promote virtues of post-national society, such as global citizenship, and legitimate the international regime beyond nation-states.

Some scholars are sceptics regarding whether a GCE that is provided in national educational systems can promote global citizenship identity and attitudes. This is because, though GCE in general requires learners to pursue civic virtues beyond the nation-state, school curriculum is under the forces of institutional inertia to remain within the national boundaries and prioritize national self-interests. For example, if openness to cultural diversity stops at the national level, it is likely to lead to nationalism favorable to minority cultures, instead of global citizenship (Waldron, 2003). George Richardson (2008) pointed out that citizenship education has advanced for a long time based on the social structure of the nation-state which barely developed positive definition of the state where national boundaries are removed. Thus, he argued that:

> [W]hile scholars such as Alger (1986) can emphasize the "removal of the national border as a barrier in education" (p. 257) it seems more accurate to conclude, as does Gaudelli (2003, p. 156) that "we lack the vocabulary, categories and master images" that would make the link between world mindedness and world citizenship. And even when regional or national curriculums do make the attempt to tie global identity and citizenship together, the relationship is typically framed as an extension of national self-interest and almost exclusively tied to the existing civic structures of the nation-state (p. 58).

In this view, GCE currently implemented in national education systems provides deficient global perspectives, and provision of GCE in schools has inherent structural limitations

to generate identity and attitudes toward global citizenship. Whether or not the expansion of national curricula for GCE has led to increased values of global citizenship needs to be examined empirically.

## Modern education as a nationalist project

The reasons for skepticism on GCE provided in national education systems are because of the inseparable relationship between education and nationalism in modern societies, a relationship that has lasted over a century. Theories of nationalism posit that a nation-state attains legitimacy when a standardized, homogenous culture brings people to willingly bind themselves in one political unit (Gellner, 1983; Tamir, 2019; Miller, 2000). Scholars argue that education through mass schooling system has played a key role in maintaining this cultural homogeneity and a sense of nationhood. History shows that, in Europe and North America where the early nation-states were formed, expansion of mass education and growth of nationalism in the 19th century accelerated each other. After the Second World War, this pattern was reproduced and generalized in newly founded nation-states around the world (Goodson, 1990; Anderson, 1991; Green, 1997; Heater, 1999; Lowe, 1999; Grosvenor, 1999; Pike, 2000). Standardized curricula for a common language, a canon of national literature, a shared history, and a set of civic virtues, as well as structured expectations and behaviors in schooling processes based on a citizenry tradition are some important educational instruments to transmit shared national values (Churchill, 1996; Coulby, 1997; Bush & Saltarelli, 2000).

As nationalism became a dominant political ideology, the concept of citizenship, and consequently citizenship education, was reformed to sustain nationhood. Derek Heater (1999) pointed out that citizenship was a flexible political construct in pre-modern society, but “the ideological force of nationalism inexorably drew the concept of citizenship into it and made the

civic principle part of itself" (p. 98). Therefore, nationality and citizenship have been accepted as synonymous terms for almost two hundred years. However, the historical evolution of citizenship in relation to nationalism varies depending on the political regime of a nation-state. For instance, some communist states during the Cold War developed a concept of citizenship that was loosely coupled with nationalism. Nonetheless, in modern nation-states, the relationship between citizenship and nationalism is much closer compared to the pre-modern era (Heater, 2003; Green, 1997). Within this framework, citizenship has been recognized as a goal of public education that every citizen should commonly achieve. Scholars argue that citizenship education is bound to the national interests and used to develop national identity based on nationalism, while delimitating other alternative forms of identity (Hahn, 1998; Torney-Purta, Schwiller, & Amadeo, 1999; Feinberg, 2001; Heater, 2003; Jusdanis, 2001).

## Globalization and new pressures on national educational systems

In the late 20th century, increasing globalization challenged national education to respond to the new social order beyond national boundaries. For example, economic globalization based on neo-liberalism accelerated the connection between education and the labor market. Also, diffusion of cultures across countries necessitated adaptation of a pluralist post-modern perspective in school curriculum. The global governance system coordinated by international agencies, such as UNESCO, OECD, and the World Bank, encouraged the incorporation of common global education agenda in national education (Kenway, 1992; Donald, 1992; Usher & Edwards, 1994; Green, 1997; Priestley, 2002). These social forces have assigned national education systems new goals to advance post-nationalism, which can hardly be encompassed by the traditional educational framework based on nationalism. Miri Yemini and her colleagues (2013) argued that, therefore, this shift produces inherent institutional contradictions in national

education systems: On the one hand, nationalism prioritizes the nation-state over other categories, thus legitimizing education policies, school curricula, and reforms that are consistent with its logic. On the other hand, post-nationalism prioritizes the world and transnational categories and legitimizes educational discourses and practices that transcend the boundaries of the nation-state.

In the early stage of globalization, scholars predicted that post-nationalist perspectives would lead to a decoupling of nationalism and education. Some even argued that the nation-states would cease to control their education systems as globalization progresses (Ohmae, 1990, 1996; Reich, 1991; Usher & Edwards, 1995). However, recent scholarship recognizes that the impacts of globalization on national education systems are limited. Though globalizing forces provoked reformation of national education by introducing new post-nationalist goals and visions, the basic form and function of national education as a nationalist project have remained unchanged.

Martin Carnoy (2006, 2014) attempted to understand persisting nationalism in education systems as institutional and political inertia. He argued that requests for educational reform in response to globalization actually increased control power of the nation-states over their education systems since no authorities other than national governments are capable of such large-scale school reforms. He further argued that, as long as the nation-states are responsible for educational systems, they will not cease their efforts to reproduce national values through education to maintain political legitimacy. Graham Pike (2000) pointed out that educational reform is carried out not by trans-national beings but by human educators, and the "educators' interpretations of, and responses to, the forces of globalization are as subject to the influences of particular cultural belief systems and worldviews as anything else" (p. 71). Therefore, he dismissed the idea that nationalist goals of education would be withdrawn under the pressure of globalization. He argued that current educational reforms around the world in response to globalization have led to the development of globally-oriented models of national education, rather than globalization of education.

Educational researchers also found empirical evidence that shows limited influence of globalization over educational emphasis on nationalism. Julia Lerch and her colleagues (2017) examined social studies textbooks from 78 countries published between 1955 and 2011 to test whether emphasis on nationalism in school textbooks has decreased or not. They found a general pattern across countries that nationalist narratives in textbooks persist despite increasing globalization. This pattern was found even in countries which are more economically, politically, and socially globalized. After reviewing contents of citizenship education in 38 countries using ICCS 2009 data, Kerry Kennedy (2012) reported that in all national education systems without exception, the focus of citizenship education was on promoting national citizenship, rather than global citizenship. Based on this finding, he criticized that the vision of global citizenship supported by scholars and international community is still at distance from national education.

## Critiques of the current form of GCE

Scholars argue that the ongoing favoritism in national education toward nationalism imposes a critical challenge for GCE. Fernando Reimers (2006) argued that, when schools prioritize national interests in their educational goals, GCE may lead students to learning tolerance and openness to "certain others" that align with the political agenda of the nation-state, rather than fostering a sense of global humanity. He also raised the concern that schools may use GCE primarily to equip students with the skills and knowledge to make them more competitive in the world economy. William Gaudelli (2003, 2009) further pointed out that the prevalence of a strong sense of nationhood in school curricula leads to the lack of epistemological clarity in GCE. Without epistemological foundations, GCE may claim a global orientation, but it can hardly promote critical thinking about national parochialism or new civic identity as a global citizen.

Case studies of GCE in national education systems provide detailed evidence on how the emphasis on national interests in school education undermines GCE. Criticisms are especially salient about the poor quality of GCE curriculum and the lack of support for teachers. For example, in Finland, Israel, Singapore, and Spain, researchers reported that GCE curriculum provided in schools is barely advanced from the traditional form of inter- and multi-cultural learning with little question about ethnocentrism (de Andreotti, Biesta, & Ahenakew, 2014; Goren, Maxwell, & Yemini, 2019; Ho, 2009; Engel, 2014). In Guatemala, Hungary, and South Korea, the neo-liberalist concept of global citizenship is found to be prevalent in GCE curriculum, which focuses on competitiveness in the global market rather than moral and political aspects of global citizenship (Bellino, 2018; Imre & Millei, 2009; Kim, 2019). Lack of teacher support is also widely witnessed as a key obstacle to GCE across countries, including Australia, Canada, Israel, South Korea, and the United States. Researchers commonly found that teacher training for citizenship education is based on a commitment to patriotism, and schools provide teachers with insufficient assistance for GCE. In this circumstance, teachers tend to be less enthusiastic about teaching GCE unless they are inspired by collaborating with civic organizations outside the national education systems (Buchanan, Burridge, & Chodkiewicz, 2018; Schweisfurth, 2006; Goren, Maxwell, & Yemini, 2019; Kim, 2019; Rapoport, 2009, 2010). These critical observations show that the failure of GCE in current national education systems is structured and universal, which can hardly be resolved as long as the relationship between nationalism and national education continues.

Claire Maxwell and her colleagues (2020) suggested a theoretical concept of "cosmopolitan nationalism" to understand the limitations of GCE in national education systems where nationalism prevails. As previously mentioned, nation-states face new challenges to engage with global forces while maintaining national values. This puts national education in a tension between nationalism and post-nationalism. Maxwell and her colleagues argued that

cosmopolitan nationalism is an attempt by national education systems to resolve this tension through rehabilitating nationhood in globalized context. In the view of Maxwell and her coauthors, national stakeholders often advocate globalization for the sake of their nation's own development and competitiveness. From this perspective, cosmopolitan nationalism is an attempt to exploit the global dimension to strengthen the national dimension.

The key roles of GCE are redefined by national education systems that pursue cosmopolitan nationalism. First, GCE works as a mechanism for instilling tolerance, cohesion and mutual respect amongst increasingly diverse local and national populations within a nation-state. Since the state formation can no longer be based on internal cohesiveness, national education systems seek to tackle increasingly multicultural societies through the integration of internationally developed and recognized education models. Second, by integrating the global dimension in national education systems, GCE also serves as a way of tackling the perceived decline in the quality of educational provision and educational attainment outcomes. Neo-liberal approaches to GCE are often used as a sign of improved competitiveness of national education. Lastly, embracing GCE in policies and curricula appears to be another way of reinstating the institutional legitimacy of local and national governing bodies as having the necessary expertise and leadership to tackle highly complex, globally oriented problems.

The concept of cosmopolitan nationalism provides an alternative framework to comprehend why the nation-states promote GCE in their national education systems and why the current form of GCE differs from the theoretical models of its advocates. In sum, the gap between GCE in theory and practice is not due to an error nor is it a mistake due to the short history of GCE. Rather, the gap is because of a structured distortion that aligns with national self-interests. Therefore, GCE as a standardized school curriculum may contribute to transmitting national values instead of fostering global citizenship identity and attitudes. But is there any evidence for this? The only way to address the question behind theoretical skepticism of GCE in national

education systems is through empirical inquiry. In the next chapter, I present a method to assess empirically whether the current form of GCE is associated with adults' identities and values beyond their own nations.

# Chapter 4

# Research questions and hypotheses

## Research void and the theoretical debates

The empirical findings from past research show that students around the world are increasingly exposed to GCE. Especially with the adoption of SDGs, countries are incorporating GCE into their national curriculum (Jimenez et al., 2017). However, it is unknown whether this increase in GCE curricula leads to a change in students' identities and attitudes as intended. While previous studies in psychology and education have revealed findings that support a short-term causal relationship between GCE and the formation of global citizenship, these studies were conducted in controlled environments outside typical school classrooms, such as university lectures or special NGO programs (McFarland et al., 2019; Chiba et al., 2021). Since the national education systems, based on nationalist ideologies, aim to enhance national identity and patriotism, there may be limitations in the ability of schools to cultivate global citizenship.

In addition to the lack of empirical evidence on whether GCE provision in schools promote global citizenship, theories do not offer a consistent position about this question. Some scholars are optimistic about the role of schools in fostering global citizenship. In their view, national culture and cosmopolitan culture are not necessarily competing with one another, and love for one's country can motivate global citizenship (e.g., Torres, 2017). However, others raise questions about the effectiveness of GCE provided in schools. They contend that nationalist ideologies of the education systems are an obstacle to promoting global citizenship. They argue that the capacity of GCE will be compromised in school systems prioritizing national identity (e.g., Nussbaum, 1997) or GCE will lead to "cosmopolitan nationalism" as another form of

nationalism (e.g., Maxwell et al., 2020). This debate cannot be further developed without empirical evidence. Therefore, in order to address such this research void, I ask the following research question evaluating the long-term relationship between GCE incorporated in school curriculum and people's global citizenship: *To what extent is provision the of GCE curriculum in school (including learning topics of human rights, multiculturalism, and environmentalism) associated with expressions of global citizenship, in terms of their identity, and moral and political attitudes?*

Since GCE school curriculum incorporates three major learning topics, while the concept of global citizenship consists of three sociopsychological domains, the research specifies and examines nine relationships as shown in Figure 4-1. Based on the analysis results for each relationship, I will discuss the comprehensive relationship between learning GCE in school and cultivating global citizenship. On the one hand, if the analyses show that the given relationships are null or negative across all learning topics and outcomes, the current project to teach global citizenship in schools around the world can hardly be advocated as an effective policy. On the other hand, if most relationships are found to be valid and positive, this can be a strong indication that GCE is functioning through school systems as intended. However, if the analyses yield complex results including at least one positive relationship, the patterns need to be synthesized and examined based on the theories and framework for GCE to understand the benefits and limitations of GCE provided in schools.

## Operationalization of the research questions and hypotheses

In this dissertation, the provision of GCE in schools is reflected through its integration into the national curriculum for civic and citizenship education. The literature suggests that countries use civic and citizenship education as the primary vehicle for GCE rather than

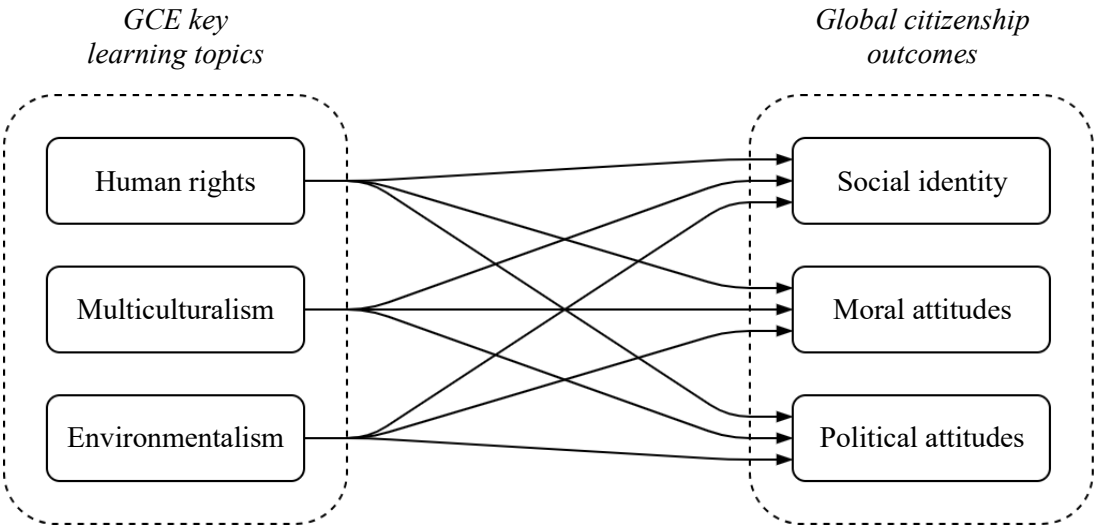


Figure **4-1**: Relationships between the GCE key learning topics and global citizenship outcomes

introducing it as a separate subject. While formal lessons and assessments play a role in implementing civic and citizenship education, implicit learning and extracurricular activities, such as student council, school newspapers, and community projects, significantly enhance students' civic attitudes and competencies beyond knowledge acquisition. Thus, comprehensive learning experience in civic and citizenship education, which includes GCE, cannot be fully captured by any single educational practice. Instead, the identification of learning objectives and topics within the national curriculum serves as a relevant lens to understand students' civic and citizenship learning in school. This approach is effective because standardized curricular goals and topics have a substantial impact on shaping the structured learning activities and environment for civic and citizenship education within a national educational framework. Finally, the integration of GCE into curriculum is marked by the key learning topics of GCE. According to the literature, human rights, multiculturalism, and environmentalism are foundational subjects of GCE. Therefore, when one or more of these topics is embedded within the curriculum, it indicates that the schools are attempting to provide students with GCE values.

The following research design draws on theories of cosmopolitanism and considers global citizenship, the goals of GCE, to be operationalized as social identity and the corresponding moral and political attitudes as a global citizen. What differentiates GCE from other educational approaches to global learning, such as global education, is the learning goals rather than the inputs. GCE aims to encourage learners to develop a new social identity based on a sense of belongness to universal humanity and willingness to morally engage with and take collective actions to help people in need regardless of national borders.

Therefore, based on such decomposition of the key concepts in the research question, the following three hypotheses on the role of GCE in facilitating global citizenship among school students will be tested using large-scale cross-national data.

**H1: Human rights education contributes to learners' development in any or all domains of global citizenship, including their social identity, moral attitudes, and political attitudes.**

Educators and scholars argue that human rights education can enhance one's global citizenship through nurturing empathy and willingness to advocate for human rights. The theory and action framework for GCE particularly emphasize the linkage between human rights and moral aspects of global citizenship. The universal nature of human rights principles invites people to engage in humanitarian action for those in need that transcends national borders. Given such connection to moral cosmopolitanism, learning about human rights is recommended as an effective way to overcome the limitations of civic and citizenship education that is committed to national citizenship. This would promote social identity, attitudes, and behaviors as global citizens. Therefore, if the role of human rights education in fostering global citizenship is not limited to specific educational contexts refined by GCE experts but is also broadly applicable within the general GCE framework in mass education systems, integrating human rights

education into school curricula is likely to lead to a structural enhancement of students' global citizenship across countries.

**H2: Multicultural education contributes to learners' development in any or all domains of global citizenship, including their social identity, moral attitudes, and political attitudes.**

Literature in education and psychology suggests that multicultural education plays a pivotal role in fostering global citizenship, especially in terms of individuals' psychological development. Scholars argue that exposure to diverse cultures not only enhances appreciation for cultural diversity but also encourages the formation of a flexible social identity. This broader sense of identity can foster a sense of belonging to all of humanity, while prompting critical reflection on the limitations of national identity. Such an outward-oriented perspective provides a robust sociopsychological foundation for engaging with issues that extend beyond national borders. Consequently, if multicultural education is effectively integrated into a national education system as the current GCE framework suggests, it is anticipated that students will develop social identities and civic attitudes that strongly embody cosmopolitan values, compared to those without such educational opportunities.

**H3: Environmental education contributes to learners' development in any or all domains of global citizenship, including their social identity, moral attitudes, and political attitudes.**

Advocates of GCE argue that environmental education embodies essential principles of global citizenship by highlighting local-global connections and sustainable development. Learning about current environmental challenges is part of the intricate relationship between the local and global, promoting grassroots civic engagement in local communities to become a

responsible global citizen. Also, the concept of sustainable development within environmental education enables learners to view themselves as part of a broader community that includes not only people from other countries but also future generations and Earth's ecosystems. Therefore, environmental education can effectively introduce students to cosmopolitan principles, broadening their perspectives beyond local and national boundaries. The hypothesis is that integrating environmental education into the GCE curriculum in schools as intended will enhance students' global citizenship on a population level.

However, some critics argue that the nationalist goals often emphasized in national education systems might overshadow the cosmopolitan goals of GCE. They argue that GCE is likely to be neglected compared to other subjects in school education, or that the GCE curriculum is often offered with limited or absent global context. In such circumstances, students may encounter difficulties in developing global citizenship. Furthermore, scholars maintain that these incomplete forms of GCE in schools are not merely unintentional oversights due to a lack of experience but are inevitable constraints imposed by the prioritization of nationalist goals within national education systems. If this is indeed a structural failure, the analysis would reveal null or negative relations between the provision of GCE curriculum and the development of students' global citizenship for most hypotheses tested.

## Contributions of the research

The goal of this research is to contribute to the theoretical debates and policy evaluation regarding the implementation of GCE in schools by providing alternative empirical evidence and its implications to the field. First, this research aims to examine the skeptical theoretical perspectives on the mainstreaming of GCE based on evidence from data analyses. The recent movement to integrate GCE into school education is grounded in cosmopolitan theories that

emphasize the essential role of education in promoting global citizenship. Scholars argue that ordinary people can hardly develop global citizenship without educational assistance because their everyday experiences are mostly limited to local communities. Therefore, school education, which is accessible to all citizens, can serve as an appropriate platform for implementing GCE for everyone. Scholars also claim that national education systems must be positive to GCE, as not only individuals but also nation-states depend on global citizenship for their survival and prosperity in the era of globalization.

However, other scholars are pessimistic about the complementary relationship between GCE and national education systems. They criticize that since nation-states prioritize their own interests based on nationalist ideologies, national education systems are likely to conflict with GCE, which encourages extending help to people beyond national borders and overcoming the constraints of nationalism to achieve international solidarity. According to such theoretical perspective, GCE provided in school education may result in limited or distorted learning outcomes. This theoretical debate between advocates and critics concerning GCE in schools can be further developed with empirical evidence. In this research, I aim to investigate whether countries that have included GCE topics in their national education systems have indeed achieved the expected global citizenship outcomes among students. Based on the findings, I will review and discuss the theoretical arguments in existing literature.

Secondly, this research will provide an alternative evaluation of the global educational policy for mainstreaming GCE in national education systems. SDG 4.7 and the GCE action framework mandate that all UN Member States integrate GCE into their school education by 2030. While the progress of SDG 4.7 has been periodically monitored under the coordination of UNESCO, especially using the Global Indicator 4.7.1, the focus is on the provision of GCE instead of its outcomes. To address this limitation, this research examines the relationship between the provision of GCE in schools and the development of global citizenship among

students at the population level by using large-scale international data. I have selected and organized data to measure the long-term outcomes of students, focusing on the persisting changes after they are provided GCE in secondary school. While several case studies have showed that each curriculum is effective in controlled experimental classroom settings, there is limited research confirming their effectiveness in typical real-world situations or contexts where the state is actively involved. Furthermore, there is no past research into whether the effect of each curricular component is maintained when students pass into adulthood. This is a critical concern because it is difficult to assert that GCE has achieved its goal if its effects are only short-term. Consequently, this analytic approach allows for assessing the achievements of SDG 4.7 and the GCE framework based on their outcomes and for proposing policy implications to elaborate the current policy framework.

# Chapter 5

# Data and methods

## Data and sample

To investigate the relationship between provision of GCE curriculum in school and global citizenship outcomes, I used data from the joint dataset of the European Values Study 2017 and World Values Survey Wave 7 (Joint EVS/WVS 2017), which includes information about people's global citizenship identity and their attitudes across countries. Additional data measuring the provision of school curriculum for GCE at country level were drawn from the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study 2009 (ICCS 2009). By combining these two surveys, I was able to create a distinctive dataset that allows for an analysis of how the provision of global citizenship education is related to the development of global citizenship among the young adult population. Using these datasets, I created an analytic sample consisting of 7,230 young adults from 30 countries.

By leveraging the time gap between 2009 and 2017, I developed a research design to examine the relationship between the provision of GCE in secondary schools and young adults' global citizenship identity and attitudes. The ICCS 2009 survey offers information on countries' GCE provision while the young adults surveyed in the Joint EVS/WVS 2017 were attending secondary school. Moreover, the period between 2009 and 2017, when the two surveys were conducted, coincided with significant shifts in global education policy. The ICCS 2009 took place just before the UN proposed the GCE initiative in 2012, and the Joint EVS/WVS 2017 followed shortly after the launch of SDG 4.7 in 2015. During this time, many countries rapidly integrated key GCE themes into their curricula, while some countries still had limited integration. These

variations in GCE provision across countries allowed me to analyze how different levels of exposure to GCE curricula are associated with the development of global citizenship identity and attitudes among young adults.

The Joint EVS/WVS 2017 is an international social science survey that collected information about people's values and beliefs from more than 150,000 respondents in 90 countries from 2017 to 2022. The survey is organized through the collaboration of the European Value Systems Study Group (EVSSG) and World Values Survey Association (WVSA). The Joint EVS/WVS 2017 is the most recent cycle of the surveys they released. With coverage of family, work, environment, politics and society, religion and morality, and national identity, the survey includes a range of items measuring people's global citizenship. It measures concepts, such as belongness to global humanity, trust toward people with different social backgrounds, and support for the global governance systems.

The Joint EVS/WVS 2017 provides a nationally representative sample of the adult population with the age of 18 or older in each participating country. The minimum sample size is 1,200 for most countries with a population over two million, and 1,000 for countries with a smaller population. However, though EVSSG and WVSA provide the guidelines to their partner agencies conducting surveys in participating countries to make the sample nationally representative, specific sampling methods vary across countries. This variation introduces limitations in using the data. For example, multi-stage sampling was used in most countries, while single-stage sampling was used in some countries, such as Denmark, Netherlands, Norway, and Switzerland. Therefore, though the sample of the Joint EVS/WVS 2017 is an equal probability of selection method (EPSEM) sample, the dataset does not provide sufficient information to account for the complex sampling design. In specific, post-stratification weights are the only available information included in the dataset, while information about clustering and

stratification, for example, are not. This lack of information may cause limitations in obtaining efficient estimates from data analyses.

The ICCS 2009 was an international study organized by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) in 2009 to understand civic and citizenship education in schools in the 38 countries which participated. Researchers cooperating with the project collected gave cognitive tests to assess students' civic and citizenship knowledge, as well as questionnaires designed for students, teachers, schools, and national education systems. The current research focuses on the national-level data collection, which surveys whether and to what extent national curricula incorporate the key themes of GCE within civic and citizenship education. Specifically, this data collection provides information about the curricular emphasis placed on human rights education, multicultural education, and environmental education. Thus, it reveals which countries emphasize, for example, human rights education highly, moderately, or not at all in their civic and citizenship curriculum. By combining such information as country-level contextual data with Joint EVS/WVS 2017, it is possible to investigate the relationship between provision of GCE curriculum in schools and adults' global citizenship across countries.

Table **5-1**: Sample sizes by region and country

| *Europe (21 countries)* | | | | *Asia and Oceania (5 countries/territories)* | | *Latin America (4 countries)* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Country | N | Country | N | Country | N | Country | N |
| Austria | 183 | Lithuania | 183 | Indonesia | 570 | Chile | 128 |
| Bulgaria | 121 | Russia | 555 | South Korea | 182 | Columbia | 404 |
| Cyprus | 239 | Netherlands | 433 | Thailand | 155 | Guatemala | 342 |
| Czechia | 323 | Norway | 148 | Hongkong | 92 | Mexico | 333 |
| Denmark | 388 | Poland | 171 | New Zealand | 51 | | |
| Estonia | 103 | Slovakia | 261 | | | | |
| Finland | 119 | Slovenia | 125 | | | | |
| Great Britain | 463 | Spain | 130 | | | | |
| Greece | 110 | Sweden | 120 | | | | |
| Italy | 247 | Switzerland | 417 | | | | |
| Latvia | 134 | | | | | | |
| 7,230 cases in 30 countries in total | | | | | | | |

Finally, the analytic sample of the research based on both datasets consists of 7,230 young adults from 30 countries. I restricted the samples to individuals who were born in the years from 1990 to 1998, since they would have been in the secondary education system at the time of the ICCS 2009, and they would have completed upper secondary education at the time of the Joint EVS/WVS 2017. The ages of respondents in the sample, therefore, ranged from 19 to 32 when they participated in the Joint EVS/WVS 2017. Also, the sample includes a total of 30 countries which participated in both surveys and provided complete information for the country-level variables in the model.[4] The composition of the analytic sample is shown in Table 5-1.

## Variables

### Outcome variables: global citizenship outcomes

As indicators of the multi-faceted nature of global citizenship that I outlined in the literature, I used three measures of global citizenship by adults. These three measures are quite likely influenced by these adults' earlier exposure as student to their nations' curricula. The indicators measure: social identity, moral attitudes, and political attitudes toward global citizenship. The outcome variables were derived from the survey items in the Joint EVS/WVS 2017 (see Table 5-2). They were identified based on prior studies using related datasets (e.g., Norris & Inglehart, 2009; Pichler, 2011; Smith et al., 2017). Empirical research on global citizenship, especially in psychology, suggests that global citizenship outcomes are closely correlated with each other, but aggregating them into a unidimensional measure significantly

[4] The latter condition that requires complete information for the level two variables in the model is primarily because of the HLM 8 software which was used in data analysis. HLM 8 software does not support model fitting with multiple imputation when variables at higher level have missing data. Due to this condition, Taiwan has been excluded from the sample even though they participated in both the Joint EVS/WVS 2017 and ICCS 2009.

Table **5-2**: Survey items measuring global citizenship in the Joint EVS/WVS 2017

| *Item* | *Coding scheme* |
|---|---|
| *Global citizenship identity* | |
| Q45. People have different views about themselves and how they relate to the world. Using this card, would you tell me how close do you feel to…?<br>(v168) World | 1 Very close<br>2 Close<br>3 Not very close<br>4 Not close at all |
| *Moral global citizenship attitudes* | |
| Q8. I would like to ask you how much you trust people from various groups. Could you tell me for each whether you trust people from this group completely, somewhat, not very much or not at all?<br>(v37) People of another nationality<br>(v36) People of another religion | 1 Trust completely<br>2 Trust somewhat<br>3 Do not trust very much<br>4 Do not trust at all |
| *Political global citizenship attitudes* | |
| Q38. How much confidence you have in them, is it a great deal, quite a lot, not very much or none at all?<br>(v124) Major regional international organization (e.g., EU)<br>(v125) United Nations Organization | 1 A great deal<br>2 Quite a lot<br>3 Not very much<br>4 None at all |

*Notes*: The item numbers above are from the EVS 2017. The same items are included in the WVS Wave 7 with different numbers which are Q259, Q62, Q63, Q82, and Q83, respectively.

compromises validity (McFarland et al., 2019). Further, researchers found similar trends but substantial variations with respect to relationship of different global citizenship outcomes to individual backgrounds and social contexts. They argued that such variations across different aspects of global citizenship allows for rich discussion in sociological understanding of global citizenship (Norris, 2000; Furia, 2005; Pichler, 2011).

Global citizenship identity is of greater interest than other forms of global citizenship outcomes in many studies. In the current research, the variable measuring global citizenship identity is drawn from the survey item asking how close the respondent feels to the world. The original inputs are recorded as “very close,” “close,” “not very close,” or “not close at all,” which are collapsed into a binary variable. The first two are classified as positive in terms of the sense of

belongness to the world, while the latter two are classified as negative. I decided to use dichotomous variables in order to ensure that the analytic results from the current research can be compared to those from earlier studies.[5] The variable measuring moral global citizenship attitudes is constructed based on two survey items asking about the level of trust in "people of another nationality" and "people of another religion." Respondents could answer whether they trust each group of people "completely," "somewhat," "not very much," or "not at all." The moral attitudes variable was created by averaging each respondent's responses to the two items. Therefore, an ordinal variable consisting of seven levels was created, responding "not at all" to both items being the lowest level, and the responding "completely" to both items being the highest level.

Lastly, the variable measuring political global citizenship attitudes derives from two survey items that assess the degree of confidence in the global governance systems. The respondents were asked about to their confidence in the UN and regional organization in their region, such as EU and Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). They could answer "great deal," "quite a lot," "not very much," or "none at all." The political attitudes variable was created by averaging each respondent's responses, and an ordinal variable consisting of seven levels was created.

I conducted an explanatory factor analysis (EFA) to identify common themes among the five survey items. Explanatory factor analysis is a statistical method used to uncover the underlying structure of a set of variables. It helps determine which items group together based on shared characteristics or themes, revealing patterns that may not be immediately obvious. The results of the explanatory factor analysis provided statistical evidence for grouping the five items into three different measures of global citizenship described above. This grouping is based on

[5] The Appendix presents results from ordinal logistic regression analysis using the original four categories of global citizenship identity, rather than collapsing them into a binary classification. Findings from the auxiliary analysis corroborate those of the binary coding analysis. Additionally, the results confirm that the "very close" and "close" categories align, while the "not very close" and "not close at all" categories also move together. This pattern supports the validity of using a binary variable.

factor loadings, which indicate how strongly each item relates to an underlying latent factor, an unseen variable that influences the responses to the items.

The factor loadings revealed that the two items measuring moral global citizenship attitudes and the two items measuring political global citizenship attitudes have strong associations with their respective latent factors, meaning they are closely related to the underlying themes they represent (factor loadings greater than 0.7). On the other hand, these items showed very weak associations with the latent factors of other groups (factor loadings less than 0.2), suggesting they do not overlap significantly with themes outside their own groups, as shown in Table 5-3.

Table **5-3**: Explanatory factor analysis of outcome variables

| Variable | *Factor 1*: Moral global citizenship attitudes | *Factor 2*: Political global citizenship attitudes | *Factor 3*: Global citizenship identity | Uniqueness |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Feel close to the world | 0.050 | 0.085 | 0.061 | **0.987** |
| Trust toward people of another religion | **0.746** | 0.097 | 0.001 | 0.435 |
| Trust toward people of another nationality | **0.746** | 0.109 | 0.003 | 0.432 |
| Confidence in the regional organization | 0.125 | **0.723** | -0.003 | 0.462 |
| Confidence in the UN | 0.091 | **0.727** | 0.008 | 0.464 |
| Eigenvalues | 1.424 | 0.793 | 0.004 | |
| Number of items | 2 | 2 | 1 | |

Additionally, the item that measures a sense of belonging to the world has a uniqueness value of over 0.9. In factor analysis, uniqueness indicates the extent to which an item does not share variance with other items; a uniqueness of over 0.9 suggests that this item has little in common with any of the other items. This is consistent with the fact that this item is a commonly used single-item social identification measure (SISI), designed to assess how strongly people identify with a specific group—in this case, with the world. Even though SISI uses only one item to measure social identity, researchers have demonstrated it is a reliable and valid measure of group identification (Postmes et al., 2013; Reysen et al., 2013).

Finally, I assessed the reliability of the items that constitute the moral and political attitudes variables using Cronbach's alpha, a statistic that measures internal consistency or reliability. The Cronbach's alpha for the moral attitudes items was 0.88, and for the political attitudes items, it was 0.78, indicating that both sets of items have a high degree of reliability.[6]

**Explanatory variables: key learning topics of GCE curriculum**

Based on the above analysis, I identified three key learning topics of GCE in school curriculum: human rights, multiculturalism, and environmentalism. These components of curriculum can be considered as explanatory variables because their variability may explain the variance internationally of adults' embrace of global citizenship. The measures of provision of the key GCE topics in schools are drawn from the national survey of the ICCS 2009. The national survey, which investigates the characteristics of national education systems with respect to provision of civic and citizenship education, includes the items under the following question: "How much emphasis does the school curriculum at the <target grade> place on students learning about the following topics?" Human rights, multiculturalism, and environmentalism are included in the item list, and the responses are categorized as "major emphasis," "some emphasis," or "no emphasis" as shown in Table 5-4. The grade levels questioned by the ICCS 2009 are eighth or ninth grades. In this research, I use the answers to these items as indicators of country-specific emphasis in each topic of GCE provided in secondary schools.

As discussed in a section of Chapter 4 on the operationalization of concepts, this measure conceptually captures students' comprehensive GCE learning experiences in schools, organized

[6] For each national subsample, Cronbach's alpha of the items under moral attitudes factor was greater than 0.7 in all countries, and the alpha of the items under political attitudes factor was greater than 0.7 in 23 countries out of 30. The countries do not meet the threshold include Colombia (alpha = 0.62), Finland (0.70), Greece (0.60), Hong Kong (0.54), Norway (0.48), Sweden (0.68), and Switzerland (0.68).

Table **5-4**: Survey items measuring provision of the key GCE topics in the ICCS 2009

| *Item* | *Coding scheme* |
|---|---|
| 30. How much emphasis does the school curriculum at the <target grade> place on students learning about the following topics?<br>a. Human rights<br>c. Understanding different cultures and ethnic groups<br>l. The environment | 1 Major emphasis<br>2 Some emphasis<br>3 No emphasis |

*Notes*: The target grade in the ICCS 2009 is eighth or ninth grade.

around the learning objectives of national education systems. It also offers practical advantages, providing a reliable and interpretable indicator of cross-national differences in students' learning experiences, especially given the considerable variation in civic and citizenship education implementation across countries. According to the IEA's ICCS 2009 national report (2013), only half of the 38 participating countries provide civic and citizenship education as a distinct subject, while the remainder employ a cross-curricular approach. Additionally, the report highlights that activities such as student councils, community projects, school newspapers, and special events serve as key tools for civic development in many countries. Given this context, information on specific GCE-related educational practices does not provide a consistent measure for comparing GCE provision between countries. Therefore, a measure grounded in topic emphasis within the national curriculum provides a clear framework for assessing GCE provision across educational systems.

**Control variables**

Apart from the curricular influence on attitudes, there are other contextual factors that probably lead respondents to embrace global citizenship. It is important to take these into account in order to identify specifically the contributions of GCE curriculum to global citizenship

attitudes. Therefore, I included several control variables in the models. I selected these control variables based on previous theories and prior research.[7]

At the individual-level, as control variables I considered respondents' gender, immigrant status, educational attainment, social class, and political orientation. Those are common predictors of global citizenship outcomes found in empirical studies.[8] Several researchers have reported that women have a higher level of global citizenship than men and immigrants have a higher level of global citizenship than native citizens, based on analysis of various societies and time. Researchers also found that the higher an individual's level of education (especially college education), the middle or upper class, and the more politically left he or she is, the higher the level of global citizenship. Gender and immigrant status are binary variables, and educational attainment and social class are categorial variables. Political orientation is an ordinal variable measured according to ten-point Likert scale from "left" to "right." Unlike prior research, respondents' age is not controlled for in the models, because of the limited variation in the age range in the sample, which is restricted to young adults mostly in their 20s.

The country-level control variables include the percentage of immigrant population, level of patriotism within society, KOF Globalization Index (KOF GI), and Human Development Index (HDI). These country characteristics are identified by many researchers as strong predictors of people's global citizenship and show considerable variability among countries in the sample.

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[7] The identification of control variables included in the analytic models for this study was primarily informed by the following prior research: Schueth and O'Loughlin (2008), Pichler (2009, 2011), and Smith et al. (2017). The first three studies by Schueth and O'Loughlin and Pichler aimed to examine the prevalence and determinants of cosmopolitanism across countries, while the study by Smith and his colleagues investigates the factors influencing an individual's self-identification as a global citizen, with a particular emphasis on the role of education. Each study used large-scale international datasets, including EVS 1999/2000 for Pichler (2009) and various cycles of WVS for the others, and employed multi-level modeling methods to explore how cosmopolitan attitudes, orientations, and identities are shaped by factors at both the individual and country levels.

[8] Although previous studies suggest that age is a strong demographic predictor of an individual's global citizenship, age is not controlled for in this research because the sample was restricted to young adults within a narrow age range to address the research question. Also, in terms of statistical relationships, age showed very weak correlations with all three global citizenship outcomes (0.006, 0.018, and -0.032 for global citizenship identity, moral attitudes, and political attitudes, respectively).

The percentage of the immigrant population is included in the model, drawing from research in psychology and sociology that suggests social contact with people from different cultural backgrounds significantly facilitates dispositions toward global citizenship. For example, Thomas Pettigrew and Linda Tropp (2006) demonstrated that intergroup contact reduces prejudice and fosters openness to diversity, which are essential components of a global citizenship mindset. Similarly, Sam Schueth and John O'Loughlin (2008) found that individuals living in more culturally diverse environments tend to exhibit stronger cosmopolitan attitudes, likely due to increased opportunities for intercultural engagement and understanding. Stephen Reysen and Iva Katzarska-Miller (2018) also argue that frequent interactions with people from diverse cultural groups can enhance individuals' identification as global citizens by broadening their sense of belonging beyond national borders. Therefore, I included the percentage of the immigrant population as a control variable to account for its potential influence on global citizenship attitudes.

I included the level of patriotism as a variable in my model because it provides a critical social context that may influence people's global citizenship, although its impact varies according to different theories and empirical studies. For this measure, I used the survey item "How proud are you of being a citizen of your country?" with responses recorded on a four-point scale ranging from "not proud at all" to "very proud." Individual responses were aggregated at the country level, creating a variable that reflects the average level of national pride in each society. The inclusion of patriotism is based on contrasting theoretical perspectives. Kwame Anthony Appiah (2006) argued that a patriotic atmosphere can play a crucial role in preparing ordinary people to become global citizens, while Martha Nussbaum (1996) contended that strong patriotism may hinder the development of global citizenship. Empirical findings also reflect this divergence: Katarzyna Hamer, Marta Penczek, and Michał Bilewicz (2018) found that global citizenship identity is positively correlated with constructive patriotism and shows no correlation with

chauvinism, supporting Appiah's perspective. Conversely, Schueth and O'Loughlin (2008) found that stronger patriotism predicts lower levels of cosmopolitanism, aligning with Nussbaum's view. Given these mixed findings, I included patriotism as a control variable to account for its potential impact on global citizenship outcomes.

The KOF GI measures the degree of globalization across economic, social, and political domains in countries, developed by the KOF Swiss Economic Institute at ETH Zurich University. A higher KOF GI value indicates that a country is more integrated into the global community. Research by Florian Pichler (2011) found significant associations between the KOF GI and various global citizenship outcomes. Specifically, Pichler's study identified a positive association between the KOF GI and political cosmopolitan orientation but a negative association with global identity. Pichler noted that this negative association was unexpected and suggested that people in less developed or less globalized countries might be more likely to identify as global citizens. This could be due to the greater heterogeneity, younger populations, or weaker national identities in these countries, making a global identity a more meaningful form of belonging. Subsequent studies have reported consistent findings, further supporting these observations (e.g., Ariely, 2012; Smith et al., 2017). Given these complex and varied relationships, I included the KOF GI to account for the degree of globalization as a factor that could influence global citizenship identity and attitudes.

Lastly, HDI is a summary measure of life expectancy, educational attainment, and per capita income of people living in a country. The conceptual aim of HDI is to provide an alternative measure of development beyond materialism. HDI is published by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and it was used as the summary indicator of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in 2000-2015, which is the antecedent development agenda of SDGs (Bidarbakhtnia, 2020). The original index is on a 0-to-1 scale, but it is adjusted to a 1-to-100 scale to facilitate interpretation. Previous research has found that higher HDI scores are

associated with stronger expressions of cosmopolitanism (Schueth & O'Loughlin, 2008). This could suggest that individuals in more affluent and developed countries are more likely to identify with the world as a whole, implying a potential link between economic development and a global outlook. However, William Smith and his colleagues (2017), who included HDI in their model with the expectation of finding a similar relationship, reported no significant association. This finding suggests that the earlier observed association may have been influenced by the correlation between HDI and mean education level, rather than a direct effect of HDI itself. Given these mixed results, I included HDI in my model as a control variable to account for its potential effects on the relationship between education and cosmopolitan attitudes.

## Analytic strategies

My research uses hierarchical modeling to analyze data. Specifically, I estimated a two-level Hierarchical Generalized Linear Models (HGLM) with the logit link in order to predict people's global citizenship identity, while two-level Hierarchical Linear Models (HLM) are used to examine moral and political global citizenship attitudes (Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002).[9]

The hierarchical modeling approach is particularly suitable for my study due to the nested data structure, where 7,230 individuals are grouped within 30 countries. This setup creates a clustering effect, with individuals within the same country likely having more similar responses due to shared experiences, such as national policies or cultural contexts. When an Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression model is used in this data structure, it may produce inefficient estimates because OLS assumes that all observations are independent of one another and does not

[9] For models to predict global citizenship identity, choosing the logit link is primary because of its strong advantages in interpretating analysis results. Likewise, though the variables measuring moral and political global citizenship attitudes are ordinal variables, they were treated as continuous, because they have a large number of levels (i.e., seven levels), and linear models produce analysis results that allow for intuitive interpretation while ordered logit models do not.

account for the clustering effect within countries, potentially underestimating standard errors and overstating the statistical significance of results. Hierarchical models like HLM are employed to adjust for these clustering effects, providing more accurate standard errors and confidence intervals. This adjustment prevents overstating the statistical significance and ensures the model produces unbiased and efficient parameter estimates, enhancing the robustness and validity of the findings.

Furthermore, the complexity of analyzing global citizenship outcomes goes beyond merely adjusting for clustering effects. It involves understanding how both personal characteristics and country-level factors, such as the national provision of GCE, contribute to shaping individuals' global citizenship identities and attitudes. Hierarchical models are ideal for this purpose, as they allow for the exploration of these multi-level influences within a single framework, providing a comprehensive and nuanced analysis of the factors impacting global citizenship outcomes.

HLM and HGLM models are well-suited for this research as they facilitate the simultaneous examination of variables measured at both the individual and country levels. Combining these variables into a single model can be problematic as I suspect that national differences in provision of GCE play a critical role in shaping individuals' global citizenship identities and attitudes. The complexity lies in assessing how individual outcomes, such as global citizenship identity and attitudes, are influenced by both personal characteristics and country-level factors. Hierarchical models are ideal for this purpose, as it allows for the simultaneous analysis of these multi-level influences, providing a comprehensive understanding of the factors impacting global citizenship outcomes.

Statistically, the intraclass correlation coefficients (ICC) exceeding 0.1 for all outcome variables suggest there are clustering effects in data (ICC = 0.103, 0.226, 0.125 for social identity,

moral attitudes, and political attitudes of global citizenship, respectively).[10] The ICC is a statistic that measures the proportion of the total variance in the data that can be attributed to the grouping structure, in this case, the countries. An ICC greater than 0.1 means that a significant amount of variation in the outcome variables is due to differences between countries rather than differences within countries. This suggests that individuals' responses are not entirely independent and are influenced by their country of residence. In other words, individual variations in global citizenship identity and attitudes are not independent from the variations between education systems of countries. To adjust for these clustering effects, hierarchical models like HLM are used instead of simpler models (Irimata & Wilson, 2018). HLM adjusts for the clustering effect, providing more accurate standard errors and confidence intervals. This ensures that the statistical significance of the results is not overstated and that the model produces unbiased and efficient parameter estimates, thereby enhancing the robustness and validity of the findings.

**Specification of individual-level models**

The individual-level logit model to estimate respondents' global citizenship identity includes various measures of socio-demographic background of individuals as covariates and can be written as the following:

$$\log\left(\frac{p_{ij}}{1-p_{ij}}\right) = \beta_{0j} + \sum_{Q} \beta_{Qj} X_{Qij} + r_{ij} \quad (1)$$

[10] ICC for global citizenship identity was drawn using probit model based on the underlying latent variable assumption. Therefore, the residual variance on the first level, which is not directly observable in non-linear regression models, was assumed as 1 equivalent to the variance of normal distribution (Rodríguez & Elo, 2003).

where $p_{ij}$ indicates the probability for an individual *i* in country *j* to expect to identify oneself as a global citizen, $\beta_{0j}$ is the adjusted mean level of global citizenship identity for country *j,* and $r_{ij}$ is an individual-level residual. The individual-level control variables $X_{Qij}$ include gender, immigrant status, educational level, social class, and political orientation.

Likewise, using the same independent variables, the individual-level linear regression model to estimate people's moral and political attitudes, which are denoted by $Y_{ij}$, is as follows:

$$Y_{ij} = \beta_{0j} + \sum_{Q} \beta_{Qj} X_{Qij} + r_{ij} \quad (2)$$

**Specification of country-level models**

For the country-level models, the intercept identified in the individual level equation, i.e., $\beta_{0j}$, is modeled as functions of country-level characteristics. Country-level characteristics include measures of three GCE topics provided in schools as well as measures of countries' socio-economic status. The following equation shows the country-level model for $\beta_{0j}$:

$$\beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01} HumanRights_j + \gamma_{02} Multiculture_j + \gamma_{03} Environment_j + \sum_{S} \gamma_{0S} W_{Sj} + u_{0j} \quad (3)$$

where $HumanRights_j$, $Multiculture_j$, and $Environment_j$ are the key predictors of global citizenship outcomes that indicate whether and to what extent the major topics of GCE, i.e., human rights, multiculture, and environment, respectively, are provided in schools in country *j*. Therefore, the primary focus of analyses is on the effects of those country-level variables on the

intercepts (i.e., $\gamma_{01}$, $\gamma_{02}$, and $\gamma_{03}$). The country-level control variables $W_{Sj}$ include the size of immigrant population, level of patriotism in society, KOF GI, and HDI. Lastly, $u_{0j}$ denotes the country-level residual.

Since the current research does not have specific hypotheses about heterogeneity of regression across countries, slope coefficients in the individual-level models, $\beta_{Qj}$, are not investigated any further at country level. Therefore, country-level models for $\beta_{Qj}$ are constrained as follows:

$$\beta_{Qj} = \gamma_{Q0} \tag{4}$$

In this equation, the relationship between individual-level variables and outcome variables is conceived as independent of countries' characteristics and not varying from country to country (i.e., $u_{Qj} = 0$). Substituting country-level equations (3) and (4) into individual-level equations (1) and (2) yields the final models estimated in the analysis.

In model fitting, I included post-stratification weights provided in the Joint EVS/WVS 2017 dataset to produce unbiased and efficient estimates. Also, missing data were addressed using multiple imputation. According to Little's Missing Completely at Random (MCAR) test, the data cannot be considered as MCAR ($\chi^2_{(847)} = 1353.4$, $p < 0.001$), which indicates that ignoring missing data would lead to biased results (Little, 1988; Li, 2013). Therefore, a total of 20 imputed sets were generated considering approximately 10% of missingness at most in the outcome variables, and averages were taken for the estimates based on Rubin's rules (1987; Graham et al., 2007). Data analyses were performed using the HLM 8 and Stata 16 software. Specifically, HLM 8 was used to estimate the hierarchical models, while all other auxiliary analyses and data inspection were conducted using Stata 16 since HLM 8 specializes only in fitting hierarchical models.

# Chapter 6

# Results

## Descriptive statistics

The unweighted descriptive statistics of the pooled data are presented in Table 6-1. The descriptive statistics provide information on how the variables used in the analyses have been coded, and the mean and standard deviation of each variable. The mean and standard deviation were calculated based on 7,230 respondents in the pooled sample for the individual level variables and 30 countries in the pooled sample for the country level variables. In addition, I included the percentage of missing data for each variable.

The sample consisted of 7,230 young adults from 30 countries, providing sufficient size to conduct two-level analyses using HLM and HGLM. The sample size for each country ranged from 51 and 570. In the analysis, the outcome variables include individuals' global citizenship (5 items are used to construct 3 variables). The explanatory variables include the level of provision of the GCE key topics curriculum in the national education system (including human rights, multiculturalism, environmentalism). In addition, the analyses included some individual and country level control variables. Gender, immigrant status, highest educational attainment, and social class were used as individual-level control variables by referring to existing literature. Country-level control variables included percentage of immigrant population, level of patriotism, KOF GI, and HDI.

The key outcome variables included in the analysis were: global citizenship identity, moral global citizenship attitudes, and political global citizenship attitudes. World-wide, the percentage of the respondents who identified as global citizens was 48%. Moral global citizenship

Table **6-1**: Unweighted descriptive statistics of the pooled data

| Variable | Min. | Max. | %/M (SD) | N (% missing) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Individual level* | | | | |
| Global citizenship outcomes | | | | |
| Identity | 0 | 1 | 48.0% | 7,036 (2.7%) |
| Moral attitudes | 1 | 4 | 2.4 (0.79) | 6,715 (7.1%) |
| Trust toward people of another nationality | 1 | 4 | 2.5 (0.82) | 6,780 (6.2%) |
| Trust toward people of another religion | 1 | 4 | 2.4 (0.84) | 6,827 (5.6%) |
| Political attitudes | 1 | 4 | 2.5 (0.77) | 6,479 (10.4%) |
| Confidence in the regional organization | 1 | 4 | 2.4 (0.85) | 6,674 (7.7%) |
| Confidence in the UN | 1 | 4 | 2.5 (0.86) | 6,680 (7.6%) |
| Female | 0 | 1 | 52.4% | 7,222 (0.1%) |
| Immigrant | 0 | 1 | 15.0% | 7,199 (0.4%) |
| Educational attainment | | | | 7,129 (1.4%) |
| Primary education or no education | 0 | 1 | 4.3% | |
| Lower secondary education | 0 | 1 | 10.7% | |
| Upper secondary education | 0 | 1 | 40.3% | |
| Some post-secondary education | 0 | 1 | 15.0% | |
| Four-year university or above | 0 | 1 | 29.8% | |
| Social class | | | | 5,998 (17.0%) |
| Working class | 0 | 1 | 28.8% | |
| Middle class | 0 | 1 | 50.1% | |
| Upper class | 0 | 1 | 21.1% | |
| Political orientation (left to right) | 1 | 10 | 5.4 (2.22) | 6,077 (15.9%) |
| *Country level* | | | | |
| Key topics of GCE | | | | 30 |
| Human rights: no provision | 0 | 1 | 13.3% | |
| Human rights: some emphasis | 0 | 1 | 20.0% | |
| Human rights: major emphasis | 0 | 1 | 66.7% | |
| Multiculture: no provision | 0 | 1 | 6.7% | |
| Multiculture: some emphasis | 0 | 1 | 30.0% | |
| Multiculture: major emphasis | 0 | 1 | 63.3% | |
| Environment: no provision | 0 | 1 | 10.0% | |
| Environment: some emphasis | 0 | 1 | 36.7% | |
| Environment: major emphasis | 0 | 1 | 53.3% | |
| % immigrant | 0 | 73.7 | 15.6 (15.62) | 30 |
| Level of patriotism | 2.8 | 3.8 | 3.4 (0.26) | 30 |
| KOF Globalization Index (KOF GI) | 61.1 | 91.0 | 79.8 (8.42) | 30 |
| Human Development Index (HDI) | 63.5 | 96.2 | 87.5 (7.67) | 30 |

attitudes variable was constructed by averaging the following two items: trust toward people of another nationality and trust toward people of another religion. Political global citizenship attitudes variable was constructed by averaging the following two items: confidence in the UN and confidence in the regional organization. On a scale of 1 to 4, the mean of moral global citizenship attitudes is 2.4 with a standard deviation of 0.79, while the mean of political global citizenship attitudes is 2.5 with a standard deviation of 0.77.

About 15% of the respondents were immigrants, which is consistent with the country level average of 15.6%. 40% of respondents were high school graduates, taking up the largest proportion in the sample. This is because most respondents were in their 20s at the time of the survey and were likely not to complete their post-secondary education. This suggests that the education variable may not be as a strong predictor as previous studies using a sample of older adults. The percentage of missing responses in social class and political orientation (17% and 16%, respectively) is higher than other variables. The missing values were filled in using multiple imputation.

At the country level, the descriptive statistics revealed that most countries provided education on global citizenship education topics with some or high emphasis. Multicultural education was the most prevalent topic, with 28 countries out of 30 countries providing it with some or high emphasis. Human rights education was provided with a high emphasis in 20 countries (consisting 67% of the sample) and with some emphasis in 6 countries (20% of the sample). Four countries (13% of the sample) did not provide human rights education. Multicultural education was provided with a high emphasis in 19 countries (63% of the sample) and with some emphasis in 9 countries (30% of the sample). Two countries (7% of the sample) did not provide multicultural education. Environmental education was provided with a high emphasis in 16 countries (53% of the sample) and with some emphasis in 11 countries (37% of the sample). Three countries (10% of the sample) did not provide environmental education.

Table **6-2**: Unweighted descriptive statistics by country

| | Provision of the key topics of GCE | | | Global citizenship domains | | | Country-level control variables | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Human rights | Multiculture | Environment | Identity | Moral | Political | % immigrant | Lv. patriotism | KOF GI | HDI | N |
| Austria | Some | High | High | 47.5% | 2.5 (0.73) | 2.5 (0.78) | 20.5% | 3.4 | 88.7 | 91.7 | 183 |
| Bulgaria | High | High | High | 54.8% | 2.4 (0.76) | 2.6 (0.81) | 2.7% | 3.3 | 80.5 | 80.8 | 121 |
| Chile | High | High | Some | 41.3% | 2.4 (0.66) | 2.5 (0.87) | 4.7% | 3.0 | 75.9 | 85.6 | 128 |
| Colombia | High | High | High | 45.5% | 2.0 (0.73) | 2.0 (0.73) | 3.5% | 3.7 | 63.4 | 76.3 | 404 |
| Cyprus | High | Some | Some | 38.2% | 2.1 (0.81) | 2.2 (0.82) | 19.7% | 3.4 | 79.2 | 89.7 | 239 |
| Czechia | Some | Some | Some | 50.8% | 2.4 (0.73) | 2.4 (0.75) | 9.8% | 3.1 | 85.1 | 89.3 | 323 |
| Denmark | Some | High | Some | 46.3% | 3.0 (0.67) | 2.8 (0.61) | 14.9% | 3.4 | 88.2 | 94.4 | 388 |
| Estonia | High | High | No | 44.6% | 2.6 (0.59) | 2.6 (0.72) | 28.4% | 3.4 | 82.9 | 89.1 | 103 |
| Finland | High | High | High | 43.2% | 2.8 (0.63) | 2.7 (0.62) | 2.0% | 3.6 | 87.8 | 93.4 | 119 |
| Greece | No | No | No | 60.0% | 2.2 (0.73) | 2.1 (0.68) | 15.7% | 3.7 | 82.2 | 88.0 | 110 |
| Guatemala | No | High | Some | 44.0% | 2.2 (0.76) | 1.9 (0.71) | 14.1% | 3.6 | 61.1 | 63.5 | 342 |
| Hong Kong | No | No | No | 58.7% | 2.5 (0.55) | 2.5 (0.61) | 73.7% | 2.8 | 67.7 | 94.9 | 92 |
| Indonesia | High | High | High | 43.3% | 2.0 (0.72) | 2.9 (0.74) | 0.1% | 3.8 | 63.5 | 71.0 | 570 |
| Italy | High | High | High | 51.6% | 2.6 (0.67) | 2.5 (0.73) | 4.8% | 3.2 | 83.1 | 89.3 | 247 |
| South Korea | High | High | High | 25.3% | 1.9 (0.62) | 2.7 (0.61) | 1.6% | 2.9 | 78.3 | 91.9 | 182 |
| Latvia | High | Some | Some | 43.3% | 2.4 (0.66) | 2.7 (0.79) | 24.6% | 3.2 | 76.8 | 86.3 | 134 |
| Lithuania | High | Some | Some | 52.4% | 2.2 (0.67) | 2.8 (0.56) | 8.0% | 3.1 | 81.5 | 88.0 | 183 |
| Mexico | High | High | High | 49.4% | 1.9 (0.78) | 2.3 (0.91) | 0.0% | 3.6 | 71.4 | 77.7 | 333 |
| Netherlands | High | High | Some | 45.5% | 2.9 (0.60) | 2.5 (0.71) | 19.3% | 3.1 | 90.7 | 93.9 | 433 |
| New Zealand | Some | Some | Some | 35.3% | 2.9 (0.48) | *2.7 (0.92) | 38.7% | 3.6 | 75.4 | 93.6 | 51 |
| Norway | High | Some | High | 82.4% | 2.9 (0.61) | 2.9 (0.58) | 19.3% | 3.6 | 85.2 | 96.2 | 148 |
| Poland | Some | Some | High | 65.5% | 2.5 (0.58) | 2.6 (0.72) | 4.3% | 3.6 | 80.8 | 87.5 | 171 |
| Russia | No | Some | High | 32.3% | 2.3 (0.80) | 2.2 (0.77) | 9.0% | 3.4 | 72.0 | 83.3 | 555 |
| Slovakia | High | High | Some | 68.1% | 2.4 (0.75) | 2.5 (0.76) | 4.1% | 3.2 | 83.3 | 85.3 | 261 |
| Slovenia | High | Some | High | 61.2% | 2.3 (0.70) | 2.4 (0.69) | 17.7% | 3.4 | 80.6 | 91.3 | 130 |
| Spain | High | High | High | 76.0% | 2.7 (0.68) | 2.5 (0.77) | 14.7% | 3.2 | 85.9 | 89.7 | 125 |
| Sweden | High | High | High | 47.5% | 3.2 (0.56) | 2.8 (0.67) | 25.5% | 3.5 | 89.5 | 94.1 | 120 |
| Switzerland | High | High | Some | 63.4% | 2.9 (0.60) | 2.3 (0.65) | 40.6% | 3.3 | 90.8 | 95.7 | 417 |
| Thailand | Some | High | High | 21.6% | 2.1 (0.78) | 2.7 (0.78) | 0.4% | 3.7 | 72.1 | 79.5 | 155 |
| Great Britain | High | High | High | 41.9% | 3.0 (0.61) | 2.6 (0.72) | 24.7% | 3.2 | 88.8 | 92.9 | 463 |

*Note*: New Zealand sample's political attitudes as global citizens were based solely on responses about confidence in the UN, as confidence in the regional organization was not surveyed.

The average value KOF GI, which measures the degree of economic, social, and political globalization in countries, among the participating countries is 79.8 as of 2020, a considerably higher number than the world-wide average of 61.06. A *t*-test revealed that this difference is statistically significant ($t_{(29)} = 12.2$, $p < 0.001$). The average HDI, which assesses a country's overall social and economic development based on factors like life expectancy, education, and per capita income, among the participating countries is 0.875 as of 2021, which is also significantly higher than the world-wide average of 0.732 ($t_{(29)} = 10.2$, $p < 0.001$). The average level of patriotism is 3.4, which is between "quite proud (point 3)" and "very proud (point 4)" on a four-point Likert scale.

Table 6-2 shows descriptive statistics by country. Greece and Hong Kong were the two countries that did not provide any of the three key topics of GCE. 25 out of 30 countries provided all three key topics, either with some or high emphasis. The following 10 countries provided all three key topics with a high emphasis: Bulgaria, Colombia, Finland, Indonesia, Italy, South Korea, Mexico, Spain, Sweden, and Great Britain.

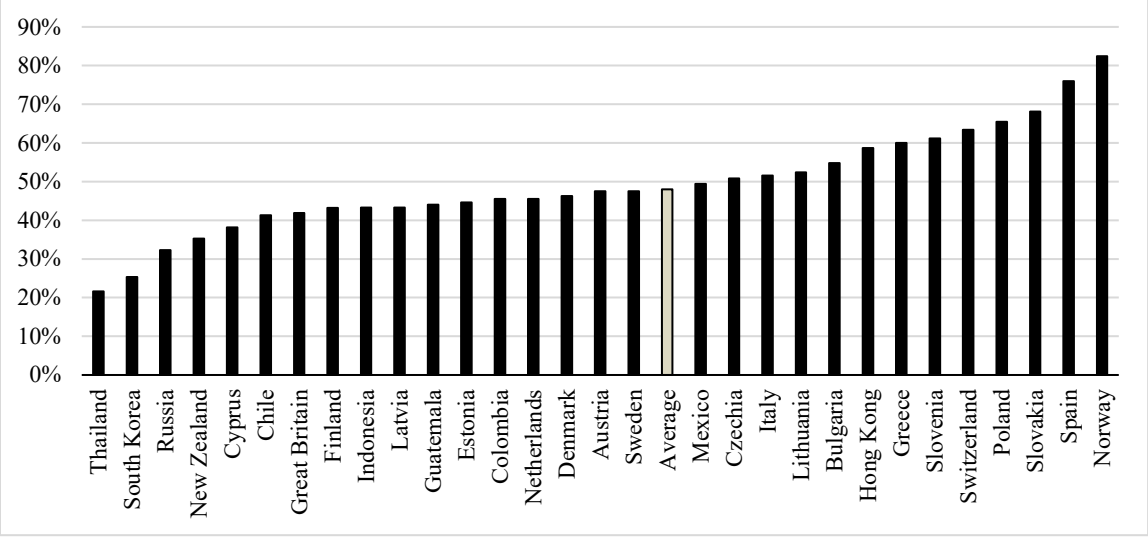


Figure **6-1**: Percentage of people with global citizenship identity across countries

Figure 6-1 shows each country's percentage of respondents who identified themselves as global citizens. The average percentage across countries is 48%. Norway has the highest percentage 82%, and Spain has the second highest percentage of 76%. Thailand has the lowest percentage 22%, and South Korea has the second lowest percentage of 25%.

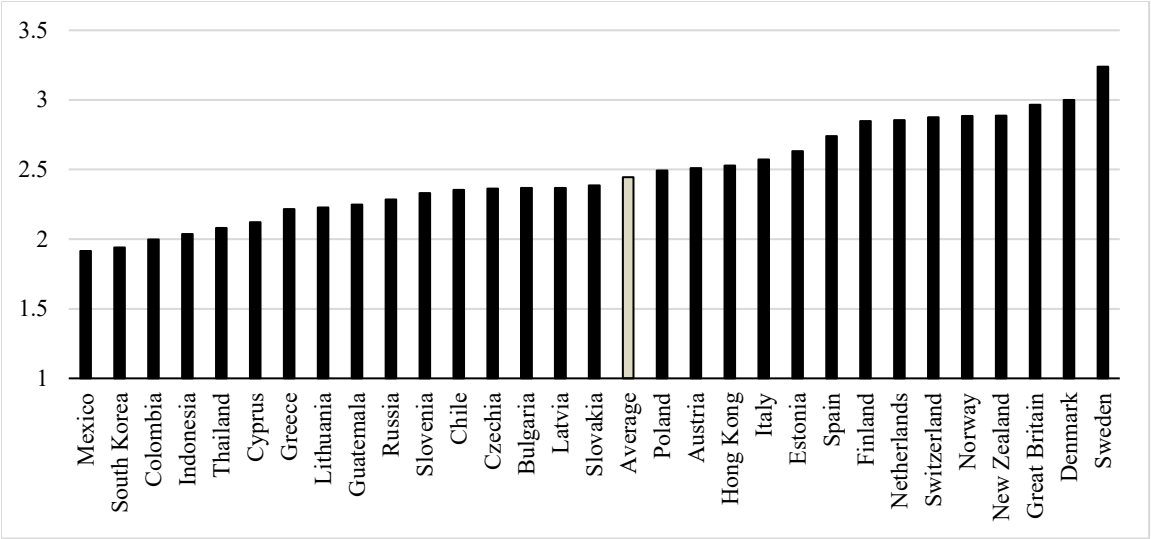


Figure **6-2**: Average level of moral global citizenship attitudes across countries

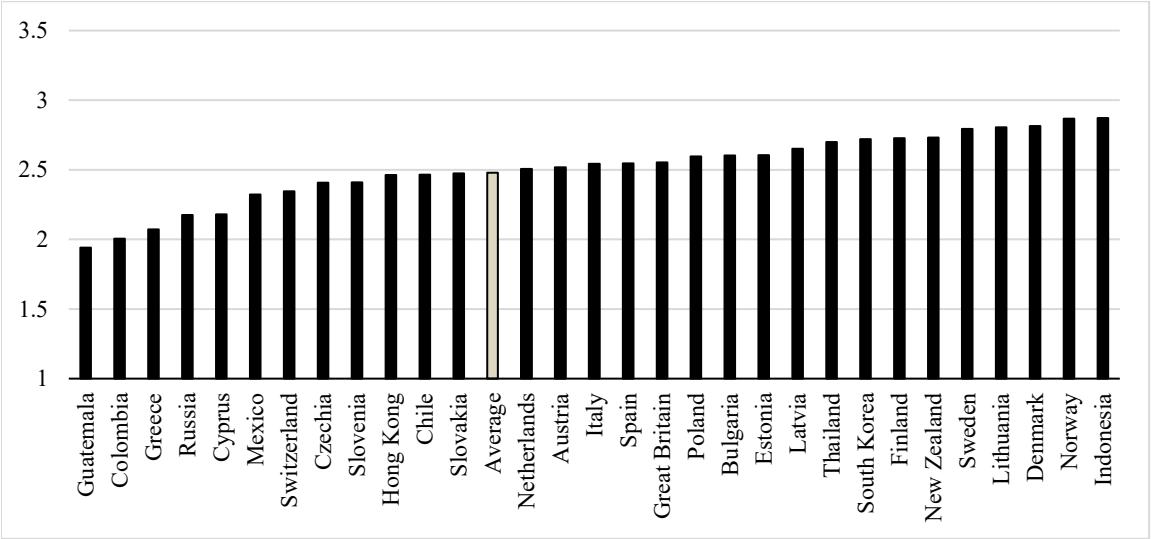


Figure **6-3**: Average level of political global citizenship attitudes across countries

Figure 6-2 shows each country's average level of moral global citizenship attitudes. The average across countries is 2.4. Sweden has the highest average of 3.2, followed by Denmark's average of 3.0. Point 3 on this scale means that people reported to have "somewhat" trust for people of another nationality and religion. Mexico and South Korea have the lowest averages, with average of 1.9 and 2.0, respectively. Point 2 on this scale means that people reported to have "not very much" trust for people of another nationality and religion.

Figure 6-3 shows each country's average level of political global citizenship attitudes. The average across countries is 2.5. Indonesia and Sweden have the highest average of 2.9. Point 3 on this scale means that people have "quite a lot of" confidence in the international polities. Guatemala and Columbia have the lowest averages, with average of 1.9 and 2.0, respectively. Point 2 on this scale means that people reported "not very much" confidence in the international polities.

The above cross-country comparison shows that there are variations in the average global citizenship identity, moral attitude, and political attitude of young adults between countries. Additionally, some countries (such as Norway, Spain and Italy) consistently report above average across all global citizenship domains, while others (such as Russia, Guatemala and Colombia) consistently report below average. However, some countries show a high average level of global citizenship in one area but a low level in another area. For example, young adult populations in Indonesia and South Korea reported low global citizenship in the areas of identity and moral attitude but measured high in political attitude. This apparent inconsistency supports the conclusion that global citizenship should be measured by classifying it into several domains, as opposed to measuring global citizenship with a single measure, which can oversimplify and the analysis. This also suggests the possibility that each area of global citizenship may develop differently depending on differing social conditions.

Table **6-3**: Pairwise correlation between country-level variables

| | Variable | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Human rights education | 1.00 | | | | | | |
| 2 | Multicultural education | 0.41 | 1.00 | | | | | |
| 3 | Environmental education | 0.26 | 0.34 | 1.00 | | | | |
| 4 | % immigrant | -0.12 | -0.28 | -0.40 | 1.00 | | | |
| 5 | Level of patriotism | -0.12 | 0.00 | 0.27 | -0.32 | 1.00 | | |
| 6 | KOF Globalization Index (KOF GI) | 0.21 | 0.18 | 0.00 | 0.09 | -0.24 | 1.00 | |
| 7 | Human Development Index (HDI) | 0.04 | -0.13 | -0.12 | 0.48 | -0.39 | 0.78 | 1.00 |

*Notes*: The correlation coefficients between continuous variables including (4) % immigrant, (5) level of patriotism, (6) KOF GI, and (7) HDI are the Pearson correlation coefficients; and all other correlation coefficients are Kendall's rank correlation coefficients tau-sub-b.

The unweighted pairwise correlations between country-level variables are presented in Table 6-3. Positive moderate correlations were found between the three key GCE topics. The correlation between multicultural education and other two topics are moderate (0.41 and 0.34 with respect to human rights education and environmental education, respectively), while the correlation between human rights education and environmental education is not strong (0.26). Percentage of immigrant population has a negative correlation with the average level of patriotism in a country (-0.32), while it is positively correlated with HDI (0.48). KOF GI and HDI have a strong positive correlation (0.78), giving strength to the argument that the higher a country's HDI, the greater the country's integration into the international community. This is because high HDI countries excel in various aspects such as economic prosperity, education levels, and life expectancy, which correlate with active participation in international trade, diplomatic cooperation, and global problem-solving initiatives.

## Analysis results

I estimated three models to predict global citizenship identity and attitudes. First, I estimated a null model that calculates only the intercept without adding any variables. Then, I estimated models 1 and 2, sequentially adding individual-level control variables in level 1 and country-level control in level 2. Finally, in model 3, I included my key explanatory variable, the level of GCE topic provision in the national education system, in addition to all control variables. This strategy enabled me to compare the explanatory power of each set of variables added to the models by reducing the variance of the outcome variables.

### Models to predict global citizenship identity

The analysis results on the relationship between the provision of GCE curriculum and global citizenship identity are detailed in Table 6-4. Surprisingly, a significant negative correlation was found between learning multiculturalism and people's global citizenship identity. People who were provided with multicultural education with high emphasis are less likely to identify as global citizens than those who were not provided with multicultural education, with a coefficient of -1.75 (odds ratio = 0.17). This suggests that the odds of identifying as a global citizen decrease by approximately 83% for those who received multicultural education compared to those who did not. This finding implies that the likelihood of developing global citizenship identity declines when multicultural education is emphasized strongly in schools. The possibility of identification as global citizens also tends to decline when multicultural education is provided with medium emphasis. People in this group are approximately 71% less likely to be associated with a global citizenship identity compared to those who were not provided with multicultural education, though the significance level is borderline ($b$ = -1.23, $p$ = 0.085). By contrast,

Table **6-4**: HGLM predicting young adults' global citizenship identity

| | Null model | | Model 1 | | Model 2 | | Model 3 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Coef. | (SE) | Coef. | (SE) | Coef. | (SE) | Coef. | (SE) |
| Intercept ($\gamma_{00}$) | -0.031 | (0.102) | -0.155 | (0.111) | -0.157 | (0.106) | 0.418 | (0.387) |
| *Provision of the key topics of GCE* | | | | | | | | |
| Human rights (ref.: no provision) | | | | | | | | |
| Provided with medium emphasis | | | | | | | 0.316 | (0.425) |
| Provided with high emphasis | | | | | | | 0.767$^{+}$ | (0.388) |
| Multiculturalism (ref.: no provision) | | | | | | | | |
| Provided with medium emphasis | | | | | | | -1.234$^{+}$ | (0.680) |
| Provided with high emphasis | | | | | | | -1.753$^{*}$ | (0.703) |
| Environmentalism (ref.: no provision) | | | | | | | | |
| Provided with medium emphasis | | | | | | | 0.290 | (0.484) |
| Provided with high emphasis | | | | | | | 0.423 | (0.485) |
| *Country-level predictors* | | | | | | | | |
| % immigrants | | | | | 0.004 | (0.008) | 0.008 | (0.009) |
| Level of patriotism | | | | | 0.332 | (0.420) | 0.289 | (0.404) |
| KOF Globalization Index (KOF GI) | | | | | 0.032 | (0.022) | 0.062$^{**}$ | (0.022) |
| Human Development Index (HDI) | | | | | -0.014 | (0.027) | -0.062$^{+}$ | (0.030) |
| *Individual-level predictors* | | | | | | | | |
| Female | | | 0.043 | (0.050) | 0.042 | (0.050) | 0.042 | (0.050) |
| Immigrant | | | 0.405$^{***}$ | (0.075) | 0.401$^{***}$ | (0.076) | 0.401$^{***}$ | (0.076) |
| Educational attainment (ref.: high school) | | | | | | | | |
| Primary education or no education | | | 0.478$^{***}$ | (0.122) | 0.483$^{***}$ | (0.123) | 0.483$^{***}$ | (0.123) |
| Middle school | | | -0.177$^{*}$ | (0.079) | -0.176$^{*}$ | (0.079) | -0.170$^{*}$ | (0.079) |
| Some post-secondary education | | | -0.036 | (0.083) | -0.031 | (0.083) | -0.029 | (0.083) |
| University or above | | | 0.160$^{*}$ | (0.066) | 0.164$^{*}$ | (0.066) | 0.163$^{*}$ | (0.066) |
| Social class (ref.: middle class) | | | | | | | | |
| Working class | | | -0.134$^{+}$ | (0.069) | -0.130$^{+}$ | (0.069) | -0.132$^{+}$ | (0.069) |
| Upper class | | | 0.225$^{**}$ | (0.071) | 0.221$^{**}$ | (0.071) | 0.223$^{**}$ | (0.071) |
| Political orientation (left to right) | | | 0.002 | (0.012) | 0.002 | (0.012) | 0.002 | (0.012) |
| *Random parts (only intercepts)* | | | | | | | | |
| Country level | 0.288$^{***}$ | (0.537) | 0.279$^{***}$ | (0.528) | 0.243$^{***}$ | (0.493) | 0.162$^{***}$ | (0.402) |
| Individual level | | | | | | | | |
| Number of observations | | | | | | | | |
| Country level | 30 | | 30 | | 30 | | 30 | |
| Individual level | 7,230 | | 7,230 | | 7,230 | | 7,230 | |

*Notes*: Global citizenship identity is a binary variable (yes = 1, no = 0).
Missing data have been addressed using multiple imputation (M = 20).
% immigrants, level of patriotism, KOF GI, HDI, and political orientation are centered around the grand mean.
*** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$; + $p < .10$

people who learned human rights with a high emphasis tend to have global citizenship identity 2.15 times higher than those who did not receive it, though the statistical significance is on the borderline ($b = 0.77$, $p = 0.063$). The model estimations do not show a significant relationship between the level of environmental education in the curriculum and adults' subsequent global citizenship identification. This means that there is no strong evidence to suggest that integrating environmental education into the school curriculum is associated with how likely people are to identify as global citizens in adulthood.

At the country level, we can see that KOF GI and HDI are related to global citizenship identity. When KOF GI is one point higher, the global citizenship identity of society members tends to be 1.06 times higher. HDI predicted global citizenship identity that is 0.94 times lower when it increased by 0.01 points with marginal significance ($p = 0.055$). At the individual level, immigrant status, education level, and social class were found to be significantly associated with the acquisition of global citizenship identity. The results show that immigrants tend to identify themselves as global citizens 1.5 times more than native-born citizens. Compared to high school graduates, people with no education or who graduated from elementary school tend to have global citizenship identity 1.62 times more, while middle school graduates tend to have global citizenship identity 0.84 times less. It was found that people with a college degree or higher tend to acquire identity as global citizens 1.18 times more than those with a high school diploma. Working-class people tend to have global citizenship identity 0.88 times less than those from middle class, while upper-class people tend to have global citizenship identity 1.25 times more. The estimation for these individual-level predictors was almost constant across all models, regardless of the inclusion of country-level predictors.

The intercept represents the level of global citizenship identity the reference group has on average. The reference group in each model has null values on all variables included in each model. Model 2 included all the individual and country level variables except the level of GCE

provision at the national level. In Model 2, the intercept of -0.157 suggests that the probability of an individual with null values on all variables included in the model to have global citizenship identity is 46% on average. While it is slightly lower, this statistic is similar to the average (48%) observed in the actual pooled sample. However, once the level of GCE provision at the country level is introduced in the final model, the intercept increased to 0.418, equaling 60%. This means that the likelihood of those who were not offered GCE to have global citizenship identity is 60% on average. Considering that the average observed in the actual pooled was 48%, this suggests that the global citizenship identity of those who were not provided with any GCE is likely to be higher on average than that of those who were provided with GCE.

**Models to predict moral global citizenship attitudes**

What explains young adults' moral global citizenship attitudes cross-nationally? Contrary to my hypothesis, the provision of GCE curriculum did not have a significant association with the three outcomes. Table 6-5 shows details of my analysis. Among other country-level predictors, the size of immigrant population, level of patriotism, and KOF GI were found to be significantly related to people's moral global citizenship attitudes. All relationships are positive. It was found that for every one percentage point increase in the proportion of immigrant population, people's moral global citizenship increases by 0.01 points. The level of patriotism was found to predict 0.34 points higher moral global citizenship attitudes for every one-point increase. In KOF GI, moral global citizenship attitudes increased by 0.02 points per one-point increase.

At the individual level, immigrant status, education level, social class, and political orientation were reported to have a significant relationship with the development of moral global citizenship attitudes. Immigrants tend to have global moral citizenship attitudes that are 0.1 points higher than native-born citizens. Compared to high school graduates, those with college or higher

Table **6-5**: HLM predicting young adults' moral global citizenship attitudes

| | Null model | | Model 1 | | Model 2 | | Model 3 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Coef. | (SE) | Coef. | (SE) | Coef. | (SE) | Coef. | (SE) |
| Intercept ($\gamma_{00}$) | 2.465*** | (0.061) | 2.442*** | (0.058) | 2.442*** | (0.039) | 2.127*** | (0.149) |
| *Provision of the key topics of GCE* | | | | | | | | |
| Human rights (ref.: no provision) | | | | | | | | |
| Provided with medium emphasis | | | | | | | -0.217 | (0.164) |
| Provided with high emphasis | | | | | | | -0.216 | (0.151) |
| Multiculturalism (ref.: no provision) | | | | | | | | |
| Provided with medium emphasis | | | | | | | 0.254 | (0.262) |
| Provided with high emphasis | | | | | | | 0.427 | (0.271) |
| Environmentalism (ref.: no provision) | | | | | | | | |
| Provided with medium emphasis | | | | | | | 0.189 | (0.187) |
| Provided with high emphasis | | | | | | | 0.159 | (0.186) |
| *Country-level predictors* | | | | | | | | |
| % immigrants | | | | | 0.009** | (0.003) | 0.010** | (0.003) |
| Level of patriotism | | | | | 0.263 | (0.155) | 0.342* | (0.155) |
| KOF Globalization Index (KOF GI) | | | | | 0.029*** | (0.008) | 0.020* | (0.008) |
| Human Development Index (HDI) | | | | | -0.006 | (0.010) | 0.010 | (0.012) |
| *Individual-level predictors* | | | | | | | | |
| Female | | | 0.014 | (0.017) | 0.014 | (0.017) | 0.013 | (0.017) |
| Immigrant | | | 0.102*** | (0.027) | 0.097*** | (0.027) | 0.096*** | (0.027) |
| Educational attainment (ref.: high school) | | | | | | | | |
| Primary education or no education | | | -0.075+ | (0.041) | -0.071+ | (0.041) | -0.071+ | (0.041) |
| Middle school | | | -0.090*** | (0.026) | -0.088*** | (0.026) | -0.088*** | (0.026) |
| Some post-secondary education | | | -0.041 | (0.028) | -0.039 | (0.028) | -0.041 | (0.028) |
| University or above | | | 0.071** | (0.023) | 0.072** | (0.023) | 0.071** | (0.023) |
| Social class (ref.: middle class) | | | | | | | | |
| Working class | | | -0.081*** | (0.023) | -0.079*** | (0.023) | -0.078*** | (0.023) |
| Upper class | | | 0.120*** | (0.025) | 0.119*** | (0.025) | 0.119*** | (0.025) |
| Political orientation (left to right) | | | -0.030*** | (0.005) | -0.030*** | (0.005) | -0.029*** | (0.005) |
| *Random parts (only intercepts)* | | | | | | | | |
| Country level | 0.107*** | (0.328) | 0.089*** | (0.299) | 0.034*** | (0.184) | 0.025*** | (0.158) |
| Individual level | 0.491 | (0.701) | 0.477 | (0.691) | 0.477 | (0.691) | 0.477 | (0.691) |
| Number of observations | | | | | | | | |
| Country level | 30 | | 30 | | 30 | | 30 | |
| Individual level | 7,230 | | 7,230 | | 7,230 | | 7,230 | |

*Notes*: Moral global citizenship attitudes are four-point Likert scale variables (min. = 1, max. = 4).
Missing data have been addressed using multiple imputation (M = 20).
% immigrants, level of patriotism, KOF GI, HDI, and political orientation are centered around the grand mean.
*** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$; + $p < .10$

degrees tend to have moral global citizenship attitudes 0.07 points higher, while middle school graduates tend to have 0.09 points lower. Under a borderline significance, people with no education or who graduated from elementary school are expected to achieve moral global citizenship attitudes that are 0.07 points lower than those who graduated from high school ($p$ = 0.083). Compared to people from the middle class, working-class respondents were 0.08 points less likely to answer questions indicating moral global citizenship attitudes. Respondents from the upper class tend to have moral attitudes 0.12 points higher. Lastly, as people's political orientation moves from left to right by one point on a ten-point scale, moral global citizenship attitudes were found to be lower by 0.03 points. Such patterns are consistent across models and are very similar to that from the previous models predicting people's global citizenship identity.

In Model 1, the inclusion of individual-level variables explained 3% of the variance at the individual level compared to the null model. This indicates that the individual-level variables account for 3% of the differences in the outcome among individuals. In Model 2, introducing country-level variables except the GCE variables reduced country-level variance by 62%. This suggests that these country-level variables account for 62% of the differences in the outcome that we observe between different countries. After adding the GCE variables in the final model, country-level variance was reduced by 26% compared to Model 2. This implies that the GCE variables explain an additional 26% of the differences in the outcome between countries on top of what was already explained by the other country-level variables.

**Models to predict political global citizenship attitudes**

Table 6-6 provides a detailed overview of the analysis examining relationships between GCE curriculum and political global citizenship attitudes. The results indicate that national provision of human rights education was positively related with political global citizenship

Table **6-6**: HLM predicting young adults' political global citizenship attitudes

| | Null model | | Model 1 | | Model 2 | | Model 3 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Coef. | (SE) | Coef. | (SE) | Coef. | (SE) | Coef. | (SE) |
| Intercept ($\gamma_{00}$) | 2.490*** | (0.043) | 2.475*** | (0.047) | 2.475*** | (0.043) | 2.205*** | (0.160) |
| *Provision of the key topics of GCE* | | | | | | | | |
| Human rights (ref.: no provision) | | | | | | | | |
| Provided with medium emphasis | | | | | | | 0.495* | (0.178) |
| Provided with high emphasis | | | | | | | 0.404* | (0.163) |
| Multiculturalism (ref.: no provision) | | | | | | | | |
| Provided with medium emphasis | | | | | | | -0.055 | (0.282) |
| Provided with high emphasis | | | | | | | -0.049 | (0.292) |
| Environmentalism (ref.: no provision) | | | | | | | | |
| Provided with medium emphasis | | | | | | | -0.133 | (0.201) |
| Provided with high emphasis | | | | | | | -0.005 | (0.201) |
| *Country-level predictors* | | | | | | | | |
| % immigrants | | | | | -0.006 | (0.003) | -0.001 | (0.004) |
| Level of patriotism | | | | | -0.012 | (0.174) | -0.168 | (0.168) |
| KOF Globalization Index (KOF GI) | | | | | -0.005 | (0.009) | -0.005 | (0.009) |
| Human Development Index (HDI) | | | | | 0.019 | (0.011) | 0.007 | (0.013) |
| *Individual-level predictors* | | | | | | | | |
| Female | | | 0.056** | (0.018) | 0.056** | (0.018) | 0.056** | (0.018) |
| Immigrant | | | 0.022 | (0.027) | 0.022 | (0.027) | 0.022 | (0.027) |
| Educational attainment (ref.: high school) | | | | | | | | |
| Primary education or no education | | | -0.047 | (0.045) | -0.043 | (0.045) | -0.044 | (0.045) |
| Middle school | | | -0.098*** | (0.029) | -0.097*** | (0.029) | -0.098*** | (0.029) |
| Some post-secondary education | | | -0.016 | (0.030) | -0.015 | (0.030) | -0.017 | (0.030) |
| University or above | | | 0.073** | (0.023) | 0.074** | (0.023) | 0.074** | (0.023) |
| Social class (ref.: middle class) | | | | | | | | |
| Working class | | | -0.105*** | (0.026) | -0.104*** | (0.026) | -0.104*** | (0.026) |
| Upper class | | | 0.059* | (0.027) | 0.059* | (0.027) | 0.060* | (0.027) |
| Political orientation (left to right) | | | -0.002 | (0.005) | -0.002 | (0.005) | -0.002 | (0.005) |
| *Random parts (only intercepts)* | | | | | | | | |
| Country level | 0.052*** | (0.228) | 0.052*** | (0.229) | 0.042*** | (0.206) | 0.029*** | (0.171) |
| Individual level | 0.537 | (0.733) | 0.528 | (0.727) | 0.528 | (0.727) | 0.528 | (0.727) |
| Number of observations | | | | | | | | |
| Country level | 30 | | 30 | | 30 | | 30 | |
| Individual level | 7,230 | | 7,230 | | 7,230 | | 7,230 | |

*Notes*: Political global citizenship attitudes are four-point Likert scale variables (min. = 1, max. = 4).
Missing data have been addressed using multiple imputation (M = 20).
% immigrants, level of patriotism, KOF GI, HDI, and political orientation are centered around the grand mean.
*** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$; + $p < .10$

attitudes of adults. When human rights education was provided in school curriculum with a medium emphasis, people's political global citizenship attitudes tended to be 0.5 points higher than when the human rights curriculum was not provided. When human rights education was provided with a high emphasis, people's political global citizenship attitudes tended to be 0.4 points higher than when it was not provided. Multicultural education and environmental education have no significant correlation with political global citizenship attitudes. Additionally, other country-level predictors show no significant correlation with political global citizenship attitudes.

At the individual level there are also notable correlates. Gender, education level, and social class all had significant relationships with the level of political global citizenship attitudes. Women tended to embrace political global citizenship attitudes that are 0.06 points higher than men. Compared to high school graduates, those with a college or higher degree have a 0.08 point higher political global citizenship attitudes, while middle school graduates have a 0.1-point lower score. Compared to the middle class, working-class individuals reported political global citizenship attitudes that are 0.1 points lower, whereas upper-class individuals reported attitudes that are 0.06 points higher.

In Model 1, inclusion of the individual-level variables explained 2% of the variance at the individual level, compared to the null model. In Model 2, introducing country-level variables except for the GCE variables reduced country-level variance by 19%. This represents less explanatory power than in previous models estimating moral global citizenship attitudes, where the same set of variables reduced country-level variance by 62%. In the final model, adding the GCE variables, reduces the country-level variance by 31% compared to Model 2. When compared to the previous model estimating moral global citizenship attitudes, explanatory power increased with the introduction of GCE variables.

Table **6-7**: HGLM and HLM predicting young adults' global citizenship outcomes

| | Global citizenship outcomes among young adults | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Identity | | | Moral attitudes | | Political attitudes | |
| | Coef. | (SE) | OR | Coef. | (SE) | Coef. | (SE) |
| Intercept ($\gamma_{00}$) | 0.418 | (0.387) | 1.52 | 2.127*** | (0.149) | 2.205*** | (0.160) |
| *Provision of the key topics of GCE* | | | | | | | |
| Human rights (ref.: no provision) | | | | | | | |
| Provided with medium emphasis | 0.316 | (0.425) | 1.37 | -0.217 | (0.164) | 0.495* | (0.178) |
| Provided with high emphasis | 0.767+ | (0.388) | 2.15 | -0.216 | (0.151) | 0.404* | (0.163) |
| Multiculturalism (ref.: no provision) | | | | | | | |
| Provided with medium emphasis | -1.234+ | (0.680) | 0.29 | 0.254 | (0.262) | -0.055 | (0.282) |
| Provided with high emphasis | -1.753* | (0.703) | 0.17 | 0.427 | (0.271) | -0.049 | (0.292) |
| Environmentalism (ref.: no provision) | | | | | | | |
| Provided with medium emphasis | 0.290 | (0.484) | 1.34 | 0.189 | (0.187) | -0.133 | (0.201) |
| Provided with high emphasis | 0.423 | (0.485) | 1.53 | 0.159 | (0.186) | -0.005 | (0.201) |
| *Country-level predictors* | | | | | | | |
| % immigrants | 0.008 | (0.009) | 1.01 | 0.010** | (0.003) | -0.001 | (0.004) |
| Level of patriotism | 0.289 | (0.404) | 1.33 | 0.342* | (0.155) | -0.168 | (0.168) |
| KOF Globalization Index (KOF GI) | 0.062** | (0.022) | 1.06 | 0.020* | (0.008) | -0.005 | (0.009) |
| Human Development Index (HDI) | -0.062+ | (0.030) | 0.94 | 0.010 | (0.012) | 0.007 | (0.013) |
| *Individual-level predictors* | | | | | | | |
| Female | 0.042 | (0.050) | 1.04 | 0.013 | (0.017) | 0.056** | (0.018) |
| Immigrant | 0.401*** | (0.076) | 1.49 | 0.096*** | (0.027) | 0.022 | (0.027) |
| Educational attainment (ref.: high school) | | | | | | | |
| Primary education or no education | 0.483*** | (0.123) | 1.62 | -0.071+ | (0.041) | -0.044 | (0.045) |
| Middle school | -0.170* | (0.079) | 0.84 | -0.088*** | (0.026) | -0.098*** | (0.029) |
| Some post-secondary education | -0.029 | (0.083) | 0.97 | -0.041 | (0.028) | -0.017 | (0.030) |
| University or above | 0.163* | (0.066) | 1.18 | 0.071** | (0.023) | 0.074** | (0.023) |
| Social class (ref.: middle class) | | | | | | | |
| Working class | -0.132+ | (0.069) | 0.88 | -0.078*** | (0.023) | -0.104*** | (0.026) |
| Upper class | 0.223** | (0.071) | 1.25 | 0.119*** | (0.025) | 0.060* | (0.027) |
| Political orientation (left to right) | 0.002 | (0.012) | 1.00 | -0.029*** | (0.005) | -0.002 | (0.005) |
| *Random parts (only intercepts)* | | | | | | | |
| Country level | 0.162*** | (0.402) | | 0.025*** | (0.158) | 0.029*** | (0.171) |
| Individual level | | | | 0.477 | (0.691) | 0.528 | (0.727) |
| Number of observations | | | | | | | |
| Country level | 30 | | | 30 | | 30 | |
| Individual level | 7,230 | | | 7,230 | | 7,230 | |

*Notes*: Global citizenship identity is a binary variable (yes = 1, no = 0), and moral and political global citizenship attitudes are four-point Likert scale variables (min. = 1, max. = 4).
Missing data have been addressed using multiple imputation (M = 20).
% immigrants, level of patriotism, KOF GI, HDI, and political orientation are centered around the grand mean.
*** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$; + $p < .10$

## Hypothesis testing results

To address the overarching research question, I tested the three hypotheses presented in Chapter 4, examining the relationships between students' global citizenship and provision of school curriculum on each GCE learning topic: human rights education, multicultural education, and environmental education. Table 6-7 consolidates the analysis results across the three global citizenship outcomes. Based on the relationship between GCE curriculum provision in schools and learners' global citizenship outcomes, the following conclusions can be drawn for each hypothesis (see Table 6-8 for a summary of the hypothesis test results):

### H1: Regarding the relationship of human rights education to students' global citizenship

The provision of human rights education is found to have solid positive association with political attitudes among global citizenship outcomes as well as another weaker but positive association with global citizenship identity. In specific, a strong positive correlation was observed between human rights education and political attitudes toward global citizenship. For both medium and high emphasis categories, support for global governance increased by approximately 17% compared to no provision. Also, while marginally significant, learning human rights is associated with increased global citizenship identity when provided with high emphasis (odds ratio = 2.15, $p = 0.063$).

Therefore, based on the analysis results, we could conclude that the provision of human rights education is associated with the development of students' long-term global citizenship. This conclusion provides empirical support for the theoretical claims of GCE advocates that school can contribute to promotion of people's global citizenship specifically by providing human rights education. However, despite the theoretical emphasis on the potential of human rights

education to enhance learners' cosmopolitan moral attitudes, no support for such a connection is found in the data analysis.

**H2: Regarding the relationship of multicultural education to students' global citizenship**

No positive relationship was found between multicultural education in school curriculum and students' global citizenship outcomes. Instead, the data analysis reveals a trend suggesting that provision of multicultural education in schools is likely to be negatively associated to people's global citizenship identity. The likelihood of developing global citizenship identity among young adults is lower in countries where multicultural education was highly emphasized in schools (odds ratio = 0.17). While marginally significant, the possibility of global citizenship identification also tends to decline when multicultural education was provided with medium emphasis (odds ratio = 0.29, $p = 0.085$)

These results do not support the hypothesis that multicultural education curricula in schools contribute to fostering students' global citizenship. Further, the findings suggest that the formation of global citizenship identity may be diminished when school curriculum incorporates multicultural education. Educators and scholars supporting GCE emphasize that multicultural

Table **6-8**: Hypotheses testing results

| *GCE topics* | *Relationship to individuals' global citizenship* | | | ***Testing result*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Social identity* | *Moral attitudes* | *Political attitudes* | |
| Human rights education | Weak positive only if highly emphasized | None | Positive | **Reject null hypothesis for H1** |
| Multicultural education | Negative | None | | **Fail to reject null hypothesis for H2** |
| Environmental education | None | | | **Fail to reject null hypothesis for H3** |

education can significantly contribute to promoting global citizenship, particularly in the domain of social identity. However, the analysis results contradict this claim, instead supporting the pessimistic view that when GCE is incorporated into national education, cosmopolitan goals may be limited or distorted by nationalist goals. This conclusion implies that the ideal relationship between multicultural education and global citizenship needs to be critically examined at least for the circumstances that multicultural education is provided in the school context.

**H3: Regarding the relationship of environmental education to students' global citizenship**

Provision of school curriculum on environmental issues does not show any solid association with students' global citizenship outcomes across all three domains including social identity, moral attitudes, and political attitudes. This analysis result refutes the hypothesis that mainstreaming environmental education in school education can contribute to enhancing global citizenship among students.

## Findings on other covariates

Other predictors included in the analyses present highly consistent results with the previous literature. Across all global citizenship outcomes, individuals' educational attainment and social class are very strong predictors of global citizenship. Across all domains of global citizenship, college graduates have higher levels of global citizenship, and middle school graduates have lower levels of global citizenship compared to high school graduates. Similarly, compared to the middle class, the upper class shows a higher level of global citizenship, and the working class shows a lower level of global citizenship. The concentration of immigrants were found to have a significantly higher level of global citizenship, in terms of identity and moral

attitudes compared to native born citizens. Women were found to have a significantly higher level of global citizenship than their male counterparts in terms of political attitudes. Political orientation is significantly related to moral attitudes. People who were politically more progressive tend to have a higher level of moral global citizenship attitudes than those with conservative stance.

At a country level, as we have seen, the KOF GI remains strongly associated with the formation of global citizenship identity. A pattern is observed where higher KOF GI values, which reflect greater economic, social, and normative integration into the international community, correspond with a greater number of individuals acquiring a global citizenship identity. For HDI, however, although there is a trend suggesting that higher national investment in human capital may be associated with a lower likelihood of members identifying as global citizens, this relationship is only marginally significant. The level of moral attitudes as global citizens was observed to be closely associated with the proportion of immigrant population in society, the level of patriotism, and the KOF GI. Societies with larger immigrant populations, higher levels of patriotism, and greater integration into the international community have higher levels of moral attitudes among their members.

# Chapter 7

# Discussion

## Theoretical implications

In summary, my findings from the data analysis show complexities in the larger research question of whether GCE in schools might contribute to global citizenship attitudes among adults. Curricula focusing on human rights were positively correlated with subsequent development of adults' global citizenship identity and political attitudes. Individuals who were educated about human rights tended to have a stronger sense of belonging to a global community and willingness to support globally organized political order. However, GCE taught in schools was not significantly associated with moral attitudes. This suggests that GCE taught in schools may not have a strong or significant impact on the development of willingness to morally engage and to dialogue with other cultures beyond national borders. These moral attitudes are considered fundamental to global citizenship, implying that GCE taught in schools might not be effectively enabling students to fully embrace the ideals of global citizenship. Most striking is that a curricular emphasis of multicultural education was negatively associated with global citizenship identity among adults. When educational curricula place a strong emphasis on multicultural education, it is surprisingly linked to lower levels of global citizenship identity among adults. Taken together, these findings demonstrate that, despite the growing efforts to incorporate GCE in curricula across many countries, the outcomes may not always align with expectations. The anticipated correlations between such country-level inputs and the development of global citizenship identity, moral attitudes, and political perspectives have proven to be inconsistent.

Among the three key topics of GCE, human rights education was the only topic found to be positively associated with political global citizenship attitudes. This finding confirms the strong linkage between human rights and political global citizenship. Current international political arrangements, comprised of the UN and regional organizations, are founded on the idea of realizing universal human rights as an operative principle of justice. Scholars who support the political cosmopolitan order in the Kantian tradition point out the risk of individual human rights being exposed to structural violence by the power of the state in modern society. They believe that this can be prevented through establishing legal norms through international organizations and monitoring based on the norms. Such role of international organizations is realized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and international law on human rights. However, according to the literature, political attitudes are an auxiliary goal to achieve global citizenship moral attitudes. In other words, moral responsibility beyond the boundaries of the country is the final goal of global citizenship, and political attitudes that support global governance are means to identify and realize moral responsibilities as global citizens. Therefore, the fact that GCE only contributes to the achievement of political attitudes without contributing to moral attitudes is disappointing.

The negative association found between global citizenship identity and multicultural education contradicts the theoretical expectation that multicultural education would lead to a greater global citizenship identity. Contrary to what many theorists might expect, the finding reveals that individuals with a stronger global citizenship identity have a weaker association with multicultural education. In other words, rather than multicultural education fostering a stronger sense of global citizenship, as theoretically hypothesized, the findings show an opposite or unexpected relationship. This could imply that multicultural education, as it is currently implemented, might not be as effective in promoting a global identity as previously thought, or it might even be counterproductive in some cases.

Multicultural education has been considered an entry point for GCE by scholars (e.g., Heater, Nussbaum, Waldron) and policymakers (e.g., UNESCO), since it is a curricular area that is readily accessible in many countries. In fact, in the sample of this study, most countries provided multicultural education. However, the relationship between multicultural education and global citizenship outcomes shown in the analysis results of this study shows a significant gap from theoretical expectations.

Theoretical critiques of multicultural education may provide insights necessary to understand this unexpected finding. Considering the historical analysis that the development of multicultural education was in response to domestic politics (e.g., Green, 1997), the findings support the criticism that, if learning goals and topics taught in multicultural education do not go beyond national boundaries, it will hardly contribute to development of global citizenship (e.g., Waldron, 2003). For Jeremy Waldron, multicultural education is one of the most important educational topics in GCE, but he warned that if the scope of multicultural education is limited to national boundaries, it may simply end up being teaching tolerance for ethnic minorities within a country. While multiculturalism may break away from the ideology of "one nation, one culture," it also affirms multiculturalism within national boundaries. An example of this is seen in Singapore's approach to multicultural citizenship education, where the social studies curriculum aims to foster both a sense of national identity and an understanding of global issues. As Li-Ching Ho (2009) explains, although Singapore's curriculum exposes students to global perspectives, its primary focus firmly remains on reinforcing national unity and social cohesion. This illustrates how multicultural education that promotes awareness of global issues can still prioritize national concerns.

Furthermore, this finding supports the criticism that the frequent omission of a critical perspective in multicultural education and the prevalence of an ethno-centric perspective can hinder the learning of diversity and inclusion. William Cook (2023) pointed out that although

multicultural education in the United States aims to adhere to the principles of diversity and inclusion, it fails to achieve these goals because educators focus on introducing minority cultures as "not inferior to white culture" without encouraging critical thinking about mainstream white culture. Similarly, Lily Arasaratnam (2013) notes that while the goals and pedagogy of multicultural education have shifted over the past 30 years toward enabling students to engage with diverse cultures in a participatory manner, there is still criticism that this education contributes to reinforcing the majority groups' goals of assimilating minorities.

No correlation was found between GCE and moral attitudes across all three key topics. According to the literature, achieving moral attitudes is the utmost goal of global citizenship. However, the results provide evidence that the GCE curriculum provided in schools is not contributing to achieving this goal. Claire Maxwell and her colleagues (2020) pointed out that the nation-state can use GCE to build "cosmopolitan nationalism," a new nationalism that responds to globalization, rather than cosmopolitanism. They argued that the true motivation for countries to provide GCE is to improve competitiveness of national education by introducing the global dimension and to reinstate nationalism in response to social and cultural changes spurred by globalization. Thus, it is argued that achieving global citizenship, especially moral attitudes, is not the actual goal of GCE.

Overall, the findings suggest that GCE provided in schools promotes what I and others have termed "cosmopolitan nationalism," rather than cosmopolitanism. Several scholars who studied schools, classrooms, and teachers implementing GCE in countries around the world have criticized that there is a gap between the ideal GCE and the GCE provided in schools, and that the nation-state is stingy in providing the necessary support. However, these observations remained as criticism of the bureaucratic system and the deviation of some schools and countries from the ideal GCE and have not yet led to discussions on structural problems. In this study, a pattern was found across 30 countries in which GCE provided by the nation-state shows no correlation with

cosmopolitanism. Insignificant or negative relationships were found between GCE learning topics and global citizenship outcomes except the relationship between human rights education and political attitudes toward global citizenship. Especially, moral global citizenship attitudes, which is regarded as the central goal of global citizenship in cosmopolitan theories, are not found to be associated with provision of GCE in schools.

The analysis results suggest that there may be a structural gap between theoretical expectations and empirical evidence on the contribution of school education in promoting global citizenship among the members of society. This tendency appears to be more of a structural limitation inherent in the way GCE is implemented across different countries, rather than a failure specific to any one nation's educational system. The critical perspective on GCE has argued that GCE provided by the nation-state may be rooted in cosmopolitan nationalism rather than cosmopolitanism. The results of this study suggest that the argument needs to be expanded to structural limitations of nation states. Nation states have gained legitimacy as a primary provider of GCE. Neo-institutional researchers reported a pattern in which national education systems were more actively integrating GCE topics in the curriculum in the wake of SDG 4.7, providing evidence that GCE is led by the national education system. However, by analyzing the correlation between GCE provided by national education systems and individual outcomes, this study found that the nationalistic goals, which the national education system has long dedicated itself, may conflict with the cosmopolitan goals pursued by GCE. While there is clearly an increase in the educational inputs aimed at fostering global citizenship around the world, my findings highlight the challenge of balancing national interests with global ideals in education, where the goal of nurturing global citizens is often intertwined with the need to maintain a sense of national identity. The results show that this conflict is shared by countries, providing empirical evidence that this conflict may be a structural limitation. As a result, GCE may fall short of its potential to fully cultivate identity and attitudes as global citizens.

## Policy implications

### Improving methods for evaluating and monitoring GCE implementation

The fact that no closer relationships were found between the provision of GCE by national education systems and increased global citizenship among individuals could, in part, be due to the collection of information from countries. Such a structural misalignment between the inputs and outcomes of GCE suggests the need for a critical reassessment of the methods used to evaluate and monitor the implementation of GCE in line with SDG 4.7. The current monitoring framework relies predominantly on indicator 4.7.1, which primarily measures the inputs of GCE within national education systems. These inputs include the extent to which global citizenship education is integrated into national education policies, curricula, teacher education, and student assessment. This input-focused monitoring is conducted through self-reports submitted voluntarily by countries, forming the basis for evaluating progress toward SDG 4.7. As previously reviewed, the most recent assessment of SDG 4.7 progress, featured in the Global Monitoring Report in 2020, concluded that GCE is being mainstreamed to a considerable degree in most countries based on self-reported surveys (UNESCO, 2023). However, my findings suggest that such evaluations have significant limitations, and they offer minimal guidance for national and school-level policymaking.

Therefore, GCE indicators should be revised to measure outputs and outcomes, not merely inputs. Additionally, assessments should encompass both the quality of GCE and the financial investment in its provision, rather than only measuring its presence or absence. It would be beneficial to collect data at the school and teacher levels, rather than solely relying on government-reported curricular information. Finally, to enhance the reliability of responses, the

monitoring process should incorporate performance assessments conducted by external organizations in addition to self-reports.

Another implication this study found regarding indicators is that pursuing traditional development indicators, such as HDI, may run counter to the achievement of global citizenship. Since the goal of global citizenship may not be captured through the existing development indicators, the development of an indicator that can capture the implementation and achievement level of GCE is essential. The HDI, which reflects an ideal level of development for societies, was the primary indicator used under the MDGs, preceding the SDGs. It continues to be actively employed by policymakers and scholars. However, the HDI lacks consideration of factors that global citizenship aims to address, such as social equality, human rights, cultural diversity, and environmental sustainability, while emphasizing economic growth as a central objective. Thus, pursuing development as defined by the HDI may counteract the achievement of global citizenship. Given that existing development indicators may not adequately capture the objectives of global citizenship, there is a pressing need to develop new indicators that better reflect the levels of implementation and achievement of GCE.

**Reviewing multicultural education and environmental education curriculum**

The findings reveal a surprising negative association between global citizenship identity and multicultural education, challenging the theoretical expectation that multicultural education fosters a stronger global citizenship identity. Scholars and policymakers have traditionally viewed multicultural education as a key entry point GCE, but the study's results show a significant gap between theoretical expectations and actual outcomes. Instead, the findings suggest that individuals with a stronger global citizenship identity have a weaker connection to multicultural education, indicating a possibility that current teaching and learning taking place under the title of

multicultural education may not effectively promote, and could even hinder, the development of a global identity. For example, Anatoli Rapoport (2010) pointed out the limitations of providing multicultural education by passively introducing diverse cultures in the country because teachers do not fully understand the goals of GCE. Theoretical critiques, such as those by Waldron and others, highlight that if multicultural education remains confined to national boundaries and lacks a critical perspective, it may merely reinforce domestic cultural tolerance without fostering true global citizenship. This critique is further supported by observations that multicultural education often fails to challenge dominant cultural narratives, thereby limiting its effectiveness in promoting diversity, inclusion, and a global perspective.

To address these concerns, it is crucial to re-evaluate the current approaches to multicultural education to ensure they genuinely foster a global perspective that transcends national boundaries. Educational policies should be revised to ensure that multicultural education includes a global perspective, rather than focusing solely on national contexts. This expansion would help students understand the interconnectedness of cultures across the world, fostering a genuine sense of global citizenship. Curriculum developers should incorporate global issues and perspectives, encouraging students to think critically about the impact of their own culture in relation to others on a global scale. By integrating a more critical and inclusive framework, multicultural education could potentially fulfill its original promise of cultivating global citizenship. This would involve not only teaching about diverse cultures but also challenging the dominant narratives and promoting a deeper understanding of global interconnectedness. Ultimately, the goal should be to create an educational environment that not only respects diversity but also actively encourages students to engage with and understand the complexities of global citizenship.

In addition, the findings from this study indicate that further examination is necessary for curriculum areas related to environmental education within the context of GCE. Environmental

education has followed a distinct historical trajectory separate from GCE. However, it has recently started to be recognized as a crucial learning subject, with global citizenship highlighted as an overarching concept. While GCE focuses on civic attitudes, environmental education focuses on the relationship between the Earth and humans. Additionally, many stakeholders still perceive environmental education as a separate educational program from GCE. UNESCO also loosely interprets the relationship between GCE and environmental education as having different emphases but common goals. If the protection of biodiversity and sustainable development are important goals of global citizenship, a discussion on how environmental education can be integrated into GCE appears to be necessary.

**The role of international organizations**

My findings call for international organizations to play an active role in providing leadership to advance GCE by offering a long-term vision, particularly for the post-SDG era. The key critique from my research is that the global goal of SDG 4.7 for promoting GCE is far from being achieved and remains an ongoing aim. Since the introduction of SDG 4.7, international organizations, including the UN and UNESCO, have made significant contributions in raising countries' awareness of GCE, particularly regarding its incorporation into school education. They have developed the agenda and action framework, mobilized champion countries through advocacy, and established GCE as a legitimate educational objective. Although the SDG timeline concludes in 2030, the need for GCE remains urgent as global challenges such as climate change and armed conflicts intensify. Additionally, the nationalist constraints on GCE implementation, as identified in critical studies and my research, necessitate further action to advance its promotion.

Therefore, to maintain focus on GCE as the SDG period concludes, international organizations will need to continue their advocacy and provide necessary support. They should

also propose updated objectives and frameworks to reaffirm GCE beyond the SDG regime. The updated GCE framework should guide national education systems toward achieving GCE outcomes, moving beyond the mainstreaming of GCE. This will require clarifying the expected outcomes and developing new indicators to measure progress. While many other international organizations contribute to the promotion of GCE, UNESCO must fulfill its distinctive role in sustaining countries' commitment. As a specialized agency within the UN system, UNESCO has long played a standard-setting role in shaping global educational policies. For decades, it has championed transformative education, promoting principles of peace, human rights, cultural diversity, and sustainable development. Given its extensive experience and unique position, UNESCO holds the responsibility to ensure that the implementation of GCE aligns with a cosmopolitan vision.

## Study limitations and directions for future research

First, while my findings suggest that state-led GCE initiatives may be constrained by nationalist perspectives, my research does not explore the specific ways in which nationalist ideologies impact the GCE curriculum. Therefore, I propose future research focused on case studies that examine specific instances where nationalist ideologies have shaped or restricted decision-making processes in the development and implementation of GCE curricula. These studies should investigate how nationalist agendas influence the selection of topics, teaching materials, and pedagogical approaches, such as instances where authorities or interest groups resist or modify GCE content to prioritize themes like patriotism, national history, or cultural superiority, while minimizing or compromising aspects such as human rights, multiculturalism, or environmental sustainability. Furthermore, this research should explore the dynamics of political and social pressures on educators, the role of nationalist narratives in public debates about

education, and the resulting compromises or adjustments made to the GCE framework. The goal is to identify the specific ways in which nationalist ideas affect GCE's scope and content, thereby limiting its potential to cultivate global citizenship values among students.

To further understand the impact of nationalist influences on GCE, future research should involve a detailed examination of specific educational policy changes driven by nationalist objectives. This includes assessing how these changes align with or contradict GCE principles and identifying the motivations behind such reforms, whether to reinforce national identity or undermine global citizenship ideals. Additionally, this research should evaluate how these nationalist influences affect the actual implementation of GCE by exploring cases where nationalist agendas have modified or obstructed GCE content, understanding the consequences for students and educators, and identifying successful strategies to promote GCE in these contexts. This approach would offer valuable insights into the complexities of integrating global citizenship education in a world where nationalist sentiments are increasingly prevalent.

Beyond this conceptual limitation, another concern relates to the possibility of measurement errors. The survey items used to construct the variable on moral global citizenship attitudes were items measuring trust toward people from different backgrounds. The underlying concept that these items measure can be best described as "cultural openness." Cultural openness is an important aspect of global citizenship, and more specifically, the baseline of moral global citizenship. Therefore, researchers often use such items as measures of (moral) global citizenship. However, according to cosmopolitan theories, moral global citizenship can be achieved by learning moral responsibility toward others in need regardless of their nationalities and cultural backgrounds. From this perspective, the current items have limitations in measuring the complete form of moral global citizenship attitudes.

Another potential measurement error is provision of GCE in schools. The current research relied on data from the ICCS 2009, which surveyed students in eighth or ninth grade.

This research used those items as the proxy measure of secondary education system. It should also be noted that this data has been collected based on self-reported responses. The national questionnaire was completed by partner organizations in each country, without detailed guidance on differentiating between "high emphasis," "medium emphasis," and "no emphasis." Consequently, there is a risk that a country reporting a high emphasis on a GCE learning topic may, in practice, place less emphasis on it compared to another country reporting a medium emphasis. Also, this research only used information about formal curriculum for measuring provision of GCE in schools. However, GCE implementation requires more than just formal curriculum; it involves multiple inputs, including teachers, pedagogies, textbooks, school environment, and extra-curricular activities. Some scholars argue that overemphasizing the role of the formal curriculum in learning global citizenship may underestimate the impact of other resources.

Given these limitations, future research should develop more comprehensive measures of moral global citizenship that extend beyond the current focus on trust toward people from different backgrounds. It should incorporate a wider range of attitudes, such as empathy, solidarity, and moral responsibility toward others, regardless of nationality or cultural background. This could involve creating and validating new scales that align more closely with cosmopolitan theories, which emphasize moral duties to all individuals, irrespective of their cultural contexts. To address possible inconsistencies in GCE measures resulting from self-reports, future research should incorporate more standardized and objective measures to assess the emphasis placed on GCE topics. Furthermore, expanding the scope of GCE indicators to include not just the formal curriculum but also other critical elements, like teachers, pedagogical methods, extracurricular activities, and the school environment, would provide a more holistic understanding of how GCE is implemented and its impact on students' attitudes.

Secondly, the use of cross-sectional data in this study may restrict the ability to fully understand the relationship between global citizenship education inputs and people's global citizenship identity and attitudes. While my findings revealed an association between these factors, it does not necessarily mean that these factors have a causal relationship. For example, the observed negative association between the provision of multicultural education and learners' global citizenship might be due to a hidden third factor, such as a rapid increase in immigration. In this scenario, a rapid increase in immigration may prompt some countries to implement more multicultural education policies, while public opinion toward immigrants could have become more negative, leading to a significant decline in global citizenship identity. In this case, the negative relationship between multicultural education and global citizenship identity would not indicate causation. Even though multicultural education may have had a positive effect on promoting global citizenship, this effect could have been overshadowed by the stronger negative impact of increased immigration, resulting in the observed negative relationship between multicultural education and global citizenship identity.

To overcome the limitations associated with cross-sectional data, an alternative would be to use time-series data that includes follow-up responses collected from the same respondents at multiple points in time. Although this study combined datasets collected at two different points to gather necessary information on the key variables, the limitations of cross-sectional data cannot be fully addressed without repeated measures from the same respondents. To my knowledge, time-series data containing the necessary information to study the relationship between GCE and people's global citizenship has not yet been published. However, if such data becomes available in the future, it could advance research on causality to complement the findings of this study.

Finally, several limitations regarding the sample composition should be noted, which urge caution when interpreting the analysis results. The sample is not representative of the target age group within the country. As such, when interpreting the statistical estimates in this study, it

is important to recognize that these estimates cannot be directly generalized to the larger population. The Joint EVS/WVS 2017 dataset is nationally representative of the adult population aged 18 and older. However, I restricted the sample to young adults aged between 18 and 32, who would have been in secondary education during the ICCS 2009 survey and reached adulthood at the time of the Joint EVS/WVS 2017 survey. Consequently, due to this restriction, the sample used in this study no longer represents the target age group in each country. Moreover, the Joint EVS/WVS 2017 does not provide detailed information about the sampling structure, aside from post-stratification weights, limiting the ability to adjust the sample composition to accurately reflect the target population. While the analysis offers valid estimates for the sample, it is crucial to understand the limitation in generalizing these results to the broader population.

Additionally, the sample is heavily weighted toward European countries, and the average development level of the countries in the sample is significantly higher than the global average. The sample consists of 30 countries that participated in both the Joint EVS/WVS 2017 and ICCS 2009 (see Table 5-1 for details). Of these, 21 are from Europe, while Asia and Latin America are each represented by only four countries, and Oceania by just one. There are no countries from North America or Africa included in the sample. Along with the regional imbalance, most countries in the sample exhibit higher-than-average levels of development and globalization. All 30 report scores above the global average on the KOF GI, and 28, excluding Guatemala and Indonesia, have HDI scores above the global average. The KOF GI measures each country's economic, social, and political globalization, while the HDI assesses overall social and economic development. Therefore, when generalizing the results, it is important to account for this regional and developmental imbalance.

# Chapter 8

# Conclusion

## Revisiting the research question and theoretical foundations

In this dissertation, I set out to explore the question: *Can GCE as implemented within national education systems effectively cultivate global citizenship identity and attitudes among young adults?* The world faces increasingly complex and interconnected challenges, such as climate change, global pandemics, and geopolitical conflicts. These challenges demand a form of citizenship that transcends national borders, embodying cosmopolitan ideals like universal human rights, global justice, and shared responsibility for humanity's well-being.

I grounded my research in cosmopolitanism, a philosophical tradition that advocates extending moral and political obligations beyond the nation-state. Cosmopolitanism emphasizes the moral duty to assist others regardless of national identity and supports global governance structures to uphold this duty. The cosmopolitan ideal, thus, encourages people to nurture belongness to universal humanity, overcoming national parochialism. In the context of GCE, cosmopolitanism offers a theoretical framework for reimagining education to include not only national loyalty and civic responsibility within the confines of the state but also a broader allegiance to humanity. However, I also engaged with critiques of cosmopolitanism, particularly those questioning its feasibility in a world still deeply divided by nationalism. These critiques highlight the challenges of implementing GCE within national education systems designed to foster national identity and loyalty.

## Data and methodological approach

To empirically investigate the research question, I used data from the Joint EVS/WVS 2017. This international dataset includes information on the global citizenship identity and attitudes derived from nationally representative samples of adult populations across countries. I also incorporated data on the provision of GCE curriculum at the national level were obtained from the ICCS 2009. By combining these datasets, the ICCS 2009 provides information on the provision of GCE curriculum in schools as of 2009, while the Joint EVS/WVS 2017 offers information on the global citizenship identity and attitudes of individuals who were students at the time of the ICCS 2009 and became adults by 2017-2022. By combining these datasets, I analyzed a sample of 7,230 young adults from 30 countries to examine the long-term impact of GCE curriculum provision on global citizenship.

I employed hierarchical linear modeling to analyze the data, which allowed me to examine individual-level outcomes while accounting for the broader socio-political contexts in which these individuals are situated. This approach was crucial given the significant variation in how GCE is implemented across different countries and the diverse socio-demographic factors influencing educational outcomes. I also used multiple imputation techniques to address missing data, ensuring the robustness and reliability of my findings. My analysis focused on three key dimensions of global citizenship: social identity, moral attitudes, and political attitudes, operationalized through survey items measuring respondents' sense of global community belonging, trust in diverse groups, and confidence in global governance institutions.

I ensured methodological rigor in this study by carefully selecting variables to measure global citizenship. I identified three key dimensions of global citizenship: social identity, moral attitudes, and political attitudes. These dimensions were operationalized using survey items from the Joint EVS/WVS 2017 that measured respondents' sense of belonging to the global

community, their trust in people from different national and religious backgrounds, and their confidence in global governance institutions like the UN.

## Key findings from the data analysis

My findings provide critical insights into the effectiveness of GCE as currently implemented within national education systems. While I found some evidence that GCE, particularly when focused on human rights, is associated with greater global citizenship identity and political attitudes, the overall impact of GCE on global citizenship attitudes remains limited.

*The role of human rights education*: My analysis reveals a strong positive association between the provision of human rights education and political attitudes related to global citizenship, with support for global governance increasing by about 25% in countries with medium to high emphasis on human rights education. There is also a weaker but positive correlation between human rights education and global citizenship identity, particularly when human rights education is emphasized. However, the data did not support the theoretical expectation that human rights education would enhance cosmopolitan moral attitudes. Overall, my findings support the idea that human rights education in schools contributes to the development of students' long-term global citizenship.

*The role of multicultural education*: The data analysis indicates no positive relationship between multicultural education in school curricula and global citizenship outcomes. Instead, it suggests that multicultural education may negatively impact the development of global citizenship identity, with a lower likelihood of adults identifying as global citizens in countries where multicultural education was emphasized. These findings challenge the hypothesis that multicultural education fosters global citizenship and suggest that when multicultural education is

integrated into national curricula, it may be influenced by nationalist goals, potentially undermining cosmopolitan objectives.

*The role of environmental education*: The provision of environmental education in school curricula does not show any significant association with global citizenship outcomes, including social identity, moral attitudes, and political attitudes. This result does not support the hypothesis that environmental education contributes to enhancing global citizenship among students.

Overall, my findings suggest that, while GCE school curriculum has the potential to influence certain aspects of global citizenship, its impact is constrained by the broader nationalistic objectives that continue to dominate education systems worldwide. This limitation is particularly evident in the absence of association between GCE curriculum and global citizenship moral attitudes, which raises questions about the ability of schools to cultivate learners as global citizens.

## Theoretical contributions

My findings contribute to several key theoretical debates within cosmopolitanism, education, and global citizenship. They challenge the optimistic view that GCE can effectively promote global citizenship within national systems, highlighting the structural constraints of nationalism. The results suggest that cosmopolitan ideals may be difficult to realize within the existing framework of national education, underscoring the need for a more critical examination of how global citizenship can be fostered in practice.

I advance the theoretical debate on cosmopolitanism by highlighting the tensions between the ideals of global citizenship and the realities of national education systems. While cosmopolitanism advocates for a form of citizenship that transcends national borders, my research suggests that realizing this vision within the current framework of national education is

difficult. The persistence of nationalistic objectives within education systems, as evidenced by the limited impact of GCE, underscores the need for a more critical examination of how global citizenship can be fostered in practice.

Moreover, I found a surprising negative association between global citizenship identity and multicultural education, contradicting the expectation that multicultural education fosters a stronger global citizenship identity. This suggests that, as currently implemented, multicultural education may be less effective or even counterproductive in promoting global citizenship. Scholars have traditionally viewed multicultural education as an entry point for GCE, but my findings reveal a significant gap between theoretical expectations and actual outcomes. This supports critiques that multicultural education, if limited to national boundaries and lacking a critical perspective, may reinforce domestic cultural tolerance rather than fostering true global citizenship. This outcome aligns with concerns that multicultural education often fails to challenge dominant cultural narratives and may perpetuate ethnocentric perspectives rather than promoting diversity and inclusion.

## Policy Implications

My findings have significant implications for policymakers, educators, and international organizations involved in advancing GCE. First, I suggest that the current GCE monitoring system, which relies on self-reported data from countries, is limited. It measures inputs rather than outcomes, limiting its effectiveness in providing insights for national and school-level policymaking. This system fails to capture what is being taught in schools and does not adequately reflect the achievement of global citizenship goals. To address these shortcomings, I recommend revising GCE indicators to focus on both outputs and outcomes and incorporating

evaluations at the school and teacher levels, as well as performance measurements by external organizations.

Second, the negative association between multicultural education and global citizenship identity calls for a reassessment of existing curricula. Policies should focus on expanding the scope of multicultural education beyond national borders, integrating a global perspective that encourages critical thinking about cultural interconnectedness and challenges dominant cultural narratives. Additionally, greater efforts should be made to integrate environmental education into GCE frameworks, highlighting the connections between environmental sustainability and global citizenship to help learners understand their responsibilities in a global context.

Finally, my findings highlight the role of international organizations in advancing GCE through sustained leadership and vision, especially post-SDG. While entities like the UN and UNESCO have established GCE as a key educational goal, the SDG 4.7 target remains unmet. With rising global challenges, continued advocacy and updated frameworks from these organizations, especially UNESCO, are essential to guide countries in achieving GCE outcomes that align with a cosmopolitan vision.

## Future research directions

To further advance GCE, future research should explore the specific ways in which nationalist ideologies influence the development and implementation of GCE curricula. Case studies examining how nationalist agendas shape topics, teaching materials, and pedagogical methods could provide valuable insights into the structural challenges facing GCE. This research could also investigate instances where GCE content is modified to prioritize national concerns, such as patriotism or cultural superiority, at the expense of global citizenship ideals. Understanding these dynamics would help identify strategies to promote GCE in ways that better

align with its cosmopolitan objectives, even in contexts where nationalist sentiments are strong. Furthermore, studies could examine the political and social pressures on educators and how they navigate these challenges to foster global citizenship among students.

Future research should also develop more comprehensive measures of moral global citizenship that move beyond existing proxies, such as trust toward people from different backgrounds. Current measures may not fully capture the moral responsibilities emphasized in cosmopolitan theories, such as empathy, solidarity, and ethical obligations to all individuals, regardless of nationality or cultural background. By creating new scales that better align with these theoretical concepts, researchers can more accurately assess the extent to which GCE fosters the moral dimensions of global citizenship. These improved measures would provide deeper insights into the effectiveness of GCE in cultivating a global mindset that transcends national boundaries.

Additionally, there is a need for longitudinal studies using time-series data to better understand the causal relationships between GCE inputs and global citizenship outcomes. The cross-sectional data used in this study, while valuable, cannot establish causality and is limited by its reliance on single-time-point measurements. Future research should include follow-up data from the same participants over time to examine how exposure to GCE influences global citizenship identity and attitudes as they develop. Such an approach could uncover the long-term effects of different types of GCE and provide a more robust basis for determining which educational practices are most effective in promoting global citizenship.

In conclusion, while my dissertation has provided valuable insights into the relationship between GCE and global citizenship, it also highlights the need for continued research and innovation in this field. The challenges of fostering global citizenship within the constraints of national education systems are significant, but they are not insurmountable. By rethinking the

goals, methods, and evaluation of GCE, and by exploring new and alternative approaches to education, we can move closer to realizing the vision of global citizenship that is both inclusive and transformative.

# Appendix

## Ordinal logistic regression predicting global citizenship identity

Using the survey's original four-level ordinal measure for global citizenship identity, I conducted a supplementary ordinal logistic regression analysis. The results are consistent with the findings based on the binary-coded measure. Additionally, observed patterns support the binary coding scheme as an effective analytic framework. Specifically, both the proportional odds model (POM) and partial proportional odds model (PPOM) were applied to assess global citizenship identity. While POM is standard for ordinal outcomes, variables such as multicultural education provision, societal patriotism, KOF GI, and HDI do not meet its parallel regression assumption. Therefore, PPOM, a more generalized model, addresses this limitation. Nonetheless, both models yielded similar results. Table A-1 presents descriptive statistics for the four-level measure; Table A-2 shows regression results for both models; and Table A-3 highlights the marginal effects of GCE curriculum provision on global citizenship identity.

In summary, these results align with those from the binary-coded analysis (see Table 6-4). Human rights education shows a strong, positive association with global citizenship identity, while multicultural education is associated with a negative direction. No significant relationship is observed for environmental education. Notably, human rights education demonstrates greater predictive strength in these models compared to the binary approach, likely due to the absence of hierarchical modeling, which may narrow standard errors and amplify significance.

Figure A-1 illustrates predicted probability shifts across global citizenship categories by GCE provision level. The categories "close" and "very close" show similar patterns, as do "not close at all" and "not very close." This suggests each set of categories has a closer conceptual distance, supporting the validity of collapsing them into a dichotomous variable.

Table **A-1**: Descriptive statistics of global citizenship identity with four ordinal categories

| Survey item in the Joint EVS/WVS 2017: How close do you feel to the world? | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) Not close at all | (2) Not very close | (3) Close | (4) Very close | N (% missing) |
| 16.4% | 35.6% | 34.3% | 13.6% | 7,036 (2.7%) |

Table **A-2**: POM and PPOM predicting young adults' global citizenship identity (N = 4,945)

| | POM | | PPOM | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | All identical | | (1) v. (2, 3 ,4) | | (1, 2) v. (3, 4) | | (1, 2, 3) v. (4) | |
| | Coef. | (SE) | Coef. | (SE) | Coef. | (SE) | Coef. | (SE) |
| *Provision of the key topics of GCE* | | | | | | | | |
| Human rights (ref.: no provision) | | | | | | | | |
| Provided with medium emphasis | 0.57* | (0.27) | 0.36 | (0.42) | 0.58* | (0.24) | 0.51* | (0.25) |
| Provided with high emphasis | 0.97*** | (0.20) | 0.88*** | (0.27) | 0.96*** | (0.21) | 0.86*** | (0.23) |
| Multiculturalism (ref.: no provision) | | | | | | | | |
| Provided with medium emphasis | -1.04* | (0.41) | -0.64 | (0.57) | -1.26** | (0.43) | -0.60* | (0.27) |
| Provided with high emphasis | -1.53*** | (0.43) | -0.94 | (0.59) | -1.82*** | (0.44) | -1.02*** | (0.29) |
| Environmentalism (ref.: no provision) | | | | | | | | |
| Provided with medium emphasis | 0.24 | (0.16) | 0.37 | (0.31) | 0.27 | (0.17) | 0.29+ | (0.16) |
| Provided with high emphasis | 0.22 | (0.17) | 0.27 | (0.25) | 0.34+ | (0.20) | 0.09 | (0.15) |
| *Country-level predictors* | | | | | | | | |
| % immigrants | 0.00 | (0.01) | 0.01 | (0.01) | 0.01 | (0.01) | -0.01 | (0.01) |
| Level of patriotism | 0.42 | (0.39) | 0.32 | (0.52) | 0.30 | (0.42) | 1.17* | (0.48) |
| KOF Globalization Index (KOF GI) | 0.04* | (0.02) | 0.04 | (0.03) | 0.06* | (0.02) | 0.01 | (0.02) |
| Human Development Index (HDI) | -0.03 | (0.03) | -0.01 | (0.04) | -0.05+ | (0.03) | -0.01 | (0.04) |
| *Individual-level predictors* | | | | | | | | |
| Female | 0.10* | (0.05) | 0.23** | (0.08) | 0.10 | (0.06) | -0.03 | (0.11) |
| Immigrant | 0.38** | (0.13) | 0.24 | (0.25) | 0.43*** | (0.13) | 0.48*** | (0.12) |
| Educational attainment (ref.: high school) | | | | | | | | |
| Primary education or no education | 0.67+ | (0.37) | 0.58 | (0.45) | 0.42 | (0.35) | 0.81** | (0.28) |
| Middle school | -0.12 | (0.13) | -0.17 | (0.19) | -0.13 | (0.14) | -0.08 | (0.18) |
| Some post-secondary education | -0.01 | (0.12) | -0.08 | (0.16) | -0.05 | (0.11) | 0.13 | (0.20) |
| University or above | 0.06 | (0.12) | -0.08 | (0.18) | 0.12 | (0.13) | 0.09 | (0.12) |
| Social class (ref.: middle class) | | | | | | | | |
| Working class | -0.05 | (0.11) | -0.11 | (0.17) | -0.01 | (0.11) | -0.06 | (0.10) |
| Upper class | 0.31** | (0.10) | 0.54*** | (0.16) | 0.33** | (0.10) | 0.18 | (0.13) |
| Political orientation (left to right) | 0.00 | (0.02) | -0.02 | (0.03) | 0.00 | (0.02) | 0.00 | (0.03) |
| Intercept | $\alpha_1$ = -0.51 | (2.55) | $\alpha_1$ = -2.33 | (3.33) | $\alpha_2$ = -0.74 | (2.58) | $\alpha_3$ = -6.56* | (3.10) |
| | $\alpha_2$ = -2.32 | (2.55) | | | | | | |
| | $\alpha_3$ = -4.13 | (2.52) | | | | | | |
| Likelihood ratio $R^2$ | 0.02 | | 0.03 | | | | | |

*Notes*: Global citizenship identity is a four-category variable (not close at all = 1, not very close = 2, close = 3, very close = 4).
HGLM is not applied, which may lead to overconfidence in estimates due to unadjusted clustering effects.
The analysis was based on complete cases, employing casewise deletion.
*** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$; + $p < .10$

Table **A-3**: Marginal effects of GCE curriculum provision on global citizenship identity

| | POM | | PPOM | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | ΔProb | (SE) | ΔProb | (SE) |
| *Human rights* (ref.: no provision) | | | | |
| Provided with medium emphasis | | | | |
| (1) "Not close at all" identification predicted probability | -0.097* | (0.046) | -0.058 | (0.068) |
| (2) "Not very close" | -0.036+ | (0.021) | -0.077* | (0.037) |
| (3) "Close" | 0.087* | (0.040) | 0.091* | (0.039) |
| (4) "Very close" | 0.046* | (0.023) | 0.043* | (0.021) |
| Provided with high emphasis | | | | |
| (1) "Not close at all" identification predicted probability | -0.146*** | (0.037) | -0.121* | (0.048) |
| (2) "Not very close" | -0.085*** | (0.018) | -0.109** | (0.041) |
| (3) "Close" | 0.139*** | (0.029) | 0.144*** | (0.031) |
| (4) "Very close" | 0.093*** | (0.019) | 0.085*** | (0.022) |
| *Multiculturalism* (ref.: no provision) | | | | |
| Provided with medium emphasis | | | | |
| (1) "Not close at all" identification predicted probability | 0.067*** | (0.018) | 0.050 | (0.036) |
| (2) "Not very close" | 0.152** | (0.053) | 0.197*** | (0.029) |
| (3) "Close" | -0.015 | (0.040) | -0.142*** | (0.040) |
| (4) "Very close" | -0.204* | (0.097) | -0.105+ | (0.054) |
| Provided with high emphasis | | | | |
| (1) "Not close at all" identification predicted probability | 0.124*** | (0.020) | 0.084* | (0.037) |
| (2) "Not very close" | 0.216*** | (0.056) | 0.303*** | (0.034) |
| (3) "Close" | -0.075* | (0.036) | -0.229*** | (0.038) |
| (4) "Very close" | -0.265** | (0.101) | -0.158** | (0.060) |
| *Environmentalism* (ref.: no provision) | | | | |
| Provided with medium emphasis | | | | |
| (1) "Not close at all" identification predicted probability | -0.031 | (0.020) | -0.047 | (0.037) |
| (2) "Not very close" | -0.027 | (0.020) | -0.021 | (0.025) |
| (3) "Close" | 0.033 | (0.022) | 0.034 | (0.026) |
| (4) "Very close" | 0.026 | (0.019) | 0.033+ | (0.019) |
| Provided with high emphasis | | | | |
| (1) "Not close at all" identification predicted probability | -0.030 | (0.023) | -0.036 | (0.033) |
| (2) "Not very close" | -0.026 | (0.020) | -0.050 | (0.032) |
| (3) "Close" | 0.031 | (0.024) | 0.076* | (0.038) |
| (4) "Very close" | 0.024 | (0.019) | 0.010 | (0.017) |

*Notes*: *** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$; + $p < .10$

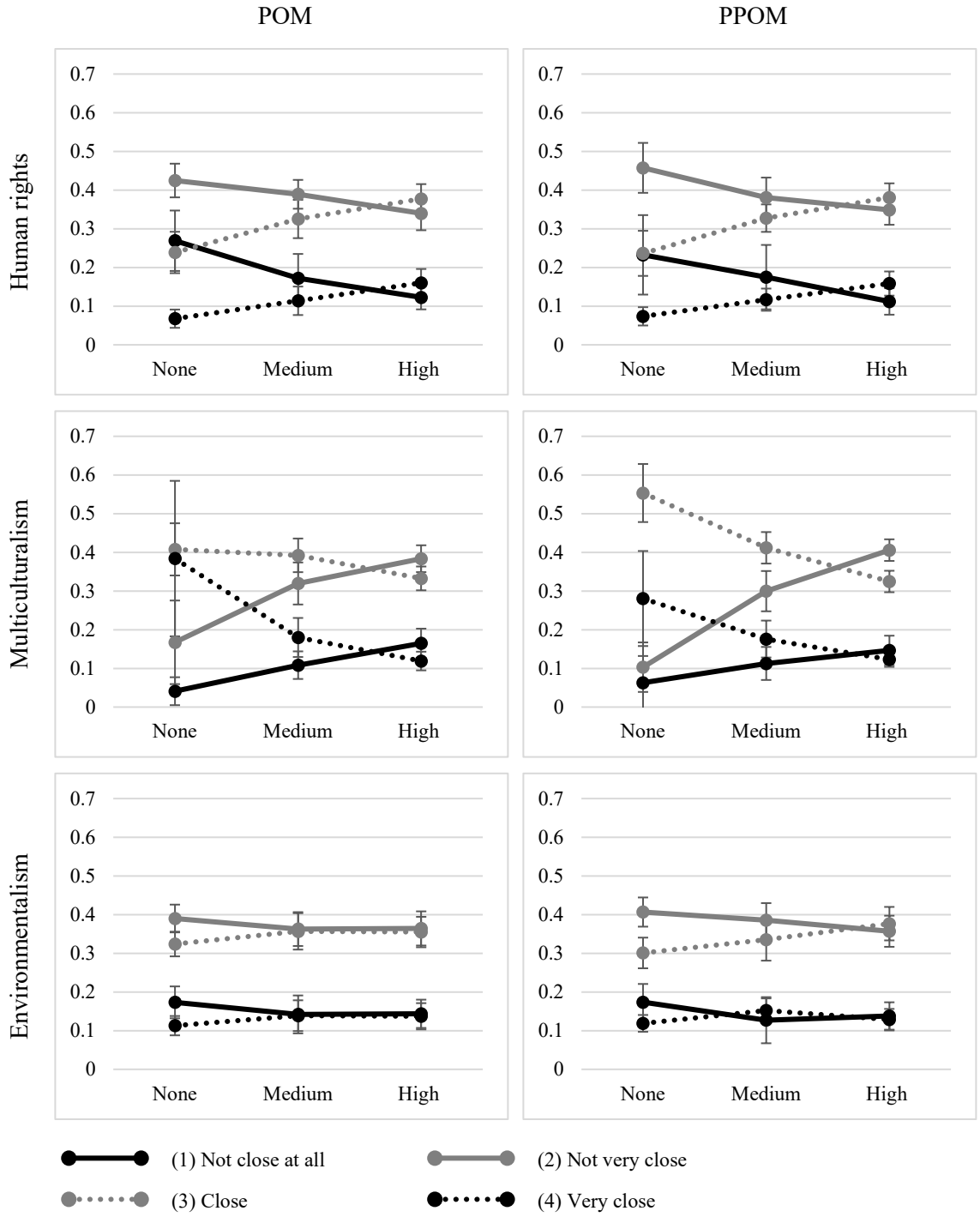


Figure **A-1**: Predicted probabilities of global citizenship identity by GCE provision level (95% CI)

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# VITA

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## EDUCATION

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M.A. in Anthropology, February 2016
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## PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Asia-Pacific Centre of Education for International Understanding (APCEIU),
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Assistant Programme Specialist, April 2016 – July 2018

## RESEARCH PRESENTATIONS

Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) West Regional Conference, October 29, 2023
*Cultivating Cosmopolitan Attitudes through Foreign Language Education*

CIES Annual Conference, February 20, 2023
*Can National Curriculum Foster Global Citizenship?*

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*The Role of Schools in Promoting Global Citizenship: An Analysis Using PISA*

## RESEARCH INTERESTS

Comparative education using international large-scale surveys (e.g., PISA, ICCS, WVS, TIMSS); Influence of international organizations (e.g., UNESCO, World Bank, OECD) on educational policy; Transformative education focused on global citizenship and peace in post-globalization contexts; and Advanced quantitative methods in causal inference and generalized linear modeling for categorical data.