The Meaning of Global Education:

From Proponents' Visions to Practitioners' Perceptions

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Abstract

This study explores the developing field of global education in three countries: Canada, United Kingdom and United States of America. Research indicates that a central problem for global education, as a force for educational reform, is a lack of clarity and consensus around its meaning, associated with insufficient understanding of how meaning is developed. The study has two main goals: to establish what meanings are ascribed to global education in the three countries; and to determine the factors most significant to the derivation of those meanings. Using qualitative research methods, both the visions of academic proponents and the perceptions of classroom practitioners are sought; the former through analysis of their writing, the latter from interviews, document analysis and observation.

The literature survey reveals common strands of meaning among all three countries, alongside distinctive national characteristics. Proponents agree broadly on the purpose of global education, though a nation-centric rationale is more evident in the USA than elsewhere. They agree much less on appropriate curriculum models, on classroom implementation and on strategies for influencing mainstream education. Interviews with selected practitioners indicate that their perceptions generally correspond with the predominant views of proponents in each country; however, proponents' visions are deemed relatively insignificant factors in practitioners' development of meaning. Characteristics of national culture are reflected in the views of both proponents and practitioners; additionally, practitioners are strongly influenced by school culture, by their personal and professional experiences and by their beliefs. Thus, the study can be seen to reinforce contemporary thinking, in global education and other literature, about teachers' responses to innovation in schools. The study also contributes to an understanding of teachers' thinking by suggesting that practitioners' reflections are shaped not only by an interplay of institutional and individual cultures, but also by the influences of national culture and globalisation.

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Section One

Aims and Methodology

Chapter 1

Introduction

The global context of global education

During the last quarter of the twentieth century, education systems around the world have witnessed the development of very many initiatives and trends that aim, in the minds of their designers and proponents, to bring formal schooling more in line with the realities of the contemporary world and the concomitant needs of students. Global education is one such initiative, derived from analyses of the workings of global systems (cultural, ecological, economic, political and technological), perspectives on the current 'state of health' of the planet, and the present and future ramifications of these factors for humans and other life forms. Global education has not emerged 'out of the blue' for, as will be explored in Section Two, it borrows ideas and practices from several educational movements and philosophies, some of which date back well over a century. It has, however, appeared as a distinct and identifiable field within education only in the last twenty-five years in the United Kingdom and the United States of America, and more recently in other countries. From its beginnings in the Western, industrialised world - based on perceptions and worldviews available in those countries - global education has now taken root in parts of the developing world, where the combined impact of global systems on the lives of people is often substantially different. The perspectives on global problems and their solutions that emanate from global educators in developing countries are now beginning to enrich the literature and thinking in the industrialised world, though it would be premature to suggest that a meaningful dialogue is taking place on a global scale.

A major difficulty in exploring the field of global education - and a hindrance, perhaps, to a global dialogue - lies in the interpretation of the terminology itself. The term 'global education' first appears in American educational literature where, until very recently (Merryfield, 1996), links with related fields such as 'multicultural education' have remained largely unexplored. By contrast, global education is not as well known a term in the UK as 'world studies', whose literature has for many years charted relationships and overlaps among the 'new movements in political education' (Lister, 1987, 52), including development education, environmental education, human rights education, multicultural education and peace education. In Canada, where educators have built upon ideas from both the UK and USA, global education is a widely-recognised term, but not so in Australia, where 'development education' has a higher national profile. Other variations and permutations appear, too, in the literature from these and other countries: education for a global perspective, global perspectives in education, global development education, education for sustainability (or sustainable development). Under the auspices of UNICEF, a 'global education' project is being implemented in the Middle East (Ministry of Education, Jordan/UNICEF, 1995) whilst 'education for development' initiatives are being promoted in schools in the industrialised world (Godwin, 1994). Heater (1980, 8), in identifying factors inhibiting the growth of world studies in the UK, refers to its 'zany confusion of nomenclature'. Global education on a world scale appears to exhibit similar tendencies.

It would be erroneous to assume that the terms mentioned above are synonymous, or that the educational initiatives that shelter beneath them have identical goals (an assumption that all programmes entitled 'global education' are the same would be equally false, as will become evident in later chapters). For the purposes of this study, however, it is necessary to identify some basic characteristics of the initiatives that are being explored in order to clarify the parameters of the field that will be referred to as 'global education'. Drawing from the plethora of characterisations and definitions that appear in the literature of many countries, the following elements would seem to be generic:

- a desire to make education more relevant and/or useful to living in the contemporary and future worlds;
- a desire to introduce or enlarge a 'global perspective' in what students learn at school (*i.e.* a greater focus on issues, events, places and people beyond the boundaries of ones' own country);
- a desire to help students explore links and connections between their own country/culture and others;
- reforms to education that are based upon an analysis of, and beliefs about, the global condition (*i.e.* global issues, problems and systems);
- a recognition of the pervasive impact of global interdependence on all people at all times.

A further strategy to aid clarification is to illustrate how global education can be seen as distinct from other fields (with which, undoubtedly, there are overlaps, relationships and similarities). Whilst many of the closest fields, such as development education, environmental education, human rights education and peace education, have a particular thematic focus or slant (*i.e.* social and political development, the natural and built environments, human rights, peace and conflict, respectively), global education tends to embrace many or all of these areas (though not necessarily with equal weight or emphasis). In some of its manifestations, global education focuses on other cultures and peoples, rather than on global issues; it differs, however, from multicultural education in that the latter's primary arena of interest is the cultural make-up of the host country rather than exploring cultures in other parts of the global system. Many would argue (*e.g.* L. Anderson, 1990; Ferns, 1990; Hicks, 1981) that at the heart of global education lies the concept of 'interdependence': a perception of the world as comprising a series of overlapping and intertwined systems that regulate cultural, ecological, economic, political and social life in all countries and, thereby, affect the lives of all people. This concept gives rise to a distinctive quality of much global education, in that it is concerned with the *connections and relationships among* people, places, issues and events as well as with the phenomena themselves.

All of the above characteristics are, of course, subject to multiple interpretations and perspectives that result in considerable diversity in the theory and practice of global education. Nonetheless, they provide a baseline framework of elements that has been used to identify those initiatives that fall within the purview of this study, even if they are not called specifically 'global education'. Further discussion of terms, and the ramifications of their plurality, will be undertaken in subsequent chapters. Before considering the substance of the thesis, other terms that beg clarification are 'proponents' and 'practitioners'. By the former are meant those educators, and the organisations they represent, who contribute to the development of global education principally at a *theoretical* level through their writing, teaching or other forms of advocacy (though *critics* of global education are also included, in that they play an important role in determining the speed and direction of growth). 'Practitioners' cover those educators who are principally involved in the *practical implementation* of global education in elementary and secondary schools. Just as theory and practice are often intertwined, the two categories are not mutually exclusive: some practitioners contribute to theory through writing articles and running workshops for colleagues; some proponents are also involved in implementation in schools. For the purpose of this study, the activity is deemed to define the role. In other words, someone engaged in theoretical development is regarded, for that moment, as a proponent; someone undertaking in-school implementation is a practitioner. Thus, it is possible for any one global educator to play, at different times, both roles, though the numbers of such people are relatively small. The vast majority of practitioners work solely on implementation in schools; most proponents are employed outside schools, working in colleges and universities, or for professional and/or non-governmental organisations.

The meaning of global education

An obvious, yet important, feature of all global education programmes is that they constitute a movement for the reform of schooling. Disagreements will be plenteous, and sometimes heated, over the exact scope and direction of change, but a dissatisfaction with the *status quo* in education is one of the prime motivations of global educators in all countries. Alger (1986) suggests that global education is fundamentally different, however, from previous approaches to increase the international dimension of education in the USA, because it is not simply something to be added to existing curricula. Rather, he comments, 'it requires the removal of the national border as a barrier in education at all levels, and in all subjects' (p. 257). Many global educators in other countries go even further, referring to the holistic, all-pervasive nature of the goals of global education that go far beyond simply changing the content of the curriculum to a re-evaluation of the organisation and purpose of schooling and the roles of teachers and students (for example: Calder and Smith, 1992; Dall, n.d.; Godwin, 1994; Pike and Selby 1988; Toh, 1993). It is this multi-faceted, interpenetrative tendency of global education, in which all aspects and dimensions of education are seen as interrelated and impacting each other, that lies at the heart of a major conceptual difficulty: the problem of meaning.

Fullan (1991, 45), in reflecting on the failure of educational reforms in North America, notes that 'no matter how honorable the motives, each and every individual who is necessary for effective implementation will experience some concerns about the meaning of new practices, goals, beliefs, and means of implementation'. The meaning of an innovation matters, he argues, because people matter and change succeeds or fails in accordance with how people - individually and collectively - respond to it (p. 46). The search for meaning is a recurrent theme in global education research and writing. Some proponents (Alladin, 1989; Case, 1991; Duggan and Thorpe, 1986; Heater, 1980) argue that greater clarity around what exactly global education *is* would be of benefit, for purposes of both implementation and promotion. Others (Merryfield, 1993; Tye and Tye, 1992), while not necessarily in disagreement, argue that understanding of global education at a profound level comes from active involvement in its implementation and from 'systematic and shared reflections' (Merryfield, 1993, 28). In other words, the meaning of global education is derived in part from its practice, rather than from theoretical understanding alone. This would seem to be in line with Tucker's (1990, 114) assertion that 'teachers, not textbooks, appear to be primary carriers of the global education culture'. If the meaning of global education is important to its success as an educational innovation, yet meaning - in its fullest sense - is not attainable without active involvement, it seems that the implementation of global education in schools poses a number of critical questions. Can teachers be expected to commit themselves to an initiative that, at the outset, they cannot fully understand? What advice and support services can be offered to facilitate the process of understanding? What conditions -

educational, political, social - are the most conducive to helping teachers discover global education's meaning? What personal and professional qualities are most necessary? In one sense, these are the questions that should be considered by promoters of any innovation, for - as Fullan (1991, 45) notes - the 'problem of meaning' is ongoing in that understanding does not take place in a flash. There are additional layers of complexity, I would submit, in the case of global education in that, even at a theoretical level (as will become evident in Section Two), its content and goals are subject to endless analysis and debate amongst proponents. Section Three will bear witness, too, to the difficulties encountered by many practitioners in articulating what global education means to them.

The implementation of global education, then, encounters two related problems: first, the conceptual complexity - and lack of clarity - of its theoretical base, and second, the difficulties associated with any innovation in respect of participants' search for meaning. Arising from their four-year project at the Center for Human Interdependence (CHI) that aimed to infuse global education into eleven primary and secondary schools in Orange County, California, Tye and Tye (1992, 239) comment:

> As a result of CHI work with teachers in global education, it is hypothesized that the readiness of individual faculty members to participate in new activity (global education) can be predicted based upon a set of identifiable factors which relate to the meanings which they give to that activity rather than some generalized resistance factor.

Tye and Tye note that, in their project, 'it was quite clear that people responded on the basis of the meaning the concept had for them'. Some faculty members already perceived themselves to be involved in global education prior to the project, others participated because they like new ideas with potential for changing current practice, and a group of substantial size foresaw the need to increase cross-cultural understanding amongst the increasingly diverse student population (pp. 239-40). If Tye and Tye's hypothesis is valid in other school contexts, the significance of the development of meaning in global education becomes abundantly clear: practitioners' existing perceptions of global education - even if unclear or misguided - will determine, to a marked degree, whether or not they decide to participate in its implementation. The task for global education proponents, therefore, is to assist teachers in finding meanings that are appropriate to them and to the field, so that informed judgments about participation can be made. Some practitioners are likely, as happened in the CHI project, to adopt a 'wait and see' attitude; in such cases, assistance in the derivation of meaning is of paramount importance during the early stages of implementation.

A personal imperative

The research on educational change and, more specifically, on the implementation of global education, suggests that the ability of practitioners to find meaning in global education is a significant factor in its success as an educational reform process. That hypothesis did not, however, provide the only starting point for this study. My personal involvement in the global education movement since 1979, principally in the United Kingdom until 1992, latterly in Canada and the United States, has provided many pointers in the same direction. As an in-service educator since 1984, I have facilitated hundreds of sessions on the theory and practice of global education for thousands of teachers in many countries, ranging from 'one-off' two-hour workshops for 'novices' in global education, keynote lectures in large auditoria, to award-bearing courses over two years for committed practitioners. Whatever the occasion, the lingering question at the end of a session is the same: what did individual participants gain from that experience? Recognising that in-service training can provide many things, some of which may be totally unrelated to the facilitator's goals, an important component of that question is: what does global education *mean* to those participants? Its importance is not just a matter of personal curiosity or professional interest. Of course I would like to know the real impact of my teaching in various formats and contexts, because I am aware of the dangers of over-reliance on spontaneous feedback from participants in a workshop situation. Of far greater significance is the potential impact that those participants might have in the classroom, when the keen edge of the in-service experience has been worn away by the day-to-day realities of school life. Underlying this interest in the meaning of global education is an assumption that is highly pertinent to this study: that the outcome of a global education practitioner's teaching will be significantly influenced by the meaning that global education has for her/him at any particular moment (but is, of course, subject to change over time). In other words, in teaching, *meaning* shapes *practice*; the extent and quality of practitioners' understanding are significant factors in what and how they teach. Other factors, including available time and resources, curriculum requirements, relationships with students, teaching experience and school climate will play a part, undoubtedly; my contention, however, is that such factors are peripheral, in most cases, to teacher understanding. Teaching is an individual process that involves, inevitably, selecting from the store of knowledge and expertise available to any practitioner; whilst the logistical factors mentioned above will certainly influence the selection process, it is unlikely that they will fundamentally alter a teacher's understanding of what is to be taught - particularly in global education, with its emphasis on values as well as knowledge and skills. Research on educational change would appear to lend support to this view, albeit from a different angle. Fullan (1991, 42) claims that, of the three dimensions necessary for achieving intended outcomes - introducing new materials, changing teaching styles and changing beliefs - the last is the most difficult to implement. In other words, what teachers think and believe - the meaning that their teaching and their subject matter has for them - endures longest. Research in the field of teacher thinking, 'the ways in which knowledge is actively acquired and used by teachers and the circumstances that affect its acquisition and employment' (Calderhead, 1987, 5), is also supportive. In the first of their propositions distilled from teacher thinking research, Clark and Yinger (1987, 97) contend:

> What teachers do is strongly influenced by what and how they think, i.e. little of what teachers do is merely spontaneously reactive.

If teaching is not, primarily, a process of spontaneous reaction, the meaning of global education that practitioners hold would seem to be fundamental to their subsequent practice.

The relationship between meaning and practice is not assumed to be unidirectional. As Tye and Tye (1992, 247) suggest, 'activity and the development of meaning are interactive': the meaning of global education is continuously enriched through its practice. My interest, however, as an in-service educator who rarely has the opportunity to observe or follow up the practice of former students, is in the ways in which the in-service experience can best enhance participants' development of meaning in global education. Are particular models of global education easier to understand and assimilate? Are certain teaching methods more conducive to the development of meaning? Are there optimum conditions, in terms of length of course, time of day and year, and location of training? What is the importance of in-service training to the development of meaning, relative to a host of other factors including personal qualities and experience, exposure to theoretical literature and availability of practical resources, time for reflection during and after the course, and the climate in which a practitioner works? Are the answers to these questions likely to be similar in a variety of countries and cultural contexts? Such questions provide the personal stimulus for this study, though I fully recognise that I cannot expect to find satisfactory answers to them all. The methodological considerations associated with a close professional interest in the field under study will be discussed in Chapter 2.

Research questions

The research questions at the heart of this study arise from the confluence of my desire to find out about the development of meaning among global education practitioners in different countries and the conceptual difficulties in clarifying meaning that are highlighted in global education literature. Clearly, it is important that proponents have a fuller understanding of how meaning is most readily achieved by practitioners if global education is to be a significant force for educational reform. Johnston and Ochoa (1993) underscore the need for research into how teachers' practice in global education is influenced by factors such as content knowledge, life experiences, and belief systems.

Before even contemplating *how* meaning is developed, however, it is necessary to establish *what* meanings are ascribed to global education, by both proponents and practitioners. If understanding is inherently problematic, then what range of perceptions results? Is there a similar diversity of understanding among both proponents and practitioners? And, crucially, what is the relationship between proponents' and practitioners' perceptions? In other words, how important are the ideas and outputs of proponents to the attainment of meaning by practitioners? If other factors are of significance, too, what are these? Such questions are rarely, if ever, touched upon in research literature on global education, which in any case, as Tye and Tye (1992, 33) note, is still relatively limited:

> Very little has been done to document, in a systematic way, what schools and the teachers in them go through when they decide to make global/international studies a part of their mission in the education of children.

The Tyes' research does make an important contribution to this area, but their focus is predominantly on the school in the change process, rather than on the teacher. They argue that the emphasis in much school improvement work on the classroom teacher as the unit of change 'may make no difference at all' (p. 11) in terms of improving the school, because of the pervasive nature of the 'deep structure of schooling' (p. 8). Whilst not contesting the wealth of research evidence pointing to the influence of school culture on educational reform, the teacher is the primary focus of this study in the belief that 'it is at the individual level that change does or does not occur' (Fullan, 1991, 45). In a variety of ways that will be discussed, school culture can either inhibit or enable teachers' development of meaning, but prevailing perceptions of global education are ultimately in the purview of individual teachers themselves.

In exploring the range of meaning given to global education by both proponents and practitioners, it is of value to look beyond the boundaries of any one country. Global education is a reform process that, in various ways, attempts to 'globalise' or 'internationalise' the curriculum, to shift the emphasis away from a predominant focus on the nation state to more realistically reflect 'the accelerating growth of global interdependence' (L. Anderson, 1990, 14). In supporting her rationale for global education, Darling (n.d., 1-2) cites Michael Ignatieff (1984):

> All the changes which impinge upon the politics of modern states are global in character. The market in which we trade, and in which our

> economic futures will be shaped, is global; the ecology in which we live and breathe is global. The political life of nation states is being emptied of its rationale by the inconsequence and impotence of national sovereignties. Peoples' attachments to nations depends *(sic)* on their belief that the nation is the relevant arbiter of their private fate. This is less and less so.

If the rationale for global education can be found, in part at least, in the diminishing importance of the nation state in an increasingly interdependent world, what role do national education systems play in the construction and promotion of global education? Is global education itself interdependent, *i.e.* reliant upon a system of cross-national influences that shape its scope and direction in each country? Or can nation-specific characteristics be detected, from which national profiles of global education might be constructed? In other words, in the context of the development of meaning, what is the influence of national (and/or local and regional) culture, in addition to the part played by the culture of the school? These are some of the questions that can be explored by examining the theory and practice of global education in more than one country. The insights to be gained could be important for the further development of the field, if global education is to have a truly global orientation rather than existing as a series of disconnected, outward-looking manifestations of national education systems.

In summary, the following basic questions underpin this research:

1. **What meanings are ascribed to global education by proponents?**
2. **What are the perceptions of global education among practitioners?**
3. **Do perceptions differ significantly between countries, either among proponents and/or among practitioners?**
4. **To what extent do proponents influence practitioner perceptions?**
5. **What are the significant factors that shape practitioners' development of meaning in global education?**

Research outline and aims

In seeking answers to the above questions, I decided to concentrate on global education theory and practice in three countries - Canada, United Kingdom (specifically, England and Wales) and the United States of America - for both practical and notional reasons. From a pragmatic point of view, it seemed sensible to focus on the two countries in which, during the period of this research, I have lived and worked (Canada and the UK); and to include a third country (USA) to which I have made professional visits from time to time since 1986, and which, since 1992, I have been able to visit for research purposes from my base in Toronto. From the standpoint of wishing to survey the ideas and perceptions of leading global educators, there is also a strong case to be made for the selection of these three countries. Global education appears to have been active for longest in the UK (under the title of 'world studies') and the USA, and a majority of the key proponents who have contributed to, or are referred to, in the literature are from those two countries. Developments in Canada are of much more recent origin, but that country has witnessed a rapid growth in global education during the last ten years; indeed, Tye (1996), who has recently conducted a worldwide survey of global education, considers Canada to be a current world leader. Whilst the logistics of time, cost and geographical distance have ruled out conducting empirical research in more than three countries, it would have been possible to incorporate more in a literature review. Initially, I sought documents from many countries and the most positive response came, in fact, from global educators in Australia. I decided, however, to focus on just three countries so as to be able to compile in-depth profiles of global education in each and, thereby, to explore the relationship between proponents' theories (as written in the literature) and practitioners' perceptions (as conveyed in the empirical research).

There are two main components to the research: a review of global education literature and field-based empirical studies. The purpose of the literature review is to obtain an overview, in each of the three countries, of what key proponents have written about global education in order to establish more clearly the meaning of global education *at a theoretical level.* In so doing, there is no assumption made that theory necessarily guides or shapes practice; rather that theory guides theory. In other words, there exist theoretical conceptions of global education, developed, refined and extended by proponents, that convey certain ideas, values and assumptions about the nature and purpose of global education in that country at a particular time. Such conceptions are useful in themselves; comparative analysis can reveal if 'national characteristics' of global education can be determined, or whether 'interdependence' exists to the extent of blurring country differences. Surveying literature over a substantial period of time can also point up any changes in perspective or stance. Furthermore, theoretical conceptions do not exist in a vacuum. Published literature is generally promoted and available to practitioners who wish to read it; global education handbooks or sourcebooks, in particular, are significant providers of information and ideas for teachers (as a relatively new field in education, pre- and in-service training courses in global education are not commonplace). The extent to which they are subsequently influenced by their reading - the impact of theory on perception - is questionable, and forms one of the basic research questions. The literature survey, therefore, provides some general indicators of past and present thinking about global education among proponents and establishes some criteria which can be used in exploring the relationship between proponents' visions and practitioners' perceptions.

The empirical research has two main goals. The first is to identify some current perceptions of global education among practitioners in all three countries. Again, national characteristics might be discerned through comparing the data obtained in each country; comparison with proponents' ideas, as revealed in the literature, will determine degrees of overlap in perception and, hopefully, provide some insights into the importance of the theoretical literature in shaping practitioner perceptions. The second goal is to shed some light on how practitioners develop meaning in global education. Beyond the literature and possible influence of proponents, what are the factors - both personal and professional, school-based or outside school - that have been instrumental in shaping teachers' perceptions?

In a sense, this whole study is an investigation into the filtration and adaptation process that inevitably occurs as a new educational initiative passes from its originators through various levels of the schooling system to those who are charged with, or voluntarily take on, its implementation. Although the origins of global education can be traced back over many decades, its manifestation as a specific field with a recognisable title and supporting body of literature has been created (and continues to be re-defined) by educators in various countries. As it becomes further institutionalised under the auspices of national or regional projects, or through inclusion in school or district mission statements and policies, global education becomes increasingly subject to a host of change forces that influence it in myriad ways. Thereafter, it is prone to further adaptation at the practitioner level, as teachers interpret its meaning and make critical decisions regarding what elements they wish to implement and which strategies to use. The final stage, of course, is the actual classroom practice and the consequent student gains in understanding and skills; the potential for further changes in meaning is enormous at this level, but is beyond the scope of this study.

In the modification process that global education undergoes from proponents' visions to practitioners' perceptions, there are parallels with the changes that occur in the implementation of educational policies, as described by Bowe and Ball (1992, 22):

> Practitioners do not confront policy texts as naive readers, they come with histories, with experience, with values and purposes of their own, they have vested interests in the meaning of policy. Policies will be interpreted differently as the histories, experience, values, purposes and interests which make up any arena differ. The simple point is that policy writers cannot control the meanings of their texts.

Nor can proponents control the meaning of global education. They need to realise how 'innovative ideas are interpreted and reinterpreted by teachers over a period of time' (Calderhead, 1987, 17). They can, however, seek to understand how practitioners' perceptions are formed and the role that proponents play, and could potentially play, in that critical process. As Olson (1980, 4) reminds us, to fully comprehend the process of translation that an innovation inevitably undergoes, 'we need to talk to teachers'.

Chapter 2

Methodology

Rationale

The orientation of this study around practitioners' development of meaning in global education gives clear recommendations as to appropriate research methodology. My desire to find out, as far as possible in a research setting, what teachers 'really think' about global education speaks for a predominantly qualitative research process with its emphasis on the accumulation of in-depth data. As Miles and Huberman (1994, 10) put it:

> Qualitative data, with their emphasis on people's "lived experience," are fundamentally well suited for locating the *meanings* people place on the events, processes, and structures of their lives: their "perceptions, assumptions, prejudgments, presuppositions" (van Manen, 1977) and for connecting these meanings to the *social world* around them.
> (italics in original text)

Such a description accords well, in general terms, with the goals identified in the previous chapter. The 'thick descriptions' (Miles and Huberman, 1994, 10) provided by qualitative data are required in order to be able to assess the complexities likely to be found in any individual perception and to gain meaningful insights into the personal and social factors by which it has been influenced. Furthermore, what teachers 'really think' is more likely to be revealed through observing and talking to them in natural settings (*i.e.* their schools and classrooms), rather than through the more impersonal processes of data collection by questionnaire or telephone. Certainly, if the culture of the school plays any part in practitioners' development of meaning (as Tye and Tye's [1992] research strongly suggests), it is important for the researcher to gain personal experience of the school context in order to give some validity to interpretations of the data.

Whilst the reasons above point to the advisability of a qualitative research design, it should be borne in mind that - as Silverman's (1993, 26) commentary on Hammersley (1992) suggests - qualitative research does not necessarily open the door to 'lived experience'. The gathering of 'naturally-occurring data' would seem preferable for obtaining teachers' true perceptions, but the very presence of the researcher, even when just in an observational or listening capacity, creates a degree of unnaturalness.

Furthermore, though 'the open-ended responses' in qualitative data 'permit one to understand the world as seen by the respondents' (Patton, 1990, 24) any in-depth data are subject to the researcher's interpretation at the analysis stage. Teachers' perceptions of global education, even when recorded verbatim, are no more than descriptive accounts set in time and space and may be of limited usefulness until analysed and compared with other sets of relevant data. In so doing, the 'world of the respondents' is inevitably interpreted through the perceptual lenses of the researcher.

Hard-line distinctions between qualitative and quantitative research are not helpful in the context of this study; as Miles and Huberman (1994, 40) put it, 'we have to face the fact that numbers and words are *both* needed if we are to understand the world'. Of course, with a major focus on understanding meaning, the emphasis needs to be on words rather than numbers, on exploring what a limited number of teachers actually think and feel rather than on quantifying responses from a much larger sample to a set of predetermined questions. However, the research questions do not lend themselves neatly to standard qualitative research, in which one or very few cases are studied in considerable depth in order to reveal data that describe, as accurately as possible, the 'real world'. To start with, several 'worlds' are built into the research design in terms of the three countries being studied: in order to determine whether perceptions of global education differ significantly between countries, it is necessary to attempt to compile country profiles - or sets of national characteristics - that can be used for comparative purposes. At a theoretical level, country profiles can be compiled relatively easily from a review of the literature, so long as the limitations of published writing for revealing actual thinking and practice are acknowledged. At the practitioner level, the selection of a sample becomes a critical issue: which teachers, and how many, should be studied in order to gain a reasonable, though not in any sense typical, insight into teachers' perceptions in any one country? Whilst there is no single 'right' answer to the latter question, it would seem appropriate to strive towards a point somewhere on the continuum between typicality and uniqueness, a position that Plummer (1983, 100 - attributed to Blumer) suggests can be reached by 'seeking out key informants who have a profound and central grasping of a particular cultural world'. Such a methodological stance might be regarded as blending depth with some breadth: using qualitative methods to collect and analyse data from a carefully selected, and relatively large, sample of 'key informants'. The question of 'which teachers?' will be explored in the discussion around sampling later in this chapter. Additionally, my interest as a researcher leans towards discovering the *range* of perceptions of global education that exists among practitioners (both within and among countries), and the factors that may contribute to that range, rather than towards a more profound analysis of a limited number of perceptions. Again, targeting a significant sample of 'key informants' would seem to be an appropriate means to that end.

The general approach outlined above, perhaps an admixture of qualitative methods with some elements of 'quantizing' (Miles and Huberman, 1994, 42), is arrived at through what Patton (1990, 162) calls 'critical trade-offs in evaluation design'. As he reminds us, choices that a researcher inevitably makes between 'breadth' and 'depth' are not choices between good and bad, but alternatives that are made for a variety of reasons, pragmatic as well as to do with research goals and priorities. The important point, it would seem, is to recognise both the merits and the limitations of each choice. In the case of this study, the limitations of the methodological approach adopted stem from the relatively short period of time (in qualitative research terms) spent in any single school or with any one teacher; the merits accrue from the relatively large sample of schools and teachers included and the collection of data in three countries. Consequent implications for the validity of the data will be discussed later in the chapter.

Research design and timetable

July 1991-July 1992

The overall research design was somewhat complicated by the fact that data collection took place in three countries over a period of more than four years (February 1992 - April 1996), during which time my place of employment and residence moved from England to Canada. In view of this move (which was likely, though not definite, at the onset of the research), it seemed prudent to adopt a relatively tight design structure that incorporated several distinct, but overlapping stages. As Wolcott (1982, 157) notes, it is 'impossible to embark upon research without some idea of what one is looking for and foolish not to make that quest explicit'; in my case, I had a strong sense of what to look for and could use that to advantage in the design process. To start with, the basic research questions were known in general terms as they arose naturally from my work, though they were not fully refined or articulated - they existed at the level of professional curiosity about models and perceptions of global education, within the UK and elsewhere. The questions were formulated into an initial research design in the second half of 1991. As my departure from the UK began to look more probable for the summer of 1992, the collection of UK data became a matter of some urgency. **Stage One** of the field-based empirical research, undertaken in the Spring of 1992, consisted of in-depth interviews with randomly selected samples from two cohorts of teachers who had previously completed a Diploma in Global and Multicultural Education (DIGAME) course, an advanced professional qualification for experienced teachers. The principal goal of this research was to identify and explore the perceptions of global education held by some 'key informants' - teachers who were among those with the greatest exposure to the theory and practice of global education in the country. A secondary, but nonetheless important, aim was to refine the initial research questions and thereby establish a tighter focus for Stage Two. Concurrently with the field-based research, data collection for the literature review was initiated. As Patton (1990, 163) points out, a literature review in the early stages can help focus the study, but can also bias the researcher's thinking and limit the range of research possibilities. However, as a substantial proportion of the literature in the UK and, to a lesser degree, in the USA was already somewhat familiar to me, such warnings did not seem particularly pertinent. They did serve as a timely reminder, though, not to permit my intimacy with the field to lead to preconceptions in terms of data collection. In actuality, the literature review proved to be more of an ongoing activity; the collection of documents continued over the next four years with analysis taking place in several stages as successive drafts were continually reviewed and updated in the light of newly-published or newly-located material.

September 1992 - February 1994

From my new base in Toronto, data from Stage One research were analysed and written up in draft form. The research design and questions were further refined, prior to the commencement of Stage Two. The first draft of the literature survey was also completed during this period.

March 1994 - April 1996

In **Stage Two**, the principal phase of field-based data collection, global education practitioners in Canada and the USA (the 'key informants') were identified through their affiliations with significant global education initiatives in each country, either national/provincial projects and/or specific schools nominated by proponents as being leaders in the field. Data collection was based around in-depth interviews with selected teachers, but additional methods were also utilised (see below). The two principal aims of this Stage were: first, to explore predominant perceptions of global education held by practitioners in the two countries; and second, to identify the factors that were instrumental in those practitioners' development of meaning. Preliminary analysis of data collected during this Stage was carried out in two blocks, in 1995 and 1996; further drafts of the literature survey were also undertaken in this period.

May 1996 to March 1997

Following completion of data collection, a comprehensive analysis and interpretation process began in earnest, including substantive reviews of earlier drafts. Final drafts were written between July 1996 and March 1997.

The schedule outlined above may suggest a rigidity to the data collection and analysis processes that was, in fact, not the case; there were degrees of provisionality acknowledged at each stage during the period of data collection. Certainly, insights gained and questions posed through interim analyses were employed in refining the research design and research questions, but all data were subsequently reviewed, and the analyses subjected to further scrutiny, before conclusions were drawn and written up. Likewise, preliminary analysis sometimes drew attention to significant gaps in the data that had been collected on field visits, leading to additional requests for documentation by letter or telephone.

As Bryman and Burgess (1994b, 217-18) point out, many qualitative researchers have stated that research design, data collection and data analysis are not discrete phases, but part of a continuous, interwoven process. The description above will serve to confirm the constant interplay among these elements in this study, for both logistical and theoretical reasons. The generation of concepts and theories has, likewise, taken a non-linear course. Patton (1990, 194), in supporting his belief in 'methodological openness', describes well the general approach that was used in this study:

> As evaluation fieldwork begins, the evaluator may be open to whatever emerges from the data, a discovery or inductive approach. Then, as the inquiry reveals patterns and major dimensions of interest, the evaluator will begin to focus on verifying and elucidating what appears to be emerging - a more deductive approach to data collection and analysis.

It would be naïve to suggest, given my professional background, that I approached this study at the outset with a completely open mind and that subsequent theories are 'grounded' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) in the strict sense of emerging solely from analysis of the data. Rather, the true path of theory generation has included the use of data to confirm or challenge existing ideas as well as for the generation, exploration and testing of new theories in a series of cyclical patterns. Such a process, perhaps irregular in a pure methodological sense though logical in terms of the research design, seems to accord with Richards and Richards' (1994, 149) suspicion, confirmed by Bryman and Burgess (1994b), that 'grounded theory' is influential in qualitative research 'as a general indicator of the desirability of making theory from data, rather than a guide to a method for handling data'.

Values and ethics

In my own view of global education, one of the most important concepts is 'congruence' (Pike and Selby, 1988; 1995). Typically, congruence is advocated in terms of a harmonisation of 'medium' and 'message' in the classroom, ensuring that the implicit values of the teaching and learning processes are in tune with the concepts taught explicitly in the curriculum. Congruence can also be related to the conduct of the global educator, in suggesting that 'practising what you preach' is critical in both personal and professional lives. By natural extension, there are significant value implications for the global educator when undertaking research: in a field that stresses notions of equity, justice, respect for rights and a belief in the dignity and worth of all persons, it is crucial to the credibility of the field - and of the researcher - that such notions are seen to be integral to the research philosophy, design and implementation. Fortunately, there is little difference between these ideals and the ethical considerations discussed in qualitative research (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Patton, 1990). The qualities of a competent, aware and sensitive researcher overlap to a marked degree with the characteristics of a 'global teacher' (Pike and Selby, 1988, 272-4).

Researcher credibility is, of course, a significant factor in assessing the quality and validity of qualitative research findings. Working on Patton's (1990, 472) general principle of reporting 'any personal and professional information that may have affected data collection, analysis, and interpretation', I have not tried to conceal my professional interests in the field of global education at any point in the research or in the writing of this thesis. For the most part, concealment was out of the question as, particularly in Canada and the UK, I was known (by reputation, at least) to many of the teachers whom I interviewed. This factor raises other issues relating to researcher credibility: the extent to which my high profile in the field of study might have distorted the responses or behaviours of those I met; and the degree to which my knowledge of the field could have biased data collection and analysis. I am unable to make any reasoned assessment of the former, but I have been at pains to diminish its impact through an approach to respondents in which I frequently emphasised my role as a listener and a researcher, not as an educator or 'expert'. In my interview preamble, for example, I clearly explained the purpose of my research and emphasised that I was interested in *the respondent's* ideas and perceptions; confirmation that there were no 'right answers' to the questions seemed to put many interviewees more at ease. Furthermore, on occasions when I was asked during an interview to give *my* opinion, or my approbation of an idea or sentiment, I resisted until the end; and I would always try to use encouraging and supportive body language (smiles, nods of the head, *etc.*) at appropriate intervals in response to *any* comment, not just to those with which I agreed. These, and other, tactics were all designed to convey a sense of curiosity and humility on my part and a belief that the interviewee had something important to say. Nonetheless, the 'researcher as expert' factor is one that will need to be returned to in the data analysis. The second credibility issue, my previous knowledge of the field, is a mixed blessing. On the one hand, it allowed me to frame quickly the initial research questions, without wading

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through volumes of unexplored literature; on the other hand, I cannot claim the freshness of insight and the keenness of perspective that only a novice to any field can bring. It is for this reason that the generation of 'grounded theory', at least as a general principle of analysis, was adopted, notwithstanding the irregularities in its implementation discussed above.

My reputation in the field proved a distinct advantage in terms of gaining access to data, both empirical and in the form of literature. Professional contacts and friendships among global education proponents resulted in my obtaining some literature (such as unpublished reports and theses, and newly published or relatively obscure articles) that may not have come otherwise to my attention. The collection of empirical data was also aided considerably by my status in the field; the Field Director of one national project in the USA wrote a letter of endorsement to all project schools (although, interestingly, only two out of the eight schools I subsequently approached agreed to participate in the research); recommendations from directors of other projects in Canada and the USA eased access into more schools, whilst my own professional development work enabled me to quickly gain approval for my research from school principals and teachers in England and in Ontario. Only in one School Board was I asked to formally apply to the Board to undertake research in their schools (a common requirement in North American education systems). On the face of it, easy access into schools is a qualitative researcher's dream; many schools I visited seemed to be genuinely pleased to be involved and I did not encounter any apparent hostility (at an institutional level - a few individual teachers were clearly not so well disposed) towards me or my research. Having a reputation in the field has disadvantages, too, from a research angle, such as the 'right answer syndrome': some respondents were evidently looking to me, at times, to confirm or challenge the 'correctness' of their replies, especially around definitions of global education. A few wanted help with particular projects or work schemes. Other, more subtle, forms of 'right answer' seeking may have taken place, such as 'preparation' for the interview by reading one of my publications (a few respondents referred to these by name). As a general rule, I tried to counter such efforts in the ways mentioned above: stressing the importance of *their* opinions, confirming that I sought *perceptions*, not right answers, and downplaying my own 'expertise' in whatever way possible.

The relatively impartial and 'non-expert' position I adopted in schools - an attempt at 'empathic neutrality' (Patton, 1990, 54) - was important, I felt, from the point of view of the self-esteem of the respondents. I was there to listen and observe, not to evaluate or judge. I recognised, however, that in talking about their perceptions of global education, and in allowing me into their classrooms, teachers were potentially exposing themselves professionally, as was indicated, perhaps, by the nervousness of some respondents. This may have been exacerbated, to some degree, by the presence of the tape-recorder, though all interviewees were asked for their prior consent to this and only a few declined. At the same time as requesting permission to record interviews, I assured respondents of complete anonymity and confidentiality (Sieber, 1992), confirming that the data would be used only in my thesis and, possibly, in published articles but that neither schools nor individual teachers would be identifiable in any writing unless their prior permission had been sought and granted. As will be evident in later chapters, some respondents did reveal sensitive information and opinions about colleagues or employers (in a few cases, after checking the 'confidentiality clause' with me), whilst others appeared to be withholding data that might have been interesting or pertinent. In general, I would estimate that the provisions of anonymity and confidentiality facilitated a degree of openness amongst most respondents, despite the tape recorder, that would not otherwise have been displayed.

As Miles and Huberman (1994, 295) note, 'the typical research experience is full of dilemmas'. Whilst it was mostly possible to adhere to the code of ethics described above, there were instances of inevitable conflict, particularly in relation to my dual position as researcher and, in the eyes of respondents, as global education proponent. The former role demands a stance of detached inquiry; the latter requires openness, co-operation and encouragement of worthy ideas and initiatives. A few respondents were clearly puzzled by my refusal to express an opinion on their work, or answer direct questions until after the interview had been concluded; by that time, their attitude towards me may have coloured their interview responses. In adopting an air of detachment, I experienced from time to time a sense of professional inadequacy. It would have been much more rewarding, from a global educator's perspective, to offer help, advice or additional ideas in situations where such were warranted; rather, I chose to make generalised, and often rather banal, comments that were of little help to individual teachers who were expecting more. Even when I had finished interviewing or observing a particular teacher, I was concerned that the school 'bush telegraph' system would influence the responses of future interviewees. The promise of confidentiality also caused difficulties with some school principals who clearly expected me, at the end of my visit, to evaluate the performance of certain staff. Here, I would draw their attention to the confidentiality clause and make generalised comments about the global education initiative as a whole.

Literature survey: data collection

As was indicated in Chapter One, the volume of literature on global education is still relatively small, for until recently, there were only a few key writers on the topic in a few Western industrialised countries. Nonetheless, in light of the difficulties discussed earlier around terminology and interpretations, it was important to establish at the outset of the survey a general definition of global education that would serve as a guide in the selection of relevant literature. Mindful of the statements from many global educators that finding a suitable, succinct definition is one of their hardest tasks, the following alternative sets of general criteria were used in the initial selection process:

either documents that specifically used the term 'global education' or 'global perspectives' in connection with formal education in schools;

or documents that contained *many* or *all* of the following concepts, emphases or foci in the context of formal education in schools:

- global interdependence
- the world as a system, or collection of systems
- international/intercultural awareness
- personal, societal or global development
- environmental awareness
- awareness of human rights, justice, equality
- peace and conflict management
- futures perspectives
- teaching/learning methodologies deemed to be appropriate for global education

The use of these criteria, as general guiding principles, facilitated the selection of comparable literature from each country, whilst still allowing for national and regional emphases to remain in the sample. It should be noted, however, that the selection of any documents employing the terms 'global education' or 'global perspectives in education' - irrespective of whether the alternative criteria are met - could have resulted in a qualitative difference between the literature surveyed in North America (where those terms are current) and in the UK. In fact, as will be explored in Chapter 6, the difference is most noticeable in the American literature when compared with that from Canada and the UK.

Within the second set of criteria is the assumption that the literature selected will have a broad, 'global' focus, rather than a single emphasis on a particular issue. Thus, documents on raising environmental awareness that did not also include some of the other components listed would have been rejected; likewise, documents that explored teaching and learning processes commonly found in global education, but did not set these in the context of global education concepts, were excluded. This is in line with the integrative function of global education, a critical feature to be found in the literature from many countries: its concern to seek connections and relationships between differently labelled phenomena; to mirror, in other words, the systemic nature of the world in the way it organises and interprets knowledge (Becker, 1990; Greig, Pike and Selby, 1987a; Lyons, 1992b; Pradervand, 1987). In actuality, utilisation of the general criteria listed above determined that the fields of 'global education' or 'global perspectives in education' were the principal areas of study in Canada and the USA, whilst 'world studies' became the primary research focus in the UK.

All published and unpublished print materials that met the above criteria were considered admissible; this included books, book chapters, teaching resources, articles in both academic and professional journals, reports and book reviews, descriptions of programmes, organisations and services, mission statements, curriculum outlines and classroom activities; in addition, a few relevant video tapes were included. Thus, the literature review incorporates both primary and secondary sources, though the emphasis in both collection and analysis phases has been on the latter. The rationale for this focus can be found in the research questions. At a theoretical level, the field of global education is largely defined and shaped by the most publicly and widely accessible documents written by the 'key informants' - the proponents who are most often referred to and cited by other proponents and by practitioners. As will be evident in Section Two, there is a small number of critical documents that have had substantial influence on the field. Thus, an assessment of the relative impact of proponents' visions on practitioners' perceptions needs to be oriented around sources available in the public domain, rather than seeking out the private or less accessible thoughts of proponents. Where primary data (personal documents and notes, correspondence) have been included in the literature review, the reasons will be evident from the text.

The starting point in the literature gathering process was my own collection of global education literature, obtained through correspondence and exchanges of materials and, from 1986 onwards, through professional visits to other countries. Each of these visits served to cement and develop a personal network of contacts and further facilitated the flow of materials. These contacts, representing many of the leading proponents of global education, then formed the nuclei of recipients of formal requests for up-to-date information that were sent out during the summer of 1992, with follow-up letters to selected people (some of these being suggested by the initial contacts) in the autumn of 1992. In all, 64 'request for information' letters' were sent, yielding 28 replies (an average response rate of 44%). In the four countries from which the majority of data was collected, the response rate ranged from 31% (USA) to 75% (Australia - subsequently dropped from the study). In the original letter, recipients were asked to send - or give references to - articles, books and book chapters on global education (though not necessarily so titled) that they had written during the previous five years, or had been written by a colleague within the same organisation/institution; references to their other recent publications (including teaching materials); copies of 'mission statements' or definitions of global education in current usage; and lists of aims and objectives to which they currently subscribe. They were also asked to name other significant publications they knew of in their country. The responses varied, in quality and volume, from a few single-sheet programme descriptions to large packets containing personalised responses and several articles or book chapters. The majority of respondents included several documents.

The data collection was initially structured in this way because it seemed prudent to make use of my existing network of personal connections so as to ensure the highest possible response rate. (In the case of the USA - where fewest personal contacts existed - the list was augmented by sending requests to selected organisations listed in *The New Global Yellow Pages* [Goldhawk and Kremb, 1989], a directory of organisations broadly involved in global education. This technique resulted in the poorest response rate, both numerically and in terms of volume of materials sent.) On account of my involvement in this relatively small field for more than fifteen years, many of the 'key informants' are amongst my personal contacts or are, at least, known to me by name. To increase credibility of the literature survey, other search methods were subsequently used to augment the initial data collection process. These included database (ERIC; Canadian Education Index) searches, further recommendations from key proponents (most fruitful in the case of the USA) and a continuous 'snowballing' technique. In the latter method, notes were made of references to other published works that appeared in any global education writing; most of these were subsequently reviewed, especially where any publication was mentioned more than once by different authors. As time progressed and the coverage of literature became wider, the position of 'redundancy' (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, 202) was approached as fewer and fewer unreviewed publications were noted. These additional strategies also enabled me to keep abreast with new publications as they appeared in each country. It has been assumed that this combination of data gathering methods will have encompassed some writing from the vast majority of key proponents. It has never been the intention to survey **all** global education literature from any country, even if such were possible, nor to try to obtain a 'representative sample', as such an attempt would only serve to obfuscate any variations to be found within each country.

Empirical research: sampling

The embeddedness of the empirical research in qualitative methods can be seen in the sampling strategies used to select the 120 practitioners who were interviewed in Stages One and Two combined. In general terms, samples were purposefully selected with a view to studying information-rich cases that would shed some light on the research questions (Patton, 1990). A version of 'combination or mixed purposeful sampling' (p. 183) was thought to best accommodate the different aims and priorities of the various phases of the research. In Stage One, 'purposeful random sampling' (p. 179-

80) techniques were used to select interviewees from the two cohorts of teachers who participated in the in-service training courses in England. As explained earlier, these cohorts were chosen as being suitably 'information rich' in terms of their experience in, and exposure to, a particular model of global education theory and practice. Random sampling of teachers within each cohort was a strategy employed to aid credibility through avoiding the biases that could ensue from other forms of selection. Ten names (and five reserves) were drawn from the list of participants who completed each of the DIGAME courses, representing 51% of the total number. Nineteen teachers (49% of total participants) were subsequently interviewed (one teacher was ill on the day of her interview and could not be replaced).

The 'information-rich' cases in Stage Two were chosen essentially through the logic of 'intensity sampling' (Patton, 1990, 171-2). In searching for schools and/or projects that exemplified significant or noteworthy practice in global education, the desire was to locate 'intense' - but not 'extreme' - examples. (In actual fact, no potential cases were rejected on the basis of being 'extreme'; such a category did not appear to exist, or the distinction between 'intense' and 'extreme' was never sufficiently clear.) In addition to intensity sampling, other criteria played a part in the selection of schools for Stage Two. Considered, too, were the grade levels taught in the schools and their geographical and socio-economic location, to ensure a mixed sample of elementary and secondary schools in urban/suburban and rural contexts in both Canada and the USA. Such criteria would accord with Patton's description of 'maximum variation sampling' (p. 172). In the later stages of the empirical research, it was felt prudent to explore potentially 'disconfirming cases' (p.178) in order to further test the hypotheses that were emerging; schools in both countries were selected on the basis that they appeared to exhibit characteristics that ran counter to some dominant categories arising from an analysis of the data collected so far. In locating potentially admissible schools (*i.e.* ones that exhibited noteworthy practice in global education), a combination of three factors was employed, a minimum of two being applicable in each case: personal knowledge, recommendations by other key proponents (project leaders and/or school district superintendents with responsibility for global education) and references in the literature. The recommendations of other proponents were accorded more weight than the other two factors in making final selections, on the grounds that such people had more intimate knowledge of schools under their jurisdiction. In total, six schools in Canada (four in Ontario, two in Newfoundland) were visited; three are elementary (Kindergarten to Grade 6), the others being an integrated Kindergarten to Grade 9 school, a junior high (Grades 7-9) and a high school (Grades 10-13). In the USA, visits took place to one elementary school (Kindergarten to Grade 6), one combined elementary and middle school (Kindergarten to Grade 8), one high school (Grades 9 to 12), and one school district (comprising five elementary schools and one middle school); these institutions are located in Illinois, Indiana, Maine and Michigan. The pattern of using individual schools as sources for locating appropriate practitioners for interview purposes was broken in the case of the school district, because of the latter's involvement as a whole district in a significant project. In terms of their locations, two of the Canadian schools were urban, two suburban and two rural; one American school was urban (small town), one suburban and one rural; the school district was suburban. Distance from Toronto was an additional factor in determining location (no schools in the west of Canada or USA were considered), though the schools eventually chosen are situated in culturally, demographically and geographically diverse locations within each country. In choosing schools in Canada, my prior involvement as an in-service educator was another factor. As I had worked with a substantial number of practitioners from two of the Ontario schools, the others (two in Ontario, two in Newfoundland) were selected partly because of my lack of contact with their staff in a professional development capacity.

In all cases in Stage Two, intensity sampling provided the logic for the selection of interviewees *within* each school. Teachers were identified by key personnel with an overview of staffing matters and global education within each school or school district, with whom I had discussed the research goals and methods. I offered two criteria for the selection of interviewees: firstly, that they should be willing to be interviewed and secondly, that they should have had some significant involvement in the global education initiative (though not for any specified length of time). Obviously, the second is vague and open to various interpretations; however, as I had no prior information about teachers in the identified schools, and initiatives varied in scope and depth, it seemed propitious to entrust the selection of the 'information-rich cases' to an individual who had in-depth knowledge of both of these factors. In actuality, the lists drawn up in this way were always provisional; during my visits, other teachers often came forward and, occasionally, I asked to talk to a particular individual who appeared to be of potential interest to my research. Inevitably, a few potentially 'information-rich' cases were missed due to illness, prior commitments or not wishing to be involved (though I was told of very few examples of the latter). A total of 101 practitioners were subsequently interviewed, 47 in Canada and 54 in the United States; of these, 84 were classroom teachers and 17 were school or district administrators (a few of whom had a teaching role as well). Due to differences in both school size (from a four-teacher elementary school to a high school with 85 staff) and the extent of staff involvement in the global education initiative, the proportion of the total teaching and administrative staff interviewed varied from 17% to 100%; in six out of the nine schools visited (excluding the one school district), the proportion was in the 22% to 42% range. In one sense, the percentage of total staff interviewed is not significant to the research findings. The primary 'units of analysis' (Patton, 1990, 166) in this study are teachers, not schools, and the number interviewed in each school was determined largely by two factors already mentioned: their involvement in the global education initiative, and their willingness and/or availability to be interviewed during my visit. (The duration of each school visit was determined solely by the amount of time required, taking into account timetabling and other constraints, to interview the identified teachers and collect other data; visits ranged from one to four days). The number of unwilling or unavailable teachers appeared to be very small, perhaps an average of one per school. Notwithstanding the personal and professional biases that might have influenced the identification of teachers, it is assumed that the vast majority of 'information-rich' cases in each school were interviewed.

Empirical research: data collection

This combination of sampling techniques, within the overall framework of 'purposeful sampling' methods, arose as a response to the narrowing of the research focus that occurred during the transition from Stage One to Stage Two, and also as a measure to increase the credibility of the research design. Both of these considerations were influential, too, in determining the objects and methods of data collection and recording in the empirical research. The principal method of data collection employed in all phases was a series of in-depth, semi-structured interviews with the selected practitioners, mostly conducted on an individual basis (of the 101 interviewees involved in Stage Two, ten were interviewed in pairs, for reasons of their own choosing). The face-to-face interview was chosen as being the most appropriate method for gathering the kind of personal reminiscences, reflections and feelings from which perceptions of global education could be best gauged. Interviews varied from 20 to 45 minutes in length, most being in the region of 25-30 minutes. Where permission was granted, each interview was recorded on audio tape. Eight Stage Two interviewees refused permission; in these cases, substantial written notes were taken during the interview and reviewed immediately afterwards. Whilst acknowledging the potentially inhibiting role of a tape-recorder in interview situations, it was felt that the nature of the data sought justified its use in that it enables the interviewer to attend fully to the interviewee's responses, both verbal and non-verbal, yet also to have an accurate record of what was said. As Hammersley and Atkinson (1983, 162) point out, in interview situations that are not highly structured, other forms of recording are even more problematic. Notes were also made, during and after interviews, on points not picked up by the tape recorder, such as the body language or general attitude of the interviewee, interruptions to the interview, artefacts or materials shown as illustrations of points discussed, and any additional comments made after the recorder had been switched off. In a few cases, such comments proved to be highly revealing, perhaps indicating the inhibitory nature of the tape recorder.

The character of the interviews might be best described as one of 'rapport' (Massarik, 1981, 202), in which attempts are made to establish a genuinely human relationship between interviewer and interviewee, within the obvious limitations of the time available and the need to focus on the task. Such a relationship was facilitated by the fact that the general topic of discussion - global education - was of mutual interest. Interviews were conducted using an 'interview guide approach' (Patton, 1990, 283-4), a framework of predetermined questions that were put to each interviewee, though not necessarily in the same order or employing identical language, and with varying degrees of prompting and supplementary questioning. To accord with the narrowing of focus built into the research design, and to cater for differences between in-service courses, multi-school projects and single school initiatives, changes to the question framework were made between the various phases of the research. In Stage One, the interview questions posed comprised a blend of the 'unstructured' and the 'semi-structured' (Hopkins, 1989, 61), the starter questions tending to fall into the former category whilst the prompts and supplementary questions invited more specific detail. Interviews comprised a blend of background questions, knowledge questions and opinion/values questions (Patton, 1990, 291-2), with an emphasis on the latter in order to elucidate individual *perceptions* of the course and of global education. There were five main areas of questioning:

1. Introductory - requesting brief details of teaching post, school context, the reasons for applying and expectations of the course;
2. Reflections on the course - seeking out opinions on the most/least relevant/significant aspects, and any subsequent changes in classroom practice that are thought to have been initiated by the course;
3. Implementation - asking for views on the main inhibiting and facilitating factors in the implementation of global education, in the classroom and in the school;
4. Future plans - requesting details of any plans for implementing global education;
5. What is global education? - asking interviewees what they think are the principal characteristics/emphases of global education.

In the construction of the question framework, it was thought that the data most relevant to the aims of the research would come from areas 2 and 5 above: the interviewees' perceptions of global education could be gauged from an interplay between their long-term reflections on the course and its impact on their teaching, and their response to the all-important final question - 'What would you say were the main characteristics or emphases of global education?' This question, said by many respondents to be the most difficult to answer, was deliberately positioned at the end of the interview in the hope that the interviewee would feel relatively relaxed by that time and would have become attuned to the subject matter through their reflections on previous questions. The other areas of questioning were designed to collect data that could be used as validation tools in the analysis, to check to what extent the respondent's answer to the final question was corroborated by their other responses. In fact, although the analysis concentrates on the data gathered in response to areas 2 and 5, the other questions provided additional and unexpected insights.

Following the refinement of the research questions at the end of Stage One, the question framework was amended for use in Stage Two. Some general background information and initial reflections were requested in a Pre-Interview Questionnaire (see Appendix 1), completed and returned by respondents prior to the interview (75 Questionnaires were completed). In addition to providing some important contextual information regarding the respondent's experience and training in global education (some of which may have necessitated a little prior research and reflection), the primary aim of the Questionnaire was to furnish initial thoughts and perceptions that could be further explored in the interview. Thus, each interview could be 'tailored' to reflect the particular interests and priorities of the respondent whilst following a common set of open-ended questions in the interview guide. (In cases where interviewees had not completed the Questionnaire, additional questions to elicit contextual information were included in the interview). The interview guide incorporated six basic areas of questioning, with a strong emphasis on opinions/values questions; references to Questionnaire responses were made, and clarification sought if necessary, where indicated in italics.

1. *(reference to Questionnaire, no. 1)*
Development of understanding - asking how respondent's understanding of global education has developed since first hearing about it, and what have been the contributory factors and influences.
(clarification of Questionnaire, nos. 3 & 4, if necessary)

2. *(reference to Questionnaire, no. 2)*
Involvement - eliciting respondent's reasons for their continued involvement in global education.

3. Models and frameworks - asking whether respondent makes use of an organising framework (*e.g.* a model or a set of concepts/principles) when thinking about global education (illustrative examples requested, where appropriate).

4. School context - asking respondent to reflect upon how easy/difficult it is to be a global educator in this school, and what are the facilitating/inhibiting factors.

(reference to Questionnaire, no. 5)

5. The global teacher - eliciting respondent's views on the most important characteristics of a global education practitioner (prompting reflections, where necessary, on both 'how' and 'what' to teach).

(reference to Questionnaire, no. 6)

6. What is global education? - asking respondent to characterise or summarise what global education is.

Slight changes were made to the interview guide in schools that were affiliated with specific projects (see Chapters 8 and 9), to elicit information about the direct influence of the project on respondents' understanding and perceptions. The construction of the interview guide follows a similar rationale to that used in Stage One in the sense that the critical question - What is global education? - is posed at (or towards) the end, but previous questions have prepared respondents, in various ways, to formulate an answer; responses to the earlier questions also provide opportunities for respondents to make statements that can support (or challenge) their answer to the summary question. Additionally, the Stage Two interview guide incorporates questions designed to elicit information related to the other research questions that emerged as a result of Stage One. Interviews with non-teaching administrators were more open-ended, including questions that elicited information about the school or district's past involvement in global education, reflections on present progress and plans for the future.

In Stage Two, further data collection methods were included to reflect refinements in the research questions and to increase the validity of the data through triangulation. In addition to asking respondents to complete the Pre-Interview Questionnaire, supporting documentation was requested from interviewees and from schools: both 'formal' documents (*e.g.* school mission statements, policies and brochures, evaluation reports and action plans, curriculum outlines and units) and informal materials (*e.g.* personal lesson plans, staff meeting notes, journal entries, photographs and correspondence) were collected. All schools willingly allowed me some access to this type of information and, in most cases, sent a batch of documents for me to read prior to the visit. Gathering more personal documentation from individual teachers was not so successful; if they brought anything at all to the interview, it was generally a curriculum unit, textbook or other classroom material. A School Profile Sheet (see Appendix 2), requesting factual information about the school and its catchment area and seeking views on its strengths, its challenges and the role played by global education, was completed by a senior staff member (usually the Principal or Vice-Principal) in each school (though not in the American school district, where comparable information was supplied by a district administrator). Informal conversations with students, other staff (including support staff), and parents took place from time to time, providing additional perspectives on the school and on global education. One American school set up a 'round table discussion' involving nine parents and support staff.

Whenever possible, I spent time in school staffrooms, observing and talking with staff, or walking around the school in order to gain a better understanding of the school culture and environment. Observation techniques were also used in some classrooms: prior to my visit, interviewees were asked to say if they were willing to permit me into their classrooms, before their interview took place, to observe a lesson (though not necessarily a special 'global education' lesson). It was explained to them that the main purpose of the observation was to check that the interview questions were relevant and appropriate, and that important areas of questioning were not being omitted. Some teachers were clearly not comfortable with this idea and timetabling difficulties precluded other possible observations; a total of 40 lessons (25 in USA, 15 in Canada) were observed, in whole or part. During classroom observation, the 'sensitizing framework' (Patton, 1990, 216) employed incorporated the following key concepts: curriculum content (what was being taught); teaching and learning processes (how teaching/learning was taking place); classroom ethos (the social relations existing in the classroom); and classroom environment (the physical look and layout). During subsequent interviews with teachers who had been observed, any questions arising from the observation were posed, especially in situations where my initial analysis of the observation seemed at odds with the respondent's answers, or where something warranting further exploration had been observed. It was always intended that data obtained from observations (recorded in field notes) were to play a peripheral role in the data analysis and in drawing conclusions. Indeed, all of the additional data collected were subsequently used either to lend support to, or to raise questions about, the hypotheses emerging from analysis of the interview data, recognising that the latter are subject to distortion and bias for a host of reasons including recall error, lack of awareness, the interviewee's emotional state and the relationship with the interviewer (Patton, 1990).

Data analysis and interpretation

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, data analysis did not simply follow data collection: preliminary analysis was undertaken in particular phases that subsequently informed the research design as the study progressed. During the empirical research, data analysis could be described as ongoing, to some degree. As Bogdan and Biklen (1982) point out, useful analysis takes place in the field, as well as after data collection; certainly there would have been little point in engaging in observation in schools and classrooms unless on-the-spot analysis of what was seen could result in changes or additions to the interview questioning. Similarly, in the interviews themselves, the purpose of the interview guide was to allow flexibility in terms of questioning; some immediate analysis of interviewees' responses has to take place if the interviewer is to maximise potential by pursuing interesting comments or promising leads. Thus, the researcher comes to post-collection data analysis having already acted upon some preliminary judgments and created provisional ideas that then need to be subjected to further scrutiny.

Whilst following the general principle of allowing concepts and theories to emerge from, and be 'grounded' in, the data, there were differences in each phase of the data analysis that reflected changes in the research goals. In the literature survey, data analysis served two principal functions: first, to compile 'country profiles' that attempt to characterise global education in terms of the dominant themes and emphases found in each country's literature; second, to compare the three profiles in order to ascertain degrees of commonality - and distinctiveness - that appear to exist among them. In compiling 'country profiles' the intention was for the identification of those characteristics to be suggested by the dominant strands of thought expressed in the literature. In other words, rather than starting with a single 'definition' of global education (which, much of the literature suggests, is problematic) and using this as a framework of reference in the analytic process, an attempt was made to permit the literature to put forward its own categories for consideration in the construction of a profile. In this way, it was hoped to build up a profile that is a valid 'characterisation' of global education in any country in that it reflects the thinking and writing of the key proponents.

Following a period of immersion in the global education literature of one country, an initial 'coding' (Bryman and Burgess, 1994a, 5) process was undertaken, whereby attempts were made to identify 'sensitizing concepts' (Blumer, 1954, 7), ideas emerging from the literature that provided general guidelines for organising the data but lacked, for the time being, specific definitions. Use was also made of the distinction in ethnography between 'members' types' and 'observers' types' of concepts (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983, 178), the former being those that are used by the document writers themselves whilst the latter are concepts that are constructed by the analyst based on prior knowledge and experience. Concurrently with the identification of organising concepts, sections of text (from a few words to several paragraphs) that were illustrative of one (or more) of the concepts were noted; in such a way, lists of exemplar material were compiled for each concept. At appropriate moments, the lists were reviewed to see if all the material was entirely consistent with the identified concept; in some cases, where the concept was now seen to be too broad or lacking in coherence, new organising concepts were consequently identified and the lists re-arranged accordingly. Throughout this process, notes were made of material that seemed to challenge an organising concept in some way, or just did not fit into any chosen category; care was taken to ensure that such 'disconfirming cases' (Patton, 1990, 178) were appropriately acknowledged and subsequently incorporated in the country profile.

Each country's literature was separately analysed in the same manner and the concepts so identified then used to construct the framework of the profile. In its construction, attention was paid to the relative weighting and importance of the various concepts, as indicated by the amount of illustrative material emanating from different writers and the degree of significance they attached to it. Thus, concepts that were supported by a large number of proponents were deemed to be of particular importance to the profile, as were concepts that had less support numerically but to which the writers themselves had attributed considerable significance. The resulting profile attempts to convey a characterisation of global education in each country, by documenting a cross-section of 'key informants'' past and present thinking and providing some interpretation of any contradictions, inconsistencies or ambiguities found. In the comparative stage of the analysis, the three country profiles were reviewed in each other's light. In other words, characteristics from one profile were applied to the other two, to ascertain if further illumination might be obtained - perhaps in terms of alternative organising concepts or 'rival interpretations' (Patton, 1990, 178). Characteristics common to all profiles were then identified, with acknowledgment of their relative status in each country; likewise, the distinctive features of each profile were noted. The resulting similarities and dissimilarities have been incorporated into a cross-national taxonomy of global education (see Chapter 6), a framework that attempts to provide both clarity and coherence when comparing the literature from the three countries.

Analysis of the empirical research essentially revolved around the data collected in interviews with practitioners. Firstly, transcriptions were made of all interviews that had been recorded. Stage One interviews were partially transcribed (with responses to key questions being transcribed in full); however, on listening again to the tapes and discovering some significant comments within other responses, it was decided to make full transcriptions of all recorded Stage Two interviews. In addition to the obvious benefits of transcription in terms of working with interview data (Silverman, 1993), full transcription facilitated the cross-checking of interview responses to reveal levels of consistency in respect of both direct and indirect questions about perceptions of global education. Before embarking on data analysis, transcripts were checked against the original tapes to ensure accuracy and insert emphases and other features not obvious in the typed script. Alongside the transcripts, documentation collected from schools and teachers (including completed Pre-Interview Questionnaires and School Profile Sheets) and observation field notes were then subjected to a detailed process of analysis based upon Ritchie and Spencer's (1994, 176) 'framework' method, chosen because it incorporates certain key features that are in tune with the research design: it is grounded in the data, it is systematic and comprehensive, yet it is open to change and amendment throughout the analytic process.

Adaptation of the method was necessary to accommodate changes in research goals between Stages One and Two. In Stage One, 'familiarization' with the data led to the identification of a 'thematic framework', consisting of a set of key concepts, issues and themes that were either raised by the respondents themselves or were seen to be recurrent within the data as a whole. The process of 'indexing' - systematically applying the framework to the data - incorporated refinements to the thematic framework as new themes became apparent and others were modified in the light of fresh insights. In the fourth step of the framework, 'charting', data were lifted and rearranged thematically, so that illustrative examples from all interviews were collected together under each theme; summary charting 'by case' (denoting the distribution of themes for each respondent) was also undertaken, to facilitate interpretation of the relative importance of each theme among the sample as a whole. The 'mapping and interpretation' process revolved around the key research question and research goal to be addressed in Stage One: what perceptions of global education exist among practitioners exposed to in-depth in-service training in the UK, and what additional questions are thereby raised, within the context of the overall research goals, that might be pursued in subsequent stages?

The 'framework' method was also utilised in analysis of Stage Two data, with one significant modification. A 'thematic framework' was initially constructed with recourse to ideas and themes that were identified as an outcome of Stage One; thus, 'indexing' was begun with a pre-determined set of categories that related specifically to the research questions, rather than allowing themes to emerge from the data. As indexing proceeded, however, additional themes came to light and were added to the framework. This dual approach to the construction of the framework oriented the analysis specifically towards an exploration of the questions arising from Stage One whilst also permitting other relevant, but hitherto unforeseen, factors to emerge and be included. The categories used were:

- *personal experience* - statements recalling past experiences (or lack of), within and outside school
- *values and beliefs* - statements of personal values and convictions in relation to education
- *models of global education* - statements about the utilisation of models, frameworks, sets of concepts, *etc.*
- *global education philosophy* - statements alluding to personal beliefs about, and perceptions of, global education
- *global education definition* - statements concerning definitions of, or attempting to define, global education

- *proponents' ideas* - statements alluding to the use of proponents' ideas, models and materials
- *global education resources* - statements referring to the sources of information used in global education
- *classroom implementation* - statements concerning the practical implementation of global education
- *professional development* - statements about professional development experiences (or lack of)
- *school/local/regional/national context* - statements concerning aspects of school culture and other influences at local, regional and national levels
- *community support* - statements referring to support for global education (or lack of) from the community

Obviously, many of these categories overlap and some data could be placed in more than one category; a cross-referencing system was used in such cases. At the 'charting' stage, the above categories were divided into sub-categories, each representing significant ideas or trends in the data. Pictures of the data 'by case' and 'by theme' were then built up, firstly through the construction of school (or school district) profiles, with a view to facilitating interpretation of the relative significance of the school context and culture in the formation of perceptions of global education. By bringing together the school profiles in each country, it was thought some insights might be gained into possible distinctive characteristics to be found amongst practitioner perceptions in the two countries. Thematic charts were also developed to aid the cross-school exploration of categories identified as being potentially significant in practitioners' development of meaning. Finally, data from the literature analysis were reviewed in light of the hypotheses emerging from the empirical research, so as to formulate conclusions about the relationship between proponents' visions and practitioners' perceptions.

Issues of credibility

It should be acknowledged that the analytic process can never be as objective as the above description implies. Inevitably, the paradigm existing in the researcher's own mind acts as a subconscious filter, highlighting certain features because of their apparent interest value and glossing over other aspects that, to another researcher, might be worthy of further examination. This degree of subjectivity is particularly significant - and likely - when the researcher is deeply involved, at a theoretical level, in the field that is being researched. An intimate understanding of any field can carry within it a certain unwillingness to incorporate ideas and perspectives that do not apparently fit an established framework of thought; on the other hand, prior personal involvement in the development of the field equips the researcher with a specialised knowledge that, if sensitively used, can aid the identification of key issues and exploration of research questions. As has been noted from time to time in this chapter, these considerations have far-reaching implications for the credibility of the research findings.

Patton (1990, 461) defines credibility in qualitative research in terms of three distinct but related elements:

> (1) rigorous techniques and methods for gathering high-quality data that is carefully analyzed, with attention to issues of validity, reliability, and triangulation;
> (2) the credibility of the researcher, which is dependent upon training, experience, track record, status, and presentation of self; and
> (3) philosophical belief in the phenomenological paradigm, that is, a fundamental appreciation of naturalistic inquiry, qualitative methods, inductive analysis, and holistic thinking.

Throughout the research design, data collection and data analysis stages of this study, I have attempted to address all three elements in a variety of ways. Based on Hopkins' (1989, 80) suggestions for enhancing validity (using three of the six types of validity identified by McCormick and James [1988]), I have incorporated the following measures at appropriate points:

construct validity

- using multiple sources of evidence in the data collection phase, especially in Stage Two of the empirical research (teacher interviews, informal conversations with other school personnel, documents, observation)
- building uncertainty about definitions of 'global education' into the research design, the literature review and into the development of the interview guide
- using key informants to enhance sampling validity (in the literature review and in the selection of schools in Stage Two), and in reviewing evaluation drafts (of the literature review)

internal validity

- searching out potentially 'disconfirming cases' to include in the schools' sample in Stage Two
- being rigorous in the application of data analysis techniques
- pursuing alternative or rival explanations in the analysis of all data
- using triangulation - of data collection *methods* and *sources* (in Stage Two; also building cross-checking devices into the interview guide questions); and of *theories* in the data interpretation phases (Patton, 1990, 464)

external validity

- collecting empirical data from a variety of geographical and socio-cultural locations (within each country) and at different points in time

- using relatively large samples in the empirical research (a total of 120 practitioners interviewed)

The above points, of course, need to be viewed in the overall context of a qualitative study that has traded some depth for breadth. In choosing to focus on a large sample of teachers from multiple sites in three countries, thereby limiting the data collection time in each site, some validation processes that require spending a lengthy time in one site were precluded. Consequent implications for the validity of interpretations and conclusions will be considered at appropriate points in later chapters.

In a study undertaken by a single researcher, the issue of reliability is centrally related to researcher credibility and quality control (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Through the behaviours and attitudes described earlier in this chapter, I have attempted to undertake the data collection in a reflective, sensitive and professional manner, recognising the position and status I hold in the field being studied. In the design and analysis of the research, I have tried to examine and acknowledge my own assumptions and biases and the implications these may have for the conclusions drawn. Data collection and analysis techniques, as described earlier, have been followed steadfastly and carefully documented in the form of written notes. The methodological limitations of the research are duly acknowledged and taken into account. At all stages, competing hypotheses and rival interpretations have been sought out and discussed.

As traditionally defined (McCormick and James, 1988, 188), reliability suggests that, 'at least in principle, another researcher, or the same researcher on another occasion, should be able to *replicate* the original piece or research and achieve comparable evidence and results'. The exact nature of 'comparable evidence' begs many questions; my own 'paradigm orientation' - to address Patton's third element of credibility - questions the feasibility (or even desirability) of such a concept of reliability in qualitative research. I tend towards an 'interactionist' (Silverman, 1993, 94) position on interview data, regarding interviews as social events in which the roles played by the interviewer and the interviewee are shaped by many variables, including the time and location of the interview (the context), the personal qualities of both partners and the relationship that is developed between them during the interview process. The interview, therefore, can be regarded as a 'local accomplishment' (p.104), rather than a mere technique, which is uniquely set in its particular context. In other words, it *cannot* be replicated - in the strict sense of the word - only approximated, and even then with some difficulty. This point was brought home to me starkly when, in the middle of a Stage One interview, I noticed that the tape recorder was not running. Not wanting to rely upon my sketchy notes, I asked, with much embarrassment, if we could start again. The interviewee consented, but I soon realised that what we were now engaged in was a mostly new interaction, not a repeat performance, even though the questions were the same. If an interview cannot be replicated by the same people in the same location within a few minutes of the first encounter, how can I - or anyone else - replicate an empirical study based on extensive interviewing and expect to obtain 'comparable evidence and results'?

Such a view of reliability fits well, I believe, with a phenomenological position on truth: what's true depends upon one's perspective (Patton, 1990, 483). It accords, too, with physicist Werner Heisenberg's *uncertainty principle,* which, along with other pronouncements of leading-edge scientists on subject-object relationships, has influenced my thinking on global education (Pike and Selby, 1988; Greig, Pike and Selby, 1989). According to Heisenberg, what we observe is not nature itself, but nature exposed to our method of questioning; reality, suggest Briggs and Peat (1984) is a 'looking glass universe' - what the observer observes (and, by extension, the interviewer hears) says something about both observer and observed. Truth, like beauty, is in the eyes and ears of the researcher. Reason and Rowan (1981, 242) suggest that researchers need to move away from the idea that there exists a single continuum between 'error' and 'truth'; certainly, they argue, there are many ways of being 'wrong' (and, hence, the importance of validity in research methods), but there are also many ways of being 'right'.

One final anecdote will serve to illustrate the paradigm that underlies this study, and my work in general. At the end of her interview, one Canadian respondent recounted the following story. It has inspired me ever since.

> One thing that really hit me, when I was doing some reading for my James Bay trip, there was ... when the first LG1 was going through, the first Hydro Quebec (power) station was being built, they had the Cree come in the courtroom, in Montreal - and they'd never been down South before. And they walked into the courtroom, and they had to ... they got this book out, and this Cree had to put his hand on this book and swear to tell the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so ... and he didn't know what it was, right? And he said, so they translated it, and then the Cree said: 'I can only tell you what I know. I don't know if it's the truth'.

In the account of my research that is presented in the succeeding chapters, I can only tell you what I have attempted and experienced, what conclusions I have drawn from those experiences, and why. I don't know if it's the truth.

Section Two

Proponents' Visions: A Review of the Literature

Introduction

The overall aim of this Section is to analyse the literature collected from the three countries in order to elicit the interpretations of, and perspectives on, global education found therein. More specifically, the analysis is intended to identify two broad sets of features:

- the distinctive features of global education to be found in each country;
- the common features of global education that are shared between two or more countries.

By 'distinctive features' are meant those characteristics or qualities that emerge as dominant or most frequently observed in a thorough analysis of the literature of each country (though they would not have to be found in every piece of literature). Through this process, a profile of global education in each country can be built up. 'Common features' are those characteristics or qualities that share a strong likeness and are found in different countries' literature; in searching for similarities, it is anticipated that this process may also reveal characteristics that are unique to particular countries. Through the identification of similarities and dissimilarities, a *taxonomy* of global education will be constructed, according to a range of indicators, in the final chapter of this section.

The case for an analysis of the literature by country first of all is twofold. Firstly, global education is an initiative that deals with issues that are of fundamental importance to nation states, such as culture, citizenship, societal development, the environment, peace and security; furthermore, the discussion of such issues within global education impinges upon personal and social attitudes, beliefs and perspectives. It is suggested, therefore, that certain 'national' characteristics may be found in a country's approach to, and interpretation of, global education. Secondly, a prominent argument postulated in global education literature is the need for education to reflect the increasing 'globalization' (L. Anderson, 1990, 21) of societies in terms of politics, economics and culture. Yet, as other writers have noted, the school curriculum has been used frequently as a vehicle for inculcating or re-asserting national values and maintaining a sense of national identity (Becker, 1990; Goodlad, 1979; Goodson, 1990; Heater, 1980). Part of the reason for constructing a 'country profile', therefore, is to explore the ways in which global education initiatives in each country have attempted to deal with - or ignore - this possible tension in the purpose and practice of schooling. For reasons that will become obvious, the three country profiles are presented in the chronological order in which global education emerged as a distinct field: USA, UK, Canada.

The case for constructing a global education taxonomy is founded upon the question: how global is global education? In other words, to what extent are the aims and practices of global education universally shared, and to what extent do they reflect national, cultural or ideological assumptions about the world, and hopes for the future? To what degree, then, is global education a 'globalization' of education as distinct from a new form of outward-looking nationalism? By attempting to draw together common ideas and strands of experience from the various countries studied, it is hoped to be able to provide some insights into these questions.

Chapter 3

Profile 1 : Global Education in the USA

The thirst for global knowledge

A preliminary scan of American global education literature suffices to identify two dominant themes. The first is the professed need for American school students to learn more about the world in which they live; the second is the preoccupation with concerns of national interest and the meaning of American citizenship in the late twentieth century. Both of these themes figure prominently within the various rationales or statements of legitimation for global education found in the literature, often appearing as related and mutually supporting ideas. As such, they provide useful starting points for analysis, 'sensitizing concepts' (Blumer, 1954, 7) that will henceforth be referred to as **global knowledge** and **national interests.** It should be noted, however, that these are 'observers' types' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983, 178) of concepts, being utilised to pull together a range of key ideas that appear in the literature, though not necessarily under these two headings.

Prominent in many proponents' rationale for the inclusion of global education in the school curriculum are statements concerning the low levels of knowledge about the world and world affairs among American students. These statements are generally supported by references to national and international surveys: Avery *et al.* (1991, 320) cites, *inter alia*, the extensive research studies of Pike and Barrows (1979) and the IEA civic education survey of ten countries (Torney, Oppenheim and Farnen, 1975) in her contention that 'for over fifteen years, surveys have documented US students' limited understanding of international issues and their low level of concern for global problems'; Torney points out that according to the IEA survey, involving over 30,000 students, fourteen-year old Americans ranked seventh out of eight countries in their knowledge of international processes and institutions, yet second out of eight in knowledge of domestic politics (Torney, 1977; Torney-Purta, 1989). Marx and Collins (1982) catalogue many limitations of the American populace in terms of international perspectives, particularly in relation to the very low numbers of US citizens who can communicate in many of the world's major languages. Merryfield (1991) cites more recent evidence of concern, including a report of the Southern Governors' Association (1986), that schools are not adequately preparing students for the challenges of the contemporary world. O'Neil, (1989) reports on a 1988 Gallup poll finding that 18-24 year old Americans ranked last on a test of geographic knowledge, compared with their peers in eight other nations. Thorpe (1988, 1) casts some light on possible causes of students' inadequate preparation in suggesting that global education rationales are built upon two basic premises: evidence that curricula and textbooks are 'dominated by ethnocentric and nationalistic biases', and assertions that teachers themselves have been insufficiently prepared to help students deal with an interconnected world. Wilson's (1983, 1991, 1993) research into the impact of 'cross-cultural experiences' - either through international travel or sustained interaction with students from other countries - leads her to the belief that 'in order to prepare their students to be citizens of a global society, prospective teachers need to themselves become comfortable as international citizens' (1991, 2). In summary, studies pointing to Americans' lack of global knowledge and experience, at all levels of society including schools and universities, are numerous and provide solid platforms upon which proponents have built their arguments for global education. What that global knowledge should comprise - the content and goals of global education - has been the principal focus of considerable debate in the literature by a small group of key proponents over many years.

In the short history of global education in the USA, two of the most frequently cited and influential writers are Robert Hanvey and Lee Anderson. The five dimensions outlined in Hanvey's *An Attainable Global Perspective*, a 28-page paper first published in 1976, are still employed - some twenty years later - as a set of basic goals for global education; indeed, the paper 'has probably influenced the global education movement ... more than any one document' (Merryfield, 1992b, 57). On account of its popularity - and the lack of critical appraisal it often receives - it is worth spending some time on an analysis of this document's key statements. These statements are the succinct definitions (cited below) of each of the five concepts that Hanvey explores and the most frequently quoted extracts of the paper; rarely are Hanvey's more detailed explanations of these concepts referred to. Dimension 1 is 'Perspective Consciousness':

> the recognition or awareness on the part of the individual that he or she has a view of the world that is not universally shared, that this view of the world has been and continues to be shaped by influences that often escape conscious detection, and that others have views of the world that are profoundly different from one's own. (Hanvey, 1976, 4)

Perspective consciousness underpins one of the basic tenets of global education, that of seeing things from other people's viewpoints. As defined by Hanvey, the emphasis is on an awareness of the limitations of personal worldviews. In a much later paper, Martin-Kniep and Wise (1991, 5-6) distinguish between 'perspective awareness' and 'perspective taking'; the former, they suggest, is consistent with Hanvey's goal, whilst the latter is the more active 'ability to put oneself in someone else's shoes'. Hanvey's second dimension is '"State of the Planet" Awareness':

> awareness of prevailing world conditions and developments, including emergent conditions and trends, e.g. population growth, migrations, economic conditions, resources and physical environment, political developments, science and technology, law, health, inter-nation and intra-nation conflicts, etc. (p. 6)

Within this dimension can be located much of the 'content' of global education that is to do with the development of knowledge about global issues. The statement itself gives nothing away in terms of the range of ideological perspectives that exist on all these conditions, nor does it acknowledge the controversies and conflicts that surround them. Dimension 3 is 'Cross-Cultural Awareness':

> awareness of the diversity of ideas and practices to be found in human societies around the world, of how such ideas and practices compare, and including some limited recognition of how the ideas and ways of one's own society might be viewed from other vantage points. (p. 8)

Cross-cultural awareness, especially the practice of comparing aspects of other cultures with one's own, is a significant strand in American global education. However, the notion of recognising how one's own society might be viewed by others - perhaps a real aid to perspective consciousness - appears to have received much less consideration in the literature, for reasons that will be discussed later. Hanvey's fourth dimension is 'Knowledge of Global Dynamics':

> some modest comprehension of key traits and mechanisms of the world system, with emphasis on theories and concepts that may increase intelligent consciousness of global change. (p. 13)

The world as a system, or comprising a set of interconnecting systems, is another central feature of most global education literature. The dynamics and implications of the systems' concept are further explored in the last dimension, 'Awareness of Human Choices':

> some awareness of the problems of choice confronting individuals, nations, and the human species as consciousness and knowledge of the global system expands. (p. 22)

Taken as a whole, Hanvey's dimensions - which, he suggests, are 'modest' goals 'attainable' by a student in the course of formal and informal education (p. 2) - display a set of characteristics that are to be found in most later models of global education. It should be noted that Hanvey did not propose the five dimensions as a complete or comprehensive set of goals for global education, but rather as a point of departure for educators wishing to develop a global perspective in American schools. The document's influence, however, far exceeds his original intent; summaries of these five dimensions are still used as general statements of goals in major global education projects in the 1980s and 1990s (Kirkwood, 1990; Kniep, 1987; Kniep and Martin-Kniep, 1995; Tye and Tye, 1992). In taking a critical look at Hanvey's goals, a number of points emerge. First and foremost is a strong emphasis on *awareness*, a preoccupation with knowledge about the world and the way it works. Hanvey gives little space to consideration of any skills' or attitudinal objectives that might complement, accompany or succeed the attainment of the awareness goals; indeed, he argues that students should not be expected to *choose* from a set of alternatives, just be aware of their existence (p. 28). Secondly, Hanvey's writing conveys a rather static view of culture, as though cultural groups are impervious to changes over time brought about through the global patterns of migration, communications and trade that are part of 'the world system' that he discusses. Furthermore, he does not consider the notion of universality of perspective, or suggest that certain worldviews might be shared among members of many different cultures. Thirdly, the five dimensions espouse a systems view of the world but fail to reflect that reality at a number of levels: the interconnectedness of the individual and the global system is only dimly recognised, implying a separation of the student from the world 'out there'; cultures, as stated earlier, are viewed as discrete bodies, resistant to global dynamics; and the 'prevailing world conditions and developments' are expressed as phenomena unrelated to each other. Fourthly, Hanvey only hints at the existence of injustices or inequalities within the world system and does not suggest any moral or ethical basis on which students might form opinions or make judgments. Overall, it is a relatively non-controversial and values-shy set of goals that requires students simply to know more about the world of which they are a part. As will become evident, Hanvey's key ideas - often stripped bare of the more sophisticated arguments that support them in his paper - can be found throughout global education literature in the USA. The Report of the 'blue-ribbon' (B. Tye, 1990, 42) Study Commission on Global Education (1987, 12) refers readers to Hanvey 'for a more detailed definition' of a global perspective in education. Hanvey's paper, according to another leading proponent, Willard Kniep (1987, 82), 'remains timely, in demand, and valid ... a classic of the literature of global education'. The paper has also provided the starting point for the development of further, and more challenging, sets of goals by writers in other countries (Case, 1991; Coombs, 1988; Pike and Selby, 1988)

Alongside Hanvey, the other major player in determining the general scope of global education in the US is Lee Anderson, whose writing is most notable for its conceptualisation of the increasing rate of global interdependence and the 'globalization' of economic, political and cultural systems (L. Anderson, 1968, 1979, 1990). Anderson was the principal author of a study carried out by the US Office of Education and the Foreign Policy Association, completed in 1968 and subsequently hailed as 'a pioneering effort to lay before educators in clear and challenging fashion some fresh approaches to analyzing the nature of the modern world and some of the implications for education' (Leestma, n.d., n.p.). Notable amongst those 'fresh approaches' were explorations of the manifestations of 'interdependence' or 'systemness' in the modern world and an attempt to map out a curriculum model comprising 'objects' and 'dimensions of international understanding' (the term global education was not used). The 'objects' encompass a set of knowledge objectives, whilst the 'dimensions' focus upon a range of attitudes and skills (L. Anderson, 1968, 645-6). Of particular interest, however, is a qualitative shift of emphasis in Anderson's writing between 1968 and 1990. In his 1968 article he sets his knowledge objectives within a framework of the planet as a whole, or 'global society', and includes holistic ideals such as 'developing students' understanding of the planet earth viewed as one planet among many entities in the larger cosmic system' and 'developing students' understanding of mankind viewed as one species of life among many forms of life.' His 'dimensions of international understanding' include objectives such as developing within students the capacities to:

> consume discriminantly and process critically information about their world environment ...
> critically analyze and judge the actions or decisions of organized groups in international society and especially the foreign policy decisions of ones own government ...
> recognize that vast inequalities in the distribution of such human values as wealth, health, education and respect are incapable of moral justification ...
> accept the necessity for social policy aimed at reducing the gap between the rich and poor both within and among nations. (L. Anderson, 1968, 647).

Such sentiments are positively radical when compared with the tenor of his writing twenty-two years on:

> To globalize American education is to expand opportunities to learn about the world beyond the borders of the United States, and to learn about American society's relationship to and place in the larger world system. Finally, it means helping American students to see things from the perspective of other peoples of the world. (L. Anderson, 1990, 14)

The concept of globalization is considerably expanded and refined in this later work, but the thrust of his rationale for global education is expressed in terms of the needs of the American people rather than the needs of the planet. Indeed, a planetary perspective is regarded as unimportant:

> ...there is no inherent merit in a globalized education compared with a nationalized or localized education. This is the case because there is no intrinsic value in being an increasingly globalized society within an increasingly globalized world. What if Americans belonged to an increasingly independent and isolated society in a world of other increasingly independent and isolated societies? Would such a society be

> "better" or "worse"? Rather than try to answer this question, let us face the historical reality of interdependence. (L. Anderson, 1990, 33)

Nowhere in this article, entitled 'A Rationale for Global Education' are to be found statements exhorting the need for students to consume discriminantly, to critically evaluate their own government's foreign policy or to take a stance on issues of unequal distribution of wealth and power; rather, the case for global education is founded upon three related - and ideologically bland - propositions:

> 1. increasing global interdependence, occurring concurrently with decreasing western dominance and declining American hegemony;
> 2. the globalization of American economy, polity, demography and culture;
> 3. the impact of social change in generating educational change. (p. 32)

The writings of Hanvey and Anderson have been considered at some length because of their undoubted and lasting influence on the development of global education in the USA. Not only are their works frequently cited, but the substance of their thinking is reflected in many definitions and conceptual frameworks. In one of the earliest attempts to define the substantive *content* of global education (as distinct from a set of goals), Kniep (1986a, 1986b) highlights 'four essential elements of study':

- the study of human values
- the study of global systems
- the study of global issues and problems
- the study of global history

In his 'study of human values' Kniep differs from Hanvey's cultural relativism in his concern with 'universal human values that transcend group identity' (Kniep, 1986a, 437); the importance he attaches to global history is another distinguishing feature of this model. However, the scope of 'global systems' - economic, political, ecological and technological systems - and 'global issues and problems' - peace and security, development, environment and human rights - overlap to a considerable extent with the knowledge goals of Hanvey and Anderson. Significantly, too, Kniep's principal concern with the development of global knowledge shines through:

> It is, after all, its content that distinguishes global from other kinds of education. Many of its goals - critical thinking, valuing diversity, seeing connections - can also rightly be claimed by other disciplines and movements in education. So, too, the processes and methods that we promote as part of a global education. What is unique about global education is its substantive focus, drawn from a world increasingly characterized by pluralism, interdependence and change. (1986a, 437)

It is perhaps not surprising that the 'four basic themes' identified by the Study Commission on Global Education (1987, 17-21) should be very similar in content to Kniep's 'essential elements', as Kniep was one of the Commission's co-directors. The only significant departure from Kniep's framework is the setting of the 'study of global issues and problems' within a more action-oriented context of 'preparation of citizens to make public policy' (pp. 20-2), in which the skills of analytical and integrative thinking are deemed to be as important as gaining substantive knowledge of global issues; furthermore, it is suggested that students be encouraged to use their knowledge and skills in contributing to policy formation at school or community level. In similar vein, the enhancement of 'analytical and evaluative skills', allied to their utilisation in 'strategies for participation and involvement' are highlighted in two of Lamy's (1987, 6-7) 'intellectual goals' of global education, as outlined in an occasional paper also emanating from The American Forum for Global Education (the national organisation that instigated the Study Commission's report and published Kniep's [1987] handbook). Thus, a degree of consensus amongst a small, but influential group of leading proponents, building on the earlier work of Hanvey and Anderson, can be seen to emerge in the late 1980s with respect to what global education, in theory, should be. Another leading proponent, Kenneth Tye, draws upon the writing of Hanvey, Kniep and the Study Commission (K. Tye, 1990a, 12) in developing the following succinct definition of global education used in both his four-year study of global education implementation in a network of elementary and secondary schools (K. Tye, 1990c; Tye and Tye, 1992) and again (slightly abridged) in his survey of global education practices in 53 countries (K. Tye, forthcoming):

> Global education involves learning about those problems and issues which cut across national boundaries, and about the interconnectedness of systems - cultural, ecological, economic, political, and technological ...
> Global education also involves learning to understand and appreciate our neighbors with different cultural backgrounds from ours; to see the world through the eyes, and minds of others; and to realise that other people may view life differently than we do, and yet that all the people of the world need and want much the same things. (K. Tye, 1990a, 9)

The dominant themes of American global education are all in evidence: interdependence, global systems, cultural similarities and differences, multiple perspectives, universal values. Taken at face value, this statement (and the many others like it) can be interpreted as a relatively straightforward - and appropriate - response to the widely perceived need of American students to know and understand more of the world in which they live. A key question that remains unanswered, however, is: why do students need this knowledge? Is it simply a question of facing 'the historical reality of interdependence', as Lee Anderson contends, or are there other motives? In other words, in whose interests is global education being promoted?

Global education in the national interest

Some light on this question is thrown by the Illinois State Board of Education in their statement on *Increasing International and Intercultural Competence Through the Social Sciences,* 'typical' (Becker 1990, 72) of state guidelines on global education:

> It becomes increasingly imperative that schools equip students to participate effectively in a highly interdependent and culturally diverse world ... It is a world in which individuals, local communities, and states conduct "foreign policies and foreign relations" as they provide famine relief to people on distant continents and court foreign investors and markets for locally produced goods. (cited in Becker, *ibid.*)

In this statement the overlap and complementarity of the thirst for global knowledge and a concern for the national interest can be detected. The rationale for global education from a 'whole planet' perspective - in evidence in the early writing of Anderson - has given way to a justification that is founded principally upon the needs and desires of American citizens in an interdependent and culturally diverse world. The reality of global interdependence, or 'systemness', is not reflected, however, in the language that is used to describe the relationship of USA to the rest of the world. 'Foreign policies', 'foreign relations', 'distant continents', 'foreign investors' ... the language chosen conveys a separateness that contradicts the image of an interconnected global system that global education purports to affirm. Emanating strongly from much of the literature is a concept of nationhood and national identity - undefined but commonly accepted - that belies the globalization of American society that Anderson describes. To use his own analogy (L. Anderson, 1979), the world may have been transformed from a 'billiard ball model' (a *collection* of lands and peoples) to a 'web model' (a *system* of lands and peoples), but the billiard ball model remains as a powerful mental image, even amongst those who promote global education. Commenting on a range of State guidelines on global education, Becker (1990, 73) notes that:

> they generally call for more emphasis on world areas or cultures, as well as world history or geography. Few of them deal with the concept of global systems in a manner that might shed light on ... the "borderless world economy".

One quick look through *The New Global Yellow Pages* (Goldhawk and Kremb, 1989) confirms the predominance of a 'billiard ball' or nation-centric approach to global education taken by a plethora of organisations that promote greater understanding of, or contact with, particular countries or regions of the world.

The apparent promotion of global education in support of the United States' national interest is addressed by several writers. Cleveland (1986, 416) cites 'an unparalleled series of traumas' during the 1960s and 1970s, including three political assassinations, the unpopular Vietnam War, the Watergate scandal, and 'a sense of impotence and isolation in world affairs' as being responsible for the American people's need for both a better understanding of the world and also a reaffirmation of America's pivotal role in the world community. Kniep's (1986a, 440) interpretation is somewhat different:

> Because of the dominant role of the U.S. as the world's leading democratic power, the effects of our actions as individual citizens on others are extraordinarily clear and strong. Because of this privileged position, and the responsibilities that go with it, we have an extraordinary need to be informed about our world and to see our linkages to the rest of the world.

In similar vein, the Study Commission (1987, 39) refers to the heavy responsibilities of citizens in a democracy, 'especially in a democracy which is also the most powerful and influential nation on earth'. All of these assertions, though differing in their interpretations of the degree of American influence in the contemporary world, carry within them some clues to an underlying, but highly significant, *raison d'etre* for the emergence and development of global education in the USA. It can be broadly described as a reconceptualisation of the place and degree of American power on the rapidly changing world stage. As Lamy (1989, 42) puts it, 'accustomed to a world in which the United States was a hegemonic power, (many individuals) react unfavourably to any attempt to introduce them to a different reality'. For some key promoters of global education there is a critical link between learning more about the world and the maintenance of a sense of national control. In commenting on the Middle East crisis in 1990 as an example of the interconnection of environmental, economic, political, cultural and technological systems, Tye and Tye (1992, 228) are unequivocal in their justification of the American stance:

> Since our country has not made much of an investment of alternative energy resources since 1980, there seemed no choice but to intervene in the situation in order to protect our national interest.

Consideration of wider, supranational or planetary interests, such as issues to do with international security, environmental degradation, human rights and responsibilities - all instrumental to the workings of the global systems to which they refer - is overridden by a concern for national interest and control:

> We need to be better informed about the connections between the global systems, and so do our children and grandchildren. Otherwise we will live in a world we cannot comprehend, and if we cannot comprehend it we will lose control over our own lives. (p. 229)

Telling, too, in this context is Marx and Collins' (1982, 19) description of Arabic as 'the language of oil' in their catalogue of revelatory facts about Americans' lack of linguistic prowess.

It is not simply, however, the potential loss of control that is at stake here; more profoundly disturbing, it seems, are the challenges to the national belief in the superiority of American values and processes of government. Thus, in broadly approving the 1987 California *History-Social Science Framework*, historian of education Diane Ravitch asserts that 'we have much to gain by learning about other cultures and ...they have much to gain by learning about ours', but then cautions:

> Learning about other people does not require us to relinquish our values. (cited in Becker, 1990, 73)

The values-shy nature of so many statements, definitions and guidelines with respect to global education is perhaps not founded, as it might at first appear, on an assumption that global education is - or should be - values free but rather on a fear that the moral rightness and pre-eminence of the 'American way of life' might be challenged when subjected to the intimate scrutiny of other cultural viewpoints and value systems.

Clear evidence of this fear can be found in some of the public attacks that undoubtedly influenced the course of global education during the 1980s, and are part of a broader pattern of threats to academic freedom that, according to Nelson and Ochoa (1987, 425), 'are of sufficient gravity to have serious impact on both the freedom to teach and the freedom to learn in a democratic society'. Two groups in American society feel particularly threatened by global education: one from a religious standpoint, the other from the perspective of national supremacy (K. Tye, 1990b). In his personal review of the materials of the Center for Teaching International Relations (CTIR) at the University of Denver, one of the most experienced and respected producers of curriculum materials with an international perspective, Gregg Cunningham (1986, 21) not only criticises the anti-American stance he perceives but also reveals his anxiety about the potential appeal of CTIR's methods. The materials, he contends, do not contain the 'crude anti-American polemics' characteristic of the 1960s, but 'a more subtle and sophisticated series of Socratically delivered doctrinal bromides' that seek 'to ridicule our value system by suggesting that we relinquish our economic and political preeminence in the interest of some shadowy "global justice"' - a world view he considers 'utopian and pacifist'. Cunningham's report - released by the Region VIII

Office of the US Department of Education and widely promoted and distributed by conservative organisations such as the Eagle Forum and the National Council for Better Education (Lamy, 1990) - was given media prominence by several nationally syndicated writers (Schukar, 1993). Columnist Phyllis Schlafly (1986), writing in the *St. Louis Globe Democrat*, roundly attacked the 'moral equivalence' argument and the denouncing of patriotism that she perceived to be the hallmarks of global education:

> the falsehood that other nations, governments, legal systems, cultures, and economic systems are essentially equivalent to us and entitled to equal respect. (Cited in Lamy, 1990, 52)

Subsequent attacks on global education on the grounds of anti-American bias in curriculum materials have been launched at the Minnesota Global Education Coalition and the Iowa Department of Education (O'Neil, 1989; Schukar, 1993).

The indignant dismissal of the idea of moral equivalence is echoed in the persistent criticisms of global education from a fundamentalist Christian perspective (Buehrer, 1990; Kjos, 1990). Not only are American values under threat from global education, according to fundamentalist groups, but also the primacy and exclusivity of biblical Christianity as the foundation of those values is being eroded by global educators who 'preach a new religion for a world based on eastern mysticism' (Buehrer, 1990, 29). The basic premise of Christian fundamentalism, that the only 'truth' is that which is revealed in the Bible, is clearly inimical to the plurality of perspectives and rejection of absolutes that finds favour within global education. Of significance here is not the critics' argument, but the reaction of the global education movement to such attacks. The Ad Hoc Committee on Global Education (1987, 249), established by the National Council for the Social Studies in the wake of Cunningham's attack, cautiously recognises that global education cannot avoid values questions and proposes that students should be helped to 'evaluate the values of other countries and cultures without assuming that all values have equal merit'. In their respective reviews of global education critics, Lamy (1990) and Schukar (1993), whilst acknowledging the inherent controversiality of global education, both put forward practical strategies for dealing with controversy that resonate with the values-shy goals of Hanvey and the preoccupation with global knowledge embodied in Anderson's later writing. Lamy pays homage to the strategy of the global education project staff at the Center for Human Interdependence in their adoption of Hanvey's (1976) *An Attainable Global Perspective* as a 'general definition' of global education that 'does not call for reshaping the world', and that 'emphasizes substance over value-laden mush' (Lamy 1990, 53). Schukar, in identifying a principal criticism of global education as being a 'lack of balance and scholarly integrity' seeks refuge in the notion of 'balance' -'the commitment to fairly and thoroughly presenting a range of viewpoints from among a set of competing ideas'

(Schukar 1993, 56) - without any discussion of what that 'range' should be (to include Christian fundamentalist and neo-Marxist viewpoints?), nor consideration of the difficulties for teachers of presenting a balanced view (can they be seen to hold opinions, or should they attempt to play the role of neutral chairperson?) The inference that might be drawn from this defensive position is that the mainstream curriculum is balanced; it is just global education that is not. The response of global educators, in general, to their critics has been to mount a negative justification; not to say, unequivocally, what global education stands **for**, but to defensively argue what it does not stand against.

A plausible interpretation of such defensiveness can be found in Lamy's own assertion that 'global educators will always be in some trouble because the issues they teach and the skills of critical thinking and comparative inquiry that are so much part of their programs *challenge the assumptions of a state-centric system*' (Lamy 1990, 54; my italics). As several proponents have noted (Avery *et al.*, 1991; Goodlad, 1979; Kobus, 1983; K. Tye, forthcoming), the promotion of national values has, for a long time, been one of the functions of schooling in the United States and elsewhere. If global education, in particular, is perceived to be antithetical to the interests of the nation state it seems probable that it will be rejected by groups who wish education to maintain its traditional role with respect to the inculcation of nationalism. As such groups were increasingly finding their voice in the United States during the 1980s - perhaps due to a public realisation of the decline in American hegemony (L. Anderson, 1990; Cleveland, 1986) - a reasonable strategy for global educators to adopt was to be seen to marry the goals of global education with the interests of the state. Hence, an emphasis on the acquisition of global knowledge, under the pretext that a better understanding of other cultures and global systems will benefit American business and other interests. Indeed, confirmation of this stance comes from the stated purpose of the discretionary grant programme for global education launched in 1979 under the auspices of the National Defense Education Act:

> The purpose of the program is 'to stimulate locally designed education programs to increase the understanding of students in the United States about the cultures and actions of other nations in order to better evaluate the international and domestic impact of major national policies'. (U.S. Office of Education, 1979, 7)

Hence, too, a subjugation of any explicit framework of values. This is important on the grounds that any set of values which is logically derived from the central concepts of global interdependence and cultural pluralism will inevitably challenge, to some degree, traditional beliefs about the primacy of the nation and national values. It could be argued, therefore, that the chosen path of global education in the USA is a calculated attempt by educators to reconcile their own ideals of world-mindedness with their perception of the nation-oriented preoccupations of the American public:

> Although we are already entered a complex global economy, wherein notions of nationalistic dominance and superiority are rendered anachronistic and maladaptive, this paradigm shift has not yet taken place for many Americans. ... Both domestically and internationally, Americans face an enormous task of learning to embrace diversity and surrender dominance. (Howard, 1992, 3)

This argument would, perhaps, explain the shift in emphasis in Anderson's writing between 1968 and 1990 and also why the more radical ideas of Hanvey, such as recognition of how one's own society might be viewed by others, tend to be overlooked. It might also explain the continuing popularity of Hanvey's *An Attainable Global Perspective* as a general definition for global education; Hanvey's rhetoric talks of the importance of generating awareness of the world as a system, of cultural pluralism and perspective, of making informed choices, whilst the reality of adopting his framework - particularly just his key statements - allows educators not to rock the national boat. A principal advantage of adopting a relativist model of culture as part of a global education framework is that one can acknowledge other cultural beliefs and viewpoints without having to regard *them as a challenge to one's own; each culture is, in effect,* sacrosanct.

Not all global educators, suggests Lamy (1987, 1989, 1990) would feel it necessary to engage in a balancing act between national values and worldmindedness. According to his (1990, 56-8) categorisation of the groups who seek to influence global education, the 'neomercantilist, or national interest' view enjoys widespread currency amongst American communities; global education, this group contends, should prepare students to compete in a self-interest dominated global system in order to protect and promote US interests. To the political right of this group is the 'ultraconservative, or utopian right' position that encourages global educators to promote American culture, traditions and values throughout the world. Adherents of this view, Lamy suggests are becoming more influential in educational debates and are coming into direct conflict with those who profess a 'communitarian' worldview, a reformist position that emphasises international co-operation and embodies many of the goals of Hanvey and other leading proponents. The communitarian position represents 'a significant, if not majority, view among teachers and administrators who support global education in the schools' (p. 57). Thus, in addition to the outright critics, Lamy's analysis paints a picture of power struggles within the field of global education itself, between educators and others, all of whom wish to use the reality of globalization and the momentum of the global education movement to promote their own ideals in schools.

A more radical interpretation of the scope and direction of global education in the USA is suggested by Donald Johnson (1993), in one of very few articles among American literature that mounts a serious criticism of global education from an academic perspective. Johnson cites 'the dominant liberal paradigm to education' as being the well-spring from which global education finds its inspiration. The 'idealism of mainstream liberal writers', in whose company he places the key global educators, 'has been and remains remarkably innocent and often uncritical of its own Western traditions and Eurocentric limitations' (p. 5). He specifically targets Lee Anderson's concept of an 'emerging global culture' that is very close to the normative values of the USA, contrasting that with the worldview of Geertz (1973), for whom the world comprises thousands of particular cultures each with its own conceptual map and distinctive behaviours. For Johnson, then, it is a question of paradigms: global education in the USA is so infused with 'historic liberalism' that the majority of key proponents fail to detect its ethnocentric roots and continuing biases, despite their intent to provide a truly global perspective. This view would certainly find some support in studies over the past twenty years indicating that the dominant structure and content of secondary social studies (under which global education usually falls) has deviated little from a pattern set in 1916 (Becker, 1990, 69).

Influences from the grassroots

Lamy's exposition of the various worldviews that seek to influence the direction of global education raises the important issue of whether the content and purpose of global education *in theory* - as propounded in academic and professional journals by university-based professors (mostly in the field of political science) - bears resemblance to the interpretation of global education as utilised, *in practice*, in schools and colleges throughout the United States. Chapter 8 will explore practitioners' perspectives on this issue, but the literature is also revealing of alternative viewpoints and manifestations of global education among proponents. Merryfield's (1990) survey of thirty-two teacher education programmes that focus on preparing teachers in global education concludes, from a content analysis of 'conceptualization statements', that there are 'three areas of general consensus':

> 1. An appreciation of cultural differences and similarities, including multiple perspectives / perspective consciousness.
> 2. The world as a system and the concept of interdependence.
> 3. How students' decisions affect and are affected by global connections in their local community. (Merryfield, 1992b, 58)

Most of the key ideas evident here are familiar echoes of concepts expounded by earlier academic writers: interdependence, global systems, cultural diversity, multiple perspectives. An additional element, perhaps born out of a desire to increase the relevance of global education to students' lives, is the focus on local communities and local-global interconnections. In fact, this manifestation of global education has a relatively long history, dating back to the pioneering work of Chadwick Alger's (1974) *Columbus and the World* curriculum, which was field tested in Columbus, Ohio, public schools in the early 1970s and has since been replicated in many parts of the country (B. Tye, 1990, 45). Woyach and Love (1983) and Charlotte Anderson (1990) also stress the importance and benefits of a community-based approach, the latter arguing that this 'is global education at its best' (p. 125) in that it offers opportunities not only to enhance students' learning but also to gain community support.

Charlotte Anderson's contribution to the field over many years is, in fact, illuminative of several significant dimensions within global education that are not apparent in the mainstream literature surveyed so far. Her work in elementary schools, leading to the development of the curriculum framework for the Global Education Pilot Schools Project of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD) prompted another female proponent, Anna Ochoa (1996, 85) to comment:

> In my view, it took a woman and a focus on young children to expand beyond the political and economic impact that political scientists brought to the global education field.

The ASCD Framework for Global Education is constructed around four 'powerful messages to students' (C. Anderson, 1994, 5-6):

> You are a HUMAN BEING.
> Your home is PLANET EARTH.
> You are a CITIZEN of ____(your nation-state)____, a multicultural society.
> You live in an INTERRELATED WORLD.

In her exposition of these four messages, Anderson incorporates many of the key concepts that the 'political scientists' had previously identified as being integral to global education. Her emphasis and tone, however, are somewhat different. Instead of the pre-eminence of 'global knowledge', the 'learning outcomes' for each 'message' are much broader, organised under the headings of 'learning', 'caring', 'thinking', 'choosing' and 'acting' - encompassing skills and values as well as knowledge. Instead of a bias towards the social studies, an integrated approach is evident in the sample units provided and, indeed, is strongly advocated:

> Not only does the framework *allow* for cross-curricular and interdisciplinary attention, it *demands* it. (p. 4)

Instead of a rationale for global education rooted in the needs and priorities of the USA, more of an altruistic, 'whole planet' perspective is apparent in the messages and learning outcomes. Nationality and citizenship are regarded as significant factors, but set within a global context; multi-location thematic units, illustrating particular concepts, are suggested as vehicles for implementing global education, rather than specific countries or cultures. Instead of a teacher-oriented, content-driven exposition of globalisation from a political science or international relations viewpoint, Anderson provides a student-centred, classroom-focused exploration of the four messages, paying attention to teaching methodologies and learning processes as well as to content. Noticeable in this regard, too, is the attention given to methods of performance assessment that are designed to give 'authentic demonstrations of knowledge and action' (p. 79).

Charlotte Anderson is certainly not alone among proponents in providing, in recent years, an alternative conceptualisation of global education - in response, it would seem, to the needs and demands of the classroom teacher. Writing in 1983, Kobus observed that, in common with much educational reform, global education was being 'imposed from the "top" with little preparation for the individuals who are required to implement these newly conceived programs' (p. 22). Five years later, however, Thorpe (1988) noted that the current push for global education was more of a grassroots effort involving non-governmental organisations working directly with teachers. Tucker (1990) comments on the success of projects at the grassroots, and Merryfield (1992a, 1) confirms that 'the vast majority of practitioners' learn about global education through in-service training and attendance at professional meetings. Two features, as Ochoa (above) infers, characterise this grassroots' initiative: the greater involvement of women as proponents (the earlier principal contributors to the development of global education theory are, with very few exceptions, male), and a greater focus on the elementary school, although Kenneth Tye (1990b, 136) comments in 1990 that a majority of global education programmes are still at the high school level. The rationale for developing a global perspective in the elementary classroom frequently invokes the child development research of Judith Torney-Purta (1982) and others, suggesting that the period of middle childhood (from ages seven or eight to eleven or twelve) is a time of high interest in other peoples and other cultures.

Associated with the grassroots impetus and school-based initiatives is the emergence of more holistic models of global education. One of the earliest examples can be seen in the programme developed by Jonathan Swift at the School of Global Education, Adlai Stevenson High School, Michigan (a notable exception to the female/elementary characterisation suggested above!). In the early years of this 'school within a school', Swift (1980, 46) wrote:

> From the teacher's point of view, global education is primarily philosophical. It can be taught best (perhaps only) by those who believe.

> Global education is an attitude toward daily living, not a new *course*, not a new *program*, not new *content*.

Fourteen years on, despite internal problems that have limited the range of subjects in its interdisciplinary curriculum (Swift, 1990), the School maintains its ambitious combination of an integrated curricular approach and community-based extra-curricular activities, based on Swift's conviction that 'all the facts and skills in the world mean nothing to global perception if the appropriate attitudes and motivations have not been implanted and nurtured' (Swift, 1994, 17). Urso (1990, 103) argues similarly for a 'holistic perspective' - incorporating an interdisciplinary approach and multiple learning methods - as the best way to teach about real-life issues and foster the development of the 'whole student'. For many teachers participating in the Centre for Human Interdependence (CHI) project with eleven schools in southern California (Tye and Tye, 1992) the holistic approach used, claims Urso, was the primary motivation for their involvement in global education. The notion of building a coherent curriculum around the identified needs of students in the contemporary world is fundamental to the philosophy of Education 2000, an initiative of the American Forum for Global Education that, since 1987, has worked in partnership with local communities in seven diverse locations (Kniep and Martin-Kniep, 1995). Such an approach leads, inevitably, to an integrated curriculum framework:

> By starting with students and their needs, we set standards that naturally cut across subjects. These standards are inherently integrative because most will require us to draw upon various disciplines as we help students to meet them. Knowledge and skill become organically integrated, more closely mirroring what happens in real life. (p. 90)

In the handbook (Kniep, 1987) that guides school districts participating in Education 2000, an article by Goodlad (1987) expounds the virtues of an integrated core curriculum based on a systems view of the world with the learner at its heart.

In reviewing the impact of grassroots initiatives, mention should be made of the school-university partnerships that have contributed much to the take-up of global education in schools (Tucker, 1990). In addition to the CHI project (mentioned above), based at Chapman College, California, these include programs in collaboration with Florida International University (Global Education Leadership Training Program), Indiana University (the Mid-America Program in Global Education), Stanford University (the California International Studies Project), the University of Denver (the Center for Teaching International Relations - CTIR), and the Mershon Center and the College of Education at Ohio State University (p. 112-3). Alongside school-based curriculum and professional development, some of these same universities are responsible for the production of curriculum materials that are widely used by global education practitioners across the United States. Notable in this regard are CTIR and

SPICE (Stanford Program on International and Cross-Cultural Education), both of which have been producing materials for more than twenty years (CTIR, 1995-6; SPICE 1993-4).

From the wide variety of classroom materials developed by CTIR, SPICE and others, there is abundant evidence of another feature of global education in the USA that might be associated with grassroots development: the use of interactive teaching and learning methodologies, including pair and group discussion, co-operative learning, experiential activities, drama, role-plays and simulation games (see, for example, Benegar, Johnson and Singleton, 1994; SPICE, 1993). Whilst many proponents (Becker, 1990; Evans, 1992; Johnson and Johnson, 1987; Kobus, 1983; Study Commission on Global Education, 1987) point out the extraordinary proclivity of global education for co-operative and interactive learning techniques, Kenneth Tye (1990b, 139) comments in his review of school-based global education initiatives:

> It cannot be assumed ... that teachers are expert in all aspects of pedagogy. One of the things that these cases at least hint at is the need to break away from total reliance on textbooks and frontal teaching.

For Begler (1993, 16) 'what we teach and how we teach are not divisible'. The importance of choosing appropriate methodologies goes far beyond the desire to enhance students' learning; rather, 'it is fundamental to the development of the intellectual attitudes and values we seek to engender' (p. 16). Confirmation of the efficacy of this pedagogical position would seem to come from empirical studies, including Leming's (1992) overview of research into the impact on students of contemporary issues curricula, including global education. He notes that the curricula found to have had the greatest influence on attitudes and behaviour incorporated the dynamics of 'the environment of the just community' (p. 151), in which students openly discuss with their peers questions of morals and values within an environment that exhibits clear moral standards, shared concern and mutual respect. Blankenship's (1990) research, corroborating earlier studies identifying a correlation between openness of classroom climate and positive political attitudes among students, showed that high levels of global knowledge and positive attitudes towards both national and global issues were evident in classrooms where students felt free to discuss issues openly and express their opinions. Martin-Kniep and Wise (1991, 14-15) suggest that for the development of students' 'multiple perspectives abilities' (perspective-awareness and perspective-taking) in high school, knowledge-based content is a necessary but not sufficient component of the curriculum; the skills and attitudes associated with understanding multiple perspectives also need to be developed.

Global education as school reform

The grassroots initiatives highlighted above are suggestive of a discernible trend in the literature, increasing in its pace and number of adherents over the past ten years, away from the theoretical, political science-based conceptualisations of global education towards a classroom-oriented, practitioner and research-based exploration of what global education means in practice. This is not to imply that the earlier theoretical frameworks are redundant or have been replaced; the writings of Lee Anderson, Hanvey (especially), Kniep and Lamy are still cited in references and utilised in rationales. Rather, it suggests that the focus of debate has shifted from '*what* is global education?' to '*how* is global education to be most effectively implemented?' and '*what impact* does it have on students?', a change that is no doubt fuelled by wider educational concerns about assessment and accountability (C. Anderson, 1994; Wiggins, 1989). It is also supportive, perhaps, of Tucker's (1990) assertion that while there is no shortage of responses to the first question, few of these provide adequate guidance on practice and most are ignored anyway.

As Evans (1992) notes, the effective and full implementation of the curricular and pedagogical goals of global education requires, perhaps, nothing less than a restructuring of educational institutions, from elementary school to university. The 'deep structure' (B. Tye, 1990) of schooling - the entrenched norms of education that are seldom questioned - remains, however, pervasive and resistant to change. In reflecting on his work as a global education advocate and consultant, Kniep (1987) commented that, despite the 'impressive' grassroots progress made in terms of training workshops, curriculum materials and policy statements, he was 'hard-pressed to identify schools or districts that have institutionalized (all the elements of global education) through a serious and thorough process of program development' (p. 7-8). His argument, consequently, is that global education's potential will only be realised if proponents and practitioners play a central role in school reform. Out of this thinking, and building on the findings and recommendations of the Study Commission, emerged the Education 2000 project of the American Forum (Kniep and Martin-Kniep, 1995). Although not alone in seeking to effect whole-school and whole-district reform (see also DeKock and Paul, 1989; Kirkwood, 1990; Tye and Tye, 1992), the Education 2000 'blueprint' (Kniep and Martin-Kniep, 1995, 88) would appear to offer the most comprehensive and coherent plan for educational reform that accords with a more holistic vision of global education. Perhaps even more innovative, however, are the designs for Exploris, a children's museum based on holistic models of global education, due to open in North Carolina in 1998. The museum's exhibits are all built around the key global education concepts of interconnectedness, perception, change, choice and participation, and are so designed as to provide visitors with a heightened experience of the systemic reality of the world (Krent/Paffett Associates and Design + Communication, Inc., 1994).

What is apparent, too, in the utilisation of global education as a vehicle for innovative development and reform is a continuation, in the literature at least, of the tendency to broaden the conception and scope of global education in the USA. From its origins as an injection of global knowledge into the social studies curriculum in order to remedy high school students' lack of awareness about their interdependent world, it has matured and blossomed - in places - into a whole new vision for education in the twenty-first century. That vision appears less nationalistic, and more planet-conscious, student-centered and collaborative than most of its predecessors in the last twenty years; it is beginning to foster connections and share ideas with related fields, such as multicultural education (Merryfield, 1996) and peace education (Merryfield and Remy, 1995). The extent to which the broader vision is apparent in schools, other than in the very few that have been at the centre of recent development and research, remains to be explored and documented.

Chapter 4

Profile 2: Global Education in the UK

Clarifying terms

Before even suggesting some dominant strands of thought and 'sensitizing concepts' to be found within the UK global education literature, it is important to clarify some basic terminology. As stated earlier, 'global education' is a term that was not widely used in the UK prior to 1986. Although it has subsequently gained in popularity, more widely used and understood, and fulfilling the criteria for literature selection outlined in Chapter 2, is 'world studies'. In the UK literature, the aims, objectives and principal tenets of world studies, as commonly defined, are frequently seen to overlap with those of related fields that go under different titles; notably, development education, environmental education, human rights education (or, in the earlier literature, multicultural education) and peace education. The degree of overlap between these fields is shown to be substantial if a 'broad focus' view of each field is taken (Greig, Pike and Selby, 1987a, 30), even though the 'focussing (*sic*) idea' of each field may remain distinctive (Hicks, 1981, 5). In choosing to concentrate on the literature of world studies, the writing emanating from the other related fields (which, in the case of some - such as multicultural education - is voluminous) has been excluded, save where the other fields are referred to in the context of, or in connection with, world studies. Such a process of selection has enabled the literature surveyed to be manageable in terms of quantity and, hence, encouraged an in-depth analysis; it has also facilitated a truer comparison with the North American global education literature, particularly that from the USA, where the other fields are not perceived to be so closely allied. While it should not be assumed that global education and world studies are used synonymously in the UK literature, as far as it is conducive to easy comprehension, both terms will be used in this chapter as they appear in the documents under review.

The second term needing clarification is 'the UK'. Most of the literature reviewed has been written by and for educators in England and Wales, though it is not without relevance to those working on comparable curriculum initiatives in the separately administered systems of education in Northern Ireland and Scotland. Indeed, the subject of Modern Studies and work under the title of 'education for international understanding' in Scotland pre-date world studies and share many of its aims (Fisher and Hicks, 1985; Pike, 1990); the *World Studies Resource Guide* (Pike, 1980) and various numbers of the *World Studies Journal* feature projects, organisations and resources to be found in Northern Ireland and Scotland. However, the vast majority of proponents of global education and world studies in the UK, as identified in the literature, have worked out of organisations principally serving the education system of England and Wales.

Any review of education in the UK that encompasses the last ten years will inevitably encounter the multiple and profound impacts of the 1988 Education Reform Act (ERA), including the development, testing and refinement of the National Curriculum. It should be understood that the term, as used here, refers to the National Curriculum of England and Wales and does not touch on the separate reforms that have taken place in other parts of the UK. The advent of the National Curriculum in the late 1980s represented a watershed in educational reform that was to have a marked influence on global education and world studies, as indeed it had on most other educational initiatives. It seems sensible, therefore, to structure this review in two time periods: the first part covers the major developments in the field from the beginning of the World Studies Project in 1973 to the implementation of the first National Curriculum reforms in 1989; the second part (towards the end of the chapter) explores the impact of the reforms from 1990 onwards.

Part One: 1973 - 1989

Allegiance and ideology

As might be inferred from the discussion of terminology, one of the more obvious sensitizing concepts in the literature is the perception of world studies as an integrating force, a vehicle seeking to embrace all the new movements in political education (Lister, 1987). In tracing the deeper roots of world studies and global education, writers have noted the synthesising of two long-standing traditions in British education, those of 'world understanding' or 'world-mindedness' (promoted for much of this century by organisations such as the World Education Fellowship and the Council for Education in World Citizenship) and 'child-centredness', building on the pioneering work of notable educators such as Froebel, Montessori and Dewey (Hicks, 1989; Pike, 1990; Richardson, 1985, 1996). Evidence of the wider integrating function of world studies can be gleaned from a casual scrutiny of the themes and articles appearing in successive numbers of the *World Studies Journal* (the field's only professional journal, published from 1979 to 1990), or from the thematic index of the *World Studies*

Resource Guide (Pike, 1980, 1984): development, environment, the future, gender, human rights, peace and conflict, and race or culture figure prominently either as issues to be considered in the classroom or in their respective manifestations as educational fields or movements. In their explanation of world studies or global education as an inclusive title, Greig, Pike and Selby (1987a, 29) offer a model of 'four educations' that suggests the convergence between, and complementarity of, development education, environmental education, human rights education and peace education when each is given a broad, rather than narrow, focus. Heater (1980, 27), in his history of the early development of world studies, elegantly refers to it as a 'capacious portmanteau phrase ... a useful generic term embracing all the other ... terms'.

Whilst the term may have been 'useful' as an umbrella under which a host of initiatives could shelter, membership of the world studies cluster has not been consistent. For example, the favoured fields in the late 1970s and early 1980s are development education, multicultural education and peace education (Hicks, 1981; Hicks and Townley, 1982a); education for international understanding, European Studies and World History are included by Richardson (1979); environmental education and human rights education are both mentioned by Heater (1980). During the 1980s the list is extended to include futures education (Slaughter, 1985), gender issues (McKenzie, 1987), health education (Retallack, 1988) and, more recently, animal rights issues (Selby, 1990). By this time, education for international understanding was out of vogue, European Studies and World History were not presumed to be part of, or related to, world studies and peace education had lost its high public profile. Multicultural education became increasingly (though not always harmoniously) linked to the more radical anti-racist education (Dufour, 1990) and some proponents were calling for gender, race and class to be addressed as interrelated issues (McKenzie, 1987; Davis, 1987). On top of all this, the World Studies Teacher Training Centre decided in 1986 to change its name to the Centre for Global Education and henceforth to promote the term 'global education' in preference to 'world studies' (Selby, 1992a). When Heater (1980, 8) suggested that 'a zany confusion of nomenclature' was an inhibiting factor in the progress of world studies, he was making an unwitting prophecy.

A variant of the embracive function of world studies is to see it as a field in its own right, with a distinctive focus but with aims and organising ideas that overlap with those of other, related fields. World studies, according to this view, does not embrace the other fields so much as provide a forum and a stimulus to explore and identify their 'family likeness' (Hicks, 1981, 5, citing Richardson, 1974; Hicks and Townley, 1982a). However, as in most families, there are differences and tensions between family members. Robin Richardson, Director of the World Studies Project (established in 1973 and the first initiative in the UK to be so titled) set the tone for much of the debate to follow by exposing and explaining the differences between practitioners working in the various fields in ideological terms, on a conservative-liberal-radical spectrum (Richardson, 1974). He further developed this framework into 'a map of the field' of world studies in the 1970s, onto which he marked the positions of selected fields, organisations and people according to two axes: *conservative-liberal-socialist* and *foreign countries-world society*, the latter referring to whether the orientation of their teaching was towards studying countries and cultures as separate entities or towards studying world society as an interdependent system (Richardson, 1979, 12). Interestingly, 'world studies' itself does not appear on the map; Richardson uses the term in its generic sense to encompass a very wide range of initiatives from European Studies and World History to the US global education movement and the writing of Chris Searle on the 'education of the oppressed'.

It is worth spending some time on an analysis of Richardson's 'map of the field' article for several reasons. Firstly, as it was written at the end of his six years as Director of the World Studies Project, he could justifiably claim to be in the best position to give an overview of the field. Secondly, this article - and its 1974 predecessor - appear to influence subsequent thinking and writing about world studies: the concept of 'family likeness' masking underlying differences or tensions is taken up by Heater (1980), Hicks (1981), Hicks and Townley (1982a), Lashley (1982) and Selby (1995), and is alluded to in documents outlining the origins of the World Studies 8-13 Project (Schools Council, 1981a; Schools Council, 1981b). Thirdly, Richardson raises issues within this article that are central to the character of the world studies and global education movements in the UK and that consistently surface within the literature throughout the 1980s and into the 1990s. Arising from the function of world studies as an integrating force, these issues relate to the debates, around questions of ideology and pedagogy, between proponents in the various related fields, their attempts to establish alliances and to resolve tensions and conflicts. It should be noted that Richardson intended his 'map' to 'provoke discussion'; he prefaced it with 'words of warning', arguing that the map could not, in fact, represent adequately the variety of positions that may be represented by different individuals within one organisation. Indeed, he claims, 'in the course of a single week, or even of a single day, many of us operate with a variety of ideological positions' (Richardson, 1979, 11). Nonetheless, organisations and individuals *are* seen to take up a single position on the map and those positions are widely dispersed, particularly along the *conservative-liberal-socialist* axis.

Richardson's agenda in constructing the map is revealed in his comment that 'the proponents of world studies very seldom seem to actually talk to each other about the tensions and debates to which it refers' (p. 13). The three reasons he gives for this lack of communication are significant in that they provide a context in which the future path of world studies can be more clearly understood. He suggests, firstly, the need for approval and moral support from each other in view of the fact that 'so far as the mainstream of education is concerned we are all rather marginal'; secondly, he cites vulnerability - 'people who live in glass houses should not throw stones'; and thirdly, 'the problem of funding'. He argues that fear of losing financial support has served to muffle political discussion, particularly about socialism and radicalism (*ibid.*). It follows, he opines, that the world studies movement is not as effective as it might be if the various lobbies formed a coalition to put pressure on educational administrators:

> ...the efficient organisation and orchestration of such pressure depends on the frank acknowledgemnt (*sic*) of tension and disagreement. We have to stop being thoroughly pleasant to each other ... (*ibid.*).

In a later interview for the *World Studies Journal* Richardson justifies the technique employed in his map:

> I do think with Blake, and for that matter with Marx, that 'without contraries there is no progression.' It's only through things being opposed to each other that we reach new realities. The point of these models and maps is that they claim to show what the tensions are. (Hicks, 1983/4, 33)

Given the apparent influence of Richardson's writing on the field in its early years - the extent of which can be noted in the frequency of reference to his work by other key proponents - it is not unreasonable to postulate that Richardson's belief in progress through opposition had a significant impact on the direction of the debate in world studies literature, at least in terms of fuelling the flames of conflict. To what extent progress ensued remains to be explored.

Tensions in the field

As if heeding the call of the Pied Piper, various contributors to the *World Studies Journal* during the 1980s testify to the abandonment of pleasantry as cracks and divisions within the movement are cathartically, and sometimes remorselessly, exposed. The tensions that characterised world studies surface at a number of levels in the literature: personalised attacks on key writers and speakers, ideological divisions between representatives of different lobbies or fields and, at a macro level, the dynamic tension inherent in trying to address two seemingly contrary needs. On the one hand was the perceived need to identify and explore differences, in philosophy and strategy; on the other was the larger necessity, expressed by Richardson and many other proponents, of collaboration between individuals and organisations so as to mount an effective force for change within mainstream education. As will become evident, the latter goal was seemingly overlooked at times as the pursuit of the former transpired into a struggle for dominance in the world studies movement between liberal and radical proponents. Some of the keenest personal attacks were generated by the publication in the *World Studies Journal* of the proceedings of, and reflections on, the 1982 conference on 'World Studies in a Multicultural Society'. The conference might be regarded as a watershed in the development of world studies, not least because it brought together, probably for the first time in Britain on this scale, representatives of world studies, multicultural education and anti-racist education movements (Starkey, 1982). In his *Journal* editorial article, Hugh Starkey acknowledges the tension that the Conference created but suggests that it reflected not so much differences between the fields themselves, but 'between those who seek to unite around consensus and compromise, an objective in character with British traditions, and those who see such attempts as inevitably prolonging the status quo' (p. 3). In the latter camp would fall Chris Mullard, whose conference address (described by Richardson as 'one of the finest displays of eloquence I have ever come across' [Hicks, 1983/4, 30]) prompted a series of vigorous and empassioned responses. Mullard's thesis can be gleaned from his opening remarks:

> ...what I wish to do here is to suggest that multicultural studies and multi-cultural education are no other than a new form of educational ideology that seeks to sidestep and mediate the fundamental inequalities and conflicts of a racial kind that exist in most modern metropolitan societies. In fact, to locate this ideology within the framework of a world studies programme, is to suggest that world studies ... is no more or less a curriculum strategy for the misrepresentation and hence legitimation of a world system of inequality. (Mullard, 1982, 13)

Mullard's *position, had Richardson updated his 'map', would undoubtedly have* occupied a point at the 'socialist' end of the spectrum in that he argues that world studies should adopt 'a critical social perspective, one that challenges the dominant ordering of power in the world' (p.16).

Not surprisingly, his sentiments upset some members of both multicultural education and world studies' lobbies. Alma Craft, Co-ordinator for Multicultural Education at the Schools Council (then a sponsor of the World Studies 8-13 Project), decried Mullard's 'angry attack' as offering 'only destructive criticism ... that may well lead some teachers to abandon their efforts in this sensitive and difficult field' (Craft, 1982, 19). David Wright, whilst applauding 'the end of blandness' in the world studies movement, mourned the passing of 'the years of careful, gentle, tactful work by many people' that had created the 'fragile concept' of world studies. He warned of the 'disastrous consequences' of 'extremists' acquiring 'the good name' of world studies, suggesting that school governors, headteachers and parents would ensure that world studies was not implemented in schools (Wright, 1982, 26). In a telling footnote, Wright advocates a schism in the movement by suggesting that workers in the area of world studies might in future need to indicate that they are not members of the World Studies Network, the organising body of the Conference (p. 27). However, in subsequent correspondence to the *Journal,* David Hicks disagrees with Wright's diagnosis of a crisis in world studies, taking Richardson's view that such challenges are necessary if proponents are to tackle the inherent tensions and dilemmas that Richardson had pointed out nearly ten years before (Hicks, 1983). His letter ends, somewhat prophetically, by asking:

> Would a feminist critique of World Studies as it is at present cause equal or even more agitation I wonder? (p. 46)

Signs of such a critique were, in fact, evident in the same number of the *Journal* as the controversial Conference proceedings, in the form of a review, by Yvonne Hennessy, of a book co-edited by Hicks himself (Hicks and Townley, 1982b):

> David, Barry, Jim and Brian; Tony, David, Bill and Roger; Robin, David, Hugh and Charles have written a book. It's an important book ... (Hennessy, 1982, 32)

She continues by noting that, although the teaching profession is numerically dominated by women and that important work in world studies has been done by women (nine of whom she names), this is 'at best glossed over, at worst ignored' in a book that claims to be a fairly comprehensive overview of the last decade (*ibid.*). Certainly, a breakdown by gender of the authors of world studies literature up to 1982 (and, to a lesser extent, from 1982 to 1990) would convincingly support Hennessy's view that 'the history of World Studies is forged both from a male perspective and with men as the principal protagonists' (*ibid.*). The major feminist critique prophesied by Hicks does not appear in print until the publication of a number of the *World Studies Journal* entitled 'Half the World Studies' in 1987. Aileen McKenzie attempts to answer the question, alluded to by Hennessy, as to why women's contributions to world studies have been ignored, in terms of 'ideological differences in how we interpret feminism' (McKenzie, 1987, 2). In so doing, she echoes - from a feminist perspective - the need that Richardson had first voiced over a decade earlier for world studies proponents to acknowledge and examine the tensions within the field so as to maximise their effectiveness. McKenzie, however, is concerned not so much with effecting change in mainstream education as within world studies itself:

> ...there is a process of analysis and action that we desperately need to embark on. *Therefore this article is written for those (feminists) engaged in world studies, particularly those, like myself, who feel frustrated by our lack of debate and sense of direction.* (*ibid.*; italics in original)

She provides a further parallel with Richardson's thesis in suggesting that clarity within feminists' responses to world studies would deepen understanding of the interrelationship of gender, race and class; in other words, the larger goal of integrating different fields is to be achieved through an exploration of the ideological differences between them. It is a version of Richardson's 'map of the field', with a more limited framework of reference: McKenzie offers a synopsis of 'two important forms of feminist response' to world studies, namely 'socialist' and 'radical', thereby choosing to ignore any contributions from women in world studies that might fall within Richardson's 'conservative' or 'liberal' moulds (p. 3).

The feminist attack on world studies appears to be no less direct, nor less personal, than the anti-racist challenge thrown down by Mullard. McKenzie (1987, 2) talks of 'the amazing, self-deluding games men in world studies play' and suggests that women 'engaged in world studies are very much aware that our contribution is likely to be of far greater significance than that made by all or most men involved in the same field of work'. Holland (1987, 55), echoing Richardson in her citation of 'Out of conflict energy is born', contends that male colleagues 'have generated the conflict and the energy is now there'. In their review of Fisher and Hicks' (1985) popular teachers' handbook, Garreau and Versfeld (1987) criticise the book's sexism on the grounds that some of its activities are likely to reinforce, rather than challenge, stereotypes. In line with Mullard's call for a 'critical social perspective' in world studies they state that the book - 'a leader in this field' (p. 9) - must be unequivocal in its stated attitudes towards sexism.

Content and process

Having followed some paths of tension and conflict that run clearly and strongly through the world studies literature, especially on the pages of the *World Studies Journal*, it is time to explore, and speculate upon, the impact that such paths have had on the development of the field. It is worth recalling that, in his (1979) 'map of the field' article, Richardson urged that the various proponents of world studies (broadly defined) should start talking to each other 'partly ... for the sake of efficiency' but also so that the lobbies involved could see where their interests coincided 'and how, therefore, *they could form a coalition to put pressure on educational administrators*' (Richardson, 1979, 13, my italics). Additionally, Hicks (1981, 11) had warned that 'too often we become caught between the roots (i.e. distinctive characteristics) of our field and the need to justify it in the classroom (where its title may be meaningless)'. It will have become evident that some lobbyists, at least, did start talking to each other; the question remains as to whether the ensuing debate led to any greater clarity, efficiency or, crucially, influenced mainstream education and classroom practice.

A focus on classroom practice is certainly evident from a scan of the literature. Alongside the theoretical debates in the *World Studies Journal* appear articles, many written by practising teachers, describing lessons, projects and programmes of work with a global perspective. The popular handbooks in the field (Richardson, 1976; Fisher and Hicks, 1985; Pike and Selby, 1988; Hicks and Steiner, 1989) contain both theory and practice, with considerably more pages being devoted to the latter in the form of classroom activities. Indeed, an orientation towards teaching and learning *process*, rather than curriculum content, is a hallmark of the world studies movement, legitimised through reference to the child development theories of Bruner and Kohlberg, the child-centred learning traditions of Dewey and Montessori, the humanistic psychology of Carl Rogers, the insights of learning styles research and the theories of attitude formation, co-operative learning and self-esteem building (Fountain, 1990; Heater, 1980; Hicks and Steiner, 1989; Pike and Selby, 1986b; Richardson, 1985; Schools Council, 1981b). This emphasis on process is such as to have caused Lister (1987, 59) to criticise the field for being 'process-rich and content-poor' and for making life in the classroom 'one damned simulation after another'. Whilst applauding the new movements' successes in training teachers to use new forms of teaching and learning, Lister warns of the dangers of 'the degradation of content' (*ibid.*). It is worth exploring Lister's critique of this key characteristic of world studies to see how it might afford some explanation of the subsequent impact and status of the field within mainstream education.

Selby (1984, section 8) acknowledges Lister's 'timely and important' warning (first given three years earlier as part of his contribution to the 'Dunamis' series of lectures [Lister, 1984]) but interprets the concern with process 'as a healthy reaction against the contentual and theoretical orientation of earlier years'. Selby also defends world studies' process orientation in terms of the newness of the field and the primary interest of funding bodies in developmental rather than research work, both points with which Lister (1989) later concurs. An additional and alternative interpretation would be to suggest that the emphasis on teaching and learning processes was fostered, in part, by the difficulties experienced by proponents in agreeing on world studies' substantive focus or content. Defining its content, the literature would suggest, has always been problematic. In the first place, as indicated above, there was confusion over whether world studies is an umbrella concept (as used by Richardson) or one of several related fields (as suggested by Hicks). In either case, the problem of content was then compounded by the shifts in allegiance to world studies that took place over time. Secondly, the various fields that world studies and global education encompass, or wish to see as interrelated, each bring with them certain sets of concepts, ideas and perspectives; attempts are then made to weld these elements together into a comprehensible framework or model that can be applied in the classroom, such as those offered by Richardson (1976), Fisher and Hicks (1985) and Pike and Selby (1988). For the sake of clarity and practicality, such attempts inevitably select elements from the various fields, emphasising some over others and thus potentially fuelling the ideological debate amongst proponents of the respective fields.

A third difficulty is inherent in the epistemological approach that world studies and global education have adopted. The very idea of seeing content as a specific body of knowledge, that is distinct from other bodies of knowledge (and might, therefore, be inserted into a compartmentalised curriculum), is antithetical to the 'systemic paradigm' (Pike and Selby, 1988, 25) that characterises the movement in the UK. Thus, there is not only an ideological clash between proponents of the various fields with which global education is associated, but also, at a more fundamental, paradigmic level, a clash between a 'mechanistic' and a 'systemic' view of reality. The former, emanating from the thinking of Descartes and Newton, has resulted, suggest Greig, Pike and Selby (1989, 19-20), in the dominant 'fragmentationalist curriculum' of most schools; the latter, drawing on the more recent insights of sub-atomic physicists, points to the greater relevance of a 'holistic curriculum' for interpreting and understanding the interconnectedness of the contemporary world. Implicit in the holistic curriculum model is the desire *not* to create a new subject with specific content but rather to provide a vehicle for infusing a global perspective across the curriculum through a package comprising interlinked knowledge, skills and values components. Knowledge, the kernel of an academic subject, is seen as insufficient, for 'the key to education is enquiry, rather than knowledge itself' (Fisher and Hicks, 1985, 15). The models thus developed feature content *and* process in indivisible partnership and focus as much on the *interrelationships* between areas of knowledge as on any particular area or subject. A consequent dilemma for world studies proponents, suggests Turner (1982, 44), occurs around issues of assessment:

> A fundamental criticism may be put forward that to assess World Studies at all, especially in a grading system such as ours, is incompatible with the aims of World Studies which can only be distorted by trying to fit them into an examination mould. I have a great deal of sympathy with this view but I see no way of securing a place for any integrated humanities courses in the 14-16 year curriculum unless they are examined.

As both Turner and Hedge (1988) point out, some of the most valued goals of world studies are not assessable, at least in the short term through conventional examination processes. In one of the few attempts in the UK literature to address issues of assessment, Torney-Purta (1989) advocates consistency between evaluation and the learning processes used, arguing that evaluation of world studies, therefore, should be a collaborative and formative process incorporating diverse methods. Such ideas are clearly at odds, as Turner implies, with a system that values summative, externally-validated examinations.

Practitioner perspectives

If world studies' proponents lacked decisiveness around its content, it would not be surprising to discover that the messages reaching world studies practitioners in the classroom were not entirely clear or consistent. As far back as 1980, Heater (1980, 8) cites the 'ideological cleavage' between liberal and radical proponents, leading to a 'general lack of cohesion in the cause', as one of the four major factors inhibiting progress in designing and implementing systematic schemes for education with a global perspective. He questions, too, the relationship between proponents and practitioners, arguing that unless there is the whole-hearted and active involvement of teachers, curriculum reform in this field will not only be partial but 'in danger of being divorced from the realities of school and classroom constraints' (*ibid.*).

> Partly because of institutional inertia, partly confusion, partly fear of radical change - for a variety of reasons, teachers involved in world studies have not been provided with a firm framework of support ... And firm guidance and support are needed in this kind of teaching because of ... the difficulties involved in presenting such material in the classroom. (p. 9)

It could be justifiably argued that the various projects and curriculum frameworks developed during the 1980s, and the resulting teachers' handbooks (Fisher and Hicks, 1985; Greig, Pike and Selby, 1987a; Fountain, 1990; Hicks and Steiner, 1989; Pike and Selby 1988), were worthy attempts at providing teachers with the support they needed. Reading the limited range of evaluative literature suggests, however, that whilst teachers appreciated the interactive in-service training and were excited by the use of active and co-operative learning strategies in the classroom, they remained unclear as to what world studies was actually *about*. Hicks (1989, 25), drawing on earlier research by an external evaluator, notes a weakness of the World Studies 8-13 Project as being 'the inherent diffuseness of focus' making its substance difficult to grasp:

> There is the danger that world studies means too many different things to too many different people, that it does not actually have enough internal consistency.

Similarly, the 'Global Impact' survey (Greig, Pike and Selby, 1987b, 45) of teachers' perceptions concluded that:

> In general, there was evidence of a lack of understanding of the wider meanings of global education; e.g. the notion that the global is within the local and vice versa and the importance of the futures dimension.

Additional problems for practitioners are related to the controversial nature of much of the content of world studies: difficulties resulted sometimes from teachers' lack of necessary or complete information on complex world issues (Hicks, 1989), and often from the application of a set of personal and social values around which there was likely to be disagreement (Bridges, 1982; Greig, Pike and Selby, 1987b). Heater's (1980) call for 'firm guidance and support' for teachers on account of the 'scale and complexity of world issues and the consequent conceptual difficulties of understanding them' (p. 9) appears to have been given insufficient attention.

Pike and Selby's holistic model of global education (1988, 1989, 1995) goes furthest, perhaps, in responding to two of the urgent priorities for the world studies movement identified by Heater: the need for a 'sound and generally acceptable theoretical framework' and for a set of clear and practicable objectives 'across the cognitive, affective and skills spectrum' (Heater, 1980, 152-5). Pike and Selby's theoretical framework, built around four dimensions ('spatial', 'temporal', 'issues' and 'human potential' or 'inner') attempts to encapsulate in one model the diverse content and process components that constitute global education in the UK; it is accompanied by a set of general aims - a revision and extension of Hanvey's (1976) goals for US global education - and a comprehensive list of knowledge, skills' and attitudes' objectives (Pike and Selby, 1988). Whether the framework is considered 'sound and generally acceptable', and whether the objectives are deemed 'clear and practicable', is not revealed in the subsequent literature. Pike and Selby's model could still be criticised, however, for being 'process-rich and content-poor' or at least 'content-vague': in *Global Teacher, Global Learner* (Pike and Selby, 1988) content is only specifically addressed through the inclusion, in an Appendix, of the World Studies GCSE Syllabus Content Model; it is also tangentially explored through a chapter that offers ideas for developing a global perspective in various curriculum subjects (a strategy that was adopted in various later numbers of the *World Studies Journal* and is more fully developed in *Reconnecting. From National to Global Curriculum* [Pike and Selby, 1995]). This latter strategy, whilst responding to both Heater and Lister's call for pragmatism in meeting the needs of teachers, does not in fact determine a coherent framework of content that is consistent with the holistic theoretical model. Introducing a global perspective into existing subjects is still fostering a compartmentalist view of curriculum and merely seeks to expand the accepted content models that exist for traditional subjects; it can nudge teachers in the direction of a holistic curriculum, should they wish to follow the leads offered, but it fails to substantiate, unequivocally, the epistemology that is central to a holistic philosophy. In other words, a teacher who infused the subject(s) she taught with a global perspective would not, necessarily, grasp or convey the interconnections that are central to a holistic model of global education.

Vulliamy and Webb's (1993, 39) research into the impact of an in-service course built around the Pike and Selby model is particularly revealing in terms of the messages reaching practitioners:

> ... the research suggested that, with few exceptions, teachers took from the course the emphasis upon active learning styles rather than the principles of a holistic approach to education, stressing a global dimension and the confrontation with controversial issues, which the course organisers advocated ...

The research further suggests that considerable changes in classroom practice may have resulted from the course and that many of these appeared to be ongoing more than a year after the course had ended (Vulliamy, 1992). As Vulliamy points out, such change would be in line with the two aspects of educational change, as defined by Fullan (1986, 322), that are the most difficult to achieve, namely 'use of new skills and behaviour' and 'changes in beliefs and understandings'. Vulliamy and Webb argue that their findings can be seen as reinforcing Lister's criticism of world studies and global education as being 'process-rich and content-poor'. They suggest that it could also be:

> illustrative of Doyle and Ponder's (1977-78) 'practicality ethic' whereby teachers take on only those new ideas which are consonant with their existing practices. This was especially evident in the marked contrast between the ways in which primary teachers interpreted both global education and the National Curriculum in terms of the processes of teaching, whereas secondary teachers tended to view both of these more in terms of content and subject matter. (1993, 39)

The World Studies 8-13 Project survey, likewise, found that the most important elements of the project were judged to be its learning objectives relating to attitudes, its use of enquiry based methods in the classroom and its capacity to stimulate changes in teaching style (Hicks, 1989). Hicks also admits that the 8-13 Project had much less impact on secondary schools than on primary schools because 'it failed to speak clearly to subject specialists in their own terms' (p. 26). This suggests that a combination of at least both of the factors identified by Vulliamy and Webb is at play in practitioners' interpretation of global education. In other words, primary teachers' interest in the processes of teaching and learning dovetails neatly with the process orientation of global education, irrespective of whether the content is appropriate or comprehensible. Secondary teachers, however, are under a double handicap: they are less interested in, or less able to implement, the process elements because of secondary schools' greater content orientation and yet they are unable to identify content within global education that they feel is appropriate to their needs as subject specialists, or with which they feel comfortable.

Problems of legitimation

The literature reviewed so far would tend to suggest that neither clarity nor efficiency, to recall Richardson's argument, resulted from the debates that took place between proponents in the 1980s. But what of Richardson's desire to exert pressure on educational administrators? The answer to this question is, at best, unclear from a simple review of the literature, in that there are very few recorded attempts at evaluating the impact of the world studies and global education movements either on policy making or at the classroom level. The most that can be achieved in this regard is an estimation based upon an overview of the field's principal successes and on reviews of particular initiatives. In one such review, Hicks (1989, 23) outlines the achievements of the World Studies 8-13 Project in very broad terms, such as 'helped to initiate planned programmes of in-service work in nearly half the LEAs in England and Wales.' He later notes:

> ...it is difficult to quantify the impact of the project. It is certainly not currently working in 50 LEAs, although this number have been involved over the nine year period. Whilst some Authorities ... injected world studies into their grass roots practice, others maintained their interest for a few years or, in some cases, not much longer than the initial in-service course. (p. 26)

A survey of 309 schools in twenty-one local education authorities, carried out for the 'Global Impact' project in 1986 (Greig, Pike and Selby, 1987b), is a little more detailed (though, as Lister [1989] notes, the response rate was only 18.9%). 17% of respondents indicated that their schools had published policies or guidelines on world studies, 11% that their LEAs had such statements. These figures were considerably lower than those claimed for policies/guidelines in other related fields, such as environmental education (46% and 23% respectively), multicultural education (33% and 39%), and equal opportunities (26% and 33%) (p. 13). In terms of teachers' perceptions of the relative importance of 'priority areas' for education, world studies was ranked below environmental education and multicultural education and slightly above equal opportunities (p. 34). Whilst it would be wrong to generalise about the impact of world studies on mainstream education on the basis of these teacher perceptions, it is interesting to note that world studies appears less significant - to both teachers and policy-makers - than other fields that it embraces, or to which it is allied.

Although acknowledging the necessity for developmental work in the early years, Lister (1987, 1989) criticises world studies and related movements for failing to explore and assess their impact in the classroom:

> What was lacking was a search for good practice and evidence based on the observation of practice and interviews with practitioners - planners, teachers, students. (1987, 58)

This lacuna, he argues, left the new movements vulnerable to public attacks from ideologically-opposed quarters (Cox and Scruton, 1984; Marks, 1984; Scruton, 1985) because the debate could only take place at a rhetorical level. Ironically, in their response to Roger Scruton's (1985) attack on world studies, which he claims to be Marxist and indoctrinatory, Pike and Selby (1986a) counter by suggesting that Scruton has obviously not seen world studies in action in the classroom. Much of their argument, nonetheless, is rhetorical; no empirical studies of the impact or educational benefits of world studies are cited. This, presumably, is due to the fact that 'there is little published research about world studies as it is taught in actual classroom settings' (Torney-Purta, 1989, 165).

The absence of empirical research, combined with a lack of clarity over content, has not facilitated the passage of world studies into a traditional curriculum framework dominated by subjects with long and academically respectable pedigrees. A significant weapon in the right-wing attacks on peace studies, women's studies and world studies is the assertion that they are not proper 'academic' subjects (Scruton, 1985; O'Keefe, 1986). The problem for the legitimation of world studies is that it has always been philosophically *opposed* to the compartmentalisation of knowledge into subjects, arguing that such divisions - and the thinking that naturally follows - have been instrumental in creating the global problems that now need to be addressed (Pike and Selby, 1988; Greig, Pike and Selby, 1989; Steiner, 1989). The dangers of the compartmentalist curriculum, from a global educator's perspective, are most graphically expressed in Richardson's popular 'Elephant Education' fable (Fisher and Hicks, 1985; Richardson, 1990), in which he parodies the tale of the six blind men and the elephant. The notion of a holistic curriculum poses, perhaps, the most critical challenge of all to the traditional school curriculum in that it questions not just the relevance of *content* - which has been subject to change from time to time - but also of the *organisation* of the curriculum in terms of subject divisions which, suggests Goodson (1990), have changed little in the secondary school since 1904. Resistance to the implementation of global education is likely to come, therefore, from traditional academics, who regard it as 'not a proper subject'; from policy makers and administrators, who do not want to contemplate such radical change to the present structure of the curriculum; and from many subject-specialist teachers, who view global education as trespassing on their territory or fail to see its applicability or relevance.

The difficulties of procuring legitimation were compounded, it would seem, by the divisions within the world studies movement and a consequent lack of clear vision as to its educational goals. Miriam Steiner's (1987, 57) endpiece, entitled 'A Plea for Help', to the *World Studies Journal* number on gender, is particularly revealing:

> One of my dilemmas as a world studies co-ordinator acting from 'inside', i.e. as an L.E.A. employee, has been a perceived need to make world studies 'safe', an acceptable classroom approach, radicalism without tears. In short, I fall constantly into the liberal mould, excusing my cowardice to confront real issues as pragmatism.

Steiner's apologetic admission of 'cowardice' in wanting to make world studies 'an acceptable classroom approach' provides a particularly poignant insight, coming from an experienced world studies proponent, into the difficulties of harmonising the conflicting desires of the world studies movement and thereby establishing a clear sense of direction. On the one hand is the perceived need to confront and explore ideological differences, to establish agreed principles and value positions, to mount (for some) a radical critique of mainstream educational structures and procedures; on the other hand is the inclination to work constructively within the education system, to allow for a diversity of perspectives and political positions among proponents and to live with inconsistencies between theory and practice. It is more than simply a dichotomy between radicals and liberals, to use Richardson's terms; it reflects the division between the (predominantly radical) focus on theory (content) and the (predominantly liberal) emphasis on practice (process). At its heart, too, are different views of educational change. Mullard's 'critical social perspective' might be seen as the radicals' clarion call for changing educational structures and institutions, whilst Steiner's 'radicalism without tears' would represent the liberals' preference for influencing attitudes and practice within existing structures. The world studies movement was still grappling with these continuing divisions when the Education Reform Act began to change the rules of the game.

Part Two: 1990-1996

Enter the National Curriculum...

The shape and content of the National Curriculum, as it evolved in the late 1980s and early 1990s, would seem to confirm that, at the level of educational policy-making, the influence of world studies was very limited. Whilst some of the documents outlining the Cross-curricular Themes, notably environment and citizenship, were gladly seized upon by global education practitioners and used to legitimate, or even initiate, cross-curricular approaches in schools (Vulliamy and Webb, 1993), the guidance offered in the documents (National Curriculum Council, 1990b; 1990c) would have located the intended realisation of these themes near the conservative end of Richardson's spectrum. In fact, the very existence of the Cross-curricular Themes was in some doubt, following arguments from private schools that standards would be undermined if teachers were deflected from the main curriculum (Webb, 1996). Subsequent to the publication of these non-statutory guidelines, the thrust of the National Curriculum - at a policy-making level - has been away from progressive educational ideas towards a subject-bound, content-focused curriculum that can be more easily measured by pencil and paper tests (Vulliamy and Webb, 1993) - a position diametrically opposed to the holistic curriculum models and collaborative assessment processes advocated by world studies proponents.

An alternative interpretation would be to suggest that the direction of educational reform from 1987 onwards indicates that progressive educational movements such as world studies *did have* a significant impact on policy-making, albeit in a negative sense. According to this hypothesis, the rhetorical debate and controversy that surrounded peace education (Cox and Scruton, 1984; Marks, 1984) and world studies (Scruton, 1985; Pike and Selby, 1986a, 1986b) in the mid-1980s prompted a fundamental review by the Conservative government of the practice and purpose of schooling, resulting in the most radical revision of curriculum and school administration since the 1944 Education Act (including a wholesale reappraisal of the role of Her Majesty's Inspectorate, which had previously shown some sympathy towards world studies [Lister, 1989; Pike and Selby, 1986a]). If such were true, or even partially so, one would have to credit the progressive movements for arousing considerable public and ministerial interest, whilst at the same time lamenting their inabilities to influence governmental policy in their favour.

Whilst it would seem feasible that the educational trends fuelled by the progressive movements played some part in the government's reformist thinking, it is also likely that world studies' lack of influence results as much from the path of development it had previously taken; in particular, its emphasis on process. The National Curriculum legislation is largely an attempted reform of content and procedures for assessing students' understanding of content; it is deliberately vague on matters of process, arguing that teaching style remains 'the birthright of the profession' (National Curriculum Council, 1990a, 7). In a moment of early optimism, Greig, Pike and Selby (1989, 165) suggest that 'the promotion of interactive learning by in-service educators and agencies alike is, perhaps, the most potent means available for influencing the national curriculum in an holistic direction'. Vulliamy and Webb's (1993) research into the impact of a global education in-service course does lend support to this idea, to a certain extent. Contrary to the predictions of educationalists that the advent of the National Curriculum would sign the death warrant for forms of progressive education, they found considerable evidence of teachers creatively using National Curriculum documentation to legitimise the development of a global perspective and support their use of progressive teaching styles.

It may be, as Vulliamy and Webb indicate, that teachers have been able to apply global education *methods* in their implementation of National Curriculum *content*; however, with the notable exception of the (pre-National Curriculum) syllabuses in World Studies at O/CSE and GCSE levels developed by schools in Leicestershire and Devon (Pike and Selby, 1988), the literature contains scant evidence of any significant acceptance by mainstream educational policy makers of an integrated, holistic curriculum model as advocated by global educators. Furthermore, the 1988 Education Reform Act, contrary to the more typical 'Burkean style of curricular development' (Heater, 1980, 69) that world studies had been faithfully following, turned the tables on the liberal reform process. The imposition of the National Curriculum, by Ministerial decree, attempted not only a fundamental revision of curriculum content but also significant structural change in terms of limiting the freedom of teachers to make their own decisions about curriculum and assessment (Bowe and Ball, 1992). This was in direct opposition to the '"trickle-up" theory of change' that had been advocated by the World Studies Project which 'saw its task as initiating and sustaining discussion ...via the creation of networks at ground level, rather than working mainly with administrators and decision makers' (Schools Council, 1981b, 1-2). It was a challenge, as radical as any that world studies had faced, for which the movement was seemingly unprepared.

Although Vulliamy and Webb's data suggest that global education process may still be utilised, despite National Curriculum restraints, the prognosis for influencing curriculum content would seem, for the time being, to be less auspicious. Stalwart attempts have been made in the 1990s to regain some ground, largely through the production of handbooks and classroom materials that offer strategies for infusing a global perspective whilst satisfying the statutory requirements of the National Curriculum (Andrews, 1994; CEWC, 1992; Pike and Selby, 1995; Steiner, 1993, 1996b). However, recent policy statements on curriculum and teacher education have further eroded opportunities for teachers and students to address cross-curricular issues (Clough and Holden, 1996), and David Hicks claims that 'the educational trends of the last six years (have) marginalised much of (the) excellent work carried out in the 1980s'

(Hicks and Wood, 1996, 109). Whilst asserting that the committed teachers of the 1980s are still committed and that expertise in global education is increasing, not diminishing, Klein (1996, 51) admits:

> Whether children have teachers who consciously and courageously extend the curriculum from 'national' to global remains a lottery.

Shah (1996) notes, too, that the global education lobby has no influence on the mainstream funding agencies and is still likely to be categorised as left wing and political, rather than as 'good' education. Echoes of the 1980s, it would seem, continue to reverberate.

Meanwhile, familiar debates - and divisions - amongst proponents of the related fields persist. A closer alliance was forged between development education and environmental education (Sterling and Bobbett, 1992), whilst elsewhere, humane education - a new addition to the 'family' (Selby, 1995) - and human rights education proponents publicly aired their differences (Selby, 1992b; Starkey, 1992). The development education movement attempted to foster connections and communication among the related movements through establishing the Global Education Network, but the plan was subsequently dropped (Sterling and Bobbett, 1992). Reflecting on the failure of the Network to get off the ground, Sterling and Bobbett note that 'people working within the different sectors were more atomised than the Steering Group had expected' (p. 5). They postulated that the model of global education as a vehicle for integrating the related, yet still distinctive fields was an idea whose time was yet to come, even though integration between certain fields (*e.g.* development and environmental education) had happened 'more by a process of accretion' (p. 11). More recently, however, Richardson (1996) claims that global education *has* become the generic term, having the advantage over world studies of implying a cross-curricular theme or dimension rather than a time-tabled subject. No doubt propelled by the post-National Curriculum interest in citizenship education (Commission on Citizenship, 1990; Fogelman, 1991; Osler, *et al.*, 1995) the concept of 'global citizenship' now appears to provide a convenient, and timely, meeting point for proponents from many of the fields (Steiner, 1996b). Nonetheless, Steiner comments (1996a, xi) that 'it's important to preserve distinctiveness', whatever the common term used; and for Hicks (Hicks and Wood, 1996, 110) the 'renaissance of radical education' lies in the innovative practice that now takes place under the headings of 'education for the future' and 'education for sustainability'.

The question 'What is global education?' would still seem to have currency and can be seen as a connecting thread winding through this analysis of UK literature. The earlier debates around the 'politically correct' ideology for world studies and which of the new movements it encompassed gave way, in the late 1980s, to the more pressing needs of accommodating (or subverting) the conservative designs of the National Curriculum. Proponents occupying a 'liberal' position would seem at that time to have had more influence than the 'radicals', if one can judge on the basis of those projects that received financial support and the publications for teachers that ensued. The emphasis in these handbooks is on classroom process and gradual change - often at a personal level (Greig, Pike and Selby, 1989) - within existing institutions and prescribed curricula. The content of global education is now firmly rooted within the restricted boundaries of the National Curriculum framework, perhaps - ironically - providing greater clarity for practitioners whilst at the same time limiting the possibilities for creative cross-disciplinary teaching and learning, and severely curtailing the more radical agenda of applying a critical social perspective to the reform of the education system. The impact of global education in the classroom remains, despite Lister's repeated calls, to be researched and effectively evaluated. And global education as an alternative, holistic model of curriculum remains to be fully explained in terms of what it would actually look like, and how it would be assessed, if the theory were ever permitted to be translated into practice. More than twenty years on from Richardson's initial identification of the tensions within world studies, global education in the UK is still searching for a clear identity.

Chapter 5

Profile 3: Global Education in Canada

Introduction

Global education is a term that is currently used and recognised throughout Canada, though its development as an identifiable field within education has occurred much more recently than in the UK and USA. The roots of global education can be traced back to grassroots initiatives in the fields of peace education and development education, led by educators and members of voluntary groups (Bacchus, 1989; Lyons, 1996). The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) had played a particularly important role in the promotion of development education through the funding, since 1971, of 'learner centres' across the country, with the aim of building 'among Canadians a broad understanding of why conditions of hunger, poverty and violence remain in our world today' (Jensen, 1989, 37). The efforts and experiences of development educators fuelled the emergence of global education (Allen Peters, 1992, 15), which was itself propelled by funding from CIDA. Born out of a belief that schools were not sufficiently addressing global issues in the curricula, Ministries of Education and teachers' associations in each province and territory were invited to develop proposals for projects that would promote global education in the formal education system (GESTED International Inc., 1993). The first project to be funded opened in New Brunswick in 1987; by 1992, eight out of ten provinces (the exceptions being Manitoba and Prince Edward Island), and Yukon Territory, had operational global education projects (*ibid.*). CIDA continued to fund these nine projects (with the exception of Saskatchewan, which closed in 1992) until 1995, when a sudden and unexpected decision by the Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs removed CIDA's support for global and development education (including the learner centres) almost totally. The period 1987-1995 can be regarded, therefore, as the most productive for global education in Canada and it is from this era that the vast majority of the literature dates.

A quick scan of the literature suffices to reveal a significant characteristic of global education in Canada, namely the utilisation of models, ideas and strategies from other countries, especially the UK and USA. Articles by key American proponents, Kniep (1989) and Lamy (1989) appear in a Canadian journal; British contributors include Hicks (1993) and Pike and Selby (1992). Furthermore, references to, and excerpts from, the work of these and other leading proponents, including Anderson and Becker (1979), Greig, Pike and Selby (1987a) and Hanvey (1976), are to be found frequently on the pages of Canadian books, journals and papers. A review of the theoretical models and frameworks adopted by the provincial global education projects suggests that, with the possible exception of New Brunswick, the influence of British proponents is significantly greater than that of American counterparts. In their evaluation of the Ontario project, Kelleher and Ball (n.d., 26) refer to the distribution of *Global Teacher, Global Learner* (Pike and Selby, 1988) to schools involved in the project; references to, or excerpts from, this publication appear in documentation produced by the projects in Alberta, British Columbia, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Quebec and Saskatchewan; the work of Hicks is also given prominence in Nova Scotia literature.

The importance of non-Canadian contributions to the development of global education in Canada should not be regarded as an implication that Canadian proponents have not determined its scope and direction, rather that they have made use of theoretical ideas that were already available. However, before continuing with this survey, clarification should be sought as to who and what constitute 'Canadian' proponents and 'Canadian' literature. For the purposes of this study, the latter is defined as any writing on 'global education' (as previously defined) that appears in a publication (book, journal, magazine, newsletter, *etc.*) produced in Canada for predominantly Canadian readership. Thus, articles by American, British or other non-Canadian writers that appear in Canadian publications would be included, the rationale for their inclusion being twofold: firstly, editors have selected such writing as being worthy of inclusion - for whatever reason - in their publications; secondly, by virtue of their appearance in Canadian literature, such articles have the potential to inform and influence Canadian global educators. The definition of a Canadian proponent is more complex, largely as a result of the country's favourable attitudes towards immigration and multiculturalism. It is interesting to note that several of the leading writers on global education in Canada are immigrants (*i.e.* not born in Canada), as were three out of the nine original directors of CIDA global education projects. Inevitably, such people bring to their thinking and writing insights from living in other countries, as well as from the experience of immigration itself. It could be argued, however, that similar factors have been so fundamental to the shaping of Canadian culture and identity over the past century that they are, in essence, part of 'being Canadian' (Ignatieff, 1993). To simplify matters for the purposes of this study, residency in Canada is taken to be the deciding factor: all proponents resident in Canada at the time of publication of their writing are categorised as 'Canadian'. Furthermore, the date of taking up residency is significant in some cases. For example, Toh worked and published in the Philippines and Australia before coming to Canada; his 1993 article referred to in this chapter was given as a paper to a 1991 conference in Australia (Calder and Smith, 1992). However, at the time of publication in a Canadian journal, Toh was affiliated with the University of Alberta; thus, both article and proponent are deemed 'Canadian'. Pike and Selby moved to the University of Toronto in 1992; before that date they are defined as British (and, consequently, the influence of their writing up to then on the development of Canadian global education is regarded as emanating from the UK); subsequently, they are viewed as Canadian.

The influences of global educators from several countries contribute, perhaps, to the problems associated with the emergence of a generally acceptable definition of global education in Canada. Alladin (1989, 6) contends that global education 'is an important concept, but it is vulnerable to loose definitions and vague interpretations'. The definitions and characterisation of global education that follow in his article draw from American (L. Anderson, and Hanvey - though not attributed to him), British (Pike and Selby) and international sources (UNESCO). Case (1991, 3) agrees that 'greater clarity about a global perspective is needed', and builds on the American models of Hanvey (1976) and Kniep (1986a), arguing that neither incorporate all the crucial elements. Petrie (1992, 20), however, also draws upon Hanvey's five-dimensional model and contends that it is 'perhaps the best attempt at providing the clarity required' if global education is to avoid becoming the umbrella for every curriculum lobby group. Smith and Peterat (1992) suggest that too much of the literature on global/development education assumes, mistakenly, a common understanding of the term; they proceed to review Hanvey's model, introduce Pike and Selby's (1986b, 1988) and Coombs' (1988) critiques of Hanvey and settle on the latter (from a Canadian proponent) as being the most suitable conception. Perhaps the only point of agreement amongst Canadian proponents concerning an acceptable definition of global education would be the need to find one; certainly, consensus - other than at a very broad level of generalisation - does not appear to exist in the literature.

A moral imperative

Werner (1988), however, suggests that 'considerable consensus' does exist around three goals of global education, the second of which is:

> To help students articulate and reason about moral questions that are raised through an understanding of our interdependence with other peoples and the reciprocal relationships between our lifestyles and theirs. (cited in Smith and Peterat, 1992, 9)

Certainly, scattered liberally throughout the literature are references, at times explicit, to an underlying moral purpose that global education seeks to promote. Bacchus (1989, 21) suggests teachers have a 'moral obligation' to help students understand that, in an interdependent world, everyone bears responsibility for problems such as world poverty. Darling (n.d., 2-4), for whom present conceptions of global education are still inadequate responses to living in an interconnected and changing world, builds on the work of Coombs (1988, 6), whose 'constructivist global perspective' incorporates a perception of the 'equal moral worth' of all people. Darling proposes 'global education as a moral enterprise' which goes far beyond providing knowledge about the world to developing 'moral sensitivities and understandings', especially in terms of how students should relate to other people in the world.

Whilst, for some proponents, morality within global education is centred on respect for, and empathy with, people in all situations and circumstances, for others the moral imperative inevitably amounts to a critical analysis of personal values and lifestyles. The 'new world order' advocated by Roche (1993, 31, 35) is, at its heart, 'equitable' - calling for the rich countries to give up their economic dominance and implying a reduction in consumerism amongst Europeans and North Americans. In characteristically crusading style, Ferns (1992, 2), Director of the Nova Scotia Global Education Project, takes up the torch by attacking the concept of 'sustainable development' as being a bandwagon that would allow the present, US-based image of material development to flourish. Such a view of development, he argues, 'is hollow, unfulfilling and lacking in any moral substance ... above all it is almost impossibly seductive'. A similar critique of a narrow conception of development appears, in allegorical form, in the Quebec global education project newsletter (Volcy, 1991). The 'moral substance' that Ferns desires is not, perhaps, grounded solely in altruism. As Roche (1989, 18) himself points out in an earlier article, in an interdependent world system, helping others is tantamount to helping oneself:

> We must do these things if the world is to survive nuclear annihilation, the rich-poor gap in the world, environmental degradation and over-population. To a spirit of idealism, of human integrity, is now added a deep pragmatism.

Within the seam of morality that runs through the literature there is, however, a deep vein of altruism. Willms (1992, 16) argues that the best motivation for global education 'has nothing to do with one's personal survival or economic welfare, but everything to do with a simple sense of compassion and justice'. In discussing the challenges facing designers of the new Alberta Grade 11 social studies curriculum, Carson (1989, 52) states that the curriculum 'has a fundamentally educative starting point - we need to come to know how to live rightly in an interdependent and endangered world'. Intrinsic to that knowledge, he contends, is a moral commitment and a recognition that 'we are part of the problem' (p. 53). Perhaps the most clearly articulated statements of morality are contained within Toh's (1993, 12) explanation of the 'transformative paradigm of global literacy', the first theme of which is 'explicitly ethical':

> We become more fully human when we seek to understand the global family of which we are a part, and when we apply that understanding into personal, social and political acts consistent with human liberation and emancipation ... As a person's interior life deepens, she or he becomes engaged in the crucial struggles of all peoples for justice, dignity and freedom.

Toh's argument goes further than most in making explicit the links, as he sees them, between personal and global ethics, a point that is echoed by Selby (1993, 6) in his explanation of the synergistic and complementary relationship between the 'inward journey' and the 'outward journey'. Toh's transformative paradigm, in keeping with the majority of conceptions of global education in Canada, is essentially predicated upon an anthropocentric perspective: even though he discusses the problems of 'planetary survival' and 'ecological security' (1993, 12-14), the principal referents in these discussions are the world's people. A morality steeped more in a biocentric ethic can be found in the writing of a few proponents, particularly associated with the Ontario Education for a Global Perspective (EGP) project. Links between global education and ecology are fundamental to Berry and Sullivan's (1992, 6) analysis of our present 'planetary crisis'; they suggest we need to move education into the 'Ecozoic Age', a primary aspect of which is that 'we recognize the larger community of life as our primary referent in terms of reality and value' (p. 7). A similar perspective is enshrined in Kiil's (1994, 8) proposed curriculum framework that, in place of traditional subject areas, focuses on 'physical ecology, social ecology, creative ecology, integrated/whole systems and human technologies'. The vision of education so propounded is one in which the needs of the planetary system as a whole determine the intrinsic values and the direction of learning, rather than any separate notions of human development. It is a vision that can be seen to the fore in the EGP project's final conference on *Planetary Relationships*: two of the keynote speakers, as described in the conference program, are 'Thomas Berry, Ecotheologian, Author: Dream of the Earth' and 'Brian Swimme, Mathematical Cosmologist; Author: Universe is a Green Dragon'. (*Education for a Global Perspective*, 1995, 3). Writing in one of the last publications of the EGP project before its demise, the Co-ordinator, Tom Lyons, refers to Berry's thinking in making the contention that 'with anthropocentric arrogance the human aspires to global perhaps cosmological dominance'. (Lyons, 1995, 6). Following a damning (though not detailed) critique of the recently published report of the Ontario Royal Commission on Learning which, he opines, 'seems to be driven by a vision of education as a tool for the workplace', Lyons (p. 11-12) suggests that schools, by contrast, can provide for students 'a wonderful ... opportunity to learn to love this planet as their home'. For Edmund O'Sullivan (1996, 4), too, there exists a stark choice between 'the global planet' or 'the global market'. A rather more dispassionate argument for a biocentric ethic within global education is taken by Selby (1994a, 1994b), who argues that global educators have taken insufficient account of perspectives emanating from the field of humane education, especially concerning the relationship between animal and human rights and the restricted vision of an anthropocentric stance towards global issues.

It should be noted that not all proponents take an overtly moral stance - either from an anthropocentric or a biocentric perspective - on the purpose of global education, even though the strands noted above are commonplace. In sticking closely to the awareness-oriented goals of Hanvey, Petrie (1992) puts emphasis on understanding global issues and cultural perspectives, rather than on exploring relative values and morals. Case (1991, 9), acknowledges that global education 'should not and can not be value-free' and extends Hanvey's framework to include a 'perceptual dimension', within which he proposes values and attitudes such as 'open-mindedness', 'resistance to stereotyping' and 'non-chauvinism' (p. 8); however, he stops well short of a moral imperative:

> ... the underlying value of the perceptual dimension is essentially that a broad-minded perspective is to be preferred over a parochial perspective ... Thus, while my account of a global perspective is not value-neutral, it does not prejudge for educators or students the particular view they should adopt on contentious issues such as the merits of maintaining the current world order. (p. 9)

In making this claim, Case distinguishes his position on global education from the three orientations towards world affairs suggested by Lamy (1987) as being representative of American global education proponents: those who 'seek to maintain the status quo'; those who 'promote moderate reform of the existing order'; and those who 'advocate fundamental transformation of the system' (Case, 1991, 9). Essentially, Case argues that all proponents, irrespective of ideological standing, should endorse the elements that constitute the perceptual dimension. In a later article, published in a Canadian journal, Lamy (1989, 43) re-iterates the three distinct positions held by global educators in the USA and suggests that the 'national interest - neomercantilist' group (those seeking to maintain the status quo) have had most influence in his country, whereas those with 'more utopian, change-oriented perspectives have had only minimal impact on U.S. global education efforts'. It is interesting to compare Lamy's analysis with the dominant positions in Canada, as seen in the literature, which appear to fall, for the most part, into the 'utopian, change-oriented category'. Here, perhaps, is a further indication of the limited impact of American proponents on the development of global education in

Canada, even though U.S. theoretical models are featured and referred to. The extent to which the more conservative positions outlined by Lamy will be found amongst Canadian practitioners will be pursued in Chapter 9.

Education for change

Within Case's perceptual dimension of a global perspective can be found a particular view of the role of global education in fomenting social change. The five elements of the perceptual dimension are oriented towards changing the behaviour of students, to the extent that their behaviour does not meet certain expectations. For example, Case (1991, 15) suggests:

> Resisting stereotyping may enhance the prospects of global co-operation in international situations by promoting appreciation of the extent of similarities and shared interests among different people, and by combating tendencies to falsely balkanize international interests.

Thus, through learning how to resist stereotypical images and accounts, students can help promote an implicitly desirable change, that of global co-operation. Case is not, however, explicitly critical of the global *status quo,* therefore he does not need to *advocate* change nor indeed provide any clue as to the desired nature or scope of global co-operation; the goal is to be self-evidently regarded as 'a good thing'. It is a view of global education based on the notion of leading students 'out of a naive, largely uninformed view of the world into a more enlightened view' (p. 19), but without stating the principles upon which that enlightenment should be based. Such an academic position is quite significantly different, in tone and objective, to Toh's (1993, 11) 'transformative paradigm of global literacy':

> It is transformative in the sense that it empowers learners not only to critically understand the world's realities in a holistic framework, but also to move learners and teachers to act towards a more peaceful, just and liberating world.

Toh presents this vision of education as a 'critical alternative' to the 'liberal technocratic paradigm' which, he contends, can be found in Canadian schools. In such a *status quo*-critical, change advocacy approach to education, the ultimate goal is more explicitly articulated and both students and teachers are encouraged to take appropriate action towards its realisation. It is towards a change advocacy position that most Canadian proponents can be located. Writing in the Alberta Global Education Project newsletter, the Director expresses his concern about local school initiatives that raise awareness of social issues, or funds for worthy causes, but stop short of 'political action' - teaching students how to play an active role in a participatory democracy (Choldin, 1989, 2). Readers of the Nova Scotia project newsletter are given some specific advice in that direction when urged to join the international boycott of Nestlé products to force the company to change its practices in marketing breast milk substitutes (*New Perspectives,* 1995, 11). A lead article in the Ontario project newsletter recounts an incidence of pollution in a local creek, using it to attack the 'back to basics' movement in education:

> To me the message is very clear. The creek was polluted by literate and intelligent business people, scientists and technologists, who willingly, wittingly and wilfully dumped paints, varnishes and solvents into their storm sewers without regard for the consequences. This creek was polluted by the very people who are products of an education system that some want us to return to. (Lyons, 1994, 1)

The overt political agenda conveyed through such statements in the provincial project newsletters is not, necessarily, being transmitted into the classroom, nor are proponents directly suggesting that it should be. The statements do, however, suggest that political action is part of the underlying rationale for global education. Other proponents are more specific, particularly with reference to the need for fundamental changes in public attitudes and lifestyles in the industrialised North if sustainable development is to be a realistic goal on a global scale (Moore, 1992; Head, 1994). Allen Peters (1992, 16) claims that most home economics teachers wish for 'informed action' by their students as an outcome of their teaching:

> Home economists as educators are motivated by the desire to prepare students to make choices that lead to a lifestyle which is personally satisfying, globally responsible and ecologically sustainable.

Any reasonable and objective analysis of current North American lifestyles would surely determine that such action goals be classified, according to Lamy, as 'utopian and change-oriented'.

A 'passion for internationalism'

If the rationale for global education is lodged, even partially, within a criticism of the global *status quo,* then it is probable that proponents are critical of the peoples and governments that bear most responsibility for the current situation. To Head (1994, 4), the position is very clear:

> The current sense of superiority that we in the North now project to the South is misplaced. Our arrogance is unjustified. Our record of environmental degradation, of resource consumption, of conflict, of

> greed, is not the model that in our own interests we wish the developing countries to emulate.

It is evident that the direction of global education in Canada has been significantly shaped by such perceptions of the global condition, emanating both from government policy makers (Ivan Head was formerly President of the Ottawa-based International Development Research Centre [Head, 1994]) and from the grassroots development education movement. Particularly influential has been Robert Moore, a former Ambassador, who became a key link between the provincial global education projects and their sponsor, CIDA (GESTED International Inc., 1993). Moore (1992, 8) argues that internationalism has been, for 45 years, a 'Canadian passion':

> With a nationalism not inimical to transnational attachments, Canadians have both governmentally and non-governmentally sought to assist developing countries with almost no ideological requirements or prescriptive rigidity. All that makes fertile soil for global conceptions to germinate.

Moore further substantiates his argument by pointing to the country's recent record on immigration; 'multicultural Canada', he notes, 'seems to imply globally oriented Canada' (*ibid.*). Moore's analysis is supported by Bacchus (1989, 20), who talks of an 'outward-directed concern for improving the lot of humanity' amongst Canadians that was also echoed at home in concern for the plight of native peoples. Given, then, the 'fertility' of the Canadian 'soil', it is not surprising that global education should take root and flourish (watered, of course, by federal government finance); nor is it surprising that an 'internationalist' perspective - even one that is critical of national attitudes and practices - should prevail as a dominant characteristic within the growing movement. Indeed, it could well be argued that, in Canada, nationalism and internationalism are to a marked extent compatible: a history of immigration, coupled with contemporary policies on development aid, imbue Canada's 'national interests' with an uncommonly high degree of international awareness and concern. Again, the contrast with the situation in the USA is stark; many Americans, says Lamy (1989, 42), 'accustomed to a world in which the United States was a hegemonic power ...react unfavourably to any attempt to introduce them to a different reality'.

For some proponents, reconciling national and global interests is a major goal of global education. Head (1994, 3) argues that although global interconnectedness was created largely by humankind's own endeavours, our conceptual understanding of it is way behind the pervasiveness of the reality that makes all of us 'intimate neighbours'. The resulting 'mental insularity' leads, he suggests, to mutual vulnerability, particularly for the countries in the rich North. Promotion of the concept of global citizenship can be seen as one attempt by proponents to enhance conceptual understanding of the interlocking nature of the contemporary world. Selby (1994c, 20-1), developing Heater's (1990) concept of the 'multiple citizen', proposes:

> a plural and parallel definition of citizenship, arising out of our multiple identities and loyalties and the plurality of sources that define our sense of virtue and legal, political and social status ...

A principal thrust of education for global citizenship is to suggest that an expectation of exclusive loyalty to the nation state is nonsensical in an interdependent world system, where any individual is likely to experience the pull of multiple loyalties to a variety of sub-national, national and international groups. Active participation is also critical: education for global citizenship 'nurtures empowered students who view the world with enthusiasm' (Choldin, 1994, preface). It is, as Roche (1989, 17) puts it, the development of an attitude that challenges the 'strident individualism which says "me first, my country first"'.

Case (1991, 18) handles the issue of national interests within global education a little more cautiously:

> ... while fostering national interests is an appropriate and desirable component of global education, attention to our own national interests must not obscure any moral obligations we have to the global community.

His writing on this aspect lacks the 'passion for internationalism' that other proponents convey; it is more a question of undertaking moral obligations to the global community, rather than seeking to maximise the potential afforded by the perceived overlap in Canada between national and global interests. Pursuing a different line, Darling (n.d., 2) questions whether the concept of the nation still has meaning 'as we become increasingly aware that the nation is no longer the sole arbiter of our private fate'. Building on the writing of Ignatieff (1984), Darling suggests that a legitimate task for global education is to 'find a new language that will express our needs and concerns as common inhabitants of the earth' (p. 2). For her, the answer is to be found in creating empathy between people through exposing students to the real lives and stories of others. In so doing, she introduces an important idea that runs counter to a commonly-held goal of global education, that of emphasising the commonality of experience among people of all backgrounds as a way of creating a sense of a world community or of global citizenship. Again citing Ignatieff, Darling (p. 10) argues that individual identity is recognised not through universality, but through difference:

> We have to be especially careful as educators not to emphasise the vague and abstracted commonalities of human beings at the risk of losing sight of our differences ... The richness of our various customs and practices,

> the poetry and colour of our separate languages, can disappear in the bland and featureless face of the 'global citizen'.

Although the concept of a nation may be outmoded, she points out that descriptions of the 'universal human being' deny the situations and perspectives that shape us all.

Zachariah (1989, 51) echoes Darling's plea for the recognition of real people when he argues:

> The goal of global education should be to present people ... not as cardboard characters in a stilted puppet play but as multifaceted human beings who love and hate, are selfish and selfless as well as cruel and kind at different times, are seeking to express their sense of personal worth while constrained by their culture and natural environment ... In short people should be presented as people.

Zachariah is one of the few Canadian proponents who directly explores the 'symbiotic relationship' (p. 49) between the goals of global education and those of multicultural education. For him it is critical that a global education curriculum encourages 'fair and objective treatment of the cultures from which the visible minorities in Canada originate' (p. 48), which includes recognition of the strengths and weaknesses of all cultures and that, even in times of rapid change, there are elements of cultural continuity (1989, 1993). Parchment and Vahed (1996, 33), likewise, argue for 'the centrality of race to global education', whilst recognising that their argument is not fully accepted in Canada. Alladin (1989, 7), however, makes a clear distinction between global education and multicultural education on two grounds; firstly, the former attempts to foster an 'international perspective', whereas the latter seeks to promote 'national unity out of cultural diversity'; secondly, multicultural education's focus is on 'domestic "multiethnic" issues', compared with the concern for global issues and systems of global education. Distinctions between these two fields are maintained within the publications of the Quebec global education project which, due to pressure from the Francophone teachers' union (Benoit, 1991), is unique among the projects in its inclusion of 'intercultural education' with 'global education' as the two complementary but distinctive strands of 'education with a global perspective' (CEICI, 1991, 3). The two strands are regularly featured, side by side, within the project's quarterly newsletter, *Liaison-CEICI*. In utilising Canada's multicultural make-up as a springboard for exploring other cultures, McLean (1990, 20) warns of the dangers of 'ethnic tokenism' whereby the presence of students from other cultural backgrounds becomes the rationale for learning about those countries. For McLean, learning about the world is important, even in monocultural classrooms.

It is clear that, of the two aspects of Canada's 'passion for internationalism' - development assistance and multiculturalism - it is the former that has had a substantially greater impact on the growth of global education. Dialogue with proponents from multicultural or anti-racist groups is rarely found in the global education literature, and where the relationship between the two fields is explored, there seems to be a lack of clarity and consensus.

Consensus and conflict avoidance: a passion for liberalism

Within each of the 'sensitizing concepts' explored above - the contributions of non-Canadians, the moral imperative, a focus on change and an internationalist orientation - there are evidently differences of opinion and emphasis amongst proponents and, henceforth, some ambiguities and confusion in the literature when viewed as a whole. Perhaps more remarkable, however, is the degree of consensus that emerges concerning the fundaments of global education. That consensus can be seen as having two constituent elements: a broad measure of agreement amongst proponents with regard to the content and process of, and underlying rationale for, global education; and a paucity of critical appraisal of the nature and purpose of global education, from either within or outside the education system.

Let us examine, firstly, the degree of homogeneity of global education, as described in the literature, through summarising some key characteristics around which there appears to be little disagreement:

Global education is applicable across the curriculum

Despite its origins in development and peace education, often regarded as perspectives within a social studies curriculum, the growth of global education in Canada has drawn from many subject areas. Contributions to global education journals come from perspectives of history (McLean, 1990), home economics (Allen Peters, 1992; Smith, 1994), mathematics (Crawford, 1992), science (van der Beek, 1992), social science (Petrie, 1992) and technology (Sterling, 1992), as well as from cross-disciplinary fields such as environmental and media education and the already integrated perspectives of elementary teachers. The latter, in particular, illustrate how a global dimension can be used to create a totally integrated curriculum (Biggs, 1996; Peterson, 1992).

Global education focuses on global issues and problems

Though not necessarily categorised in like manner, proponents focus on areas of global concern - such as development, environment, human rights, peace - as providing the substance or organising concepts of global education, as opposed to specific countries or cultures (the latter sometimes being seen as the purview of multicultural education).

Global education has both cognitive and affective goals

Virtually all models and definitions of global education move beyond an exclusive preoccupation with knowledge and skills to incorporate the development and refinement of attitudes and values. Notable here are the explicit statements about the importance of attitudinal change, if global problems are to be successfully addressed.

Global education is concerned with learning processes, as well as content

Sometimes explicitly (Choldin, 1993; Selby, 1993), at other times through giving examples of lessons or topics, proponents convey that the learning processes they advocate are student-centred, participatory and interactive. This point is underscored in a promotional video produced by the Nova Scotia Global Education Project (*New Perspectives*: *Global Education in the Classroom,* n.d.): the six classroom activities featured all involve high levels of student collaboration and interaction, whilst the commentary highlights the wide range of learning style preferences that are catered for. Apart from an article in the Canadian literature by American proponent Willard Kniep (1989), only Petrie (1992), in relying heavily on Hanvey's (1976) dimensions of a global perspective, comes close to suggesting that global education can be defined by its content.

Global education is empowering

Though disagreements may be found over the extent to which global education should promote activism amongst students, there is no debate that it should empower learners to more actively shape their own futures. Thus, the purpose of global education is not simply the acquisition of knowledge about the world, but to enable students to effectively and responsibly use that knowledge for their own and others' benefits.

The consensual nature of the development and implementation of global education in Canada could be a significant factor in the degree to which it has impacted education in a relatively short time frame. Fullan (1991, 49) claims that an innovation of even moderate complexity takes from three to five years from initiation to institutionalisation (the point at which it gets built into an ongoing part of the system), even if schools are dealing with only one innovation at a time. In reality, Canadian schools have participated in multiple reforms since 1987, some of which are not at all compatible with global education (B. O'Sullivan, 1995). Yet, by 1991, Moore (1992, 9) claims that the provincial global education programmes had reached 300,000 teachers, or 90% of the teaching population. In Ontario, Lyons (1992b, 11) reports that more than 5000 teachers and 16 school boards had made 'some kind of commitment' to Education for a Global Perspective (EGP) in the project's first three years; whilst a 1992 survey of a random sample of 1200 teachers found that two-thirds of respondents thought that a global perspective in education was important and 40% had significantly altered their approach during the last two years to incorporate such a perspective (Kelleher and Ball, n.d., 5-7).

Such figures, of course, do not indicate *institutionalisation* of global education initiatives, merely that some degree of initiation and/or implementation has taken place (a process that was facilitated, no doubt, by the attachment of the projects to the teachers' federations in each province [GESTED International Inc., 1993]). However, there are indications, particularly in Ontario (with over 40% of Canada's teachers), that some degree of institutionalisation did take place at many levels of the education system during the EGP project's six years of operation. At the school level, several schools are designated or perceived as 'global schools', including one new high school that has built its whole curriculum and school ethos around global education principles (Iroquois Ridge High School, 1994-5, 2); Chapter 9 contains profiles of some of these schools. At the school board level, at least two boards (both serving a large number of schools in Metropolitan Toronto) have included global education as priority goals for the curriculum (Halton Board of Education, 1993; Lacey, 1993). At the provincial level, both the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation and the Ontario Teachers' Federation (OTF) - the 'umbrella' union to which the EGP project was attached - passed policies in support of global education; furthermore, the Board of Governors of OTF strongly urged the Ontario Ministry of Education in 1992 to incorporate statements on global education into the provincial Goals of Education and into any future curriculum documents (Lyons, 1995, 3-4). Perhaps the most significant, and lasting, impact of the EGP project can be found in *The Common Curriculum* (Ministry of Education and Training, Ontario, 1995), the new curriculum guidelines, Grades 1-9, for all schools in the Province. In the Introduction, following 'Employability Skills' and 'Skills for Lifelong Learning', appears a sub-section on a 'Global Perspective':

> It is crucial that we help students develop this perspective through global education, a task for which Ontario's diverse population is a valuable resource. Through global education, students will be made aware of planetary issues and will develop the knowledge, values, and understandings they will need to deal with such issues constructively and responsibly. Students will also realize that making decisions about their future endeavours and pursuits includes taking responsibility for the welfare of others and the survival of life on the planet. (p. 7)

In support of this general statement, annotations of two of *The Common Curriculum's* ten 'essential outcomes' - 'demonstrate an understanding of the world as a set of related systems'; and 'participate as responsible citizens in the life of the local, national, and global communities' (pp. 27-8) - would seem to echo many of global education's goals. In their report on the EGP project, Kelleher and Ball (n.d., 26) point to the considerable influence of the project within the Ministry over several years, culminating in these statements in *The Common Curriculum.*

At the federal government level, support for global education comes from the Canadian School Boards Association, which has published a Model Policy intended for use by school boards wishing to develop their own policies on global education (*Education for a Global Perspective,* 1994, 3). Part of the Policy rationale, alongside helping students explore global issues and problems and take positive action, is the suggestion that global education can help promote Canada's competitiveness in world markets, through the acquisition of language and teamwork skills and developing respect for cultural differences. This idea of global education lending support to the national economy, described by Lamy (1989, 41) as a 'neomercantilist' view, is rarely found within the Canadian literature. Indeed, it is attacked by Toh (1993, 11) as belonging to the 'liberal-technocratic' paradigm; 'knowing how to speak a foreign language', argues Toh, 'does not necessarily ensure knowing the culture well, nor genuine concern for the well-being of the peoples of that society'. For Brian O'Sullivan (1995, 13), however, the 'global economic competitiveness' paradigm - arguing that competition and wealth are measures of success in the global marketplace and should therefore guide educational reform - poses a major threat to the institutionalisation of global education. Central to O'Sullivan's thesis is the power and influence of the global competitiveness constituency *outside* the education system, especially in the business community and the national business media, and the relative lack of comparable influence of the global education movement, whose analysis of the state of the planet has not been 'crisis-proven in the public mind in the industrial nations as a necessary agenda for curriculum reform' (p. 30). Furthermore, he suggests, whilst global competitivists have capitalised upon people's self-interest and desire for material wealth, global educators have appealed only to a sense of morality and responsibility (p. 31). O'Sullivan urges reconciliation between these two divergent paradigms of educational change, but notes with interest the 'marked absence of a vocal public debate challenging the premises or proposals of either paradigm' (p. 244). A dialogue between educators and business representatives around the concept of 'sustainability' is, in fact, part of the mandate of the Ontario Learning for Sustainability Partnership, whose membership includes some global education proponents (Ontario Learning for Sustainability Partnership, 1996).

O'Sullivan's assessment, however, appears to be accurate: a lack of debate, both within the global education movement and with other educators and the public, is a noticeable feature of the literature in general. Opposition to global education - however defined - is noteworthy by the rarity of its occurrence. The 1994 Alberta Global Education Project Conference was condemned by the Canadian Christian Research Institute for its 'explicit anti-Christian bias and advocacy of new age and pagan religious practices' (Galloway, 1994, 1); an article critical of Pike and Selby's 'Federation Day' presentation on global education to Toronto elementary teachers - on the grounds that this was yet another educational experiment without scientific proof of its efficacy - appeared in the Toronto Teachers Federation newsletter (Lloyd, 1993). These appear to be fairly isolated examples that have not sparked a serious or lengthy public debate. Proponents rarely critique each other's work or provide alternative theses; again, it is the exceptions that are remarkable, such as Selby's two-part article (1994a; 1994b) on the field of humane education that challenges global educators to explore the similarities, but also the tensions and conflicts, between their fields.

Amongst the cadre of global education proponents represented in the Canadian literature, a sizeable majority are male, as were all of the original directors of provincial projects, with the exception of Quebec. A feminist critique might be anticipated, particularly as, according to the Ontario survey of teachers, women were more likely to view global education as important and to alter their teaching accordingly (Kelleher and Ball, n.d., 7). Contributions from women writers do appear in global education journals, but they are frequently classroom teachers writing about their practice; an explicitly feminist perspective on global education (Dodson Gray, 1994), or an argument for the inclusion of a gender perspective in the analysis of global issues (Wells, 1996), is a rare event. Although issues of equity are often stated or implied in the proposed global education frameworks and models (*e.g.* Choldin, 1993; Lyons, 1992b), gender is given a relatively low profile.

The overall picture that emerges from this literature survey is of a global education movement, broadly consensual in its views on the scope and purpose of global education, which is having some lasting impact on an education system (particularly in Ontario) that is undergoing substantial pressure for reform from a number of quarters, without encountering much in the way of publicly-voiced opposition or even debate. At the same time, however, other educational reform movements with a global orientation, but with contrasting ideals and goals, have considerable support from outside the education system and, maybe, a higher profile in the public's mind. The withdrawal of global education funding by CIDA in 1995 was, perhaps, a critical blow for the future of global education in Canada, as well as being indicative of a change of mood on behalf of the federal government (though, at the time of writing, talks about re-instating some level of funding are under way, instigated by a newly-appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs). The 'passion for internationalism' that, according to Moore, forms the bedrock of Canadians' interest in global education, would seem to be still alive - among the teaching profession, at least - though perhaps subject to some erosion in a harsh economic climate. One could argue, too, that another Canadian passion, of liberalism, is deeply imbued within global education in the way that the movement has grown in broadly consensual, non-confrontational ways even though its goals are change-oriented and, in some cases, deeply radical.

Chapter 6

A Cross-National Taxonomy of Global Education

Introduction

The country profiles constructed in the preceding three chapters offer characterisations of global education as suggested by the dominant themes and emphases to be found in each country's literature. In allowing the 'sensitizing concepts', which formed the framework for each country profile, to be 'grounded' in the data, the authenticity of characterisations is enhanced in that they reflect the aspirations and preoccupations of those who contribute to the global education literature. As will have been noted, the sensitizing concepts employed tend to differ from country to country, although common threads and strands may be discerned through analysis of the key ideas. Each country can be seen to have a particular 'flavour' of global education that blends characteristics - some common, some unique - in different measures and in distinctive combinations. Without compromising the uniqueness of each blend, the aim of this chapter is to extract the characteristics from each country profile and compare them with those from the other two countries, using the techniques of comparative analysis. Thus, a symbiotic process of summation and formation is envisaged: drawing out the essential features of global education in each country and, through cross-national comparison, further interrogating the data to reveal new, or more profound, insights. Through this process it is hoped that both the individual distinctiveness and the commonality of global education in the three countries will be seen in sharper relief.

'A comparative methodology', contends Lamy (1987, 7) 'is synonymous with a global perspectives approach to teaching and learning'. Certainly, the exploration of multiple perspectives, from different cultural and ideological standpoints, to inform a student's thinking and decision-making is a key strategy to be found in the literature of all three countries. Comparative assessments can throw additional light on data emanating from one cultural or national context; they can 'increase one's ability to make general statements which explain activities in the international system' (*ibid.*); they can also illumine the relative significance of characteristics found in one country profile but not in others. On the other hand, comparative educators warn of the 'misconceived comparative education' (Holmes, 1981, 19) that takes place when characteristics of one education system are compared with those of another without due consideration of the full context in which they are situated. Education, in other words, is never separate from the wider cultural, economic and political fabric of a society, and should not be treated as such. Whilst acknowledging the inherent complexity of comparative analysis to which Holmes and others refer, my purpose in this chapter is to seek further illumination of the data so as to enhance understanding of global education as a cross-national movement - not, as is Holmes' intention, to formulate policy for educational reform. While global educators in different countries can surely learn from each others' experiences, it is not my desire, nor the purpose of this study, to advocate what should be learnt and how it might be translated into practice in specific educational systems. That important distinction notwithstanding, it is worth noting the limitations of the country profiles as a basis for comparative analysis. Firstly, the literature on global education, as defined in Chapter 2, differs among the three countries in terms of its quantity, quality and scope. For example, among the US literature reviewed are many research and conference papers; few comparable documents have been written by British and Canadian proponents, whose writing is more often found in professional journals and teachers' handbooks. Secondly, the initiatives and programmes that the literature describes are not equivalent in status, duration or impact. Global education in Canada is a relatively recent phenomenon, but has enjoyed government backing in eight out of ten provinces; in the other two countries, the movement has a longer history with lower levels of official support and less widespread implementation. Thirdly, the later development of the Canadian initiatives, some fifteen to twenty years after the initial projects in the UK and USA began, may have a bearing on its scope and direction: not only could Canadian proponents draw upon the experience of colleagues in other countries, but the prevailing analysis of 'the state of the planet' (Hanvey, 1976) - on which a legitimation of global education is largely based - would have been different in the mid 1980s to that of the late 1960s. Added to these variations, of course, are the differences in the size, structure and organisation of education systems that, as any comparative educator would point out, will inevitably impinge upon the character of global education in each country and the way it is represented in the literature. These factors will be alluded to in the analysis where they are seen to be of particular significance.

Despite the emergence of clear trends and common strands within the characterisation of global education, variations and 'rival interpretations' (Patton, 1990, 178) are evident in each country profile. These may represent minority viewpoints and visions but are nonetheless important to an understanding of the full picture. The construction of a cross-national taxonomy for global education is an attempt to build a framework that is sufficiently clear and comprehensive to facilitate useful comparative analysis, yet sophisticated enough to accommodate and elucidate minority characteristics. The taxonomy can be seen as a development of the more simplistic classifications of global education undertaken by Richardson (1979) in the UK and Lamy (1990) in the USA, both of which focus predominantly on the political leanings of interest groups. In developing a much broader base for this taxonomy, use has been made of Holmes' (1965, 1981) distinction - derived from Karl Popper's theory of 'critical dualism' - between indicators that constitute a 'normative pattern' (what ought to be the case) and those that fall into an 'institutional pattern' (what actually happens). As applied here, normative indicators are theoretical statements and sentiments expressed in the literature that suggest what global education should be; institutional indicators are predominantly concerned with how global education has been perceived and implemented in each country. All the indicators employed in the taxonomy are derived from the characteristics of global education as collectively evident in the three country profiles; however, any indicator will not necessarily be of equal relevance to each country. This may be due to the fact that the characteristic in question does not figure prominently in one or two countries, or that evidence of such is not available in the literature reviewed.

A framework for classification

To facilitate both comparison and comprehension, the taxonomy is founded upon nine broadly-conceived indicators, five 'normative' and four 'institutional'. The nine indicators cover, among them, the characteristics that emerged as significant in the country profiles; each indicator represents a range of ideas, issues or situations. The indicators are given below, each annotated by a set of questions that outlines the area it represents.

A. Normative Indicators

1. **scientific paradigm**
    - In the context of the distinction between the 'fragmentationalist', or compartmentalist, and 'holistic' paradigms (Greig, Pike and Selby, 1989), what assumptions are implicit in the perceptions of: global systems; the relation of humankind to the environment; connections between people and the planet; the interface of past, present and future; and the affinity of mind, body and spirit?
2. **worldview**
    - Are perceptions of the global system nation-centric or do they reflect the 'borderless world economy' (Becker, 1990)?

- Is the conception of global education nationalistic and homogeneous in origin, or are ideas and experiences from other countries, cultures and minority groups recognised and explored?
- Does the perception of the 'nation' include the various groups, majority and minority, that it encompasses?

3. ethical position

- What is the stated, or implied, moral purpose of global education (*i.e.* whose interests does it serve?)
- What is the position, implicit or explicit, with regard to the teaching and learning of values?
- What attitudes are evinced concerning the treatment of complex and controversial issues?

4. ideological position

- To what range of positions on the political spectrum is global education seen to be responsive?
- What is seen to be the relationship of global education to other 'new movements in political education' (Lister, 1987)?
- What is seen to be the role of global education with regard to individual action and social and political change?

5. educational paradigm

- What is the balance of, and relationship between, content and process in the conceptualisation of global education?
- What is the relative emphasis and importance given to the development of knowledge, skills and attitudes?
- What is seen to be the role and place of global education in the context of a subject-based curriculum?
- What is seen to be the relationship between global education and school reform?

B. Institutional Indicators

6. pattern of institutionalisation

- What is the degree of acceptance and implementation of global education, relative to the education system as a whole, in terms of both policy and practice?
- What is the balance of take-up between elementary (primary) and secondary schools?

7. promotional strategy and support structure

- How, and at what levels of the education system, is global education being promoted?
- What levels and types of support from other agencies and institutions, within and outside formal education, does global education enjoy?
- How do proponents deal with opposition to global education?

8. implementation profile

- Is global education used to promote whole-school reform, or just a reform of curriculum?
- Is global education implemented in cross-curricular ways or applied within single subjects?

9. evaluation profile

- What attention is paid to assessment processes that are appropriate for global education?
- What evaluations of global education projects and initiatives have taken place?
- What research has been undertaken into the impact of global education in the classroom?

As with any system of classification, the indicators appear as distinct ideas when, clearly, there are a multitude of connections and lines of influence among them. The more significant of these will be discussed in the analysis that follows.

A. Normative Indicators

1. Scientific paradigm

The scientific paradigm that informs predominant British and Canadian models is distinctly different from that which prevails in American global education. Among the three countries' literature, the development of global education theories and models based upon a holistic paradigm is largely found in the writing of a few British proponents (Greig, Pike and Selby, 1987a, 1989; Hicks and Steiner, 1989; Pike and Selby, 1988, 1995). This work draws extensively on the thinking of twentieth century biologists and physicists as well as on the application of these theories by more popular - sometimes called 'New Age' - writers. The essence of the holistic paradigm can be summarised as 'connectedness'; its application within global education permeates every aspect, from understanding global systems to appreciating mind-body relationships and arguing for holistic curricula and school reform processes (Greig, Pike and Selby, 1989). Holistic thinking can be seen to represent a very significant underlying tenet of global education in the UK, even though its efficacy as a vehicle for critical pedagogy and social transformation is questioned by other British proponents (Richardson, 1990; Huckle, 1996). As noted in Chapter 5, certain British proponents (especially those who have written most on the importance of holistic ideas) have influenced, in no small way, the development of global education in Canada; it is not surprising, therefore, that Canadian global education is similarly imbued with holistic thought. The United States literature, however, is noteworthy for its lack of attention to, and derivation from, the holistic paradigm, despite the significance attached to 'an understanding of global systems' in all of the commonly cited content models. It is ironic, too, since much of the more popular literature on holism and systems theory referred to by British proponents in the construction of their models is American in origin.

As applied to the development of global education models, the influence of the holistic paradigm can be discerned in the following elements:

- the critical link between person and planet, which distinguishes (perhaps more than any other single element) the British/Canadian models from the American.

> We cannot change the world without changing ourselves. (Hicks, 1996, 110)
> The outward journey is also the inward journey. (Pike and Selby, 1988, 31)
> We become more fully human when we seek to understand the global family of which we are a part ... (Toh, 1993, 12)

Such sentiments are repeated often throughout the British and Canadian literature, yet are rarely found in American documents. In the latter, the 'outward journey' - exploring global systems, other countries, cultures and perspectives - dominates. The relationship of such to the 'inward journey' - exploring all aspects of the 'self' and one's potential - receives much less attention, though there are notable exceptions (Swift, 1980) and it is discernible in some later models (C. Anderson, 1994). Again, this is ironic: much of the literature drawn upon by British writers emanates from the American 'human potential' movement.

- a re-evaluation of the relationship between humankind and our environments, including other species. The prevailing Western view of environmental 'stewardship' is challenged, particularly by Canadian writers (drawing upon arguments from cosmology, ecotheology and native spirituality [Greer, 1996; E. O'Sullivan, 1996]) and by humane educators (Selby, 1995). In the United States' literature, links to such leading-edge thinking in the environmental movement are scarce.

- a conscious focus on the future and the exploration of alternative futures' perspectives, based on a perception of past, present and future as in dynamic relationship (Pike and Selby, 1995) and informed by the ideas of futures education (Slaughter, 1985; Hicks, 1991). The UK influence is strong in this regard, but a futures orientation is also integral to the ideas of the education for sustainability movement in Canada (Learning for a Sustainable Future, 1995). By contrast, 'global history' is one of four content areas in a prominent US model (Kniep, 1986a) and the concepts of alternative futures receive little attention.

The dominant American models of global education are, in general, much more compartmentalist. They are derived principally from the field of political science; they make few connections to other disciplines and theories; they do not convey a coherent 'systems view' of the world. The implications of this essential difference between the models will be noted in the discussion of subsequent indicators.

2. Worldview

Differences in predominant worldviews, not surprisingly, are closely related to prevailing scientific paradigms. Despite frequent references to 'global systems' and 'interdependence', the 'billard ball' image of distinct countries and cultures underlies many American models. As Goodlad (1979) points out, frequent use of the word 'other' denotes a 'we-they' connotation that implies national and cultural separateness, an image that is re-affirmed in many State guidelines on global education by an emphasis on world areas and cultures (Becker, 1990) and is reinforced through the 'area studies' focus of many curriculum resources. Although Lee Anderson's (1979; 1990) influential writing on the forces of globalisation could be regarded as conveying a systems view of the world, curricula approaches logically derived from that view are exceptional (*e.g.* Goodlad, 1987); Alger's (1974) work, and subsequent replications, on local community connections to the world can be seen as going some way towards exploring the realities of globalisation. Anderson's ideas are used differently by British proponents (Fisher and Hicks, 1985; Pike and Selby, 1988), to support an issues-based or thematic approach that gives a higher profile to the *issues* (*e.g.* environmental degradation, human rights, trade) that connect or concern various countries - an approach that Lamy (1990) calls 'human-centric', rather than 'state-centric'. An even more holistic conception of the world can be seen in some of the Canadian writing that focuses on the needs and rights of the planet as a whole (Berry and Sullivan, 1992; Kiil, 1994) and on finding ways to express common concerns among all people (Darling, n.d.). The concept of global citizenship, lately emerging as an overarching idea and a convenient meeting point for proponents from many fields in both Britain (Steiner, 1996b) and Canada (Reed, 1996), also indicates a desire to employ models of global education based on a systems view of the world.

The orientation of prevailing worldviews can be judged, too, from the degree of homogeneity of the key contributions to the global education literature. Canadian proponents borrow heavily from UK, and to a lesser extent, US sources in constructing their rationales and models; many American influences are found in the British literature. (In neither Britain nor Canada, however, are contributions or perspectives from other countries - particularly from the developing world - often found; such perspectives may be present in curriculum materials, but not in conceptual frameworks.) Additionally, debates in the UK between global educators and those from other related fields, although conflictive and often confusing to proponents and practitioners alike, at least permitted a broader range of ideas to influence global education and, thereby, render it more representative of various groups in British society. In contrast, the overtly consensual nature of its growth in Canada, with a majority of key contributions coming from a predominantly white, liberal, male caucus, would seem somewhat at odds with a society that purports to value multiculturalism and gender equality (Moore, 1992; Wells, 1996).

Despite a heavy emphasis on the importance of cultural understanding and multiple perspectives, American global education has utilised a very narrow range of sources and cultural perspectives in arriving at its dominant models. Bibliographies in key documents rarely mention non-US sources; American culture and nationhood is frequently referred to, but its diverse constituency rarely examined in detail; links with multicultural education (where, presumably, one would find a wider representation of the American people) are in their infancy (Merryfield, 1996). Here can be detected the ramifications of a 'billiard ball' model of reality. An orientation towards studying 'other countries' and 'other peoples' inevitably invokes the use of America as a comparative reference point; yet if the diversity and complexities of American society and culture are not seen as the purview of global education, comparisons are likely to be generalised, simplistic and, perhaps, misleading. Furthermore, the common focus on cultural similarities and differences affords a rather passive and unidimensional sense of global connectedness; it does not shed light on the dynamics of global systems that connect even dissimilar personal lives in myriad ways; nor does it encourage students to take the 'journey beyond culture' (Burtonwood, 1983/4, 7) to explore cultural pluralism in the context of social and global equality.

3. Ethical position

At a superficial level, one of the most noticeable distinctions between American global education literature and that from Canada and Britain is the frequency with which the respective countries are named in their own documents. Whilst there may be many reasons for this, it is indicative of an essential difference in the stated moral purpose of global education. In the USA, where frequent references to the nation are made, greater understanding about the world is advocated because it is regarded as being important to America's future, in terms of her responsibilities as a leading world power (Kniep, 1986a), her potential trading partners (Becker, 1990), and her control over necessary imports such as oil (Tye and Tye, 1992). Global education, in other words, is configured principally in the national interest. Such a perspective, although not necessarily decried, receives little attention in the British and Canadian literature, where references to the home nation are few. Canada provides the starkest contrast through the overtly moralistic tone used by many writers: global education is a 'moral enterprise' (Darling, n.d., 2) in which students need to understand the responsibilities of all citizens for crises such as world poverty (Bacchus, 1989), especially the obligations of those living in the North, whose lifestyles are deemed unsustainable and whose arrogance about development is unjustified (Head, 1994). Self-interest is acknowledged - because the condition of the global system ultimately impacts all - but the interests of other people, other regions, other species (Berry and Sullivan, 1992) are paramount. The legitimation for global education is grounded in a planetary, rather than nationalistic, vision. Similar views are to be found in the British literature, though rendered more often by implication than by moral assertion. Additionally, legitimation is claimed in terms of the intrinsic educational benefits of global education to students through its attention to child development theories (Fountain, 1990; Heater, 1980) and learning processes (Hicks and Steiner, 1989; Pike and Selby, 1988). Among the more radical British proponents, global education's purpose is to advance the interests of the powerless and the oppressed by challenging existing social inequalities (Mullard, 1982) and the injustices of the global economy (Huckle, 1996). At times, however, the embattled debate between liberal and radical proponents suggests that the interests uppermost in their minds are not those of the supposed beneficiaries, but those of their own movement or cause.

The treatment of values within global education is closely allied to its perceived purpose and the interest groups it serves. In much of the Canadian literature, the values of altruism, compassion and justice shine through, alongside a self-critical appraisal of the attitudes and lifestyles of the privileged. Where values are less explicitly prescribed, the 'moral enterprise' tone is more subdued: Case (1991), who argues that students' views on contentious issues should not be prejudged, also views the fostering of national interests as appropriate and desirable, so long as they do not obscure obligations to the global community. In most American literature, national interests are explicitly promoted whilst values' questions are treated with the utmost caution and defensiveness. No doubt influenced by the 'moral equivalence' argument of critics (Schlafly, 1986) in their denouncement of global education as unpatriotic, proponents acknowledge that values cannot be avoided but shelter behind ill-defined notions of 'balance' in the classroom (Schukar, 1993), or an insistence that not all values be seen to have equal merit (Ad Hoc Committee on Global Education, 1987) and, therefore, that 'ours' do not have to be relinquished (Ravitch, in Becker, 1990). Again, where values are more explicitly stated, as in the earlier writing of Lee Anderson (1968) and the more holistic models of Swift (1980, 1994) and Charlotte Anderson (1994), nationalism recedes as a primary purpose. The more open and passionate expressions of values go hand in hand, it would seem, with an internationalist or planetary perspective. In the UK, it is the more radical proponents who argue for explicit value statements, especially on issues of equity and justice (McKenzie, 1987; Mullard, 1982; Richardson, 1990). In her conception of 'radicalism without tears', Steiner (1987) expresses well the values tension inherent in taking the pragmatic approach of working within existing institutions and structures whilst, at the same time, wishing to change them. Pike and Selby (1986a, 1986b) adopt a more academic stance in countering Scruton's (1985) charge of indoctrination, arguing that all education is value-laden; what distinguishes world studies is that it does not seek to hide the values it promotes.

4. Ideological position

Clear evidence of the predominant ideologies of both proponents and critics of global education is to be found in the British and American literature. In the UK, Richardson's (1979) 'map of the field' highlights ideological tensions among proponents, whom he charts at various points on a 'conservative' to 'socialist' spectrum. The consequent debate in the literature attests to the reality of the tensions, but suggests that conservative proponents are few and that conflicts lie mainly within the liberal to radical section of the spectrum, with the liberal view gaining the upper hand. According to Lamy (1990), a significant number - if not a majority - of US proponents hold a 'communitarian' worldview, seemingly equivalent to Richardson's 'liberal' position. The more radical 'utopian left' (*ibid.*) views are rarely voiced; indeed, the ideological debates in the American literature are centred on the conservative to liberal section of the spectrum, between 'communitarian' and 'neomercantilist'/'ultraconservative' (*ibid.*) perspectives on the role of global education. In both countries, most critics speak to a conservative agenda, either from a political or religious fundamentalist perspective (Cunningham, 1986; Kjos, 1990; O'Keefe, 1986; Scruton, 1985). Notable exceptions, however, include Hatcher's (1983) contention that world studies in Britain excludes radical critiques of capitalism, and Johnson's (1993) criticism of the Eurocentric paradigm of 'historic liberalism' to be found in mainstream global education in America. Notwithstanding the fact that the main areas of contention are at different points on the ideological spectrum, the majority view among proponents in both countries can be seen to occupy a broadly liberal or centrist position; in the minds of their critics and the public, however, this position tends to be regarded as 'left-wing' (Shah, 1996; Schukar, 1993), or even 'Marxist' (Lamy, 1989; Scruton, 1985).

The ideological orientations of Canadian proponents are not directly analysed in the literature, perhaps related to the fact that serious critiques of global education from an ideological standpoint do not appear to have been made. The explicit advocacy for social and global change espoused by many proponents (Carson, 1989; Roche, 1993; Toh, 1993) suggests that their views would be located towards the radical end of the spectrum, although the remarkable degree of consensus (when compared with the UK) apparent among proponents with seemingly different paradigms (Pike, 1996) would also suggest that ideological clarity is yet to be found. Certainly, personal and political activism is viewed as integral to the purpose and practice of global education (Choldin, 1989; Allen Peters, 1992) but this has not, to date, prompted any serious challenge from ideologically-opposed sources.

The ideological conflicts so starkly evident in the UK literature are clearly fuelled by the perception of global education as an umbrella concept that can bring together fields sharing a 'family likeness' (Hicks, 1981), yet which - as Richardson is at pains to illustrate - also exhibit markedly different views on social change. Thus, the struggle for dominance between the liberal emphasis on personal change and gradualism and the radical focus on structural transformation was always likely to promote conflagration among proponents. It remains to be seen whether similar dialogues in the other two countries, should they take place, will lead to any different results. Differences of opinion concerning the 'symbiotic relationship' (Zachariah, 1989) between global education and multicultural education are certainly apparent in Canada (Alladin, 1989; CEICI, 1991; Parchment and Vahed, 1996) and are being explored in the USA (Merryfield, 1996).

5. Educational paradigm

In terms of the balance between content and process in the conceptualisation of global education, a stark contrast exists between the majority of American and British models. The former exhibit a heavy emphasis on content and knowledge acquisition, particularly those derived from the writing of Hanvey, Lee Anderson and Kniep. Indeed, Kniep (1986a) argues that its 'substantive focus' is what distinguishes global education from other initiatives. This content orientation is no doubt related to the primary rationale for global education, that of American students' comparative lack of global knowledge (Avery *et al.*, 1991); it is also influenced, perhaps, by proponents' diffidence over the place of values in global education as a result of public controversies (O'Neil, 1989; Schukar, 1993), and by the fact that most of the early proponents hailed from the single academic discipline of political science. By contrast, the sources that have shaped British models are eclectic (Pike, 1990) and include significant contributions from theories of child development (Fountain, 1990; Schools Council, 1981b), child-centred learning and from the human potential movement (Pike and Selby, 1986b). Such influences can be detected in the holistic models of global education (Fisher and Hicks, 1985; Pike and Selby, 1988; Richardson, 1976) that eschew substantive content in favour of broad frameworks and lists of objectives, blending knowledge components with skills and attitudes, and earning the depiction of the field as 'process-rich and content-poor' (Lister, 1987). Conflicting liberal and radical agendas, coupled with global education's 'capacious portmanteau' (Heater, 1980) tendency, have not assisted in clearly delineating content; conversely, teaching and learning processes in tune with global education philosophy are frequently outlined in teachers' handbooks (Fisher and Hicks, 1985; Hicks and Steiner, 1989; Pike and Selby, 1988, 1995; Steiner, 1993) and exemplified by a wealth of classroom activities (through which much of the 'content' is conveyed). Canadian models, by and large, follow the British tradition of non-specificity of content (Lyons, 1992b), while stressing even more the importance of an attitudinal component (Coombs, 1988; Darling, n.d.) and the skills of political involvement (Choldin, 1989; Toh, 1993).

The above characterisation, however, is not entirely consistent throughout the literature. Some Canadian proponents utilise the knowledge-oriented models of Hanvey and Kniep (Case, 1991; Petrie, 1992); some of the more recent American models integrate skills and attitudes with knowledge (C. Anderson, 1994); and aspects of teaching and learning process are considered critical by some US proponents to the formation of appropriate attitudes (Begler, 1993; Tucker, 1990), a view that is corroborated by empirical research (Leming, 1992). Additionally, materials developed for American classrooms have consistently used a variety of interactive, student-centred approaches to learning; while in Britain, the popular use of experiential learning by global educators has been criticised for fostering seduction in the classroom rather than critical thinking (Huckle, 1996).

There is evidence of a direct relationship between the relative weighting given to knowledge, skills and attitudes, and the perception of global education's place in the curriculum. The earlier content-focused models from the USA, derived from political science theory, fit most neatly into the traditional social studies curriculum (Becker, 1990) and require little input from other disciplines. Conceptions and models that incorporate more skills' and attitudinal objectives, however, tend to advocate a cross-disciplinary or integrated approach (C. Anderson, 1994; Swift, 1980; Tucker, 1990). In both Britain and Canada, cross-curricular implementation is strongly encouraged by proponents (M. Brown, 1996; Lyons, 1992b; Pike and Selby, 1988, 1995) and published contributions from practitioners emanate from a variety of arts and science disciplines. Such an 'infusion' approach into existing curriculum subjects is not entirely compatible with the holistic 'process-rich' models in the UK that speak for a totally integrated curriculum, but can be seen as a pragmatic response by proponents to the existence of a subject-based curriculum whose compartmentalisation is re-inforced through National Curriculum reforms.

A recent development of note in Canada and the United States is the emergence of the 'global school' concept (Kniep and Martin-Kniep, 1995; McCarty, 1995; Selby, 1996; Tye and Tye, 1992), an orientation towards whole school change rather than simply curriculum reform. Such initiatives embody, in principle at least, holistic, process-oriented models of school change that represent significant departures from the mechanistic infusion into the social studies of early global education in the USA. The relationship between a holistic paradigm and educational change is explored in the British literature (Greig, Pike and Selby, 1989); however, the concept of the global school does not appear to be supported or promoted by other proponents.

B. Institutional Indicators

6. Pattern of institutionalisation

Throughout the literature are statements or inferences that point, in various ways, to the marginalisation of global education in the context of mainstream educational practice in all three countries. Given the elements of reform, radicalism and controversy described in this chapter, coupled with the known obstacles to profound educational change (Fullan, 1991; B. Tye, 1990), it should come as no surprise that global education remains on the margins despite, in the UK and USA, more than twenty years of effort by proponents. Within this general picture, however, are significant national differences, particularly in terms of institutionalisation at a policy level. In both Canada and the USA can be found policy statements, at province/state and local board/district levels, that legitimise and promote global education. Numerical clarity is difficult to arrive at: Becker (1990) names eleven states that have passed resolutions or have guidelines; Merryfield (1991) cites a survey indicating that twenty-three states have mandated courses in world or global studies; Leming (1992) suggests the number is around forty. In addition, Merryfield (1991) identified at least thirty teacher education programs that prepared secondary social studies teachers to teach with a global perspective. Comparable figures for Canada could not be found, but in Ontario (representing over 40% of teachers), a policy recommendation was passed by the provincial teachers' federation, four school boards incorporate global education into their staff development programmes (Lyons, 1995) and a global perspective is recognised as a key element of the new *provincial curriculum* (Ministry of Education and Training, Ontario,1995). Relevant UK data are even harder to find, and their absence tend to confirm the implication - given by the evaluation of the World Studies 8-13 Project (Hicks, 1989) and the Global Impact Project survey (Greig, Pike and Selby, 1987b) - that little institutionalisation occurred in terms of policy-making at local education authority levels. Whatever may have taken place was certainly marginalised again by the sweeping changes of the Education Reform Act (Hicks and Wood, 1996).

The extent to which global education is practised in the classroom is even more difficult to assess. *Claims are made* in the UK literature that, despite National Curriculum restraints, global education practitioners continue their practice (Klein, 1996); Vulliamy and Webb's (1993) data, albeit from a small-scale study, lend some support to this idea, but there is no indication of how widespread such practice might be. CIDA's interim evaluation report (GESTED International Inc., 1993, 2-3) states that nearly 300,000 teachers, or 90% of the Canadian teaching population (Moore, 1992), 'take part' in the provincial global education projects, but the nature of that participation is not specified; it may be simply a reflection of the total number of teachers in the Provinces and Territory in which the projects operate. What is clear, however, in all three countries is the tendency for global education - perhaps because of its marginalisation - to prosper at a grassroots level, even without mainstream legitimisation. The observations of both Heater (1980) in the UK and Kobus (1983) in the USA, that global education seemed a 'top-down' initiative that sought insufficient involvement from practitioners, appear to have been contradicted subsequently by the provision of school-based projects, in service courses, teacher handbooks and classroom resources.

Along with the greater participation of teachers has come a diversification of implementation across the elementary (primary in the UK) and secondary school system. In keeping with the political science-based conceptualisation of global education, early work in the USA focused on the social studies curriculum at secondary level. Although Kenneth Tye (1990b) notes that a majority of programmes are still to be found in secondary schools, recent projects have involved elementary schools (C. Anderson, 1994), or combinations of elementary and secondary institutions (Kirkwood, 1990; Kniep and Martin-Kniep, 1995; Tye and Tye, 1992). Classroom resources are now available for all age levels, from Kindergarten to Grade 12 (CTIR, 1995-6). Similarly, in the UK, the initial World Studies Project was targeted at secondary level (Richardson, 1979); its successor at the middle school level (Fisher and Hicks, 1985;

Hicks and Steiner, 1989); subsequently, projects and publications have focused on the primary level (Fountain, 1990; Steiner, 1993), or have been designed for all teachers (Pike and Selby, 1988; Selby, 1995). It would seem that Canada, with her later involvement in global education, has benefited from this diversification elsewhere in that all the provincial projects were targeted at both elementary and secondary schools from the outset (GESTED International Inc., 1993).

7. Promotional strategy and support structure

As discussed above, global education is a movement for educational reform that is somewhat marginalised in all three countries and enjoys grassroots support. These two broad characteristics are most probably connected, and it would seem likely, too, that they result from similar promotional strategies and support patterns. However, the literature suggests some marked variation: global education in Canada (especially) and the USA can be characterised as enjoying much higher level, higher profile support than in the UK. In Canada, global education was essentially jump-started by the initiative of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), a federal body that injected a (relatively) large sum of money into establishing and maintaining the provincial projects from 1987 to 1995 (over Cdn$7 million [£3.25 million] had been spent by April 1993 [GESTED International Inc., 1993]). Furthermore, CIDA's strategy was to involve, through the auspices of each provincial Ministry of Education, professional associations, school boards and university faculties, thereby securing high visibility for the projects (*ibid.*). Although receiving early support form the US Office of Education (Tucker, 1990), global education in the USA has not had similar levels of federal government support; furthermore, Kenneth Tye (forthcoming) contends that it lacks a central source of ideas and resources in that the American Forum for Global Education cannot provide funding for other projects, nor do all projects affiliate with this body. Global education has been promoted, however, by a number of prestigious national organisations, such as the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, the Council of Chief State School Officers and the National Governors Association, and has received funding from public and private sources estimated in 1989 to possibly reach US$5 million (£3.3 million) per year (O'Neil, 1989). It has also benefited from the initiatives of a number of university centres and scholars (Tucker, 1990). In both countries, global education literature has been enriched by the ideas and public support of senior figures in government and education (Cleveland, 1986; Goodlad, 1987; Head, 1994; Moore, 1992; Roche, 1989, 1993).

Such high profile support is largely lacking in the UK, at least as far as one can judge from the literature. Despite attempts to create a co-ordinating organisation or lobby group (Sterling and Bobbett, 1992), none has succeeded in unifying the diverse interests and aspirations of proponents from the different fields. Legitimation for world studies and global education comes essentially from proponents themselves, with occasional references to relevant international documents and national policies (Fisher and Hicks, 1985; Greig, Pike and Selby, 1987a). Although politically well-connected organisations, such as the all-parliamentary One World Trust and the Council for Education in World Citizenship, have sponsored and supported global education, both are charitable organisations, well-meaning and respected but not in a position to influence mainstream educational policy (Heater, 1984; Richardson, 1979). Indeed, with the notable exception of some government funding for world studies in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Fisher and Hicks, 1985), acknowledgments in the major teachers' handbooks (the outcomes of funded projects) suggest that global education is predominantly financed by aid agencies and other charitable organisations; recently, many of these funding sources have been affected by severe cuts to the education budgets of aid agencies (Neumark, 1996). Although proponents are now finding positions in Britain's recently expanded university faculty population, access to higher education funding is still limited (Shah, 1996).

Relevant to questions of promotion and support are the ways in which proponents have responded to their critics. In the USA, where public criticism of global education has been the most severe, conservative and fundamentalist critiques have led to changes in policy and practice (Schukar, 1993). They have also prompted a cautious and defensive justification of the place of values within global education (Ad Hoc Committee, 1987) and the establishment of a coalition - the Alliance for Education in Global and International Studies (AEGIS) - that attempts to seek and promote a balance between national and global commitment (O'Neil, 1989). In this light, it is interesting to note that one of the most holistic and far-reaching projects, Education 2000 - sponsored by the American Forum for Global Education - does not actively use the term 'global education' in its blueprint (Kniep and Martin-Kniep, 1995). Radical or left-wing critics are seemingly few, and have little influence on the field (Lamy, 1990). Conservative challenges in the UK initially brought about a rhetorical rebuttal (Pike and Selby, 1986a) but appear to have stimulated little change in either policy or practice; far more influential in terms of the field's direction has been the imposition of the National Curriculum, to which proponents are still searching for an appropriate response (Steiner, 1996b). The UK literature is notable, however, for the critical analysis provided by proponents themselves, centred on the theoretical debate between liberal and radical positions. It is difficult to assess the extent to which 'extremism' lost public support for the movement, as Wright (1982) predicted; the tenor of much post-National Curriculum writing, however, suggests that Steiner's (1987) compromise position of 'radicalism without tears' has been generally adopted by proponents. In light of the earlier feminist critique (Hennessy, 1982; McKenzie, 1987), it is interesting to note that women provide the majority of contributions to the more recent literature (Steiner, 1993, 1996b), a trend that is also emerging in the USA but not (yet) in Canada. The concerns of other British critics, especially Heater (1980) and Lister (1987, 1989), about the lack of clarity and substance on matters of content appear to have been largely ignored; so, too, has Lister's plea for empirical research into the impact of global education in the classroom.

Global education in Canada is remarkable for the lack of public debate it appears to have spawned (B. O'Sullivan, 1995) and also for the paucity of critical analysis among proponents (Pike, 1996). There are obvious parallels between O'Sullivan's contention that the greatest threat to global education comes from the 'global economic competitiveness' lobby, a movement that enjoys widespread support among business groups and other educational reformers, and Lamy's (1990) belief that the 'neomercantilist' influence on global education is strong in most American communities. It appears that some dialogue between these two rather different interpretations of the significance of global connectedness is taking place in the USA, through partnerships with community and business organisations (O'Neil, 1989). In Canada, however, proponents are more resistant to collaboration, tending rather to critique the ideological paradigm and self-interest focus of the economic competitiveness argument (Dodson Gray, 1994; Head, 1994; Lyons, 1994; Toh, 1993).

8. Implementation profile

In all three countries there is evidence to indicate that global education is used primarily as curriculum reform, in two ways: by infusing a global perspective into a traditional curriculum subject; or by re-organising parts of the curriculum into thematic units, often issue-based, that contain a global perspective. Depending on the theme chosen, some units will traverse into several subject areas, others just one or two. The use of these two approaches would seem to differ between primary (elementary) and secondary phases, the former more often adopting a thematic, cross-curricular strategy, the latter preferring the infusion of a global perspective into single subjects. Use of the two approaches would appear to differ, too, among the three countries. In the USA, infusion into the social studies curriculum, through courses or units on world history and world geography, is still very common (Becker, 1990; K. Tye, forthcoming), perhaps related to the preponderance of global education at the secondary level (K. Tye, 1990b). The balance would appear to swing the other way in the UK, where secondary teachers have found it difficult to infuse 'content-poor' (Lister, 1987) models of global education into specific subjects and primary teachers have enjoyed the cross-disciplinary, process-oriented activities (M. Brown, 1996; Hicks, 1989; Vulliamy and Webb, 1993). In Canada, the implementation profile is difficult to assess from the literature; practitioner contributions to journals and newsletters would suggest that both infusion into existing subjects and thematic, cross-disciplinary approaches are common. Other notable features in the patterns of implementation include the heavy emphasis on interactive teaching and learning methodologies in the UK (Hicks, 1989; Vulliamy, 1992); and the development - particularly in recent times - of school-based models of global education in Canada and the USA that are designed to break down the compartmentalisation of the traditional curriculum at both elementary and secondary levels (C. Anderson, 1994; Shapiro and Merryfield, 1995; Swift, 1990; Syer, 1995).

The literature also contains examples of schools in which global education has promoted change that has gone beyond the curriculum and influenced many areas of school life. In some British case studies, the impact of in-service training has extended into personal lives and has influenced school management, the physical environment and community relationships (Greig, Pike and Selby, 1989). As mentioned earlier, there are several projects in Canada and the USA that have attempted to use global education as a catalyst for whole-school change and the development of 'global schools', embodying the philosophy and practice of global education in all aspects of school life (Kniep and Martin-Kniep, 1995; McCarty, 1995; Selby, 1996; Tulk, 1994; Tye and Tye, 1992). Many of these initiatives are ongoing; reports so far, although encouraging, generally point to the complexity of trying to implement holistic models and change processes in 'fragmentationalist' institutions.

9. Evaluation profile

In general terms, the literature on global education is relatively lacking in the documentation and discussion of all aspects of evaluation, from assessment of student performance to research on the impact of global education practice in the classroom. There are likely to be many reasons for this scarcity, including a necessary focus on development in a new and complex curriculum area, a lack of funding for research and evaluation in an area that is seen as marginal to mainstream education, and the inherent difficulties of effectively and appropriately assessing curriculum goals that are steeped in attitudes and values. Nonetheless, as Lister (1987, 1989) points out, empirical evidence of classroom effectiveness is required if critics are to be challenged and widespread legitimation achieved.

Most of the writing on the assessment of student performance in global education comes from American proponents. Suggestions for the evaluation of students' work include processes that are consistent with the aims and learning methodologies of global education (Torney-Purta, 1989) and 'performance-based' or 'authentic' assessment strategies (C. Anderson, 1994; Shapiro and Merryfield, 1995; Wooster, 1993). In keeping with the North American trend towards 'outcomes-based education', appropriate 'outcomes' for global education have been developed in some American and Canadian school systems (Halton Global Education Group, n.d.; Minnesota Department of Education, 1991; North York Board of Education, 1994). In the pre-National Curriculum era in the UK, a response to Turner's (1982) call for an examination in world studies can be seen in the development by Devon teachers of a World Studies GCSE examination (Hedge, 1989), incorporating processes that attempted to reconcile holistic learning models and the requirements of the public examination system.

The empirical research utilised by proponents in their legitimation of global education practice is, again, largely American in origin. British proponents, in particular, invoke American research findings on child development, co-operative learning, individual learning styles, and multiple intelligences in their justification of interactive learning processes (Fountain, 1990; Pike and Selby, 1988, 1995; Steiner, 1996a); their other principal source of research evidence is the British political education movement (Hicks and Steiner, 1989; Lister, 1989). In the absence of empirical studies into the efficacy of global education in the classroom, this body of research knowledge - derived from non-global education research - is utilised to defend global education teaching methods (Pike and Selby, 1986a, 1994) against criticisms that they are indoctrinatory (Scruton, 1985) and unproven (Lloyd, 1993). A dearth of empirical, classroom-based research in global education is noted, too, in the American literature (Johnston and Ochoa, 1993; Leming, 1992); however, proponents' acknowledgment of the significance of this scarcity is suggested by the publication of research agendas (Johnston and Ochoa, 1993; Torney-Purta, 1989) and an increase in research activity, especially in areas such as global education and school change (Kirkwood, 1990; Kniep and Martin-Kniep, 1995; Tye and Tye, 1992), teacher education in global education (Merryfield, 1992a, 1996) and cross-cultural experiential learning (Wilson, 1983, 1993).

As in Britain, Canadian research into the impact of global education is conspicuous by its absence. The interim evaluation of CIDA's global education programme (GESTED International Inc., 1993) is largely descriptive and does not provide evidence of impact in the classroom. Indeed, in all three countries, systematic and in-depth evaluation of the efficacy of very many global education projects, comparing outcomes to stated goals, appears to be missing from the published literature.

Conclusions

As stated in the Introduction to this Section, the case for constructing a global education taxonomy is founded upon the question of the extent to which global education can be perceived as a globalisation of education as distinct from a new form of outward-looking or globally-oriented nationalism. The summary evidence presented in this chapter offers, at best, an inconclusive answer to the question, but also points to a globalisation trend. National characteristics - or 'flavours' - are certainly apparent in the foregoing analysis, particularly in relation to the scientific paradigm and associated worldview that underpin global education in each country. There are obvious ideological distinctions, too, which impact upon the role and profile of global education - and the stance of proponents - within the mainstream educational systems of the three countries. All of these factors give global education a distinctive quality, a 'national flavour', that renders its overall manifestation in any country different from that in the other two, with the major distinction occurring between the predominantly compartmentalist American models and the more holistic interpretations found in both Canada and the UK. However, the various paths of global education in the three countries, as documented in the literature, are too intertwined for any simplistic, nation-centric models to be drawn up. Whilst there are noticeable trends and tendencies in each country, there is often evidence in the data of contrary or inconsistent movement and of changes in direction over time. Such might be expected: global education is as prone to the complex forces of globalisation as the global systems it studies. And, if present trends in globalisation continue, it is likely that the interaction of ideas and experiences from many countries (including new perspectives from the developing world) will result in a multiplicity of models and frameworks for global education that are increasingly difficult to identify with single nations; Kenneth Tye's (forthcoming) survey of 53 countries already begins to confirm this probability. Although still clinging to its nation-centric origins, global education is apparently becoming global.

In reviewing the literature from these three countries from a broader perspective, certain common characteristics and trends can already be discerned. These might be categorised as comprising the *strengths* of global education as a movement for educational reform, and the *challenges* the movement needs to address. What follows is a brief synopsis of these characteristics. Obviously, they can only be claimed representative of global education at a general level, and as conveyed through the literature. Chapters 7-9 will explore the extent to which such characteristics are affirmed by the experiences and claims of practitioners, and what alternative perspectives may be offered.

The strengths and challenges are:

Strengths

- grassroots support
- attention to classroom practicalities
- classroom resource development

- visionary ideas
- adaptive and flexible approach to reform
- breaks down established barriers
- relatively inexpensive reform

Challenges

- not attractive to policy makers
- marginalisation
- subject to prevailing trends and moods
- lack of clear definition
- lack of evaluation
- lack of secure funding
- at odds with 'fragmentationalist' system
- attitudinal change is problematic

Many of these characteristics represent opposite sides of the same coin: the very strengths of global education determine the challenges it faces. For example, its tendency to *break down barriers* and promote connectedness - between subjects in the curriculum, between curriculum and other aspects of schooling, between content and process - renders global education immediately *at odds with the 'fragmentationalist' system* it is attempting to reform. As a reform process, global education is not comfortable with piecemeal, gradualistic change that ignores the ramifications of one area of change to all the others with which it is connected; on the other hand, the holistic visions and interconnected models it proposes are not easily comprehended or implemented in present systems. Thus, it is likely to be *not attractive to policy makers,* on account of the far-reaching nature of its goals and the confusion and instability that may be caused during the period of transition. The *grassroots support* that global education enjoys, whilst ensuring that it is actually implemented by practitioners, poses several challenges. Where educational decision-making is out of touch with the realities of the classroom (as is often the case), global education will tend to be *marginalised* as a reform movement, unless sufficient numbers of proponents can attain positions as, or can influence, policy makers. Furthermore, access to *secure funding* that would help promote global education more widely is likely to be limited for a movement that does not have strong advocates in senior policy-making positions.

Some challenges, it could be argued, require actions that are more within the reach of global education proponents themselves. A *lack of a clear definition* of global education has obviously led to confusion and uncertainty which, in turn, has adversely affected acceptance in mainstream education. A precise, academic definition may not be as important as a broad characterisation that is readily understood at school and community level; after all, academics would probably have a hard time reaching agreement on a definition of 'geography', or 'science', yet most people have ready conceptualisations of these areas of the curriculum. Whether people agree on what constitutes global education is, perhaps, not as important as the fact that they have a reasonable idea as to what they *think* it is. A *lack of evaluation* is understandable, but not sensible in an era in which schools are bombarded with unproven innovations of all kinds; solid evidence of the classroom efficacy of global education programmes could open many new doors, as well as providing a valid and necessary response to critics. It might also help to clarify for proponents which of the many theoretical models are the most effective and workable in practice; it could, in turn, lead to more funding.

While clarity of definition and research evidence would help its cause, global education will probably continue to court controversy because it demands *attitudinal change* by challenging traditionally-held views about the world based on mechanistic or reductionist thinking. A related strength lies in its *visionary ideas:* in drawing inspiration from leading edge thinkers in many fields, global education attempts to construct a reformist vision that is current and highly relevant to students' present and future needs. Perhaps its greatest strength arises out of its *attention to classroom practicalities*, a concern for application of knowledge and ideas in appropriate and realistic contexts. This attention is evident in the focus on teaching and learning processes and in the *development of classroom resources* that promote critical thinking and student involvement in the exploration of real world issues.

An inherent danger of being up-to-date, and of lacking a clear definition, is being *subject to prevailing trends and moods*. Global education is a bandwagon upon which, when in vogue, many reformist groups and initiatives can jump. Equally, when the wind bodes ill and the prevailing mood is one of conservatism, its lack of rootedness in traditional views and disciplines leaves it vulnerable to attack. However, over the past twenty years, the movement has shown itself to be *adaptive and flexible* in the face of momentous and often hostile change forces, if not sufficiently proactive in its anticipation of future challenges. Finally, global education possesses a trump card that might be played to greater purpose in an era of fiscal restraint: compared with many other reform ideas, it is *relatively inexpensive*, requiring changes principally in attitudes and behaviour as opposed to new equipment, buildings or staff.

Section Three

Practitioners' Perceptions: Views from the Field

Introduction

The overall aim of this Section is to interpret the data collected from the two stages of the empirical research. Stage One focuses on the perceptions of 19 practitioners who completed a long-term in-service training course in the UK, entitled the Diploma in Global and Multicultural Education. Interpretation of these data in Chapter 7 gives rise to a series of questions, refinements of the initial research questions, that forms the basis of enquiry in Stage Two. For this stage, a total of 101 practitioners from schools in Canada and the USA were selected on the grounds of their substantive involvement in a global education initiative. From interviews with these practitioners, observation in their schools and the collection of relevant documents, profiles of some prevailing (though not necessarily representative) perceptions of global education in the two countries are constructed in Chapters 8 (USA) and 9 (Canada). Also in these chapters, some key factors that were instrumental in practitioners' development of meaning are identified and discussed.

Chapter 7

Perceptions from In-Service Training Courses in the UK

The Diploma in Global and Multicultural Education

This chapter explores and analyses the reflections of two groups of teachers who participated in a two-year, part-time in-service course, entitled the Diploma in Global and Multicultural Education (DIGAME), run by staff from the Centre for Global Education (CGE) at the University of York, England. The principal goal of this research is to gain some insight into the perceptions of global education held by experienced teachers (the selection criteria eliminated teachers with less than three years' classroom experience, and most participants had considerably more), following a long-term exposure to global education theory and practice. In addition to their attendance at eighteen after-school sessions in Year One and fifteen in Year Two (each session being of 2.5 hours' duration), DIGAME participants were required to undertake a project involving the development, trial and evaluation of classroom materials and practice which incorporated some aspects of global education; the Diploma was awarded on the successful completion of a Report on the various stages of the project. During the six years (1985-91) in which the DIGAME course was offered, it was the only in-service course for teachers in England and Wales that systematically explored the theory and practice of global education and was one of a handful of award-bearing courses available to those interested in the field known as world studies. Although not claiming to be representative of global education practitioners in the UK, DIGAME course participants, it can be argued, are amongst those teachers with the greatest exposure to the theory and practice of global education and world studies; their commitment to a two-year course, in addition to their regular teaching posts, can certainly be construed as a sign of significant interest in the field. Thus, these teachers are 'key informants' (Plummer, 1983) and their reflections can be regarded as a useful guide to some dominant perceptions of global education and world studies held by UK practitioners.

It should be noted that the 'Multicultural' reference in the course title was initially inserted to attract support from local education authorities (LEAs) and funding from budgets that were specifically allotted to the promotion of multicultural education; whilst the course content did include aspects of multicultural - and anti-racist - education, this field was viewed as one of the many interrelated areas coming under the 'umbrella' term of global education. The course title, in the view of some participants, was somewhat misleading in suggesting a higher priority for multicultural education than it was afforded in the course. In all, six DIGAME courses were offered by the Centre for Global Education, each attracting 20-30 teachers and run by a team of two CGE staff. All courses were supported and funded by the LEAs from which the participants came and were conducted according to the University of York's 'outstation' principle, *i.e.* the teaching took place in locations easily accessible to most participants. In recruitment, emphasis was placed on the desirability of teams of participants from any school, in order to provide mutual support whilst attempting classroom innovation, though 'lone' participants were also accepted. All applicants were interviewed by CGE staff before being accepted on the course.

Two of the later courses, those run concurrently in Cambridgeshire and North Yorkshire from September 1989 to June 1991 and completed by 19 and 20 teachers respectively, were selected for the purposes of this research study. By that time the DIGAME course structure, built around the model of global education designed principally by Pike and Selby (Greig, Pike and Selby, 1987a, 1989; Pike and Selby, 1988) and used by CGE staff as the basis for in-service work, had been tried and refined over several years. These two courses were selected on the grounds that they were each run by different teams of two CGE staff members, not including myself. I hope, consequently, to have avoided some of the problems associated with researching one's own teaching, though I cannot claim that my work was unknown to course members as many of my co-publications were included amongst the recommended reading and a few participants had previously attended short workshops co-facilitated by me. These factors may have led, of course, to the withholding by some interviewees of certain reflections and feelings that were critical of the course or of the facilitators; whilst the data reveal minimal direct criticism of CGE staff, several teachers did comment on the shortcomings of their course. It should be borne in mind, too, that the principal aim of the research was not to evaluate the course, rather to tease out - through their reflections on the course - participants' perceptions of global education. The decision to collect data from a sample of participants from two courses was taken with a view to comparing any differences in the perceptions of global education emanating from in-service contexts that were similarly designed and structured, but run by different personnel. All members of the two CGE teams were experienced in-service trainers in world studies and/or global education. Three of them had co-facilitated, with either the Director or Deputy Director of CGE, at least one DIGAME course prior to the one being studied; the other facilitator (of the Cambridgeshire course) was a leading proponent of global education in the UK. Whilst the structure and outline content of the course, in general terms, was laid down, each team planned separately the specific content and delivery of the course sessions, thereby allowing the particular interests and biases of the team members to be reflected in the character of each course. As this analysis will indicate, the differences between the two courses, as shown in the reflections of the respective participants, are particularly illuminating.

As the aim was to seek out reflections on the course overall, rather than immediate reactions to a particular session or component, interviews were conducted in February and March 1992, some 8-9 months after the end of the two DIGAME courses. Interviews took place in either the course member's home or school. Of the nine Cambridgeshire teachers interviewed, seven were secondary school teachers, two were from primary schools. Where they are directly cited in the text, C/S refers to the secondary teachers, C/P to the primary teachers. All ten of the North Yorkshire teachers initially selected (50% of the cohort) were interviewed, six being primary teachers (indicated by NY/P), two being secondary teachers (NY/S), and two being peripatetic support teachers (NY/Sup) catering for students requiring English as a Second Language and Special Needs support. The predominance of secondary teachers in the Cambridgeshire sample and of primary teachers in the North Yorkshire sample provides another interesting point of comparison.

Significant aspects of the course

From participants' reflections on those aspects of the course that were most significant or relevant to them comes a marked differentiation between the two courses. Nearly all of the Cambridgeshire teachers comment, in one form or another, on the sessions that dealt with teaching and learning style theory and its subsequent impact on the whole course:

> Definitely the big input on teaching and learning styles. That, to me, probably took up about 50% (I don't know, I haven't looked it up) but it seemed to me that was a very big part of our time - a very important aspect, if you like, because that seemed to underpin everything else that went on. So, even if you were doing a simulation exercise, a debriefing might be on 'how do you use this on different types of people in different situations?' (C/S1)
>
> The whole section on learning style theories; because suddenly, I was actually thinking, my word, I've now got something where I can go in and argue from a position of strength, and justify, a particular way of working. Whereas, I think Humanities departments will often deal with role-play, with simulations and so forth, but they're often seen within a school as being 'fringey'. (C/S5)

Only one Cambridgeshire teacher made any negative comments about the teaching and learning styles input, stating that whilst she accepted the general point that children learn differently, she found 'the learning style theory rather simplistic' (C/P2). Conversely, a secondary teacher was so motivated by the theories presented on the course that he made them the focus not only of his DIGAME project but also of the MEd. research that he was undertaking concurrently. By contrast, only one North Yorkshire teacher mentioned the teaching and learning styles input as being of particular significance, with the range of responses to this question being much greater among this group. A few teachers talked about the issues, especially racism and sexism, that the course covered; others (all primary teachers) highlighted the work on affirmation, self-esteem and 'caring and sharing ... bringing out the positive side in children, rather than the negative side' (NY/P4):

> Those aspects to do with affirmation of children, raising their self-esteem, really how it affected us as a school - all those things that are really part of the hidden or informal curriculum, that form actually what makes you a school, the feelings and ethos of the place. And there was a lot of that. (NY/P3)

Many of the North Yorkshire teachers commented on the value of the practical nature of the sessions, providing them with ideas and activities that could be used in their classrooms; in one way or another, the aspects of global education concerned with learning processes were mentioned by most course members. Significantly, the only criticism relating to these aspects came from one of the two secondary teachers interviewed, who felt that a lot of the course was oriented 'towards a different type of classroom organisation' (NY/S2). The other secondary teacher, however, had been convinced during the course of the value of the learning processes advocated for the handling of controversial issues in the classroom.

Another dominant strand emerging from the Cambridgeshire teachers' responses, though not as frequently cited as the teaching and learning styles component, relates to the perception of global education as an integrating or synthesising force. For some participants the course enabled them to see connections between a range of social issues that they had previously regarded as separate:

> What it did was ... all of the things that had really mattered to me as a person, like human rights, peace, development ... it brought those together, it made it very clear that those are linked; it showed how they are linked and how they have to be linked if you're going to work with people on them and how you can't leave any of them out. Right from the beginning of the course, you never did see anything in isolation and you saw the overlap. (C/S6)

For others, connections were established between areas of the curriculum, and between the curriculum and other aspects of schooling:

> the sense of looking at the curriculum, at everything, as a coherent network system, so that you weren't compartmentalising or forming separations. (C/S4)

Reference was also made to the 'medium and message' interrelationship, the notion that schools should not just talk about, for example, equal opportunities and respect for individual rights, they should actually be seen to put these ideals into practice. Amongst the North Yorkshire participants, only the two secondary teachers made any specific reference to the integrative potential of global education; one claimed 'to see education as a more holistic thing now and less one of subject boundaries' (NY/S1), whilst the other found it 'interesting to draw different aspects together, like equal opportunities, environmental issues and so on' (NY/S2) but argued that such an approach was unrealistic in secondary schools because of the divisions between subject departments.

A high degree of congruence can be seen between teachers' reflections on the most significant aspects of the course and their claims regarding how, if at all, the course has influenced their teaching. Thus, most Cambridgeshire participants mentioned applying their increased awareness of teaching and learning style theory, either by trying out new techniques in the classroom to meet the learning needs of more students, or in terms of using their knowledge to justify certain teaching strategies that might have been considered strange or dubious by colleagues. One interviewee who had recently moved to a school in another LEA talked candidly about her feelings of guilt on account of *not* being able to put her awareness of teaching and learning style theory into practice, due to the demands of a new post and the culture of the school. Even the teacher who had considered learning style theory 'rather simplistic' acknowledged that the course had made her 'feel more confident that the way I thought you ought to teach is really the way you ought to teach' (C/P2). One teacher did report on some negative feedback from colleagues, though this was not said directly by any interviewees; it does, however, serve as a reminder of the theory, emanating from learning style research itself (Gregorc, 1982; McCarthy, 1981), that not everyone is likely to be satisfied with a particular style of teaching:

> I know some people on the course who, after two years, have actually said to me: 'I couldn't give a damn, basically, about it and I'm not into that.' On reflection, this must have been about November time, when I met some of them again; and: 'That just is not me - fancy playing all those games, I just don't know why I put up with it.' (C/S1)

Responses from North Yorkshire participants were more diffuse in character. Some talked about the practical classroom strategies they had employed, particularly in relation to building students' self-esteem and developing group work skills; others made reference to the 'hidden curriculum' and their attempts to harmonise the way they related to students - and, in one case, to colleagues - with the values and ideals that they espoused. Two teachers referred specifically to the course's influence on their propensity to use a greater spread of teaching styles; on further reflection, however, one of these respondents wondered whether the National Curriculum might have had a greater impact in this regard.

In reviewing, in general terms, teachers' responses to this area of questioning, one significant feature emerges. The elements of the course that appear to have been most significant and to have had most lasting impact are principally those related to *how* to teach, rather than *what* to teach. Under the former, a number of elements are being included here: teaching and learning style theory and practice, activities and strategies for the classroom, ways of relating to students and other teachers, the 'hidden curriculum' and the interrelationship of medium and message. Many fewer teachers made any references to global education concepts, themes or issues without first being prompted to do so, even though many gave their interest in one or more issues (for example: race, gender, environment, human rights) as a main reason for joining the course. For some, the apparent failure to meet their expectations in this regard was clearly a disappointment:

> I felt that, from the subjects I teach ... I often knew the resources a lot better than the people running the course. (NY/S2)
> I didn't feel the course particularly helped me to handle the situations at school, about how to introduce the multicultural aspect to the children. They kept going on about various odds and ends which, if you were in a junior school, you might have been able to handle, but these children wouldn't have understood it. (NY/P4)

Most participants, however, were not overtly critical of the overall content of the course, and several expressed pleasant surprise at the way the course was run and the teaching strategies employed by the facilitators. The enjoyment of being a course participant was frequently mentioned, including the opportunity to meet and talk with colleagues who were interested in similar aspects of teaching. Amongst the Cambridgeshire group, a friendship and support network seems to have continued to function well after the end of the course.

The nature of global education

In the 'anticipation' (Hopkins, 1989, 67) phase of the data analysis, it was tentatively proposed that there would be a considerable degree of correspondence between interviewees reflections on the questions explored above and their views on the final question: 'What would you say are the main characteristics or emphases of global education?' In other words, that the elements most easily recalled to mind about a course built around a model of global education would strongly inform participants' perceptions of the nature of global education. Analysis of teachers' responses to the final question largely supports this hypothesis, though it reveals, too, a broader understanding of global education amongst some course members than might have been assumed from their previous answers.

A sense of surprise at the way the course was run is echoed in some participants' perceptions of global education:

> I suppose an obvious answer is the topics we covered - looking at multicultural education, looking at green issues; but then also, what I hadn't expected to find - and I was pleased that we discussed - was teaching methods ... Because although you can go away and teach a topic, to have the way you teach changed is something far more radical. (NY/Sup2)

For other North Yorkshire participants, however, there was no 'obvious answer' to this question. As the pauses on the tape recorder confirm, there was considerable hesitancy in their search for a response:

> People always ask me that and I always flounder around. (NY/P2)
> It's so difficult ... (NY/P5)
> That's the $64,000 question ... (NY/P6)
> I still wouldn't know how to answer it really. (NY/S2)
> I will now go and look up some definitions of it, to see what it is! (NY/P3)

The Cambridgeshire participants were surer in their responses, which tended to adhere to two major themes: teaching and learning processes and holism. The former was mentioned by most course members, some relating it specifically to teaching and learning style theory, others commenting more generally on classroom processes. One teacher had taken to using the term 'global' in a very particular sense:

> I tend to use the word 'global' not in the world sense of problems, but in making me look at the global way in which I deliver any aspect of the curriculum and trying to develop different ways in to facilitate that learning. (C/S3)

That interpretation resonates with remarks from other participants concerning the holistic nature of global education, the way in which various components of schooling that they had previously regarded as somewhat separate were brought together through their experiences on the course:

> The impression I was left with at the end of the course was that it wasn't one particular emphasis, but that it was the various parts of the whole coming together; that teaching and learning styles is one thing, thinking about issues and the content of a course is another; thinking of the

> spatial and the temporal and the human dimension - that's another part of it. But it's to do with making things into a coherent whole. (C/S2)

In the search for coherence, 'there was almost an element of religiosity to it, I suspected at times ... we'd gone beyond prose, it had become poetic' (C/S4). This teacher recognised that the course encouraged him to look again at familiar works of art, literature and photography, enabling him to make connections that he had not previously discerned. A teacher who had had previous experience of world studies suggested that the inner dimension (of the Pike/Selby model) was 'the key component of global education' (C/S5) and was what differentiated it from world studies. For him, coherence between medium and message was all-important, the degree to which the climate of the school was reflective of the values and attitudes that were being advocated through teaching about global issues in the curriculum.

The theme of holism and coherence was suggested by two North Yorkshire teachers. A secondary teacher had been impressed by the Gaia theory 'of the world being an organic body ... and I really felt that that somehow encapsulated the spirit of global education because it took a holistic view of medicine, of economics ...' (NY/S1). One of the primary teachers who had confessed to finding the question difficult to answer proceeded to ask, rhetorically:

> I don't know, isn't it a whole philosophy? Isn't it one's outlook, how one builds one's relationships up and out, or whatever? It's quite a philosophical question, isn't it, really? (NY/P2)

Most North Yorkshire participants avowed that global education was about making connections, though not so much in a holistic sense as to do with the central concept of interdependence:

> We are not just a country, but a part of the world; not just one race, but we are actually a human race which is actually dependent, very much, on each other. Not only the humans ...we need to have interdependence between ourselves and the environment. (NY/P3)

The theme of personal responsibility in the interdependent relationship with other species was echoed by many primary teachers, as was the related idea of acknowledging the intrinsic value and worth of all living things:

> It all stems from this one idea that we're all living in the same house, basically, and we have to get on. That to me is the essence of global education. It starts big and works down. (NY/P5)

As with the previous area of questioning discussed above, the weighting of these responses is towards the view of global education as being a philosophy and a process of teaching, rather than a body of content. That is not to imply that the content was overlooked: many teachers made references to a range of issues (specifically race, gender, environment, human rights, development and futures) and to the importance of preparing students for the world in which they live through raising their awareness of such issues. In terms of frequency and depth of response, however, the process aspects were clearly regarded as being more central to what global education is about. The clearest difference between responses to the two areas of questioning can be found in the number of perceptions of global education as a holistic philosophy, one that enables connections - between people, between curriculum subjects, between content and process - to be more clearly seen. The frequency of such comments is somewhat surprising when viewed in the context of participants' reflections on 'the most significant aspects of the course'. It may be that the phrasing of that question encouraged a more compartmentalist train of thought than that which developed from the more open-ended - and more abstract - final question.

Differing perceptions of global education: three issues

These interview data raise three central issues with regard to course participants' perceptions of global education that are worth further exploration. The first concerns the markedly different responses to some of the questions between those interviewed from the two courses. The second relates to the greater impact of the course in terms of *how* rather than *what* to teach; and the third emanates from an apparent lack of conceptual clarity about what constitutes global education. These issues will be explored in turn with a view to suggesting appropriate research questions for Stage Two of the empirical research.

In contrasting the differences in response between the members of the two courses, a number of variables have to be borne in mind that were not subject to scrutiny within the formulation of the research questions. Most important among these would be the distinctiveness of content, format and teaching style given to the courses by each of the teams of facilitators, despite a common course outline and reading list and common methods of assessment. Differences in course membership also need to be taken into account: the prevailing characteristics and interests of teachers, influenced by local policies, concerns and lifestyles, may differ from one LEA to another, as may the motivations of teachers to participate in in-service training. It should also be recognised that all of these variables - and others - interact with each other over the duration of a long-term, highly participatory course to produce a unique character that will inevitably be reflected in the recollections of course members. These considerations notwithstanding, there would appear to be a distinctive pattern in the data that bears further exploration, namely the qualitative difference in responses between primary and secondary teachers. The breakdown of the two sample groups, with a predominance of secondary teachers in the Cambridgeshire sample and of primary teachers in the North Yorkshire sample, could well be of significance in reviewing the contrasting data.

In his research on one of the earlier DIGAME courses, Vulliamy (1992) found significant differences in the way that primary and secondary teachers responded to the course, particularly in the tendency of primary teachers to interpret global education in terms of teaching processes, whereas secondary teachers viewed it more in terms of content. This, he suggests, can be seen as evidence 'of Doyle and Ponder's (1977-78) "practicality ethic" whereby teachers take on only those new ideas which are consonant with their existing practices' (p. 25). The data from the Cambridgeshire and North Yorkshire courses appear less conclusive in this regard, though the small sample size demands that caution be exercised. Whilst it is certainly true that secondary teachers, in general, perceived greater difficulties in implementing global education due to the rigidity of existing curriculum content and traditional teaching practices, their interest in - and enthusiasm for - the process aspects of global education comes over strongly. If a distinction is to be made, it lies in the specific orientation of teachers' interests in teaching and learning processes. For the secondary teachers, the focal point was teaching and learning style theory and its application in the classroom; primary teachers were seemingly less interested in particular theories and more in practical teaching strategies that developed skills and positive attitudes amongst children.

A second area of contrast between primary and secondary teachers' responses - and one that does seem to correspond with Vulliamy's findings - relates to perceptions of global education as a holistic or integrating force. Both North Yorkshire secondary teachers and most Cambridgeshire secondary teachers made specific references to the ways in which the course had helped them to see connections between subjects, between global issues or between content and process. Amongst the primary teachers on both courses the connections mentioned had less to do with the structure of schooling or with global issues, being focused more on the interdependent relationship of the child with the wider world. Such distinctions could be seen as being derived from the relative importance attributed to student-centered learning. In the primary school, the clear focus on developing self esteem, on valuing individual experiences and contributions and on caring for others is likely to place the child at the centre of an interconnected world:

> I think if you've got that awareness of interdependence of humankind and of the environmental kind, in all aspects, so that everything - whether it is human, animal, plant or whatever - it actually has a value, we have respect for it, that perhaps is ... global education. (NY/P3)
> ...the fact that one child alone in the classroom is not alone in the class - they are attached in various ways to the rest of the universe and have a

> right to know about that. And the fact that they are growing into the citizens of the future and it will be their world. And we have a duty to educate them to be able to cope with that world. (C/P2)

In the secondary school, with an emphasis on subject-based learning and departmental organisation, the focus of global education's interconnectedness is located more readily within subject content and school and curriculum organisation:

> I think, from a teaching point of view, it seems to cut across a lot of what is going on at the moment ... There has definitely been a move back, hasn't there, in terms of humanities, into separate subjects; while global education seems to point to connections between subjects and the fact that school, in some ways, is not a reflection very much of the world outside. So when people talk about 'the real world', the real world is not separate Geography, History and RE even though they try to make it that. (C/S1)

The degree of innovation that global education espouses may also be a factor: the integration of subject matter proposed by global education has clearly been standard practice for many years in primary schools' topic work (Webb, 1990), whereas the rationale for a holistic curriculum was evidently less familiar to some secondary teachers:

> I think the other significant area was perhaps a greater awareness of the systemic nature of things. I remember the *Woolly Thinking* activity: I suppose the issues had always been in the back of my mind but they hadn't been that highly focused. And I think the course more sharply focused a way of thinking and a way of teaching that I'd perhaps wanted to do, or had tried to do on a very low key level. (C/S7)

Thus, the data suggest that global education may well be interpreted in quite different ways by primary and secondary teachers, though more detailed research is required to substantiate this proposition.

Vulliamy's (1992, 24) observation that 'course participants interpreted global education in different ways, taking different emphases from the course, according to their prior beliefs and practices' is generally borne out in my research. And yet the data suggest, too, that factors other than 'prior beliefs and practices' are at play in teachers' perceptions of global education. The expressions of surprise at the styles of teaching used on the courses would seem to indicate that these were not, for some teachers at least, part of their usual repertoire. The significance afforded to teaching and learning processes, however, is clearly evident in the long-term impact they created:

> There were two things, and I'll stress the second one of the two. The first one was that I was given ideas of how to bring into the classroom certain issues: from the world's global environmental problems, pollution,

> multiculture problems, gender problems, or whatever, and that is what I went on the course to do. But the thing that really came out of it is the thing I've been alluding to all evening. The thing I really got out of it was to consider much more sharply ways I delivered the curriculum. Even if it wasn't in any of those areas I've mentioned, I've used techniques that I saw and experienced and lived through on this course back in the traditional GCSE and A Level History that I've taught at --- [school] for the last five years, and I've found that extremely valuable. (C/S3)

As the above quotation illustrates, the issues that the courses dealt with were, for most participants the kind of issues in which they had a prior interest and, for some, to which they were already deeply committed. One teacher claimed to have experienced a challenge to his beliefs on issues of gender:

> I always felt that I was fairly straight and correct on it, but I realised that I'd got quite a lot of deep-seated prejudices. (NY/S1).

However, for courses that, according to the course outlines, purported to deal extensively with global issues, there was a noticeable lack of comment about the nature of the issues themselves or their controversiality. Two possible explanations come to mind: the first would partly confirm Vulliamy's observation, in suggesting that participants' prior *beliefs* were attuned to the ideological bent of the course, thereby deeming the exploration of such issues as unremarkable. This view would seem to be supported by comments from a number of teachers to the effect that the course was 'preaching to the converted'. The second relates to the teaching and learning processes through which the issues were explored. Many participants pointed to the usefulness of the practical strategies adopted by the course facilitators in exploring complex issues:

> I found that, although quite a few of the things covered were not new to me, the *way* they were covered was different, was new, and I found it quite refreshing ... I did find some of the activities that were introduced in the course actually brought together a lot of the problems I was having in introducing multiculturalism to a teacher who was new to it. (NY/Sup1)

Here, once again, is confirmation that, in retrospect, the notable aspects of the courses were not related to *content*, despite the seemingly controversial nature of the issues covered, but to *process*. This observation is especially interesting when viewed in light of the fact that the expectations of most participants, as revealed in the data, were framed in terms of content rather then process. In other words, the courses are best remembered for aspects that were not envisaged at the outset. Thus, whilst participants 'prior beliefs' may well be an important factor in their interpretations of global education, the significance of 'prior practice' - at least in the sense of teaching processes - would appear to be less.

In order to understand more fully teachers' perceptions of global education, it may be worth speculating on possible reasons for the degree of impact of the process elements of the two courses. A simple hypothesis can be immediately formulated: that the impact of the courses faithfully reflects the intentions of the course facilitators. Whilst direct evidence to support this view was not collected from the course facilitators at the time of the interviews, indirect evidence abounds in the writing emanating from the Centre for Global Education during that period (Greig, Pike and Selby, 1987a, 1989; Pike and Selby, 1988) and also from the world studies field in general (Fisher and Hicks, 1985; Hicks and Steiner, 1989). The thrust of such writing, in terms of content and process, is to downplay the importance of the former and to highlight the significance of the latter (see Chapter 4). It would not be unreasonable, therefore, to assume that the DIGAME course facilitators intended an emphasis on classroom process, on *how* to teach global and multicultural education. In reaching that tentative conclusion, however, it would be easy to overlook the fact that the intentions of course providers are not always realised in practice and that, in this case, the degree of realisation is noteworthy. Just as, in his study of a previous course, Vulliamy (1992, 10) noted that considerable changes in participants' teaching style and classroom organisation appeared to have taken place 'against a background of prior research suggesting that it is precisely these aspects of teaching which are the most difficult to change', so the data in this study suggest that the degree of impact of the process aspects of the course merit further consideration. One contributory factor could be simply that of familiarity: whereas participants' expectations of the course reveal, in general, some prior awareness of the content covered, elements of the teaching process adopted on the course were evidently unfamiliar, and surprising, to many and have remained in the memory. Ease of transferability to the classroom could be influential, too; primary teachers, in particular, liked the practical activities and strategies that they could quickly and easily try out in their classrooms and which have subsequently provided hard evidence of the efficacy of global education process; as such, this could be construed as illustrative of the general potency of the 'practicality ethic'. Another hypothesis is that the distinction between process and content, as discussed in the first part of this chapter, is too rigidly constructed. As some practitioners intimated, the process in global education is seen as content-related, a means towards achieving a specific and intended end. It could thus be construed as a form of 'pedagogical content knowledge' (Shulman, 1986, 9), a multidimensional category of knowledge that includes 'the ways of representing and formulating the subject that makes it comprehensible to others'. As Ben-Peretz *et al.* (1990) discovered in Israel, teachers tended to favour in-service courses that developed their pedagogical content knowledge over those that focused only on content. If this preference is also found in other educational contexts, it may help to explain why practitioners in my study remember with such appreciation the process aspects of their courses. Related to this point, though, is an idea (suggested in the literature survey) that is of considerable significance to an understanding of how perceptions of global education are formed: that the process, being practical, concrete and demonstrable, creates a much stronger impression partly *because* the content, being broad in character, cross-disciplinary and holistic, is difficult to grasp.

A telling indication of the degree of difficulty is to be found in the fact that, following a two-year, in-depth course focused on global education, half of those interviewed from North Yorkshire were extremely or somewhat hesitant in saying what global education is about; and that, across both courses, the spectrum of responses to this question was very broad, including - as central ideas - global issues, interdependence, 'one world', empathy, perspective, integration of subjects, learning processes, 'medium and message', coherence and holism. In reviewing the difficulties of implementing educational innovation, Fullan (1991, 128) asserts:

> Clarification is a process. Full understanding can come only after some experience with the change.

In the case of global education, which is proposing innovation in a number of areas of schooling, the data suggest that a two-year in-service course may not provide sufficient 'experience' for some teachers. Or, perhaps, 'full understanding' of an innovation potentially so far-reaching as global education is a never-ending process itself. As one teacher put it:

> I think it's part of my philosophy now and it's going to grow with my teaching. I think the foundations are there, it's laid down ...it's so established now. (NY/P1)

This view of global education as a 'philosophy' of teaching is echoed in many participants' responses and may account, in part, for the difficulties encountered in succinctly defining it. In contrast with the usual organising frameworks of the school curriculum - subjects, themes, topics - philosophies are vague, all-encompassing and open to various interpretations. Even the central ideas and concepts mentioned in the data - interdependence, teaching and learning style theories, global issues - are broad in scope and do not readily fit into a compartmentalised curriculum or traditional views of the teaching process; indeed, the notion of global education as having a holistic function is the very antithesis of compartmentalisation, emphasising relationships and connections between subjects and themes, and between content and process. In light of the extent of the challenge to traditional educational thinking and practice, it is perhaps not surprising that teachers were still, nine months after the course, coming to grips with what it was all about.

As Doyle and Ponder (1977-78, 7) point out, statements of principle that do not describe classroom procedures 'are not practical because they lack the necessary procedural referents'. Global education, on the other hand, attempts to address that lack through the harmonisation of medium and message, the provision of teaching strategies and learning environments that embody the overall philosophy. A critical dimension in the course members' perceptions of global education would seem to relate to their understanding of this central component. Thus, from those participants who saw global education more as a philosophy, expressed in terms of its holistic properties, came many references, direct and indirect, to the significance of harmony between medium and message. In contrast, where teachers' perceptions of global education were mostly oriented around one or more of its key concepts, either to do with content or process, the medium-message interrelationship is rarely mentioned and, perhaps, not understood. The two contrasting positions are clearly illustrated in these comments from secondary teachers:

> Although you will teach *about*, within a normal history syllabus - emphasising certain issues of human rights, natural justice, global connections, gender issues - it is much better to teach the skills *for* it, and to teach within an environment which is fully democratic and, hopefully, relaxed and friendly and full of natural justice. It is actually critical: you can't have that dissonance, that mismatch; it's got to be real ... (C/S4)
>
> I'm still not really sure what people mean by global education, what we're actually talking about here - whether we're talking about styles of learning or whether we're talking about specific kind of themes to put across... It seems like there's those two parts. In a sense, you could have one without the other, because somebody might be giving that global dimension without necessarily having taken on all the teaching styles; and somebody could be very much into that way of interacting with the pupils without necessarily taking on all the dimensions about environment and gender and race, and so on. (NY/S2)

Some questions arising

This study of two DIGAME courses has clearly identified variation in teachers' perceptions of global education, from one in-service course to another and, to a more limited degree, among members of one course. It has also established that the full meaning of global education, as characterised in the model developed at the Centre for Global Education, is difficult for some teachers to grasp, despite a two-year exposure to its theory and practice. In the larger context of this research into the meaning of global education, and the relationship between proponents' visions and practitioners' perceptions, a series of related questions arises. The subsequent stages of the research will attempt to address some of these questions.

1. To what extent is the variation in perception noted among course participants a result of differing interpretations of global education made by the course facilitators? And to what extent do other factors play a part? For example, the local educational context and motivations of teachers; the differing needs and experiences of primary and secondary teachers; the range of personal beliefs and expertise that is likely to be found amongst a group of teachers.
2. Is this variation in perception intrinsic to global education, a by-product of its diffuseness, its attempt to integrate and seek connections; and if so, does it matter? Would other models of global education be easier for practitioners to understand and implement; and if so, does their impact lack anything that the above model is attempting to achieve?
3. More generally, how do practitioners derive meaning in global education? What part is played by *internal* forces, such as prior personal experience, values and beliefs, and professional knowledge; and what part by *external* factors, such as the ideas of global education proponents, professional development, resources and support? To what extent is the meaning of global education related to a particular school, regional or national context?

Chapter 8

Perceptions from American Schools

Introduction

Before beginning an exploration of the data obtained from Stage Two of the empirical research, it is worth recalling the two principal aims of this Stage: firstly, to explore predominant perceptions of global education held by selected practitioners in the USA and Canada; secondly, to identify the factors that were instrumental in those practitioners' development of meaning in global education. In other words, *what is* global education to these practitioners in the two countries, and *from where* are their perceptions derived? Interpretations of the data will, in the first place, be presented in country-specific chapters: this chapter will focus on data collected in American schools; Chapter 9 will look at the Canadian data. Whilst the resulting portrayals of practitioner perceptions are not intended to represent national profiles, being based on samples that are far too small and not necessarily representative, they provide some potential for exploring - in Chapter 10 - the relationship between proponents' visions and practitioners' perceptions in each country.

Chapters 8 and 9 will begin with a brief description of the schools chosen in each sample and an explanation for that choice. In order to respect interviewees' anonymity and confidentiality (see Chapter 2), pseudonyms will be ascribed to each school or school district and locations will not be revealed; data will be referenced according to a coding system (see below). Interpretation of the data will then follow, initially in two broad strands: one strand will encompass practitioners' perceptions of global education and will be derived principally from analysis of data in the *classroom implementation, global education philosophy* and *global education definition* categories; the other strand will interpret practitioners' derivation of meaning, utilising data from the remaining categories (see Chapter 2). However, data from any category may be drawn upon in either strand, where it is seen to be relevant. Finally, the relationship between the two strands will be explored with a view to suggesting the degree and nature of impact of particular factors in the shaping of practitioner perceptions of global education.

Schools visited in the USA

Identification of the schools visited in Stage Two was undertaken according to the three criteria outlined in Chapter 2: personal knowledge, recommendation by key proponents and references in the literature. The confluence of these criteria led quite naturally to schools participating in two of the more high-profile global education projects that were being undertaken during the research period: the Global Education Pilot Schools Project of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD), involving fourteen elementary schools or school districts across the USA and one international school in Holland (C. Anderson, 1994), and the Education 2000 Project of the American Forum for Global Education, initially implemented in seven diverse school districts (Kniep and Martin-Kniep, 1995). As the data collected from participating schools make frequent reference to the guiding philosophy or organisational structure of the relevant project, it would be prescient to outline their respective goals, in addition to describing the schools visited.

The **ASCD Global Education Pilot Schools Project**, which ran from 1992 to 1994, was established essentially to field test and refine a curriculum framework, developed by Charlotte Anderson, for integrating global education into existing elementary school programs; the framework's 'four messages' (C. Anderson, 1994) are discussed in Chapter 3. More than one hundred schools applied to participate in the Project; the fourteen were selected on the grounds of prior substantive involvement in various aspects of global education, as well as for reasons of geographical location and cultural diversity ('Pilot Schools for ASCD's Elementary Global Education Framework', ASCD, undated). In establishing the Project, ASCD sought answers to the following questions:

> Does the framework generate an appropriate, usable curriculum? If so, what kind(s)?
> Does the framework serve as an effective blueprint for curriculum development? If not, what is missing?
> What resources, skills or background does a classroom teacher need to implement a curriculum based on this framework? (ASCD circular to Pilot Schools, undated)

Participating schools were asked to apply the framework through the development and field-testing of their own integrated, thematically-based curriculum units and appropriate performance assessment tasks. ASCD provided necessary documentation and organised occasional conferences for Pilot School representatives, at which professional development activities and a sharing of ideas and records of progress took place (I was a guest speaker and workshop leader at one of these conferences). In turn, schools were asked to submit various documents, including sample curriculum units and assessment tasks, at regular intervals throughout the two years of the Project. Thus, although ASCD established the Project's structure and its guiding principles, the detailed developmental work was undertaken by teachers within the participating schools.

The first two schools visited were chosen because of their involvement in the ASCD Project (which attested to their commitment to global education), recommendations from ASCD Project staff, the schools' positive responses to my letters of enquiry, and the fact that they represent different geographical and ethnocultural communities. At the time of my visit, both schools were nearing the end of their two-year commitment to the Project. (All data given below are taken from documents provided by the respective schools.)

Chapelton Elementary School serves approximately 600 Kindergarten to Grade 6 students from a university town of 65,000 inhabitants. Black, Asian and Hispanic students account for nearly one quarter of the student population; some 40 languages, other than English, are spoken among 23% of students. The school has strong links with the university, where many of the students' parents are studying or working. When I visited, the school had recently moved into a new building and staff were actively assessing the potential for using telecommunications in tandem with their commitment to global education. Sixteen staff members (38% of the total), including the Acting Principal, were interviewed; among the interviewees were all seven staff members who had been identified by the school's representative on the ASCD Project as those who had been the most involved in the Project.

Fairview Elementary and Middle School comprises an elementary (Kindergarten to Grade 6) school and, upstairs in the same building, a middle school for Grade 7 and 8 students. It is situated in a small rural community of 2,000 people. The elementary school serves 225 students; a further 200 (from a wider catchment area) are enrolled in the middle school. Virtually all the student population is white. Nearly one third of the students receive a free or subsidised lunch (an indication of their families' relative impoverishment). The school enjoys considerable support from the community, particularly in connection with its 'International School' programme that has been developed over a number of years. Twelve staff members (22% of the total) were interviewed, including the Principal, the Headteacher of the elementary school, and the four staff with most direct involvement in the ASCD Project. In addition, interviews were conducted with a District Curriculum Co-ordinator, who also had substantial involvement in the Project, and a group of nine parents and other community members who volunteered to contribute to a discussion about the school and its work.

For the third visit, mindful of Patton's (1990, 172) criteria for 'maximum variation sampling', I sought out a school that was very different from the above two in many ways, including the route it had taken to become a 'global school'. This school is not affiliated with any project and has devised its own philosophy of, and approach to, global education. It was selected on the basis of frequent reference to its innovative work in the global education literature and recommendations from other proponents.

Vernon High School is situated in an affluent, mainly white suburb of a large city. The school's global education initiative provides an alternative programme for approximately 150 of the 1,800 students enrolled in Grades 9-12. The programme offers courses in English, Social Studies and foreign languages (occupying two or three hours each day), and is complemented by a range of extra-curricular activities, including overseas trips. Students take other courses as part of the regular school curriculum. Student involvement in community activities is an integral part of the programme, which in turn enjoys substantial support from community members and has received national and international recognition. Six out of the seven staff members teaching on the global education programme, including its founder and Director (also a teacher), were interviewed; interviews were also held with two Grade 11 students selected by their peers to talk about the programme.

For my final data collection visit, I looked for a potentially 'disconfirming case' (Patton, 1990, 178) - a school that appeared to be mounting a global education initiative that was substantially different from the mainstream view of global education, as identified in the literature and from a preliminary analysis of the empirical data collected so far. Discussions with Willard Kniep (of the American Forum for Global Education) led me to look at participants in the Education 2000 Project.

The **Education 2000 Project** operates on a similar basis to that of the ASCD Pilot Schools Project. The American Forum for Global Education has laid down an outline 'Educational Blueprint' (Kniep and Martin-Kniep, 1995, 88) and Kniep's (1987) handbook offers more detailed advice on appropriate strategies for achieving the Project goals; furthermore, the American Forum has assisted participating school districts through providing the expertise of key global education proponents in consultancy and professional development capacities. It is left to participating school districts, however, to develop their own vision of Education 2000 and to devise the means for turning that vision into reality. The Project goals are much broader and more far-reaching than those of the ASCD's project, going way beyond school-based curriculum reform to involving 'the entire community of stakeholders in shaping a vision of how students should be educated for a changing world' (Kniep and Martin-Kniep, 1995, 90). Community forums lie at the heart of the process: the perceptions and aspirations of all stakeholders - teachers, administrators, parents students and community members - are entreated and incorporated into the design of educational goals, desired learning outcomes and specified standards that then shape the curriculum and assessment processes. Education 2000 is a radical reform package that aims for 'systemic coherence' (p. 91) among all its component parts: a curriculum that is responsive to a world of rapid change, increasing interdependence and cultural diversity; learning experiences that are student-centred, rather than subject-centred; and an organisational culture that can nurture effective practice. Education 2000 was initiated in 1987 and, as will become apparent later in this chapter, participation in the Project requires substantial and long-term commitment to the reform of schooling.

After further consultation, I decided to focus on a whole school district, rather than one participating school, in that district-wide decision making and inter-school consultation is central to the Project's philosophy. The selection of any one school would have afforded a very partial view of the whole initiative.

District 900 comprises five elementary schools (three Kindergarten to Grade 6 schools, one Kindergarten to Grade 2, one Grades 3 to 6) and a middle school (Grades 7 & 8). The District is located in a predominantly white, middle class suburb of a large city; together, the schools serve about 2,500 students from three communities. There is a history of innovative practice in the District's schools which, in general, are well respected and supported by the community. All six schools were visited and a total of 19 staff were interviewed, including the District Superintendent and Assistant Superintendent, two Principals and one Board member (who was also a parent). The interviewees comprised the vast majority of those who had had a substantial involvement in the Project, most dating back to its origins in the District in 1991. For this visit, the wording on the Pre-Interview Questionnaire and in the interview questions was adapted slightly to reflect the fact that the generic term used for the District initiative is 'Education 2000' and not - for reasons that will be discussed later - 'global education'. In substance, however, the questions were essentially similar to those used on previous visits (see Chapter 2 and Appendix 1).

In the data interpretation that follows, references to particular practitioners' ideas or statements recorded during interviews will be written as follows:

> name of school or school district/T (for teacher) or A (for district or school administrator) or C (for community member, including parents) and number (all interviewees in any school or school district have been allotted a number)/Int. (for data obtained during an interview).

For example: Chapelton/T3/Int.; District 900/A2/Int.

In cases where one person has two roles or responsibilities, combinations of letters are used (*e.g.* A-T for an administrator who also teaches).

As mentioned in Chapter 2, most schools and some teachers provided formal and informal documentation that yielded significant data about global education philosophies and practice; additional data were collected through observation of lessons and of daily life and interactions during visits to schools. Where such data are cited, these will be referenced as follows:

name of school/T, A, or C and number (if relevant)/Doc. (for data contained in a document) and title (if titled) or description, or Obs. (for data obtained through observation).

For example: Fairview/Doc. 'School Mission Statement'; Vernon/T5/Obs.

Other sources of data not covered by the above coding system (for example, informal conversations with students and other staff members) will be suitably described in the text.

School profiles

Data collected from the above schools can be interpreted in two ways: vertically, on a school by school basis, to explore and convey a profile of global education within a particular institution; and horizontally, to seek out similarities among all schools and individual differences that distinguish one from another. Both strategies are required in order to present a sufficiently comprehensive portrayal of practitioner perceptions.

Vertical interpretations of the data reveal overall profiles of global education - as perceived by practitioners - that can be placed along a spectrum from compartmentalist to holistic approaches (see the discussion of the 'scientific paradigm' in Chapter 6 for an explanation of these different approaches). Towards the compartmentalist end would lie the perceptions evinced in both Chapelton and Fairview schools; Vernon school would fall in a middling position on the spectrum; District 900 would be located towards the holistic end. A range of factors constitutes the compartmentalist perceptions found in Chapelton and Fairview. Firstly, a 'billiard ball' perception of the global system permeates approaches to curriculum, most obviously in the focus on specific countries and cultures. At Fairview, each grade level - from Kindergarten to Grade 8 - adopts a country that becomes a focus for curriculum activities throughout the year, culminating in a highly-regarded presentation to the community on 'International Night'; 'country days' (*e.g.* Russian Day, Greek Day) are also staged, during which all activities, including the hot lunch, reflect the country and culture being presented. As many curriculum areas as possible are tied into the country theme, and the year-long focus does appear to circumvent some of the problems of presenting only cultural exotica or trivia that more superficial country-based units often encounter. However, practitioners' - and students' - identification with specific countries is very strong. The billiard ball model is not so consciously or systematically implemented at Chapelton, but is nonetheless strongly exhibited in curriculum units on specific countries and on various cultural manifestations; for example, dolls from different countries (Grade 2), cartoons from different countries (Grade 6), sports and games around the world (PE), national anthems (music). In measuring their respective curricula against the four messages of the ASCD framework, both schools can be seen to pay relatively little attention to Message No. 4 'You live in an interconnected world', a point that is acknowledged by some teachers (Fairview/A-T2, T1/Int.) and is noted by ASCD project staff (Chapelton/Doc., letter from ASCD). Not surprisingly, practitioners' perspectives also exhibit a relative lack of emphasis on interconnections and global systems in favour of giving students a more profound understanding of specific countries and cultures. Thus, travel to, and lived experience of, a variety of countries are regarded as highly desirable experiences for the global teacher; indeed, the most widely travelled teacher at Chapelton is considered the archetypal global educator (T9/Int.). Related to the prevailing billiard ball model is an emphasis on helping students understand and appreciate cultural similarities and differences, allied to a relativist view of culture; although many teachers argue that similarities outweigh the differences, thereby hinting at universal attributes and characteristics, the portrayal of cultures in the classroom tends to focus on cultural distinctiveness (usually in comparison to the USA) and on specific cultures as homogeneous and unchanging, as intimated in this outline of a curriculum unit on 'North American Indians':

> The framework of this unit rests on the research paper generated by the students. It is from that research that comparisons and contrasts of tribal ways of life will be generated by the students. The students will also compare and contrast Indian cultures with their own. Finally, students will brainstorm general environmental, societal, and political problems and predict an Indian solution versus our culture's solution. (Fairview/Doc., 'International School' curriculum units)

The make-up of 'our culture' is generally assumed, rather than critically examined, in such cross-cultural comparisons, although in some interviews, the diverse origins of the American people were acknowledged and valued: the 'melting pot' notion of US culture is rejected in favour of a 'chef salad' (Chapelton/T11/Int.) or a 'good beef stew' (Chapelton/T9/Int.), in which differences are accepted and savoured.

Also indicative of compartmentalist perceptions is a significant part of the rationale for global education in both schools, although expressed in seemingly polarised arguments. At Chapelton, virtually all of the teachers interviewed draw upon the school's multicultural and linguistically diverse population in their rationales; at Fairview, the very *lack* of such diversity in the small, rural community is proposed as a compelling reason for a globally-oriented curriculum. The pertinent point is that cultural distinctiveness, or its lack, is uppermost in the minds of practitioners when justifying global education, rather than universal themes or concepts that would logically be derived from more holistic thinking, such as interdependence, human rights or the global environment. A compartmentalist approach to global education can be seen, too, in a primary focus on knowledge acquisition, allied to a preponderance of teacher-directed forms of pedagogy:

> Process is all well and good, but (students) need to know about these issues. We shouldn't give facts for mere repetition, but basic knowledge should not be overlooked ... (We need) more than just citizens who know where to look for information - that, too - but to know stuff is important. (Chapelton/T16/Int.)

Although occasional references to co-operative and student-centred learning were made, few teachers in either school talked much about the teaching and learning processes that they thought most appropriate for global education. Observation of lessons tended to confirm the overall impression gleaned from interviews, that global education is essentially the transmission of information about the world and its people. A move away from compartmentalisation, however, was noted at Fairview Middle School, where practitioners were using a variety of interactive learning methods to help students explore integrated, thematically-based units.

Elements of the compartmentalist approach are evident in the manifestation of global education at Vernon school. Gaining experience of other cultural perspectives, through study and travel, is a significant component of the programme; single countries and continents constitute much of the framework for the interrelated English/Social Studies curriculum; the rationale for global education is couched largely in terms of American students' need to understand more about other countries and to counter ethnocentric attitudes. There are many indicators, however, of a more holistic approach, especially in the thinking and practice of the programme's Director, whose influence is acknowledged by all staff to be extensive, and in the teaching and learning processes adopted. For example, experiential learning - through both real experiences in the community and simulations in the classroom - is considered important, as is co-operative learning, team teaching and the development of a humane, caring learning environment in which students can enjoy positive and meaningful relationships with staff. Participation in 'ethnic encounters' and community work is regarded as vital for the development of appropriate attitudes and motivations - a sense of ethical responsibility which, the Director acknowledges, is unusual and likely to be scoffed at 'in a highly secular, cynical and tired educational community' (A-T1/Doc., published article). A systems view of the world can be detected in statements about curriculum ('global education courses are coordinated to show the interrelationships of time, place, and events ...' [Doc., school brochure]) and in the perceptions of some staff members:

> I do believe that we are all one, and that (we) can't be separated and we can't stand alone, and that education, regardless of what field you're working at, should be looking at the world as one ... (T5/Int.).

A systems view prevails in the implementation of the Education 2000 Project in District 900. Whilst it is premature to comment on the actual curriculum, which is still in its early stages of development, the curriculum framework constructed by District staff is certainly holistic in conception, consisting of five interrelated strands: Student Development, Communication, American & Global Studies, Humanities & Fine Arts, Math, Science & Technology (Doc., 'Curricular Framework'). The framework is itself underscored by a similarly non-compartmentalist belief statement:

> We believe that students learn best when immersed in curriculum which provides relevant, non-fragmented, stimulating experiences that are integrated when natural and appropriate. Curriculum would provide for integration of all knowledge learned and would enable students to make applications in a global society. Thematic units are organized around concepts, issues, persistent problems, or phenomena that are significant and educationally relevant to students. These units effectively weave academic content with processes and skills. (Doc., 'Integrated Thematic Unit Belief Statement')

Curriculum development, however, is but one component of a community-driven initiative that ultimately goes 'beyond restructuring to a new educational design' (Doc., Phase V Proposal) and impacts upon every aspect of schooling. Whilst it should be remembered that much of the Education 2000 philosophy, as interpreted in District 900, is still at the level of policy, that policy has come about through a lengthy and inclusive process of community consultation and consensus seeking. Thus, the *process* of educational reform, at least, is holistic in both theory and practice. As some staff acknowledged, the Project is only beginning to impact on the classroom, particularly in light of the slow progress being made on the development of new curriculum. There are many indications, however, that the holistic philosophy of Education 2000 has already influenced teacher perceptions of curriculum and of teaching and learning:

> We don't have to teach pieces, we have to teach the threads that connect people ... (T10/Int.)
> Where (Education 2000) makes me think at a different level is that I think my brain is getting used to thinking: how can I pull in other things into this? With this math lesson ... how can I pull in economics, how can I pull in some kind of diversity? (T9/Int.)
> I think, instead of just saying: 'well, here's the book, and this is what - the facts, the skills - that kids need', I started to look at: what's my essential question? What do I want kids to come away with? (T5/Int.)

There are many references, too, to the generally successful implementation of some of the Project's early policy decisions, such as the inclusion of disabled students in regular classrooms and the use of 'authentic assessment' processes, which focus on 'the whole child and look at how else we can get that information from them, through their (multiple) intelligences' (T10/Int.).

The above profiles represent overall snapshots of the prevailing perceptions of global education found in the locations visited. As such, they convey the wide range of majority perceptions revealed when comparing one location with another; what they conceal, however, is the minority opinion to be found within each school or school district. On all visits, 'disconfirming cases' were encountered. For example, at Chapelton, amidst the many teacher-directed, knowledge-oriented lessons, I observed a music teacher facilitating a rehearsal of an innovative musical, written and produced by the students, on the theme of change. Her teaching style was highly inclusive and democratic; in a subsequent interview, she talked about her move away from the usual competitive auditioning for school musicals as a 'response to the negative relationships developed in a win-lose competitive environment' (Chapelton/T4/Int.). A teacher at Fairview admitted to using her country focus as just a springboard to launch into an exploration of a range of local and global issues that were relevant to the lives of her students; she was also gently critical of the school's country-based curriculum framework and one-off events, arguing instead for more 'world problem-solving, more of a global picture', rather than 'leap-frogging from one to the other without the overall picture' (Fairview/T3/Int.). Despite the considerable influence of the Director on the programme at Vernon, not all the staff appeared to fall in line with his perception of global education, particularly in his prioritisation of the development of attitudes over knowledge and skills; for some, the characterisation of global education offered in their interviews revolved much more around an understanding of global systems, world history and current events. In District 900, one practitioner stood out in his obvious frustration at the multidimensional, long-term process of change adopted by his colleagues and community:

> This district jumps on bandwagons a lot and we do things for three or four years and sort of drop it and jump onto something else ... nobody here really has a grasp on what they're doing. And we're trying all different kinds of things. ((District 900/T1/Int.)

For him, global education is 'getting kids ready for the 21st century ... computer literacy, certainly; cultural awareness, certainly; ... a foreign language'. The interesting point about such a perception is not that it is, in itself, very remarkable; it is probably representative of very many American global education practitioners. More noteworthy is the fact that such views, as with all the 'disconfirming cases', can co-exist in school environments that do not appear to directly nurture them. In other words, it would seem that however influential the school culture and context might be in the development of a particular philosophy or practice of global education, the perceptions of individual teachers can remain at odds with the view that appears to prevail. It should also be remembered that the practitioners selected for me to interview were, in all cases, those felt to be most involved in the initiatives taking place. It is quite possible, then, that the 'disconfirming cases' are, in fact, more representative of viewpoints in the schools visited than my sample suggests.

Some connecting themes

Horizontal interpretations of the data reveal a number of common strands or themes, despite the differences described above, that can be categorised under the following headings: curriculum content, ideological position, interdisciplinarity, characteristics of a global teacher, and problems over a definition. There appears to be much greater consensus over the content of the global education curriculum than exists over how that content should be organised and delivered. Whether the billiard ball model of separate countries, or the systemic framework of integrated themes, is advocated, convergence occurs on the inclusion of certain integral components:

- an understanding and appreciation of similarities and differences among a variety of cultures;
- an understanding of interdependence, especially in terms of connections between the United States and other countries;
- an understanding of how global phenomena impact upon the lives of students (and sometimes, though certainly not always, *vice versa*);
- presentation of multiple perspectives, usually culturally based, on global issues and themes.

There seems general consensus, too, on the overall goals of such content: born out of a sense of the isolationist and individualist mindset of many American citizens, global education attempts to develop a greater tolerance of, and more empathetic feelings towards, people and societies that are different, and the communicative and co-operative skills necessary for students to engage in dialogue with other citizens. Thus, knowledge of the world *per se* is not generally regarded as the ultimate aim. The underlying rationale of these goals, however, differs from practitioner to practitioner, from the economic imperative of finding jobs in the global marketplace, to the national desire for greater racial harmony, to the universal hope for world unity and peace and, more simply, the notion of increased control and fulfilment in personal lives.

When viewed on an ideological spectrum, these goals might be regarded as broadly centrist or liberal: ameliorative, but without demanding social or global transformation; consensual, but accepting of (or ignoring) differences in worldviews and lifestyles; forward looking and globally oriented, but steeped in the importance of national identity and history. There is plenty of evidence in the data that lends support to this ideological placement. Typical in sentiment is the following statement:

> My own philosophy is that, you know, that cultures are what make, are the beauty of our differences. And that's part of the message. The other message is that beneath those beautiful differences we have, we're all very much alike. (Fairview/T6/Int.)

Expressed in various ways, the belief that 'we're more alike than different' is, in ideological terms, non-controversial and uncritical. On the one hand, it encourages students to appreciate the common threads of humanity and thereby challenge ethnocentrism; on the other hand, it masks the very real divisions that result from cultural and social difference. If other people are perceived to be essentially 'like us', except for an array of 'beautiful differences' that can be savoured and celebrated in displays of ethnic artefacts and customs, then surely there is little need to focus on issues of equality, justice and the denial of human rights. There is little need, especially, to critically examine the role of 'us' in creating or maintaining the misfortunes of 'them'. Whilst such thinking is not directly observable in the data collected, it can be reasonably deduced as an underlying ideological position from a range of other evidence: the relative lack of emphasis on issues of equity (from race, gender, class and sexuality perspectives) and social justice in the curriculum (units on human rights are taught, but often with a focus on historical events in other countries, such as Apartheid and the Holocaust); a paucity of critical analysis of the policies and practices of the United States towards her own or other people (with the notable exception of some courses at Vernon); and a tendency to avoid, or at least diminish, the controversiality of some aspects of global education through seeking to present a 'balanced view' in the classroom and a non-radical profile in the community. Whilst the Education 2000 initiative in District 900 is radical in its systemic reform of education, it is too early to comment on the ideological perspectives that will emerge from its nascent curriculum.

In all locations, albeit to varying degrees, global education is seen as a natural vehicle for promoting interdisciplinarity, a tool with which to break down the walls between subjects and to move towards an integrated curriculum. That said, the only truly integrated curriculum evident was the District 900 model, yet to be put into practice. Partial integration was apparent in other schools, generally in the arts/humanities areas; mathematics and science were included much less often in units and courses that were deemed part of global education (though I witnessed some very innovative teaching of mathematical skills through West African board games at Fairview). At Vernon, science and mathematics courses were dropped from the global education programme after the first few years, due to lack of student interest and staff availability (Vernon/Doc., published article). In all locations, practitioners were involved - again to varying degrees - in developing their own curricula, often in an attempt to reflect an interdisciplinary philosophy. As some interviewees pointed out, this fact alone marked out these schools as different from most, where the norm was textbook-based learning.

Although considerable diversity exists over questions of pedagogy and process, including the relative importance of these aspects to global education, much greater consensus emerges from the data around the necessary characteristics and skills of a 'global teacher'. There are also, however, some interesting variations that are reflective of different perceptions of teaching and learning. Overall, the most frequently cited, and most heavily emphasised, characteristics can be clustered together under the notion of 'flexibility'; the idea of the teacher who is not mentally stuck in her/his ways. Included in this cluster would be such characteristics as risk-taking, openness to change, openmindedness, tolerance of ambiguity; in short, someone who is prepared 'to go out there and be on the cutting edge ... you have to be a little bit gutsy' (Vernon/T4/Int.). A second significant cluster is concerned with interpersonal relationships: a global teacher has to show respect and appreciation for other opinions and ideas; to be able to let go of personal prejudices; to be interested in, and value, students and their experiences and contributions; to be tolerant and empathetic - 'you have to feel your children's pain' (District 900/T5/Int.). A third cluster proposed by many interviewees focused on the teacher's role: the notion of the teacher as a 'facilitator' of students' learning was frequently invoked - 'more like a crossing guard than a policeman' (District 900/T10/Int.). The 'teacher as learner' was another popular image, suggesting the need for the global teachers to not regard themselves as omniscient, but to continue learning and be prepared to admit to students what they do not know; owning up to mistakes and failures was also proposed. The ability to work as a team member was suggested by many, particularly in those schools where team teaching and/or planning was common. Noticeable variation among schools, and to some degree within schools, appeared with regard to the question of knowledge. For some practitioners, in-depth knowledge about world events and other cultures was rated very highly:

> I don't see how (teachers) can teach about the world without reading *The New York Times*, for example. Local newspapers have local news.' (Chapelton/T16/Int.)

Personal travel and direct experience of other cultures tended to be regarded as significant by the same practitioners. For others, travel and extensive global knowledge was an asset, but not essential; more important was the willingness to update knowledge and continue learning. Many interviewees, however, did not mention aspects relating to knowledge at all, confining their characterisations of the ideal global teacher to attitudes and skills. In general terms, the data reveal an unsurprising correspondence between a knowledge-oriented view of global education, allied to teacher-directed forms of pedagogy, and a belief in the importance of knowledge as a characteristic of the global teacher.

In reviewing the suggested characteristics as a whole, it appears to be primarily attitudes that mark out the global teacher, followed by skills and, of least importance, knowledge. This would tend to parallel the view emerging from perceptions of curriculum content, outlined above, that global education is much more than simply acquiring knowledge about the world; understanding other cultures and perspectives is a means to achieving basic goals that are concerned largely with the attitudes and skills that students are felt to need, now and in the future. It follows, than, that 'teaching' global education successfully requires much more than knowledge of one's subject; as one practitioner put it, 'you can't teach stuff unless you're feeling it' (Fairview/T10/Int.). Another talked of 'the romance of learning' - 'first you love it, then you get to know it' (District 900/T3/Int.). The sense of a deep-seated emotional commitment to global education came through in very many interviews and conversations. It is most eloquently expressed in the following excerpt:

> The teacher has to have within himself or herself a global sense - a sense of being a world citizen. A sense that we are all citizens on this planet and, therefore, everything that I do, and that I do in the classroom, is in a sense representative of all humanity. So that, when I look at something in Japan, I'm talking about the Japanese, but I have to have the feeling myself, I have to be able to communicate to my students, that these are Japanese, yes, nominally. But we're really talking about ourselves. This is us. ... So that when I offer activities to the students, every single thing has, it comes from within me and has, in fact, a focus on some aspect of a world view. (Vernon/A-T1/Int.)

In most interviews, the data show general congruence between perceptions of global education conveyed in earlier answers and the definition offered in response to the final question. Those who presented a compartmentalist image of global education tended to couch definitions in terms of countries and cultures, similarities and differences, and getting on with others; those who took a more holistic view were inclined to stress connections and interdependence, and to bring in aspects related to teaching and learning processes. More noteworthy, however, was the number of times that interviewees intimated some difficulties with the term 'global education'. For many staff at Chapelton and Fairview, involvement in the ASCD Project had simply validated an educational approach that they claimed to have been undertaking for many years without realising it was called global education; a few were even a little disdainful at the 'label' it had now been given. For some, the Project had helped clarify some earlier misconceptions:

> If I were to first come upon the term 'global education', I would get real stymied or real stifled and think, 'Oh dear, globe, map, magazines related to Africa versus magazines in general'. And I guess it's changed more in that, by keeping a diary - that they asked me to, to note anything I felt was global ed. - I figured out most everything that I was interested in seemed to be attached to global ed. (Chapelton/T10/Int.)

A few practitioners expressed some doubt that they were, in fact, 'doing' global education, whilst several staff at Vernon - a global education school for many years - admitted to having problems in coming up with a satisfactory definition: 'I know what it is; I can't tell you what it is' (Vernon/T4/Int.). An additional layer of complexity was present in District 900 due to the fact that the term global education was rarely used to describe the various initiatives of the Education 2000 Project. Interestingly, however, most District staff I interviewed were quite familiar with the term and confounded the advice of a Principal that 'multicultural education' was the term I should use to obtain the information I wanted (District 900/A3/Conversation). Furthermore, despite the conscious decision taken by District administrators early on in their involvement in the Project not to talk about global education (District 900/A1, A2/Ints.), many practitioners regarded Education 2000 and global education as largely congruent; a few saw global education in narrower, curriculum-only terms and Education 2000 as the larger framework - 'the mother of it all' (District 900/T9/Int.) - and only one teacher failed to see any connection at all between the two. The definitions of global education offered by many of the District 900 practitioners were among the more holistic of all those interviewed, emphasising global connectedness and, in some cases, incorporating learning processes and life-long learning.

Practitioners' derivation of meaning

Interpretation of the data with a view to discovering the factors that were instrumental in practitioners' derivation of meaning is inevitably coloured by the researcher's questions - both the implicit questions underlying the research framework and the explicit ones put to interviewees. At the end of Stage One of the empirical research (see Chapter 7), questions were posed about the part played by *internal forces*, such as values and beliefs, prior personal experience and professional expertise, and the role of *external factors*, such as the ideas of global education proponents, the impact of professional development, and the influence of school culture. During the interviews, it became clear that an additional, significant influence, particularly on the development of school culture, was the nature of the community and its relationship with the school. What follows will largely reflect these lines of questioning; the data will be interpreted both vertically and horizontally, as appropriate, to reveal factors of significance both within single institutions and across all locations.

The influence of internal forces on the derivation of meaning varies in significance from one practitioner to another. Some interviewees professed deeply-held convictions that had clearly shaped, and been shaped by, their personal lives, such as growing up in an immigrant family 'in a part of the city that was a melting pot' (District 900/T3/Int.); or, conversely, being bored as a student in a classroom 'where teachers just totally ignored the world outside' (Fairview/T3/Int.). In all schools except those in District 900, several interviewees talked about the positive impact of travel experiences in terms of broadening their horizons and giving them alternative perspectives on the United States; some who had not travelled previously claimed that their work in global education had motivated them to subsequently visit other countries, whilst one teacher felt that she was 'handicapped quite a bit by knowing one language' and by having done 'minimal travel' (Chapelton/T11/Int.). Where practitioners made references to previous professional experience, these often implied that a global perspective (however interpreted) had been a part of their teaching long before they had heard of global education. In assessing the relative impact of personal values and beliefs, it is problematic to suggest that previously held beliefs assisted practitioners in their derivation of meaning; whilst some claim that global education dovetailed with, and even validated, their personal beliefs, an opposing line of influence (of global education on their beliefs) cannot be ruled out. Indeed, there is likely to be a mutual and complementary interaction. Interesting in this regard is the almost total lack of reference to travel experiences among interviewees in District 900, coupled with fairly frequent reference to personal beliefs in the need to reform education to keep pace with global change. Whilst it is possible that District 900 is blessed with an unusual number of practitioners with change-oriented perspectives, it is as likely that their views have been significantly influenced by a global education initiative that is predicated on the transformation of schools, rather than on just learning about other countries and cultures.

Among the external factors cited, frequent reference is made by practitioners at Chapelton, Fairview and in District 900 to the influences of the ASCD and American Forum projects to which their school-based initiatives were affiliated. As will become evident, the impact of these projects has been multidimensional; overall, they are credited with providing an important structure and framework for the schools' work in global education. In the case of Chapelton and Fairview, where global education initiatives were already under way, involvement in the ASCD Project was felt to heighten teachers' awareness of, and foster a greater emphasis on, global education; the Project 'took the programme, that was on a plateau, to new heights' (Fairview/A3/Int.). For District 900, there was the fortunate co-incidence of the District Superintendent hearing Willard Kniep talk about a project whose aims were in harmony with his emerging vision of a reformed and revitalised education system; he had already initiated community consultation around this vision, but becoming part of the Education 2000 Project enabled the District to move ahead 'in a systematic way that I couldn't have done by myself' (District 900/A1/Int.).

One of the benefits of participation in these externally-developed projects, it would seem, has been the provision of a model of global education that could be utilised in the development of school- and district-based initiatives. Charlotte Anderson's curriculum framework for the ASCD pilot schools is generally welcomed as a useful document that provides guidance, yet flexibility:

> It is not a curriculum guide (thank goodness!); it does not purport to be "the" right way to do global education; and it implies a trust in the ability of teacher (*sic*) to do it. (A very good start!) "It is a seed," said Charlotte. (Wonderful. [Name of townspeople] understand planting and gardening.) (Chapelton/Doc., notes on ASCD workshop)

While most interviewees claimed to find the framework useful, especially as a 'checklist', not many could cite - or accurately recount - its four messages, though documents obtained from both schools (as required by ASCD staff) outline how their curricula reflect each message. A few practitioners in each school claimed to not know of the framework, or to not pay much attention to it. The 'Education 2000 Blueprint' (Kniep and Martin-Kniep, 1995, 88), comprising a sequential process of developing a 'shared vision' followed by 'goals', 'desired learning outcomes', 'standards' and 'a framework for curriculum and assessment', has been adopted and followed in District 900. The 'shared vision' - an eye-catching District mission statement that presents a holistic, globally-oriented and community-based view of education - is prominently on display in schools and offices. Few interviewees specifically mentioned this; one admitted to 'oversimplifying' it (District 900/A4/Int.), whilst another thought it was 'really great on paper' but wanted to know: 'how do you do that?' (District 900/T1/Int.). Many more practitioners claimed to be making use of the elements of the Blueprint that were closer to classroom practice, such as 'standards' and 'benchmarks' (part of the curriculum and assessment framework); others talked approvingly of aspects to do with the implementation process of Education 2000, such as the consensus building principle and the provision of research literature in support of the reforms being proposed. Practitioners at Vernon, not connected with an external project, were clearly reliant on their own personal models and frameworks, which tended to reflect previous professional experiences and backgrounds.

Another benefit of project participation, the data suggest, lies in the opportunities for practitioners to engage with the ideas of global education proponents, usually in professional development workshops. About half of those interviewed at Chapelton and Fairview had participated in one or more ASCD workshops for representatives of Pilot Schools; with one exception, all commented favourably on the events and the subsequent impact on their thinking about global education. Documentation obtained from both schools indicates that ideas and activities introduced at the workshops had later been utilised in classrooms and in school-based in-service training. Leading global education proponents had been brought into District 900 by the American Forum to lead workshops on globalisation, curriculum development and authentic assessment. Practitioners' comments on these inputs are overwhelmingly favourable, particularly for one proponent who 'speaks from a grassroots common sense kind of perspective about change' (District 900/T2/Int.) and was 'good at the nitty-gritty of writing (curriculum) units' (District 900/T10/Int.). Some of the leading players in the District's Education 2000 initiative also talk approvingly of the role that the American Forum had played and, in particular, Willard Kniep's contribution as 'a kind of facilitator, but not a dictator (District 900/A1/Int.). Local sources of expertise and support are clearly important in some schools, too. Several Chapelton staff members valued the school's long-standing connection with the education faculty of the local university (which housed some notable global education proponents, whose classes they had attended); the programme at Vernon had also drawn upon the thinking of faculty members at the nearby university in its initial stages. Whilst the lack of a connection to such an institution, due to its rural location, was lamented at Fairview, a local global education proponent (and State representative for ASCD) was highly praised for her support and encouragement to staff. These connections notwithstanding, most practitioners seem to have relied far more heavily on public information sources (especially the news media - television, newspapers, journals), than on specialist global education resources for information pertaining to global education. With the exception of District 900, where nearly all interviewees cited the District's workshops and associated readings as being their principal sources of information about Education 2000 (and, hence, global education), few global education proponents were named as influential sources. Only a few practitioners mentioned using materials from curriculum development agencies such as CTIR and SPICE. Colleagues were also cited frequently as significant sources.

A common thread running throughout the data relates to the significance of ongoing, school-based professional development. Training sessions run by staff who had attended the ASCD workshops were generally well received in both schools, especially at Fairview where evaluations indicate that the sharing of ideas, participation in hands-on activities and working together as a whole staff were particularly valued (Fairview/Docs., 'Workshop Evaluation' x 2, photographs). For many teachers in these schools, the in-service workshops and the expertise of colleagues constitute their principal sources of information on global education. A continual process of updating and sharing ideas through research and in-service sessions is mentioned by several staff at Vernon; sources are more eclectic, including visits to other 'global schools' and collaboration with professional organisations. According to the Director, the Vernon model was replicated by ASCD in proposing a high school global education project, which was not then undertaken (Vernon/A-T1/Int.). A strong staff development programme has been a feature of District 900 since 1978 and is now 'expected' by District teachers (District 900/A1/Int.); documents outline an impressive array of courses offered each year, on completion of which participants receive additional stipends or credits towards salary increments (District 900/Docs., 'Staff Development Opportunities'). Several interviewees felt that the quality of the training provided had played a significant part in the success of Education 2000 to date; one experienced practitioner claimed that some courses were far better than graduate courses she had taken (District 900/T3/Int.), whilst a new teacher professed to be 'so inspired every time I go to a District in-service' (District 900/T12/Int.). These successes notwithstanding, some teachers and administrators in each location suggested the need for further professional development:

> What are the challenges to be overcome? Teacher development. You do that one by one. You don't bring them all in and say: 'tomorrow you're going to teach differently'. You've got to expose them to ideas and, one by one, they start seeing the light, you know, it comes to them. (District 900/A1/Int.)

The data suggest that the quality of school-based professional development is but one significant component of a general school culture that can aid practitioners in their understanding, and successful implementation, of global education. From a teacher's perspective, another important ingredient is support and encouragement from key administrators in the school and/or district. In all locations visited, except one, there was virtual unanimity among teachers in their sense of being supported by relevant administrators; comments in the vein of 'it's easy to be a global educator in this school' were commonplace, sometimes invoking a comparison with other local schools where support was felt to be less likely. Vernon was the exception, due to historical antagonism from colleagues to the establishment of an alternative global education programme as part of the regular high school. 'We've moved all the way from outright hostility to clear apathy' (Vernon/A-T1/Int.), claims the Director; clearly, however, lack of administrative encouragement had been compensated for by strong community support and the impressive commitment and vision of the Director himself. Winner of a national award for promoting peace and international understanding, the Director is universally acclaimed by his colleagues for his many skills, including collecting global information, building support for the programme, getting students involved and being an excellent travel guide. 'Should (he) retire in the next few years', suggested one colleague, 'it'll be a challenge to keep his level of energy, enthusiasm, and so on, going to keep it alive' (Vernon/T3/Int.). Visionary leadership is noted, too, by many interviewees in District 900, where the Superintendent is credited with the initial conception of educational reform that led to participation in the Education 2000 Project and also praised for inspiring teachers to get involved so that the Project would be taken on 'as a grassroots type of movement' (District 900/T7/Int.).

From an administrator's perspective, the quality and commitment of teaching staff was seen to be crucial. In all locations, teachers, in general, were praised for their expertise and their dedication, although the data reveal (as indicated in places above) that active support for the respective global education initiatives is certainly not universal, even among those practitioners selected as interviewees. The data do suggest, however, that a combination of many factors - pertaining to administration, teaching staff, curricula and community relations - create in all locations a general sense of institutions that are different, or alternative to the mainstream. At Chapelton, a spirit of autonomy, the feeling that 'you always could go out on a limb, do what you wanted to in curriculum' (Chapelton/A1/Int.) was reinforced in conversations with other staff, with a student teacher and with a community member who had knowledge of many schools in the region. At Fairview, the alternative identity is created more through the international focus of the curriculum - thought to be very unusual in a rural, homogeneous community - and the degree of co-operation and sharing among staff (a priority of the Principal). The global education programme at Vernon is self-evidently alternative - an optional set of courses that are not only more global in their outlook but also foster good staff-student relationships and create a tightly-knit group of students who are considered 'weird' by some of their peers (Vernon/conversations with students/classroom observations). District 900 has a long-standing reputation for innovation that attracted considerable praise from those practitioners who felt in harmony with its goals and some scepticism from others; marking out the Education 2000 involvement as particularly distinctive is the fact that the District serves a relatively conservative neighbourhood - 'we're a blue-collar, middle-class community that has very high regard for American standards' (District 900/A2/Int.).

Relationships between schools and their communities, the data suggest, are especially significant to the culture of these schools. In the three schools where global education has been an obvious focus for many years (Chapelton, Fairview and Vernon), parental support for the schools and their curricula is frequently recounted. At

Chapelton, much is made of the cosmopolitan make-up of the community, both in terms of providing a culturally and linguistically diverse student body that is unusual for that region, and in creating a rich source of parental expertise on cultural and global matters; most teachers indicated that they made regular use of this expertise in their classrooms. Community involvement and support at Fairview revolves principally around its 'International School' programme, including the annual 'International Night' festival that attracts 600-700 parents and visitors (Fairview/Doc., journal entry) and involves many parent volunteers. According to both staff and parents, the international programme acts as a vehicle for encouraging community participation and an important communication link between home and school. It provides, too, a catalyst for this predominantly white community:

> We want our children to ... grow up appreciating multicultural, with their own particular ethnic background as being a strength for them and not something to regard with suspicion, you know, of the other ethnic groups. And that's only a feeling. That's not a calculated piece of knowledge that you convey. It's only a thing that you get by the people who teach, and families. So that the school acts as a catalytic agent within the community. (Fairview/Community member/Roundtable discussion)

At Vernon, for the reason mentioned above, parental support is not only welcomed but has been vital to the survival of the global education programme; furthermore, opposition from within the school has strengthened the role of the Parent Association, which raises funds for, and participates in, the extra-curricular activities that are integral to the programme (Vernon/Doc., school brochure). Being an optional programme, of course, ensures a high level of support, 'because the parents that aren't keen on global education, their kids aren't in it' (Vernon/T2/Int.).

In contrast with these three school communities, global education does not appear to be established in District 900 as a widely approved focus. Community involvement is certainly a cornerstone of the Education 2000 Project and numerous documents attest to the participation of parents and other community members in its early stages; many interviewees comment that their involvement subsequently tailed off and needs to be revived. Despite assurances from administrators that Education 2000 is what the community wants (District 900/A1/Int.), and that opposition to the Project comes from a small, but vocal group who want 'America first' perspectives (District 900/A2/Int.), other practitioners' perceptions indicate a larger measure of parental unrest. Such opposition was clearly in the minds of administrators right from the start:

> I think we recognised very early on that the use of the terminology 'global education' would not help and could quite possibly be a hindrance to us, in terms of our community. ... When you start talking about global education, it sounds sort of 'doo-doo-doo-doo' (singing), you know, sort of 'out there'. Why label it, when we can't even define it?

> If we can talk about what it is that we're trying to accomplish, rather than put a label to it; and we have enough labels, and most of them don't define very well. Yeah, I think it was a conscious decision - in fact, I know it was. (District 900/A2/Int.)

Community feeling at the time of my visit would seem to attest to the wisdom of that decision: a front-page story in one of the city's leading newspapers reported on parental concern about where Education 2000 is heading; and at a recent public forum to discuss the selection of a new superintendent (due to the retirement of the present incumbent), a 'big criterion ... was somebody who was not going to allow teachers to engage in unsound educational practices' (District 900/T2/Int.). The principal source of antagonism, it would seem, has been around the teaching of values, especially in the context of the relative merits of 'American values' versus those of other cultures. Additionally, practitioners talked of opposition to other Education 2000 initiatives, especially the inclusion policy, authentic assessment and co-operative learning.

Concluding reflections

Based on the foregoing interpretation, some general observations can be made with regard to the significance of various factors to the derivation of meaning, and the relationship of these factors to American practitioners' perceptions of global education. The observations will be stated briefly here and explored further in Chapter 11.

The role of *internal forces* in practitioners' derivation of meaning is not clear. Whilst some interviewees indicated a prior commitment to values and beliefs that are in harmony with those of global education, or had travelled widely and were deeply interested in global issues, others appeared to become aware of and committed to global education through the practice of it. For some, it was global education itself that seemed to kindle their interest in travel and in learning more about the world. The most that can be derived from these data, then, is that there may be an interaction between personal values, beliefs and experiences and the practice of being a global educator, not that one necessarily precedes the other.

With regard to *external factors*, involvement in an external project clearly provided a useful structure, a motivational force and some professional expertise in three out of the four locations. The ASCD and American Forum projects also offered general models or frameworks of global education that many practitioners claimed to be worthwhile, but few actually utilised on a regular basis as part of their thinking; where reference was made to such models by classroom teachers, it was often to those components that dealt directly with classroom practice, rather than to overall goals and philosophy. The latter statements were more likely to be used by planners and administrators. The experience at Vernon, however, illustrates that a school - and even part of a school - can establish and maintain a successful global education initiative without the help of an external agency and, indeed, without the support of the school administration. Other factors appear to have compensated for these lacunae, including the vision and commitment of the programme's Director and a highly supportive community. It should be remembered, too, that the school's structure is different, being the only high school included in the sample.

The ideas and expertise of global education proponents were found to be generally useful, particularly in the framing of an overall vision and in introducing new ideas and practices. However, classroom teachers reacted most favourably to those proponents who could translate theory into relevant practice. Furthermore, the data reveal that most practitioners rely more upon colleagues and on the mainstream news media for ideas and information pertaining to global education than they do upon the expertise of proponents. Key books and articles from the American literature were rarely cited or referred to.

Professional development was one area on which a broad consensus emerged, from both administrators and teachers. The latter's understanding of global education had clearly been enhanced through in-service training, either school-based or from outside courses and conferences; school-based (or district-based) activities were especially appreciated for their additional benefits, such as opportunities to work with colleagues. Administrators in all locations professed a belief in the value of continual staff development, recognising (in some cases) that the development of attitudes and practices conducive to global education took time and patience.

The culture of the school (and school district) had a significant impact, both in terms of fostering the overall global education initiative and, thereby, contributing to the derivation of meaning for the many practitioners whose conceptions of global education were substantially reliant upon school-based experiences. A supportive, facilitative culture was found to exist in all locations, though as noted above, this did not extend to the whole school at Vernon. Key administrators - at programme, school or district levels - would seem to be a critical factor in the establishment of an appropriate culture for global education; other factors included the availability of 'expert' staff, professional development, team work and sharing among colleagues, and community support. These factors combined to create a perception of the school or district as distinctive, when compared to others locally - a perception that was then institutionalised as a prevailing characteristic of the school culture.

A supportive community, especially among parents, can be seen as an enabling and enriching factor in the implementation of global education, though the District 900 experience suggests that active support may not be as essential as active involvement. Furthermore, the degree of support clearly had an impact at the classroom level and is likely, therefore, to be influential in some practitioners' derivation of meaning. Parental support - or, at least, lack of opposition - contributed to teachers' confidence in taking risks and trying new things; whereas antagonism led, in some cases, to more cautious thinking and practice.

In exploring the relationship of these factors - internal and external - to the perceptions of global education outlined earlier in the chapter, three linked observations can be made. The first of these arises from the data collected in District 900 which, it should be remembered, was included in the sample as a potentially 'disconfirming case'. In its construction of policy, and in its policy implementation so far, District 900's initiative does appear to encapsulate a holistic conception of global education and propose a radical transformation of education, relative to other school-based projects in the USA. Some opposition from the community is, therefore, not entirely surprising, particularly in a largely homogeneous, conservative neighbourhood. More surprising, perhaps, is the measure of achievement so far and the continued commitment to a holistic vision. Of particular interest to this study is the fact that, of all the American practitioners interviewed, the characterisations and definitions of global education offered in District 900 tended to be the most holistic, and yet the term 'global education' was rarely used to denote the initiative they were implementing. One hypothesis is readily apparent: that popular connotations of global education, among practitioners, being more closely allied with compartmentalist, curriculum-based models that do not advocate systemic reform, are inappropriate psychological frameworks with which to carry out more holistic educational change. In deciding to ignore the term, therefore, District 900 administrators not only forestalled, to some degree, public anxiety and opposition, but also enabled a more holistic conception of global education to be infused by practitioners under a different - and hitherto meaningless - title. Other factors, in all likelihood, will have also played a part, including the grassroots involvement of practitioners in the development of the project, the extensive professional development and the input of outside expertise, an acknowledgment of the painstaking and long-term nature of change, and the District's decision to incorporate all its reforms under one inclusive project.

A second observation arises from the perceptions of global education offered in all locations, particularly the relative weighting given to knowledge and attitudes. Whilst the more compartmentalist perceptions had higher regard for knowledge acquisition, the underlying goal of global education for most practitioners is largely attitudinal, as confirmed by the characteristics thought to be most necessary for the global teacher. The attitudes may differ, in terms of ideology and views of social and educational reform, but simply having an attitudinal purpose as a *raison d'être* for education may help to partially explain some of the phenomena observed. Parental concern about the teaching of values - any values - could be attributed, and illustrative of a different paradigm of education that believes in the value-free transmission of knowledge. Practitioners' difficulties in explaining or defining global education could also be related; education is typically defined in terms of knowledge (subjects) and skills, not attitudes or values. The sense conveyed of these schools being places where you could 'do things differently' might also be linked to the emphasis on attitudinal development.

Thirdly, if these schools are, for the above and other reasons, perceived to be doing something extraordinary (at least relative to their local context), it would seem logical that the culture of the school has a significant part to play not only in sustaining the global education initiative, but also in practitioners' development of meaning. The school can provide everyday support and nurturing; new ideas and practices can be shared among colleagues; supportive administrators can encourage risk-taking in the classroom; potential problems or opposition can be discussed. It is likely that such a climate and opportunities foster the development of meaning, feeding from and maximising the potential of other internal and external factors. The existence, in each location, of the 'disconfirming cases' serves, however, as a salutary reminder that the culture of the school does not have an equal impact on all of its members.

Chapter 9

Perceptions from Canadian Schools

Schools visited in Canada

The process of selection of relevant schools to visit in Canada, in light of the three criteria outlined in Chapter 2, took one of two routes: either looking for schools that had connections with the CIDA-funded provincial global education projects; or, using my personal knowledge of schools (especially in Ontario), seeking out those that had established reputations as 'global schools'. The mandate of the provincial projects was not, in fact, to create global schools, but to disseminate awareness of and implement global education more broadly among teachers, with the collaboration of school boards and professional associations (GESTED International Inc., 1993). However, the staff of one elementary school in Ontario (Orchard School - see below), having independently begun the process of adopting global education as a whole-school philosophy, then sought out support from the Ontario project. In Newfoundland, it was again the initiative of one school (Briar Cove School - see below) that led eventually to the provincial project adopting the creation of model schools as its principal implementation strategy (McCarty, 1995). Whilst the other three schools selected in Ontario did not have such firm links with the provincial project, several staff from these schools had attended professional development sessions run by the project; additionally, some staff from two of the schools had participated in global education workshops run by David Selby and me, under the auspices of our consultancy contracts with their school boards. A further factor, however, was crucial to the selection of all schools: recommendation by other proponents. In all cases, the schools selected were singled out by relevant personnel (either school board administrators with responsibility for global education, or directors of provincial projects), as being institutions where noteworthy practice in global education was taking place. In most cases, too, the schools are referred to in the literature, and by other practitioners, as exemplars of global education practice.

The first four of the six schools visited are all in Ontario, though they represent diverse communities; three are elementary schools, one is a high school. The latter was chosen for two additional reasons. Firstly, to increase the sample variation by including a secondary school; and secondly, because it appeared to represent something of a 'disconfirming case' (Patton, 1990, 178) in its interpretation of global education, in comparison with predominant practice in Canada. (All data given below are taken from documents provided by the respective schools.)

Donview Elementary School is a Kindergarten to Grade 6 school with a 'French immersion' component - an optional French language programme that runs alongside the mainstream English language curriculum. The school serves approximately 600 students from a diverse community, near the centre of a large city, that includes both relatively affluent families and those receiving government subsidies. Many families are recent immigrants to Canada; some 20% of the school population lists a Chinese language as a first language; a few families are Greek- or Spanish-speaking; about 5% of students are Afro-Canadians, and many children have a mixed race background. Under the previous Principal, global education had become a strong school focus for curriculum and staff development; the new Principal (appointed six months prior to my visit) was attempting to consolidate the many initiatives that staff were undertaking. Eight staff members (27% of the total), including the Principal, were interviewed; the seven teachers were among those considered to be most involved in global education (a further committed teacher completed the Pre-Interview Questionnaire, then went on maternity leave).

Orchard Elementary School is a small, 'open boundary' school (attendance is through parental choice) with a reputation for innovative practice. It serves some 70 students from Kindergarten to Grade 5, of whom a small number are members of ethnic minority groups; the vast majority speak English as their first language. The school is housed in an adapted Victorian 'school house' in a rural location. Following attempts by the local school board to close the school in the early 1970s, active community support has become an integral feature of the school. With the support of parents, and propelled by the commitment of a newly-appointed staff member, global education was adopted as a school-wide focus in 1992, being seen as a logical extension to existing work in environmental education. All four staff members (three full-time, one part-time) were interviewed. As an 'alternative' school, officially coming under the jurisdiction of a larger elementary school nearby, Orchard does not have an on-site Principal; day-to-day administrative functions are carried out by the staff members, with parental assistance.

Richmond Elementary School is a Kindergarten to Grade 6 school for approximately 380 students living in an affluent neighbourhood in the suburbs of a large city. About 30% of the school population has an Asian family background, with 42 different countries being represented by students' mothers. Approximately 10% of students do not speak English as a first language. The school is housed in a modern, open-plan building and is often used by the school board as a 'showcase' school for foreign visitors. The focus on global education is actively promoted by the Principal and supported by a small core group of staff; some members of this core were commissioned by a leading non-governmental organisation to write global education curriculum units for use in elementary schools across Canada. Five staff members were interviewed (24% of the total), including the Principal; the four teachers interviewed were considered by their colleagues to be 'the global education staff'.

Pinewood High School serves approximately 1,300 students, from Grades 10 to OAC (Ontario Academic Credit - university prerequisite qualifications, equivalent to Grade 13) in an affluent outer suburb of a large city. About 60% of the student population has an Asian family background; in all, 65 countries are represented (as indicated by students' birthplace) and 40 languages are spoken. More than half of the students do not speak English as a first language; besides English, the other primary first language is Cantonese. The school has gained a local reputation, within the school board and beyond, for global education from its various programmes that have an international perspective, both curriculum-based and extra-curricular. International links, tours and exchanges are encouraged; the school is pioneering an interdisciplinary course on Japanese language, history and culture, and a course on international business. Of the 20 staff members estimated by the Vice Principal to be involved in some aspect of global education (and invited to participate in the research), 14 (17% of total staff) were interviewed, including the Principal, Vice Principal and the Co-ordinator of Global Programmes.

For the final data collection visits, I decided to look outside Ontario in order to further increase the variation within the sample and to preclude, to some degree, the potential risks to validity of conducting research in only one province (even though Ontario has over 40% of Canadian teachers). Newfoundland seemed an obvious choice, partly on account of its historical, cultural and geographical distinctiveness, partly due to the 'global school' orientation of the provincial Global Education Project, as discussed above. With the assistance of the Project Director, two schools - serving very different communities - were selected.

Briar Cove Integrated School is a Kindergarten to Grade 9 school serving two rural communities with a combined population of 1,000. About 120 students attend the school; in the year prior to my visit, more than 90 Grade 9-12 students had been moved from this school to a separate high school in another community. Declining enrolment is one of the school's major challenges. Very little ethnic, cultural or social diversity exists within the student population. In 1992, the staff decided to embrace global education as a school-wide focus and gained the support of the Provincial project, thus becoming the first 'global school' in Newfoundland. Staff members have since taken leadership roles in the Province and the school's initiative has gained national recognition. Four staff members (33% of the total), including the Principal and Vice Principal, were interviewed; a fifth interview was conducted with a former staff member who had recently been moved to the high school. These staff had all been members of the global education committee from the start of the school's initiative and had remained heavily involved.

Hampton Junior High School serves approximately 460 Grade 7-9 students from a catchment area often described locally as 'inner city', due to its location and to the social and learning problems found among some students. It is a predominantly white, Anglo-Saxon community in origin. Global education is a relatively new focus for the school, being one of the ten schools in the Province chosen in 1994 to become part of the Provincial project; thus, my visit took place soon after the beginning of the school's second year of involvement. The staff, in general, are working on school improvement initiatives to increase student achievement and to counter its local reputation as the 'last resort' school. Eleven staff members (39% of total) were interviewed, including the Principal (newly appointed) and Vice Principal; these represented the vast majority of those deeply involved in global education, except for two teachers who were reported to be 'very shy'.

In the interpretation that follows, references to the data are written according to the coding system explained in Chapter 8. As in the previous chapter, too, data will be interpreted both vertically and horizontally.

School profiles

Vertical interpretations of the data allow the six schools to be located on a compartmentalist to holistic spectrum, in terms of the predominant perceptions of global education held by practitioners in each school. The major difference, in comparison with the American data, lies in the greater similarity of approach found among the profiles of these Canadian schools, which would thus occupy a narrower band of the spectrum located more towards the holistic end. The essence of these similarities will be explored later in the chapter.

Of all the schools, the most compartmentalist approaches can be detected among the perceptions of practitioners at Pinewood (the only high school in the sample, and chosen on account of its potential as a 'disconfirming case'), and observed in the operation of the school. Known locally as a 'global school', and promoted as such by its school board, Pinewood's implementation of global education is principally found in its international connections and its extra-curricular activities. The multicultural make-up of the school community, with an Asian predominance, has provided the impetus for study visits to, or student exchanges with, China, Japan, Korea and Mexico (Docs., 'Global Update', school profile); although not all connections have been successful or continued, they have clearly had an impact on some teachers' perceptions of global education. This is evident especially in a view of global education as necessary preparation for students' involvement in the global economy (particularly economic ties with Asia), a perception that has led to the development of courses in international business and in Japanese culture, language and business practice (A2, T3/Ints.). A wide range of global issues and interests are represented by the student committees and activities found in the extra-curricular programme (Doc., 'Global Update'), which was developed by the school's global education co-ordinator because she felt it likely to encounter less staff resistance than substantial changes to curriculum; she concedes, however, that the programme's impact on the school may be 'fairly minimal' and that far-reaching change 'must come through the curriculum' (T9/Int.). Whilst the data show that global issues are addressed in some courses, these are generally in the humanities or in modern languages; apart from the one interdisciplinary course with a focus on Japan, connections between separate subjects - and their teachers - seem rare:

> I haven't talked to (T5) yet, and I haven't talked to the Japanese business teacher yet. I haven't talked to ... family (studies) and history, for instance ... if they talk about families in different countries, then I can make the link between what I do here. For instance, marketing and the family unit in different countries. But I haven't made those connections yet. (T3/Int.)

Several staff members comment upon the lack of connectedness between the extra-curricular activities, the international links and curriculum development. According to one teacher, the fault lies in the administrators' lack of vision (Tl/Int.); an administrator, whilst acknowledging that more could be done, contends that progress has been made and the interrelationship of the various components is not sufficiently discerned by others (Al/Int.). Despite these indications of prevailing compartmentalism, a few staff conveyed a much more holistic perception of global education, particularly regarding its interface with anti-racist, human rights and development education. Notable among these practitioners were strong values' statements about the need for empathetic understanding of people's suffering worldwide (T8, T10/Ints.), and the role of education in fomenting social change (T5, T9/Ints.). These same staff were also among the minority of interviewees who talked about the importance of student-centred learning processes.

A similar blend of compartmentalist and holistic approaches was evident at Richmond, though as an elementary school and a much smaller institution, the problems of making connections between the various aspects of schooling are perhaps not so great. As in Pinewood, global education's profile is largely oriented around extra-curricular activities and international links, with particular emphasis on the school's multicultural and multilingual population (Doc., 'School Profile Sheet'). 'Without teaching it as a separate curriculum', asserts the Principal, 'we have made the principles of global education centrifugal to the school' (*ibid.*). Certainly, the schools' activities illustrate a range of interesting connections with people and projects in various parts of the world, such as electronic links with a scientific project in Belize, sponsorship of a foster child in the Philippines, and collecting needed items for a troubled Innuit community in northern Canada (Docs. various). The four teachers interviewed espoused a variety of perceptions, from a relatively holistic view of global education as 'ongoing, everyday, living history almost' in which the most important thing is 'changing the value base' (T3/Int.), to another whose examples and illustrations were principally drawn from the natural environment and her work in outdoor education (T1/Int.). The former was implicitly critical of some colleagues who 'do a really good show of making it look like they're doing global things', but 'don't really feel that way' (T3/Int.). Observation in the school, and documentation provided, tends to confirm this view of Richmond as a 'showcase school' (A1/Int.), with global education as one of the prime showcase exhibits. In providing examples of their curriculum implementation, however, all four teachers gave evidence of constructing interdisciplinary units around global issues (including environment, peace and human rights) and some indication of attempting to infuse a global perspective into many different subjects. As other teachers were not willing to be interviewed, it was not possible to assess the extent to which their perceptions of global education are different.

The two Newfoundland schools visited provide a stark contrast to those described above, in terms of the rationale for, and purpose of, global education. Conscious of their geographical isolation, their communities' relative lack of cultural diversity, and their few resources, global education is grasped as a vehicle for promoting necessary connections:

> ' ... to teach a child in isolation is just abusing the child's rights. Newfoundland, more than most places, is going to export many of their young people in order to find meaningful, long-term work. So they'd better be aware of what's out there and how to interact, and be able to adjust to the cultures and ideas of other people. (Briar Cove/T1/Int.)

An additional role for global education, especially at Hampton, is as an aid to the wider pursuit of school improvement. Staff perceptions varied as to the relationship between the two; one leading global education practitioner talked with some exasperation about an administrator who could not see the connection (Hampton/T3/Int.). Some staff, however, particularly those most actively promoting global education, saw it as providing a focus for both curriculum and professional development, thereby bringing together some of the previous initiatives around school improvement. One administrator, who was Chair of the School Improvement Committee, made no pretence of his initial opposition to global education as 'a separate entity' to be inserted into the curriculum; he was only convinced through seeing its potential 'to develop a better learning culture' among staff and students (A-T2/Int.). Most teachers at Hampton characterised global education more from a student-centred perspective, in terms of raising children's awareness of their connections to the wider world and of the global issues that affect everyone; as one teacher put it, 'it's not just my backyard, it's everyone's - what happens in Kurdestan is just as important as what happens in (name of city)' (T6/Int.). For many, too, there existed a strong ameliorative and action-oriented purpose, expressed in such phrases as 'making a difference' (T7, T8/Ints.), 'making the world a better place' (T2/Int.), and the need for students 'to be empowered to change things for the better' (T4/Int.). These underlying values were also evident in many of the special events that had marked the school's first year of involvement in global education, such as collecting school supplies for Eritrea, staging a student conference on the elimination of racism, and building a model 'shanty home' that was eventually put on public display in City Hall and featured on local television (Docs., various). Implementation in the curriculum is principally through a subject-based infusion of a global perspective, particularly in the humanities and modern languages; one teacher bemoaned the fact that staff were still 'working in isolation' despite encouragement to plan units co-operatively (T5/Int.).

A more issues-based curriculum provides the framework for global education at Briar Cove, alongside a year-long, school-wide theme that is the focus of many extra-curricular activities. A variety of global issues have been addressed in the curriculum, including environment, development, peace and human rights. However, the environment has been the predominant focus, perhaps on account of the local issues of concern: fishing, cleaning up the community, and oil production and refining (Docs., various). In considering such issues, a similarly action-oriented and ameliorative approach is reflected in school-wide activities - such as sponsoring a foster child in Chile, naturalising the school grounds, and holding a sponsored 30-hour famine (Doc. 'Global Adventure') - and in the attitudes of most staff. The planet at 'crisis point' is the motivation for one teacher's concern to help students become 'global thinkers' (T3/Int.); another argues that 'population' is the most urgent issue (T2/Int.); whilst the danger of losing Newfoundland's 'fairly clean, pristine environment' (A-T1) is the driving force for a third practitioner. All staff report on the tremendous impact of the global education initiative - especially in its first year - on staff collegiality and on student involvement and attendance. Indeed, the sense of a 'phenomenal' (T3/Int.) start to their initiative - as the pioneering school in the province - and a subsequent diminution of energy, enthusiasm and impact is pervasive. School restructuring and the board's preoccupation with measuring student achievement had more recently diverted attention away from global education (A-T1, A-T2/Ints.); however, the impression of a 'global school' remains strong, from the sign that states as much on the nearby highway, to the posters, banners and charts on global themes around the school and the staff's natural use of the term 'global education' to parents and students, even at Kindergarten level (Obs.).

An impression of a global school at a turning point emerges from interviews with staff at Donview. Many teachers refer to the expansive attitude and enthusiasm for global education of the previous Principal, under whom a host of school-wide and classroom-based initiatives flourished, especially around race and gender equity, conflict resolution and environmental issues. According to one staff member, global education had been well received because its philosophy fitted perfectly with, and it had provided an integrating framework for, initiatives that were already under way (T6/Int.). Whilst the new Principal did not dispute the integrative potential of global education, his perception was that the connections were not being made. He sensed, too, a tendency towards superficiality:

> My observation was, some of it was quite surface. Like, people had bought into a style, but not necessarily embodied it. ... Sometimes if you move quickly enough, you never have to deal with anything - and I had a bit of a sense of that here. So many things had been happening that nobody had really dealt with anything. (A1/Int.)

He, therefore, had established 'a process of consolidating the many implemented programs ... established by the previous administration and refocusing a unified sense of purpose and direction' (Doc. 'School Profile Sheet') - a process that was perceived by a few staff as being less supportive of global education, but was implicitly supported by one teacher who felt that the global education thrust had been 'like having to put a taste of everything into everything you do' (T2/Int.). Certainly, teachers gave many examples of the infusion of global perspectives into thematically-based curriculum units; and the environment of the school exudes a sense of connectedness to the wider world through posters, murals, displays and artefacts celebrating cultures and the natural environment. Several classrooms contain various living species in aquaria; one teacher has creatively utilised a forest of plants, tropical birds, variable lighting and soft music to 'invite kids into the classroom' (T4/Int.). Perceptions of global education, however, vary among the staff and sometimes conflict. Most agree upon the centrality of making connections, among ideas and curriculum subjects, and between children and the world. Beyond that, perceptions range from the view of global education as a profound and radical philosophy that challenges the norms of 'educational materialism' (A1/Int.) to its characterisation as 'just teaching ... in a broader sense, so that you really look at the fact that all over the world the same things are happening' (T1/Int.). Views were mixed, too, on the importance of interactive learning processes and the role of the teacher; also on the role of education in fomenting social change. The teacher who claimed that the implementation of global education was superficial also expressed, in a confidential tone, her extreme disquiet with some of her colleagues' inclinations to keep live animals in captivity in the classroom (T2/Int.).

Philosophical differences are certainly not a feature of the data collected at Orchard, whose small staff evince the most collectively holistic approach to global education of all the schools visited. A strong belief in the importance of global education for promoting social change was expressed by all practitioners and is boldly encapsulated in statements on the school literature:

> GLOBAL EDUCATION FOR CHANGE
> GLOBAL AWARENESS
> GLOBAL COMMITMENT
> GLOBAL ACTION
> (Doc., school brochure)

Teaching children how to become 'crap detectors' was how one teacher summed up her approach (T2/Doc. Pre-Interview Questionnaire). Not only did these staff espouse such views from a professional standpoint, they also expressed them as personal convictions. Indeed, the notion that 'you can't teach all these things without it having an impact on your own life' (T1/Int.) was commonly held. Thus, a clear connection can be seen between the personal interests and beliefs of the staff - particularly around issues relating to women, indigenous cultures and the environment - and the culture and curriculum of the school. The all-female staff, including one Native American, have created a culture that can be characterised as caring, familial and non-hierarchal: teachers are addressed by their first names, students can freely use the staff kitchen (which also doubles as the staffroom), parents help out daily with teaching and administrative tasks (Obs.). Integrated, cross-curricular units have been developed on issues such as 'War and Peace' (including the themes of 'power', 'social justice' and 'food distribution'), 'Strong Women', and 'Trees' (including indigenous perspectives and examples of social activism around deforestation) (Docs. 'Global Education Binders'). Special days observed through whole-school activities include International Peace Day, World Food Day, Human Rights Day and Earth Day; a 'Peacemakers Program' is in operation to encourage students to mediate in peer conflicts; a wildlife garden has been established and 'litterless lunches' are the norm (Docs., various). In addition to change-oriented perspectives, interviews and documentation revealed a profound belief in the interconnectedness of global issues: 'every issue we look at is like an onion, and you kind of have to peel back the layers' (T3/Int.). 'Connectedness' was a common thread running through all the definitions of global education offered by interviewees, except for one, who refused to define it. Instead, she talked about the centrality of values in education and offered the story of the Cree in the Montreal courtroom that is cited at the end of Chapter 2 (T2/Int.).

Some connecting themes

As stated earlier, the Canadian schools visited would occupy a narrower range on a compartmentalist to holistic spectrum than those studied in the USA; however, in comparison there would seem to be a greater variety of perceptions of global education revealed *within* many of the Canadian schools, thus making it more problematic to draw out common themes. Four related themes do emerge from the data and can be categorised under the following headings: worldview, curriculum focus, ideology and school reform.

With regard to the predominant worldviews of global education practitioners, a common feature is found in the person-planet connections that are frequently described in a variety of guises. The following definitions of global education are typical of such descriptions:

> I just see it as teaching people an awareness of their connection to the rest of the world, in terms of people, culture, land, history. And so they have a greater understanding of who they are and everybody else in the world. (Pinewood/T1/Int.)
>
> You are talking about issues that connect the child to something that is happening in the world. ... And you have to have the child there, you can't just have an issue. You have to have the child, and bring it home to the child. ((Hampton/T3/Int.)
>
> Looking at yourself as a member of a world that is becoming more closely related through communication and through travel, and realising that, in many ways, you are connected to the rest of the world, the natural world, the people on the other side of the world; and what we do, the way you live your life, has an impact on the world. (Orchard/T1/Int.)

The pertinent point, in terms of practitioners' worldviews, is the conceptualisation of the direct link between the person (child) and the global system. The compartmentalist image of the world as a set of billiard balls, in which separate countries and cultures form the key constructs, has been replaced by a mental picture that is built up of diverse and multiple person-planet connections that transcend - or ignore - the boundaries of nations and cultural groupings. Some practitioners argue that, largely due to the impact of telecommunications, this is a *realistic* view of the contemporary world; therefore, an education based upon this view is more *relevant* to students. Whatever the argument, the impact is to downplay the significance of the nation state - and, to a lesser degree, of culture - in practitioners' conceptualisations of global education and to give a higher profile to interpersonal connections and global systems. The Canadian data is very revealing on this point. With the exception of a few teachers at Pinewood who argue that global education is necessary to boost Canada's competitiveness in the global economy, definitions of, and rationales for, global education rarely make reference to Canada; rather, they are couched in planet-conscious terms. Even in Newfoundland, where isolation from the rest of Canada is deeply felt, the predominant rationales speak of the common needs of humanity, not of national or provincial identity. The ramifications of this prevailing worldview among Canadian practitioners are far-reaching, as will be discussed below.

One obvious ramification is a common focus on global issues, rather than on countries and cultures, as organising ideas for curriculum development and implementation. At all grade levels, the issues that recur throughout the data are the environment, human rights (sometimes specifically related to discrimination on the grounds of gender, race or sexuality), peace and conflict resolution, and development (usually through a narrower focus, such as hunger, population or poverty). In many cases, particularly at elementary level, these issues are explored in integrated curriculum units that touch on many subject areas; for example, a 'Forests' unit at Donview brings in botanical, ecological, economic, geographical and futures perspectives (Donview/T7/Int.). At the junior high and high school grades, some interdisciplinary approaches were noted (such as a 'World Issues' course at Pinewood) but the more usual process of implementation is through specific disciplines that are seen to be allied to the issue. For example, racial discrimination is tackled in English courses at Pinewood and Hampton; population and birth control are discussed in geography classes at Pinewood. Many of the whole-school activities and the extra-curricular programmes are similarly organised around global issues: 'International Days' or 'Weeks' - on food, development, women, human rights, elimination of racism - are popular vehicles for launching school-wide, issues-based activities; environmental conservation and improvement, in particular, is the goal of many extra-curricular initiatives. However, the implementation of global education in these schools is not totally issue-based. Cultural festivals are celebrated in the schools with multicultural populations; foreign language courses tend to focus on cultural aspects of countries whose native language is being studied; and some courses at Pinewood are specifically designed to focus on one country or region. The tendency, though, is to use country-specific examples or case studies as a means to illustrate more universal ideas and experiences:

> I love literature and I've always tried to expose kids to as much different types of literature ... It doesn't necessarily have to be an author from another culture, but just a lot of literature about people's differences, people's struggles, people problem-solving, people ... in general. ... I often try to allow the cultures to come out just naturally. ... But it's not imposed, it's there. (Donview/T2/Int.)

The strategy of allowing 'cultures to come out just naturally' would seem to be in harmony with the worldview described above. The starting points for making connections are people and their common experiences, ideas or problems; the identification of people in terms of cultures and nations is seen to be of secondary significance.

Allied to a planet-conscious worldview and an issues-based approach are goals for global education that are ameliorative and change-oriented. The adoption of universal themes and issues, when viewed on a global scale, leads - perhaps inevitably - to the portrayal of differences between people, societies and environments that are based not so much on cultural distinctiveness as on inequalities, injustices and adversity. As one teacher asked, rhetorically, in connection with teaching about AIDS: 'How can I not? - It's a major issue' (Richmond/T3/Int.). In dealing with such situations, most practitioners implied, or explicitly stated, a belief that global education contributed to making the world a better place. For some, this was hoped for through simply raising students' awareness of others' misfortunes; for others, changing the global *status quo* is a crucial educational outcome:

> My interpretation of global education is ... if it's global education, or if it's identified as environmental education, or if it's identified as critical theory, I mean, all of the different theoretical frameworks that you use, I guess the bottom line is that I teach for change. (Orchard/T2/Int.)

Whilst not many practitioners are as explicit in their ideology, the desired relationship between personal action and social or planetary improvement is a common thrust, as in this written definition of a global perspective:

> It is a view that will require students to have a knowledge of and a respect for all living organisms and the environments which they inhabit, a sense of responsibility for the needs of all, and a commitment to finding just and peaceful resolutions for local to global issues. (Richmond/A1/Doc., newspaper article)

Within both of these quotations, though they might be placed at different points on an ideological spectrum, can be seen beliefs in the role of education in contributing to change; furthermore, the beliefs are imbued with the idea that *personal* decisions and actions are significant factors in *global* change. It is a model of change that harmonises well with a planet-conscious worldview.

The role of global education in fostering change at the school level can also be detected from these data. It is most obvious in the two Newfoundland schools, where global education has been introduced as part of wider school improvement measures; at Briar Cove, its success is gauged partially in terms of levels of student attendance, which rose to the highest in the school district in the first year of their global education initiative (Briar Cove/Docs., various). The adoption of global education for school improvement purposes is recorded, too, in the data from Donview, where, when the previous Principal was appointed, the school was 'just dying for anything' to bring the staff together (Donview/A1/Int.). Although not so consciously expressed as school improvement in the other Ontario locations, global education is perceived by some practitioners - particularly those in administrative or co-ordinating roles - as a vehicle for synthesising hitherto separate initiatives so that they contribute to an overall climate of positive influence:

> If ... between the special events, the exchange program, the units that we've infused into certain parts of the curriculum, the multicultural and anti-racist stuff that's out there, if we can create a climate in this school that it's really impossible for a kid to get through this school without being influenced by some of those positive examples of what a whole global perspective is all about, we'll have been very successful. (Pinewood/A1/Int.)

Thus, in all the schools visited, global education is viewed as having an actual or potential influence that extends far beyond curriculum reform; it provides a framework for whole school development. It should be remembered, however, that a few practitioners (in three of the schools in Ontario) were somewhat sceptical of the claims made by their colleagues and their schools with regard to the real impact of global education, beyond just putting on a good show.

In light of the broad consensus noted in the American data around the characteristics of a global teacher, it is worth looking briefly at the corresponding data from Canadian practitioners, to see if a similar convergence of views exists. Overall, whilst the degree of consensus is less marked, a majority of practitioners agree on certain characteristics, most notably around the concept of 'openmindedness' - both in terms of a tolerance or acceptance of a range of perspectives and opinions on global issues, and also of a willingness to adapt, to try out new approaches in the classroom and accept a degree of ambiguity or uncertainty. Not all interviewees regarded this as of primary importance; for a few practitioners in each school (and most at Orchard), the notion of a caring, compassionate person was uppermost in their characterisations, often allied to the belief that global teachers should 'practise what they preach'. Interestingly, in both of the Newfoundland schools, a majority of staff cited aspects of 'global awareness' as important, though direct experience of the world through travel was not seen to be necessary. Only a few teachers in the other schools mentioned these aspects, perhaps reflective of the demographic differences between cosmopolitan Ontario (at least in the urban areas), where global connections are readily visible in schools and communities, and relatively homogeneous Newfoundland, where insularity is seen to be a key challenge for global education to overcome. The concept of 'teacher as facilitator' - a non-authoritarian figure who is prepared to devolve power to students, to admit mistakes and maintain a desire to learn - is also prevalent among some practitioners in all of the schools.

A final point worthy of note when making comparisons with the American data is that, in all schools except Briar Cove, some practitioners expressed concerns about the problematic nature of defining global education. Its diffuseness is seen as a major problem for some:

> 'I don't know that I can respond in a few sentences. I mean, I could probably write a paper on it' (Pinewood/T5/Int.);

whilst uncertainty was clearly etched in the responses of others:

> Gee, I hope any of those words do have something to do with global ... (laughter). (Donview/T4/Int.)

Perhaps the most intriguing response came from a practitioner who clearly expressed on the Pre-Interview Questionnaire his dislike of the label that was being attached to a 'process' of which he had always been 'cognizant'. His discomfort with the term was very apparent through his body language during the interview, though he claimed that 'it doesn't bother me *in any way at all that, you know, suddenly* somebody has put a name on this process' (Hampton/A-T2/Int.). Later, he revealed his true concern:

> One has to be careful in how you introduce global education (to parents). You know, how much is sort of the bohemian perspective of 'save the rainforest', you know ... is going to leave a bohemian perception, if you like, you know: 'this is an artsy-fartsy kind of thing and I don't want my kid bothered with that, I want him learning mathematics'. (*ibid.*)

In hypothesising such parental concern, it would appear he is expressing his own discomfort with some of the issues-based content of global education, as distinct from its potential to develop a better learning culture, which he enthusiastically embraced.

Practitioners' derivation of meaning

Interpretation of the data with a view to assessing the significance of *internal forces* on practitioners' derivation of meaning gives rise to some interesting parallels between personal experiences and explicit values' statements. Whilst many interviewees did not recount personal experiences, beyond those directly related to their daily professional practice, of those who did, most continue to reveal perceptions of global education that are passionately held or exhibit a depth of commitment that is rarely found among their colleagues. The nature of the personal experiences varies. Experience of other countries and cultures was significant for some, including living and studying in East Africa (Pinewood/T9/Int.), frequent travel to Cuba (Pinewood/T10/Int.) and, in the case of one Newfoundland teacher, 'just going to the other side of Canada' (Briar Cove/T2/Int.). Childhood experiences were recalled by others, such as being a member of an immigrant group (Pinewood/T8/Int), or being a 'dismal student' who 'failed Grade 4' (Donview/A1/Int.). At Orchard, the influences of motherhood and participation in women's discussion groups are cited by most staff. Two staff at Hampton recall school-based incidents that had a lasting impact: when teaching near a holding centre for refugees at Gander airfield, one practitioner arranged for seventy-five refugees to come into school, a few to each class. The experience was 'wonderful ... just that one day changed a lot of values - and I had been trying to change them for years' (Hampton/T3/Int.). The administrator cited above, who found the global education label problematic, recalled an incident that had a tremendous impact upon him as a young teacher. In 1969, he was teaching on a remote island off Labrador, where newspapers arrived by mail plane every ten days, weather permitting.

> I remember siting on the woodpile having a smoke, speaking to one of the older boys in the boarding house I was in, and it was a full moon, a beautiful night; and I said: 'You know, the Americans are successful, there are men walking on the moon tonight'. Well, I became the laughing stock. It was an absolute impossibility, something they could not fathom in a community that couldn't fathom refrigeration or vacuum cleaners. (Hampton/A-T2/Int.)

The data show that some of these personal experiences influence subsequent professional attitudes and behaviour directly, such as the teacher from an immigrant background who got involved in global education 'to eradicate racism' (Pinewood/T8/Pre-Interview Questionnaire); and the former 'dismal student' who regards failing Grade 4 as 'one of my biggest qualifications for the job' (Donview/A1/Int) because of the understanding he now has of learning processes and the need for holistic education. In other cases, the link between cause and effect is not so obvious or direct. What is telling, however, is the depth of belief in global education (as they choose to define it) that all of these practitioners illustrate in their interview responses. For them, their profession takes on a vocational aura that many of their colleagues do not exhibit. One notable example is worthy of further comment: the only teacher at Richmond who adopts a similar position of personal conviction claims to have been 'horrified at how isolated I was' and lacking in global awareness right up to the point when she was sent on a series of global education workshops in her second year of teaching (Richmond/T3/Int.). Such an example should serve as a reminder that the 'trigger points' of personal engagement are many and varied.

In assessing the significance of *external factors* in practitioners' development of meaning, the data suggest that the ideas of global education proponents are relatively low in importance, save where the proponents are available as sources of local expertise. In the two Newfoundland schools, successive Directors of the provincial global education project are cited as being influential, as is a professor at the local university who runs a graduate course in global education. Many practitioners at Donview and Richmond refer to the work of David Selby and me, either our publications and/or the workshops that were available to staff in both schools. (We had run a two-day workshop for the whole staff at Donview; additionally, a few staff members had participated in our series of three two-day workshops financed by the school board. Four out of the five interviewees at Richmond had participated in a similar workshop series, staged by their school board.) Among the range of proponents cited by staff at Orchard, many are locally based, either in the school board or attached to the provincial global education project. Whilst such local expertise is claimed by some practitioners to have had an impact, many more cite other key influences on their development of meaning in global education. Colleagues are significant sources of ideas and support, especially for those who have not participated in professional development around global education; at Hampton, many staff refer with appreciation to the articles and teaching resources distributed by the school's Global Education Committee. Print materials of various kinds are cited by many practitioners. These include: teaching materials on global education and global issues produced by non-governmental organisations, such as Oxfam and UNICEF, and by global education projects in Canada; professional journals (notably *Green Teacher*); specialty journals on global issues (for example, *New Internationalist*); and the mass media (including the Internet). An interesting, though not surprising, corollary emerges from the data with regard to the types of information sources cited and the perceptions of global education espoused. Those schools and practitioners tending towards a holistic view of global education use predominantly specialty or non-mainstream books and journals as their principal sources of information, whilst those adopting more compartmentalist approaches rely much more on mainstream media, including newspapers, television and news magazines. One further point with regard to resources is worthy of comment. Whilst perceptions of the availability of desired resources for global education varied sharply among the schools (two schools, Briar Cove and Orchard had benefited from resource grants from, respectively, the provincial project and the school board), a lack of time to utilise information and prepare classroom materials was widely reported. For more than one teacher, lack of 'time to think' was seen to be a major impediment to educational reform:

> I think that sometimes you just get totally taken up with the turmoil of the day and the hectic pace. You have to survive ... you've fifty-six minutes of hormone-driven adolescents in front of you ... you've got to be on top of everything all the time, so you're under the gun all the time, to perform. (Hampton/T4/Int.)

Other practitioners suggested that global education, especially, suffers because additional time is essential to enable teachers to work together, to integrate subjects and to develop appropriate resources.

A further indication of the relative lack of significance of proponents' ideas on practitioners' development of meaning can be found in the data on the use of conceptual models. In the two schools, Donview and Richmond, where virtually all interviewees had attended some workshops run by David Selby and me (and cite us as being among their principal sources of information on global education), only one practitioner (out of thirteen) made any reference to our four-dimensional conceptual model around which the workshops had been based; another claimed to refer to our publication, *Global Teacher, Global Learner*, to check out 'a lot of the precepts', but felt she didn't really have 'a good conceptual model' (Richmond/T3/Int.). The remainder conceded that they had no specific model or framework; 'it just happens, I think - it's kind of infiltrated into my way of thinking' (Donview/T5/Int.) was a common response, though a few practitioners stated that they would like to have a model that they could draw upon. Where specific references are made to the influence of Pike and Selby, these tend to recall the classroom activities that were demonstrated during the workshops. In the other four schools, statements concerning the use of conceptual models follow a similar pattern: practitioners generally utilise their own mental frameworks in their thinking about and implementation of global education, sometimes incorporating elements from curriculum guidelines or other rubrics, but more often just drawing from their own perceptions and understanding and seeking out appropriate opportunities to infuse ensuing ideas into their teaching programmes. Even the practitioner with the most detailed theoretical knowledge of global education, based on years of reading and graduate study, admits to constructing her own model:

> The models I've read about, I don't apply them strictly to what I'm doing. I just kind of take from what I want ...
> There's a lot of theory that guides my work, but I think once the theory is brought down to a model, then, for me, I don't fit in to the model. (Orchard/T2/Int.)

Within this quotation are some inferences concerning practitioners' use of proponents' theories and models that merit further exploration in Chapter 10.

The significance of the culture of the school on practitioners' development of meaning is more than hinted at by the simple fact that the vast majority of those interviewed first heard about, or first encountered, global education whilst at their present school. The six schools visited vary enormously in character, size and location; related to these, and to other factors, are distinctive patterns of school culture that are likely to have had an impact on practitioners' development of meaning. A good indication of those patterns can be discerned by exploring the degree of cohesiveness in each school: the extent to which the schools exhibit signs of being consensual and supportive communities. In the two schools, Orchard and Briar Cove, where the support for global education, from both within and outside school, is seen by practitioners to be comprehensive, genuine and consistent, levels of collegiality and personal satisfaction with the global education initiative appear to be highest. Staff talk warmly of 'the really phenomenal support' of colleagues (Orchard/T4/Int.) and of how the school became 'a model ... of how we'd like our community to be' (Briar Cove/T1/Int.) Size and location may be significant factors here - these two schools are both small and serve rural communities. The relative lack of cohesiveness in the other schools would seem to be related to tensions and greater inconsistencies of attitude among practitioners and their communities. At Pinewood and Richmond (located in the same school board), the support of both administrators and board personnel is acknowledged by many teachers, but with varying degrees of equivocation. Although global education is one of the board's five 'priority areas' (Pinewood/A2,T5/Ints.), many staff implied that the rhetoric was a lot more impressive than the reality. Criticisms included the view that, although it liked to be seen to be at the cutting edge, the board wanted a safe, non-controversial image for global education 'as preparing kids to be more competitive with their counterparts in different parts of the world' (Pinewood/T9/Int.); and that global education was just one of the many initiatives the board promoted that lacked co-ordination and direction. Similarly, some teachers (particularly at Pinewood) criticised their administrators for their conservatism and lack of active promotion; for their part, administrators (and some teachers) felt that resistance from colleagues was inhibiting the wider spread of global education among the respective staffs. Interviewees in both schools gave the clear impression, occasionally supported by explicit statements, that their interest in global education was not shared by the rest of their colleagues, although an administrator at Pinewood claimed that thirty-five teachers (nearly 40% of staff) have an interest (Pinewood/A2/Int.). To a lesser degree, a lack of cohesiveness among staff was also noted at Donview and Hampton. Most interviewees at Donview felt that it was easy to be a global educator in that school due to the degree of awareness among staff and the support of the administration (especially of the previous Principal, whose contribution was highly praised). However, as noted earlier in this chapter, the new Principal was concerned about the superficiality of some of the staff's many initiatives, and one teacher was adamant that there had been little impact 'in a whole school sense' (Donview/T2/Int.). Certainly, my visit to the school did not leave me with an impression of a staff unified in its approach to, or enthusiasm for, global education; a lack of collegiality was highlighted by my observation of an extraordinary verbal encounter between two of my interviewees, in the presence of a class of students, that showed a marked lack of sensitivity, respect and tolerance (Donview/Obs.). At Hampton, support for the global education initiative - from administrators, the school board and the provincial global education project - is not in doubt; particular praise is reserved for the learning resource teacher who, combining her library and research skills with a strong belief in global education, has provided leadership and practical assistance in the production of new resources. Opinions are more varied with respect to the degree of enthusiasm for global education among the staff. Although the vote to become a global school was 'unanimous' (Hampton/Doc., 'Global Education Report 1994-5'), one key practitioner suggested that the staff 'didn't have a clue what they were getting into ... it just sounded good' (Hampton/T3/Int.). Some interviewees felt that the initiative had been well accepted and implemented in its first year; others expressed reservations, commenting that some of their colleagues lacked enthusiasm for new ideas and did not want to devote the extra time required to make it a success. In evaluating such comments, the relative newness of global education to this school should be borne in mind.

Another factor contributing to patterns of school culture, and to practitioners' development of meaning, concerns the provision of professional development in global education. Staff in four of the six schools had been involved in school-based professional development, either facilitated by outside agencies such as school board consultants and project personnel, or run by colleagues who were disseminating ideas and practices that had been gathered from workshops, conferences or courses elsewhere. The vast majority of interviewees expressed their appreciation of these development opportunities, including those who received information 'second hand' from their colleagues. In fact, the benefits of this school-based development appear to be twofold: the acquisition by individual practitioners of useful information and practical ideas, and also the opportunities for the promotion of collegiality and a shared vision around global education. As an external report on the early stages of the initiative at Briar Cove comments:

> This study indicates that the model global school project at (Briar Cove) had an important side-benefit in terms of staff development. Global education became something of a rallying cry in that teachers had to work co-operatively on a number of additional projects towards a common cause. This increased interaction among all teachers led to greater appreciation for the abilities and talents of their peers. In the words of a teacher, 'When you do get a pat on the back from somebody

> that you're working with, it means a lot'. (Briar Cove/Doc., evaluation report)

As suggested earlier in this chapter, degrees of collegiality and consensus vary among these schools and are obviously influenced by factors other than professional development. It is interesting to note, however, that in the school (Richmond) where the practitioners' in-service training was not school based, a sense of collegiality exists among the four 'global educators' but they are perceived by other colleagues as being the experts and somewhat elitist (Richmond/ A1, T3/Ints.). It is perhaps not surprising, either, to discover that in the school (Pinewood) where very few of the interviewees had participated in any professional development around global education, the range of perceptions and definitions offered by practitioners is the broadest.

The patterns of school culture outlined above are found to generally correlate with the degree of support and interest from the schools' respective communities. Orchard and Briar Cove, the small rural schools, attract the most committed and knowledgeable support from parents, though in the case of the latter, some staff admitted that support for global education (a term well known in the community) was not necessarily any stronger than it would be for the school's activities in general. Parents occupy a special niche at Orchard, due to its existence as an 'open boundary' school and to the fact that parental activism over many years has kept the school open. They are also deeply involved in shaping the school's curriculum and philosophy, as well as in the everyday programme of the school (Orchard/Docs., various/Obs.). Similarly informed support comes from a small, but very influential section of Donview's community comprised of people 'who are somewhat left of centre in terms of their politics and their orientation' (Donview/A1/Int.); several teachers acknowledged this support for global education though, as one recognised following some community workshops, the same parents tend to come out to anything offered by the school (Donview/T6/Int.). At Hampton, high attendance at recent parents' evenings is applauded by several teachers; however, many staff were unsure as to whether parents approved of global education *per se*, or even had much awareness of it, even though letters about the global school initiative had been sent home. The general feeling seemed to be that the sort of parents who got involved in school events would probably be supportive. All four teachers interviewed at Richmond also expressed considerable uncertainty in respect of parental approval for global education, even though the Principal maintained that the community was very supportive and liked to get involved in extra-curricula activities. One teacher suggested otherwise, reporting that those parents who had attended a community workshop on global education 'didn't express their interest ... it didn't catch fire'; she had also received negative comments from parents expressing their discomfort around some of the 'issues' that were being discussed with their children (Richmond/T3/Int.). A general lack of any contact with parents is the outstanding feature of teachers' responses at Pinewood (the only high school in the sample). Whilst some interviewees were quite happy with this situation, others decried the absence 'of a sense of community' (Pinewood/T9/Int.). With respect to global education, many teachers guessed that there would be little resistance, but that other concerns were of higher priority for parents:

> When it comes down to the bottom line, they want (their children) to get the marks to get into that university, to get that job. And that's prime. All this other stuff is peripheral. ... So therefore you wonder if all this expenditure of time and energy is really worth it because there doesn't seem to be a lot of positive feedback from the community. (Pinewood/T5/Int.)

Paradoxically, Pinewood's community would appear to be the most cosmopolitan and the most internationally-minded of all of the schools studied. According to the Principal, the fact that many students have already acquired international experience, and are multilingual, renders a global education programme unnecessary in the eyes of their parents (Pinewood/A1/Int.). Within this statement is a further indication of a compartmentalist perception of global education at Pinewood.

Concluding reflections

Earlier in this chapter, it was suggested that vertical interpretations of the data allowed the six schools to be placed on a compartmentalist to holistic spectrum, according to the perceptions of global education generally held by practitioners in each school. Accordingly, Pinewood was located towards the compartmentalist end, followed in rough order by Richmond, Hampton, Briar Cove, Donview and Orchard, which was positioned close to the holistic end of the spectrum. As later interpretation revealed, such institutional placement masks the wide range of individual perceptions to be found in many schools, suggesting that a more sophisticated process of classification is necessary when exploring the relationship between perception and the derivation of meaning. Additional insights can be obtained by constructing both personal and institutional spectra and then looking at the factors that appear significant to both individuals and schools located towards either end.

On a personal spectrum of compartmentalist to holistic perceptions of global education, individual practitioners in each of five out of the six schools would be scattered at diverse points; only those at Orchard, where relative homogeneity of perception was found, would be clustered together. In comparing those individuals occupying positions of maximum variation (*i.e.* towards either end of the spectrum), some interesting differences emerge from the data with regard to the general significance of various factors to these practitioners' derivation of meaning. Practitioners located towards the compartmentalist end tend to view global education as a subject-based infusion into the established curriculum, or an extra-curricular special event, that explores global issues through highlighting international connections between their students and the wider world; their rationale for global education is often couched in terms of developing the awareness and skills students need for employment in the global economy. It is a view that is often uncritical of the global *status quo*, and does not explicitly advocate a social change role for education (though an ameliorative function for global education may be implied). In the shaping of such perceptions, it would seem that knowledge of global issues and systems is acquired principally from the mainstream media, both print and audio-visual; the ideas, models and publications of global education proponents are rarely known or utilised (perhaps due, in part, to the fact that most of these practitioners had received little or no professional development in global education); and there is little sharing of relevant ideas and materials with colleagues, or co-ordination of lessons and units that have potential connections. Perhaps of greatest interest, such practitioners rarely offered personal insights in the course of their interviews, or talked about values and personal beliefs, either in respect of global education or education in general. Whilst acknowledging that many factors may have contributed to this lack of personal disclosure, the impression given was one of a values-shy perception of global education, supported in some cases by practitioners' own admissions of caution when handling controversial issues.

By contrast, practitioners located towards the holistic end of the spectrum relate global education to personal and community life, not just to schooling. Congruence between professional rhetoric and personal action is seen to be important, as is harmony between the messages of the global education curriculum and the culture of the school. The rationale for global education is couched in terms of the pressing needs of the planet and its people; it is founded on a belief that education has an important role to play in fomenting social change, and that personal actions and decisions can lead to an amelioration of the global condition. Such practitioners favour thematically-based, cross-disciplinary curriculum units that explore links between global issues and the personal lives of students. These perceptions of global education, it would seem, are significantly influenced by profound personal experiences; or, at least, such practitioners share a belief that personal experiences are highly relevant to their ideas about global education and, therefore, wish to recount them during interviews. Whilst the ideas and conceptual models of global education proponents are rarely utilised in day-to-day practice, these practitioners claim to have been influenced by professional development and/or personal reading in global education; they also tend to make use of other literature and resources that are not part of the mainstream media. Collegial sharing of ideas and experiences is seen as important, both for the dissemination of information and the development of a collaborative work ethic.

Of course, even at the farthest points on the spectrum, any one practitioner may not fit exactly the characterisation outlined above. Personal beliefs and actions are not always entirely congruent. As one interviewee, who would be positioned towards the holistic end, admitted, 'it's a constant struggle' to harmonise contemporary lifestyles with planet-conscious ideals (Orchard/T2/Int.). The data infer, however, that the collective impact of these personal perceptions is a significant contributor to the school's relative position on an institutional spectrum; for example, the majority of Orchard's staff convey a holistic perception of global education, whereas only 5-10% of the whole staff at both Pinewood and Richmond would seem to fall into that category (assuming that I had interviewed all or the vast majority of the global education practitioners in each school). To what extent the practitioners' perceptions shape the school's approach, and *vice versa*, is open to question. What is clearer is that other factors - beyond the collective impact of practitioners' perceptions - contribute to a school's position on an institutional spectrum. Schools towards the holistic end, in comparison with those exhibiting compartmentalist approaches, have a more consciously planned framework for whole school development around global education; they exhibit a more cohesive culture, in which collegial sharing and collaboration are commonplace; they also enjoy the support of a more committed and knowledgeable community that facilitates positive school-community relations and partnerships. As suggested previously, size and location may also be contributory factors though, on the latter point, it is interesting to note that two of the three schools located in cosmopolitan, globally-minded communities are relatively compartmentalist in their approach. In making these general observations about schools, the very limited size of the sample must be acknowledged, even though the data to support the observations are fairly consistent. Their validity in terms of reaching conclusions about practitioners' development of meaning will be explored in the next Section.

Section Four

Summary Observations

Introduction

The overall aim of this final section is to pull together the various strands of interpretation and argument that have run through this study, in order to arrive at valid and defensible observations concerning the three questions that, in the course of the research, have emerged as critical:

1. What are the predominant perceptions of global education in the three countries, as evident in the literatures and from the field?
2. What is the relationship between the visions of proponents and the perceptions of practitioners?
3. What are the significant factors in practitioners' derivation of meaning in global education?

Observations around questions one and two will be discussed in Chapter 10, firstly through a comparison of the perceptions of global education emanating from the field in all three countries, and secondly, through exploring the relationship in each country of the visions propounded in the literature to the perceptions present in the field. In addition to highlighting the nature of this relationship, such observations are intended to provide some insights into the extent to which national distinctiveness is apparent in global education, at both theoretical and practical levels.

Building on these insights, Chapter 11 will offer observations on the range of factors that appear to contribute to the development of meaning in global education, principally related to the empirical data obtained in Canada and the USA. In so doing, reference will be made to the growing body of literature on teachers' thinking, particularly with respect to the impact of cultural systems on practitioners' reflection and action. Through these observations, it is intended to illustrate the influences of the various cultures that teachers inhabit and, thereby, to build up a picture of the multiple forces that are likely to shape the perception and practice of global education in any country. Reference will also be made to other global education research literature, principally from the USA, with a view to assessing the extent to which my data corroborate the findings of similar studies.

Chapter 10

Views of Global Education: a Comparative Analysis

Part One: Perceptions from the field

Some common strands

In reviewing and comparing the perceptions of practitioners in Canada, the UK and the USA, it is important to recall the contexts in which data were collected at each stage of the research. In Stage One, the 'information-rich' cases to be interviewed were selected in the UK on the basis of their voluntary participation, outside school hours, in a substantial in-service training experience built largely around one model (the Pike/Selby four-dimensional model) of global education. For Stage Two, 'intensity sampling' provided the logic for seeking out American and Canadian schools where significant or noteworthy practice was exemplified; a variety of models of global education are represented among these schools, and not all interviewees would have volunteered, necessarily, to become involved in global education without their school's prior commitment. Thus, significant differences exist between the Stage One *(British)* and Stage Two (American and Canadian) samples that need to be borne in mind when making cross-national comparisons of practitioners' perceptions; ensuing problems for comparative analysis will be noted in the text. However, as all of the samples satisfy the general criterion of being 'information rich' in the context of their respective countries, comparisons are valid in terms of making general observations about some prevailing (but not representative) perceptions of global education practitioners.

Data from the three countries reveal some common strands of thought and experience among global education practitioners, as well as characteristics that are unique or found in only two countries. In pursuing common strands, the diversity of individual perceptions found in each country is worthy of comment. In other words, for any strand featured in the following discussion, there may be exceptions in one or more countries; the commonality is found among the predominant perceptions of many or most practitioners interviewed in each country. Such diversity is, in itself, a common feature that merits further investigation: how can it be that among a group of practitioners participating in a common global education experience, either in a school or in-service training context, a few perceptions emerge that are of a substantially different character to the mainstream view? Some observations on this question will be offered in Chapter 11. A contributory factor, perhaps, is hinted at in a feature exhibited by a significant number of interviewees in all countries: problems associated with defining, or succinctly characterising, what global education *is*. In summary, these problems take several forms: some relate to practitioners' believed ignorance or uncertainty of the term (or clearly evident unease at having to tell an 'expert' in the field); some are concerned with articulation in a succinct manner; some allude to a recognition that personal understanding is still developing and changing over time; some express concerns about perceived connotations of the term that could be pejorative or inaccurate; and some clearly indicate practitioners' annoyance that a new label has been attached to an educational approach that they have followed for some time. Whilst too much could be made of these problems (similar results might obtain if teachers were asked to define or characterise any other innovation in which they were involved), they do correspond - from a practitioners' perspective - to the concerns over defining global education that were highlighted in the literature survey. They resonate, too, with the research into teacher thinking suggesting that innovative ideas are continually re-interpreted by teachers over time through a process that involves them drawing upon several different knowledge bases and juggling various interests (Calderhead, 1987). In other words, responses to the question, 'What is global education?' are likely to invoke images and feelings, in various stages of development, that recall both personal and professional experiences and touch on attitudes and beliefs as well as knowledge. From a proponent's perspective, the definition of global education poses a conceptual problem; for a practitioner, it is much broader than that.

Definitions may be problematic, but the data show that practitioners' characterisations of global education commonly encompass several broad concepts. Central to these is the concept of the *interdependence* of all people within a global system, often expressed in terms of the connections between students in one country with people and environments in other parts of the world. *Connectedness*, in a wider sense, is another key concept, sometimes formulated in terms of the shared universal attributes of humankind, at other times applied to real or desired links between areas of knowledge, curriculum subjects, aspects of schooling, or humans and their environments. *Perspective* is also critical, in two senses: the need for a *global perspective* provides a central rationale for global education in all countries, generally interpreted to mean the provision of insights, ideas and information that enable students to look beyond the confines of local and national boundaries in their thinking and in their aspirations. Closely allied is the notion of *multiple perspectives*: a belief in the educative value of considering differing views on any issue or problem before reaching a decision or judgment. The existence of common concepts does not mean, of course, that they are interpreted in like manner in all three countries; as will be noted below, differences in worldview, ideology and emphasis can lead to subtle, but distinctive, variations in meaning. In similar vein, global education is perceived by practitioners in all countries to have a purpose that goes beyond the acquisition of knowledge about the world to include skills and attitudinal development; however, the relative weighting attributed to knowledge, skills and attitudes, and their centrality to the key goals of global education, differ among countries.

Common strands can also be detected in practitioners' implementation of global education. The notion of connectedness, perhaps inevitably, questions the relevance of a compartmentalist curriculum; whilst some teachers persist, for various personal and institutional reasons, with a subject-based approach, a tendency to traverse subject boundaries (or, at least, to be thinking about it) is reflected in the data from all countries. This movement towards a more integrated or, in some cases, holistic curriculum is one of the characteristics that mark out global education practitioners as being 'radical', in the sense of rethinking some of the traditional tenets of curriculum and schooling in their respective countries. At times explicitly stated, at other times inferred, are comments indicating a dissatisfaction with mainstream educational practice and a desire to adopt alternative approaches and strategies. Whilst this is not surprising among a group of teachers involved in innovatory practice (and who have been selected as 'information-rich' cases), more noteworthy is the sense of personal commitment that flows from the data. For the most part, these practitioners are willingly engaged in pathfinding initiatives that demand additional time and effort, that challenge existing conventions and expectations, but whose principal benefits are largely unproven, certainly long-term and possibly Utopian - all at a time when education systems in the three countries are putting pressure on teachers to demonstrate students' attainment of short-term, measurable goals (Lyons, 1995; Clough and Holden, 1996; Tye and Tye, 1993). Viewed in that light, it is understandable why a large measure of consensus exists among American and Canadian practitioners (comparable data was not obtained in the UK) concerning the most necessary characteristics of a global educator: flexibility, open-mindedness and openness to change, risk taking, tolerance of ambiguity and uncertainty. Whatever the differences among them, these practitioners perceive themselves to be pioneers at the cutting edge of educational development. Furthermore, the data exude a sense of grassroots enterprise - these are not teachers waiting for the next governmental edict; rather, they are pro-actively working towards their own vision, developing their own ideas, strategies and materials, and creatively adapting existing guidelines, requirements and structures wherever necessary. This general profile of global education practitioners begs the question as to whether they represent a special, even self-selected group among teachers. Although the data from Canada and the USA reveal that most interviewees first encountered global education on account of their employment in a 'global school', it may be that involvement in such an institution over time creates a 'tradition' (Louden, 1991) among global educators - a common frame of reference that enables practitioners to interpret and implement teaching in broadly similar ways, even though separated by geographical and cultural distance.

National distinctiveness

As intimated above, commonalities of perception among practitioners in the three countries are found largely at a general level; the more specifically one interrogates the data, the greater the degree of distinctiveness - of both theory and practice - becomes apparent, most notably between the American perceptions and those from Britain and Canada (which are more similar). That said, the wide range of approaches to global education found in the USA should not be forgotten; the holistic model of educational change adopted in District 900 may be untypical (as the literature would suggest), and it may not be widely known as 'global education', but it has been instigated and supported by proponents from a leading national global education organisation. As indicated earlier, the development and implementation of the complete curriculum will give, in time, a fuller indication of the degree to which practitioners' perceptions in District 900 are different from those of global educators in other American schools and districts. For the time being, it seems reasonable to attribute greater significance to the other 'information rich' cases in terms of exploring national traits, whilst keeping a watchful eye on potentially 'disconfirming cases' in District 900.

The most obvious area of difference between American and British/Canadian perceptions is found among practitioners' worldviews. Evidence of dissimilarity is most noticeable in the importance afforded the nation state in prevailing characterisations and rationales: British and Canadian practitioners tend to forge direct links between people and global systems (a holistic perception), whereas Americans are more likely to perceive the world in terms of distinct countries and cultures (a compartmentalist view). In concrete terms, this results in a much higher profile for the USA: rationales are couched in terms of Americans' insularity and lack of global awareness; American culture is used, often without exposition, as the yardstick by which other cultures are compared; the future place of America in the global system provides a common motivation for involvement in global education; American values, traditions or lifestyles are assumed to be the norm - criticism is rare, as is a sense of responsibility for injustice and inequality in other parts of the world. By contrast, practitioners in Canada and the UK rarely mention their respective nations: global education is perceived to be in the interests of the planet (including other species); personal growth is a key goal, but with recognition of dynamic connections between personal and planetary health; responsibilities (at least in a moral sense) of those in richer nations for the plight of the least affluent are acknowledged and incorporated into awareness raising and action programmes. At a curriculum level, these differences are manifested in the emphasis on exploring countries and cultures, and cultural similarities and differences, found in the USA, compared with the predominant focus in Britain and Canada on global issues and themes; cultural perspectives are generally given less emphasis in practitioners' perceptions from these latter two countries. Among American practitioners, the complexities of 'American culture' are often not explored; whereas in Britain, especially, due to the interest in global education of teachers also committed to gender and race equality, perspectives on national culture and values are more diverse and often more critical. In Canada, indigenous perspectives are valued by some for their insights into contemporary problems (rather than as another 'culture' to be studied).

Amongst British and Canadian practitioners, global education is seen to be an integrating force, a vehicle for synthesising hitherto unconnected elements of the curriculum and of the school. Thus, a host of initiatives are discussed by practitioners, such as environmental activities, conflict resolution and self-esteem programmes, curriculum units on gender and race inequality, awareness- and fund-raising projects around issues of poverty, malnutrition and health in the developing world. The focus of global education as perceived by American practitioners is largely curriculum-based (principally in the social studies area), revolving around the key concepts of interdependence, cultural perspective and global systems, and often based on the study of countries or areas of the world; where global issues and problems are explored, it is often within the context of a particular country. The exceptional circumstances of District 900 are worthy of comment here: the Education 2000 Project is regarded by most practitioners as providing a holistic framework that pulls together many school-based initiatives that might otherwise have been pursued separately; however, not all interviewees perceived the Project and global education to be congruent; some viewed global education as just a curriculum-related, globally-oriented component of Education 2000.

Underlying these differing perceptions of the nature and purpose of global education, it would seem, is a significant ideological variance. A clue can be found in the treatment of the concept of difference. American practitioners, for whom exploring cultural similarities and differences is a popular curriculum focus, emphasise similarity ('we're more alike than different') and focus their attention on universal and cultural phenomena (*e.g.* common human needs and aspirations, cultural institutions such as literature, religion, the arts, cuisine and customs). British and Canadian practitioners tend to emphasise differences among people through a focus on social and political issues (*e.g.* wealth and poverty, power and oppression, peace and conflict, rights denials, injustice, inequality). Thus, although practitioners from all three countries may make similar pronouncements about 'understanding similarities and differences among people', their divergent emphases and approaches are suggestive of markedly different sets of underlying beliefs and values. Through accentuating universality and similarity, American practitioners can avoid critical analysis of global problems and implicitly convey an idealistic and non-controversial image of the global condition; in choosing to focus on socio-political difference, British and Canadian practitioners inevitably encounter the less desirable aspects of human interaction and portray a problem-oriented world. Given such apparently different belief positions, views on the role of global education in the context of social change are understandable: for Americans, global education has an ameliorative purpose that appears to be principally based on the notion that increased understanding of, and contact between, people of different cultures will lead to higher levels of tolerance and respect and, henceforth, benefits for all. British and Canadian practitioners tend to be more critical of the global *status quo;* change is required, therefore, not only at the level of human awareness and understanding, but also to present social and political structures - including some of those instituted or maintained by their own governments and people. The importance attributed by practitioners in these two countries to personal growth is congruent with this perspective on change: global education's role is not only to heighten students' awareness of relevant issues and problems, but also to facilitate the development of action-oriented skills and encourage *participation* in social and global change.

Although Canadian and British perceptions are similar in many ways, in one respect the British data can be singled out: the relative emphasis given to the *process* of teaching and learning in practitioners' characterisations of global education. For one of the DIGAME cohorts, the impact of teaching and learning style theories figures largely in their prevailing perceptions; for the other, general classroom practice, including teaching strategies and classroom ethos, is a prominent feature. Among American and Canadian interviewees, process-related aspects are less consistently and less frequently mentioned. Whilst a few teachers in each country argued strongly that the significance of global education lay more in *how* rather than *what* to teach, most responded principally in content terms until prompted to think about process; thereafter, a majority suggested that teaching and learning processes were also significant. However, caution should be exercised in intimating that a process orientation is peculiar to British perceptions. Two additional hypotheses are suggested by the factors mentioned at the beginning of this chapter: firstly, these data were all collected from in-service training courses of substantial duration; and secondly, both courses were built around the Pike/Selby four-dimensional model of global education. Whilst it is not prudent to hypothesise on the relative significance of each of these factors, clearly the combination could have influenced practitioners' perceptions to the extent that it may be of greater significance to the derivation of these perceptions than practitioners' country of origin.

A final comment will serve to contextualise much of what has been suggested above in terms of national distinctiveness among practitioners' perceptions. These perceptions range on a continuum from a view of global education as a curriculum perspective, to a belief that it represents a whole philosophy of education. Perceptions related to the former position are couched in terms of cognitive achievement in the classroom, whereas adherents of the latter position talk more of affective goals and whole school practice; interviewees occupying the former position respond primarily from the context of their profession, whilst those at the latter end regard personal and professional lives as inextricably fused; the former see global education as a set of ideas and materials to enrich the curriculum, the latter regard it as education *per se*. If they were so classified, practitioners from all three countries would be stretched out along the continuum; the data suggest, however, that a much higher percentage of American practitioners in this sample, as compared with their British and Canadian counterparts, would be located towards the curriculum perspective end.

Part Two: Some parallels between proponents' visions and practitioners' perceptions

Having identified both common and distinctive characteristics among the data collected from the field in the three countries, it is now possible to revisit the literature and document the extent to which similar traits are to be found. In so doing, the difference in sampling techniques between the literature survey and the empirical research should be remembered. In neither case was there an intention to establish a representative sample; however, due to the use of a 'snowballing' strategy to contact 'key informants' to the point of 'redundancy', the literature survey is inevitably much more comprehensive in its coverage of viewpoints than is the empirical research. In the latter case, though, the combination of 'intensity sampling' and 'maximum variation sampling' in Stage Two, in order to locate a range of 'information rich' cases, has at least made it worthwhile exploring the relationship between the data obtained and the corresponding literature; if significant parallels exist between the two sets of data, the (potentially narrower) range of practitioners' perceptions should find similarity of expression among the (broader) range of proponents' visions, even if not *vice versa*. The difference in time span is also important to note: whilst the literature survey covers a period of many years (more than twenty-five in the case of the USA), the empirical data reflect only recent perceptions of global education. Again, if parallels do exist, it is likely that the more recent visions of proponents will be reflected in practitioners' perceptions.

On account of the greater homogeneity of the UK empirical data (collected from two similarly structured in-service courses), comparison with the corresponding literature is potentially less worthwhile. Therefore, the American and Canadian comparisons will be afforded priority and greater emphasis in the following analysis.

USA

In the context of the literature analysis (Chapter 3), it would be reasonable to expect that all of the schools visited in the empirical research would exemplify many of the characteristics identified as expressions of the more recent, grassroots initiatives highlighted in the latter portion of the chapter. In three of the locations, each of the schools was affiliated to one of the leading, school-based projects of that time (ASCD Pilot Schools or Education 2000); the other school, Vernon, had been pursuing the Director's holistic vision for many years. In fact, a comparison of the empirical data and the literature gives evidence of a very significant degree of similarity between practitioners' perceptions and proponents' visions in general, not just those proposing the more avant-garde theoretical positions. In other words, practitioner perceptions of recent times are reflective of many trends in the literature, including some that were first developed many years ago. A good example can be found in the stock of predominant concepts and themes that form the basis of global education. Practitioners' views concur in general with the three areas outlined by Merryfield (1990) in her review of the content of teacher education programmes with a global perspective; however, these areas overlap considerably with the goals of global education first articulated by Hanvey (1976) and with the content model of Kniep (1986a). Thus, practitioners are broadly in agreement with proponents over the past twenty years as to what global education is principally about. Interestingly, though, the more radical and critical knowledge, skills and attitudinal objectives evident in Lee Anderson's (1968) earlier writing do not form part of most practitioners' current perceptions.

The 'billiard ball' model of the world that shines through much of the literature, despite the theoretical expositions of globalisation and global systems by Anderson and others, is very much in evidence in curricula and in the mental images of practitioners. Fairview's country-based 'International Program' is its most obvious manifestation; other examples abound in the portrayal of cultures as homogeneous and the use of countries and areas of the world as frameworks for the curriculum. Feedback from ASCD Project personnel, confirming the beliefs of some practitioners, points out that the element of the Project's curriculum framework given least attention in Chapelton and Fairview is that dealing with global interconnections. Thus, even where a relatively holistic framework is provided, along with supporting professional development, many practitioners' perceptions and practices remain at odds with the new vision propounded; instead, they follow ideas and models that have wider currency, and a longer pedigree, in the global education literature. District 900 provides a potential exception: the model of 'systemic coherence' advocated by the Education 2000 Project does appear to have influenced many practitioners' thinking, though only time will tell to what extent this will be reflected in curriculum development and implementation.

Lamy's (1990) claim that teachers, in significant numbers, fall into his 'communitarian' category of global educators is generally borne out in the empirical data. The internationalist views and reformist, but not radical, goals of practitioners are reflected in their desire to increase understanding of, and tolerance among, different cultures and races through global education and in their sense of commitment to broadening the vision of American students. Such goals, however, also resonate with Johnson's (1993, 6) charge of 'historic liberalism', especially his perception that global educators are uncritical of Western and Eurocentric traditions. This is exemplified in the implicit acceptance by many practitioners of 'American culture' as the norm, without any attempt to define its constituency or explore its complexity, nor to critically evaluate its impact on, and contributions to, national and global development. It is also evident in the common 'we're more alike than different' attitude when comparing cultural similarities and differences, a position that tends to mask real social and political difference. In fact, much of the ideological framework to which most practitioners are wedded, and to which Lamy and Johnson refer, can be traced back to the early goals of Hanvey (1976): his emphasis on awareness-raising, rather than decision-making or action; his limited acknowledgment of the controversiality that inevitably surrounds major global issues; and his avoidance of moral or ethical judgment with regard to global trends and conditions. For many practitioners, knowledge of the world and its people is a primary goal for students (and global knowledge and experience are regarded as important for teachers); controversial issues tend to be avoided in the classroom; and where questions of values, ethics or morals are raised, a position akin to Schukar's (1993) 'balance' is recommended for the teacher. These tendencies notwithstanding, it should be remembered that a few practitioners in each location espoused a rather different view, one that accords with Swift's (1980, 46) argument that global education is more of 'an attitude toward daily living' that can be 'taught best (perhaps only) by those who believe'. The 'believers' were readily distinguishable in each school through their passionate advocacy of global education's affective goals and a recognition of the importance of congruence between personal beliefs and professional behaviour.

In summary, there would appear to be a consistently high degree of correspondence between American proponents' visions of global education and the perceptions of practitioners, both as far as general trends are concerned, and also in terms of the exceptions and variations exhibited by a minority. Given the involvement of practitioners in this study in some of the more innovative American global education initiatives, the reflection of general (less innovative) trends is somewhat surprising. It is, however, consistent with Fullan's (1991) contention that changes in beliefs are more difficult to achieve than changes in materials and teaching approaches. As many of the interviewees pointed out, they had been 'doing global education' (even if they had not used that term) for many years, utilising their own conceptual frameworks. The introduction of a new model, and accompanying curriculum and professional development, will not necessarily change established perceptions of global education, especially when the new model is associated with a short-term, externally-driven project (as was the case with the ASCD Pilot Schools). Indeed, the attitude of many teachers at Chapelton and Fairview was that the ASCD model was useful because it fitted (or could be made to fit) their own - and the school's - conceptions of global education, not on account of its new vision or potential. This attitude resonates with Louden's (1991, xii) argument that teachers' 'horizons of understanding' - predispositions towards teaching that are shaped by historical forces and patterns - tend to foster continuity rather than change, especially when such horizons are influenced by a 'tradition' of schooling, such as in an established global school. As Reynolds and Saunders (1987) point out, teachers still have to rethink and adapt their practice *as teachers*, even if they are involved in an innovation at a curriculum planning level. The higher level of congruence noted between District 900 practitioners and the innovative theoretical framework of Education 2000 could, perhaps, be explained by factors such as the longer duration of their involvement, the coherent and sustained nature of the initiative, and the emphasis on systematic and high quality professional development. These, and other, factors will be examined more closely in Chapter 11.

Canada

As noted earlier, a feature of the Canadian empirical data is the diversity of practitioner perceptions to be found within most of the schools visited. The writing of various proponents offer some possible clues to the origins of this phenomenon, such as the reported lack of consensus and clarity around an acceptable definition of global education (Alladin, 1989; Case, 1991), and the absence of real debate among global educators over its nature and purpose (B. O'Sullivan, 1995; Pike, 1996). To these factors could be added the arguments that Canadian writing on global education is relatively recent and draws inspiration principally from two quite distinctive sources (American and British), whose respective influences can be seen in the different positions adopted by provincial project directors (see for example, Lyons, 1992a, and

Petrie, 1992). Thus, it would seem reasonable to conclude that a diversity of practitioner perceptions is in part due to the newness of the global education movement in Canada and its search for a common identity. Certainly, most of the interviewees claim to have been involved in global education for considerably less time than their American counterparts (though some Canadians had prior experience of development, environmental or multicultural education), and the 'global school' initiatives are more recent than those visited in the USA. What is particularly interesting, from the standpoint of this chapter, is the extent to which the various strands that constitute the ill-defined and uncontested picture of global education in the Canadian literature find parallels among practitioner perceptions, both in terms of the diversity of perspective they contain and the relative significance of each strand to the whole picture.

Moore's (1992) argument that internationalism has long been a 'Canadian passion' appears to be confirmed by practitioners in several ways. Firstly, the predominant rationales for global education are couched, unlike those in America, in terms of the planet or humankind in general, as evident in the very many definitions and characterisations that avoid reference to the nation or her interests. Secondly, the thirst for international connections is illustrated in most of the schools visited by the number and range of curriculum and extra-curricular initiatives that link students to people and projects in other countries, through trips, exchanges, by mail or the Internet. Thirdly, the goals of such initiatives often exemplify a sense of responsibility for the needs of all - a belief that, through understanding and action, students can contribute to improving the life of others. Practitioners' perceptions in this regard generally fall short of Head's (1994, 4) admonishment of the 'unjustified arrogance' of the North, but many do show recognition of global inequalities and suggest that Canadian citizens have a part to play in their redress. Indeed, the sense of global education as a 'moral enterprise' (Darling, n.d., 2) shines through, even though it is not often stated explicitly: caring and compassion are high on many practitioners' lists of the necessary characteristics of a global educator; the underlying purpose of global education can be seen to extend way beyond the need for students to acquire knowledge about the world, to encompass a value-laden sense of societal and global improvement; and a few practitioners in each school exhibit a passionate commitment to social and global change through education - a view that accords with Toh's (1993, 12) description of a 'transformative paradigm of global literacy'. These general trends notwithstanding, a minority of practitioners' perceptions are reflective of the more cautious position outlined by Case (1991) with regard to the question of values in global education; and a few would appear to couch their justification for a global perspective within the framework of Brian O'Sullivan's (1995) 'global economic competitiveness' paradigm, thereby providing some evidence (especially at Pinewood) of the conflict he perceives between two divergent visions of educational reform.

The treatment of culture offers some interesting parallels between proponents and practitioners, as well as contrasts with American global education. In the three schools with multicultural populations, the existence of cultural and linguistic diversity is utilised (as in the USA) as a justification for global education. The approach, however, differs in the sense that the cultures themselves are less the focus of specific attention in the curriculum (a strategy that McLean [1990, 20] calls 'ethnic tokenism') than the ramifications of diversity itself. In concrete terms, this approach focuses on issues of racism and inter-racial conflict - the harsher realities of multiculturalism - as well as on the cultural richness that diversity brings; it deals with attitudes and feelings, engendered by immigration, cultural interaction and discrimination, that are part of the lives of students and their communities, not just with artefacts, festivals and customs from other lands. In other words, the approach adopted is less imbued with the cultural comparativism of Hanvey's (1976, 8) 'cross-cultural awareness' and more in tune with Zachariah's (1989, 51) plea for humans from other lands and traditions to be represented first and foremost 'as people'. It also takes up Darling's (n.d.) concern for the recognition of the differences among people, but extends this to include the socio-political impacts that cultural difference create. Interestingly, in these three schools at least, the 'symbiotic relationship' (Zachariah, 1989, 49) between global and multicultural education appears to be more implicitly understood by many practitioners than he and other writers suggest. Although in the other, more culturally homogeneous, schools there were fewer references to issues of race and culture as part of their global education programmes, some of the initiatives described suggest that Alladin's (1989) distinction between the two fields is not shared in these classrooms. Significant too, in light of Wells' (1996) argument for bringing a gender perspective to global education, is the explicit focus on gender issues by the (all female) staff at Orchard; this emphasis was not noted, however, in the other schools.

The areas of consensus around global education noted in the Canadian literature generally find parallels among practitioner perceptions. Certainly, the primary focus on global issues and problems (rather than countries and cultures) is widespread in all schools and the issues most discussed by proponents (development, environment, human rights, peace and conflict, racism) are featured prominently in curricula and extra-curricular activities. Global education is seen by most practitioners to call for a cross-disciplinary approach and all four elementary schools produced evidence of integrated, thematically-based curriculum units; at Pinewood and Hampton, however, curriculum integration was more of a future goal than a present reality. With a few exceptions among practitioners, notably at Pinewood, the importance of teaching and learning processes within global education was acknowledged, though there was less agreement on the relative significance of process when compared with content. Practitioners' views on the role of global education in fomenting social and political change were, once again, reflective of the range of opinions to be found in the literature; whilst the staff at Orchard, and a few elsewhere, espoused an overtly change-oriented perspective that resonates with Toh's (1993) change advocacy and Choldin's (1989) political activism, a majority of interviewees at Pinewood and Richmond would seem to be more in line with Case's (1991) desire for the 'enlightenment' of students about global issues, so that they might have greater understanding of, and control over, their own lives.

In general terms, it would appear that the distinctive, yet non-confrontational positions taken in the literature are mirrored in the classroom in terms of the co-existence - even in the same school - of different perceptions of global education among practitioners. As suggested above, the relative recency of global education as a distinctive field in Canada may account, in part, for this phenomenon. But, perhaps, there are other contributory factors that are rooted more within the predominant values of Canadians and their national identity: as intimated in Chapter 5, perhaps the 'liberalism' for which Canadian society is renowned - the apparent acceptance of multiple races, languages and views within a bi-ethnic federal community (Ignatieff, 1993) - can also be seen within this portrait of global education as it has developed in its short Canadian history. The extent to which national culture might influence practitioners' perceptions will be explored more fully in Chapter 11.

UK

Given the problems of validity, noted above, in drawing parallels between the UK literature and the empirical data derived from DIGAME participants, only a few salient - and very general - comparisons will be made. Furthermore, these will focus on parallels discerned between practitioners' perceptions and the visions of proponents in general, not just those of Pike and Selby (whose views might be expected to be found among practitioners who have recently undertaken in-service training built around their model of global education). Given, too, the dates of the DIGAME courses (1989-91) on which interviews were based, only the literature up to that period will be considered for comparative purposes. Within these confines, three points are worthy of note: the role of global education as an integrating force; the emphasis on process; and confusion over the definition of global education.

Participants on both DIGAME courses perceived global education to have an integrating or connecting influence, though a distinction was noted between primary and secondary teachers on the resulting manifestation of that influence. The former tended to focus on interconnections between the child, the community and the wider world, thus highlighting concepts such as care and concern for all species and environments, co-operation and valuing each other; the latter dwelt more on aspects of curriculum organisation and teaching, suggesting that global education had allowed them to perceive connections between subjects, between global issues, and between content and process. All of these strands of connectedness are prevalent in the literature and, although proponents do not necessarily differentiate between primary and secondary approaches, the early years' and middle school models of global education (Fisher and Hicks, 1985; Fountain, 1990) can be seen to emphasise child-world links, co-operation and respect for others. Many proponents contribute to the literature on global education or world studies as an umbrella concept or synthesising force that brings together related movements in social and political education (Lister, 1987); indeed, much of the writing in the 1980s revolves around the interrelationships and tensions among them. Connectedness, in its many senses, can be seen as a defining characteristic of *global education in the UK*, even if consensus does not exist among proponents in the related fields as to who is connected to whom.

Emerging strongly from the DIGAME data, and supporting Vulliamy and Webb's (1993) findings, is the perception of global education as being more about the process of schooling, including teaching strategies, learning styles and classroom climate, than it is about curriculum content. Whilst the caveat expressed earlier in this chapter stands, it is evident from the literature that aspects to do with process are highly significant to other proponents as well, as can be seen in the major teachers' handbooks (*e.g.* Fisher and Hicks, 1985; Fountain, 1990; Hicks and Steiner, 1989; Richardson, 1976); indeed, it is this predisposition that causes Lister (1987, 59) to criticise the field in general for being 'process rich and content poor'. Although particular aspects of process may be peculiar to the work of Pike and Selby (such as the exposition of teaching and learning style theories [Pike and Selby, 1988, 1995]), it would seem reasonable to conclude that the DIGAME participants are reflecting a more general and widespread perception of global education in the UK.

Lack of content is compounded, in the literature and in the field, by confusion over content. Heater's (1980) claim that a 'zany confusion of nomenclature' was inhibiting the growth of world studies is proven throughout that decade as proponents from various fields contest for recognition of their cherished perspectives and ideas but without, it appears, making much impression on mainstream educational policy. Confirmation of confusion among many practitioners can also be found in the literature (Greig, Pike and Selby, 1987b; Hicks, 1989). Again, it would seem reasonable to presume that DIGAME participants' difficulties in defining global education - and the wide range of ideas offered - are symptomatic of a wider problem (and one which they share with practitioners in Canada and the USA).

Drawing implications

In this chapter so far, it has been suggested that practitioners' perceptions of global education, beyond a certain level of generality, exhibit characteristics that are distinctive to their country, with a marked difference apparent between British/Canadian teachers and their American counterparts. Similarly, nation-specific characteristics, alongside some common strands and tendencies, were also noted in the literatures from the three countries (see Chapter 6). Furthermore, strong parallels between proponents' visions and practitioners' perceptions in each country have been illustrated in this chapter. It would be logical to deduce from the foregoing analysis that proponents have a direct and significant impact upon practitioners in the latter's derivation of meaning in global education; in other words, through the various channels of communication available (books, articles, courses, workshops, conference presentations), practitioners receive and grasp the ideas of proponents and then utilise them faithfully in their thinking about, and implementation of, global education. (It could be, of course, that influence flows the other way, but this seems somewhat less likely). Whilst this deduction might appear logical, convenient and satisfying for proponents, it is not borne out in the evidence proffered by practitioners themselves, nor is it supported in general terms by research into teacher thinking and the implementation of educational innovation.

It is clear from the empirical data that some American and Canadian practitioners, particularly in schools directly affiliated with a national or provincial project, had benefited from exposure to the ideas of proponents. With a few exceptions, those who had participated in workshops and conferences with proponents reported favourably on those experiences; practitioners in District 900, especially, were full of praise for the contributions of proponents brought in under the auspices of the Education 2000 Project. In many locations, particularly in Canada, the most highly valued proponents were those who were available as local sources of expertise and support - people with whom practitioners could communicate directly, rather than through their writing or formal conference presentations. However, benefiting from proponents' ideas is not the same as the utilisation of those ideas in the classroom; practitioners' appreciation of a course or workshop (as all in-service providers know) does not necessarily lead to commensurate changes in their thinking or practice. In fact, the data reveal that, overall, proponents are significantly less influential as sources of ideas and information on global education than are practitioners' colleagues and the mass media. Furthermore, interviewees' responses from all three countries would suggest that the elements of professional development that are most remembered and most appreciated are those to do with practical classroom application - concrete strategies for curriculum planning or evaluation, and activity-based methods of curriculum delivery. The theoretical models or constructs that underpin these elements are often not remembered; indeed, very few practitioners claim to have used, in any systematic or coherent fashion, any of the proponents' models of global education that they had encountered in a professional development situation, even though a significant number of teachers indicated a need for such a theoretical framework. At most, proponents' models are appreciated as checklists that can be referred to from time to time, or as general statements that can be used to validate what the teacher has already decided to do; rarely, it seems, do they play a significant role in practitioners' active thinking.

It would be erroneous to infer, however, that practitioners do not engage in theoretical reflection about global education. As the teacher cited in Chapter 9 put it, 'there's a lot of theory that guides my work, but ... once the theory is brought down to a model, then ... I don't fit in to the model' (Orchard/T2/Int). Whilst her interview data suggest that she is better versed in global education theory than most practitioners, she makes an important point about the individual utilisation of theory that is generally supported in the wider literature on teachers' thinking. For Eisner (1985, 104), successful innovation comes not from the universal application of certain theories or methods, but from enabling teachers to more clearly see and think about what they do:

> Educational practice as it occurs in schools is an inordinately complicated affair filled with contingencies that are difficult to predict, let alone control. Connoisseurship in education, as in other areas, is that art of perception that makes the appreciation of that complexity possible. Connoisseurship is an appreciative art. Appreciation in this context means not necessarily a liking or preference for what one has encountered, but rather an awareness of its characteristics and qualities.

The notion of 'connoisseurship' can be seen, too, in Schön's (1983) image of the 'reflective practitioner', which suggests that teachers are continuously creative and inventive, adapting theories and experimenting with their own solutions to the issues and problems they perceive in the classroom. As Olson and Eaton (1987, 192) put it, 'innovations often involve new ways of assigning meaning to practice'. Faced with theories and models of global education that are new and challenging, practitioners are unlikely to adopt these, in their existing forms, into their practice; more likely is a lengthy process of 'reflection-in-action' (Schön, 1987, 26), in which meaning is assigned through subjecting the new ideas to a host of questions and experiments that are rooted in the teacher's own experience and knowledge bases. Thus a process of reinterpretation (Calderhead, 1987) takes place, resulting in a personalised and unique conception of global education.

The ideas of proponents, then, are not often translated directly into practice, but they may provide practitioners with a mental trigger or springboard that promotes reflection on, and change to, existing thinking and behaviour. However, such a process seems far too haphazard, and too prone to diverse influences, to satisfactorily explain the parallels noted between proponents' visions and practitioners' perceptions - especially in the case of those many teachers who have not learned about global education directly from proponents, but from colleagues or other sources. As outlined in the previous two chapters, there are many other factors at work in practitioners' development of meaning. The task remaining for the final chapter is to explore how this combination of factors influences teachers' thinking so as to construct perceptions of global education that are similar to those of proponents.

Chapter 11

The Derivation of Meaning in Global Education

Significant factors in practitioners' development of meaning

At the end of Stage One of the empirical research (see Chapter 7), questions concerning practitioners' derivation of meaning were formulated under two broad headings: *internal forces* (aspects relating to personal beliefs, values and experiences) and *external factors* (forces primarily exerted by other people, organisations or situations, such as professional development, classroom resources, school culture). As interpretation of the data in Chapters 8 and 9 followed this categorisation, it will be maintained in the first part of this chapter prior to examining the relationship between internal and external factors in the overall context of practitioners' development of meaning.

Interpretation of the American and Canadian data does not give a clear picture as to the relative significance of internal forces on practitioners' development of meaning. Whilst some interviewees recounted personal incidents and experiences that had profoundly affected their worldview, and others explicitly stated their beliefs and values in the context of talking about global education, these data should be treated with some circumspection for several reasons. Firstly, the fact that many interviewees did not reveal aspects of their personal histories or beliefs should not be taken as an indication of their lack of significance. There could be many reasons, including lack of comfort in the interview situation, for remaining silent about personal affairs; and, as other studies (Connelly and Clandinin, 1984; Louden, 1991; Massey and Chamberlin, 1990) have shown, past experiences and personal beliefs do seem to have significant influence on teachers' thinking and action. Secondly, it cannot be assumed that the flow of influence, where evident, is unidirectional. If thinking and acting are in constant dialectical relationship in teachers' implementation of innovation (Carlgren, 1990), it may be that the practice of global education has given meaning to elements of practitioners' own lives; indeed, a few interviewees specifically attest to this. Thirdly, as the interview questions did not request comprehensive autobiographical information, it would be imprudent to assume that those aspects of personal lives that were recalled are the only, or even the most significant, influences.

Perhaps the most interesting point to emerge from these data is the apparent connection, especially among Canadian interviewees, between recall of significant personal experiences and depth of expressed commitment to global education. One consequent hypothesis would be that intense personal experiences (*e.g.* of racism, failure as a student, living in 'foreign' culture) may lead to a more profound understanding of, or appreciation for, global education; alternatively, it might be that a deep commitment to global education (however derived) is liable to impact upon practitioners' personal lives, thereby effecting a confluent image of the personal and professional self that encourages the natural disclosure of personal stories. Ramifications of the former hypothesis are significant: a profound personal experience (perhaps of an emotionally unsettling kind) could be considered necessary - or beneficial, at least - to finding meaning in global education. Certainly, some American proponents argue that overseas experiences are important to give teachers confidence in teaching about other countries and cultures (Thorpe, 1988; Wilson, 1983). Whilst some practitioners (generally those who *had* travelled overseas) in my sample agreed with this view, others (generally those who *had not*) suggested that an openness and willingness to learn about other countries was more important than the actual experience of travel. Herein lies an example, perhaps, of what Olson and Eaton (1987, 191) call 'expressive behavior': in their attempts to construct meaning, teachers utilise their past experiences to optimum benefit and, where they might appear to be lacking in expertise, draw upon compensatory arguments. This suggests, of course, that meaning is derived from any experience (or lack of experience), not simply the incidents recounted that appear to have immediate relevance to global education. Kelchtermans (1993, 206) confirms that analysis of teachers' personal histories does not throw up a neat list of 'critical incidents':

> When one takes the narrative approach seriously, the critical incidents can only be understood when situated in the career story. The same event or situation can be a critical incident for one teacher, yet not for a colleague, in the sense that it results in a change of professional behaviour. The 'critical' character of an event is defined by the respondent himself and the way he or she copes with the situation. In other words, events can only become 'critical incidents' afterwards, retrospectively.

My empirical data tend to confirm Kelchtermans' analysis: among those practitioners who spoke of 'critical incidents', the collection is eclectic. Whilst it can be hypothesised that relevant critical incidents contribute to practitioners' development of meaning, it cannot be persuasively argued that global educators should engage in certain types of experiences in order to promote meaning development; nor can it be said that an absence of such incidents - or failure to disclose them - indicates that these practitioners' past experiences are any less influential on their development of meaning. From the perspective of any proponent or school administrator who is attempting to provide or advocate personal experiences for practitioners that will enhance their understanding, there are still many questions to be answered.

A clearer picture emerges from the data with respect to the significance of certain external factors in practitioners' development of meaning. In his review of case studies of global education implementation in American schools, Kenneth Tye (1990b) concludes that the focus and resources provided by outside agencies are often necessary to galvanise change in schools, even where the need for a global perspective is understood by teachers. My data certainly confirm that practitioners are appreciative of external support from a project or organisation, for both the provision of resources to facilitate curriculum and professional development, and the availability of theoretical and strategic frameworks that offer guidance on how the innovation might best proceed. However, the role of external agencies in fomenting change is, perhaps, not as clear cut as Tye intimates. In all locations that I visited in Canada and the USA, including those where schools had been drawn into global education through affiliation with a project, there was some evidence of prior, 'home-grown' commitment to a reform initiative that was in tune, to some degree, with global education. In other words, the external agency provided the conceptual and strategic tools with which the school could better actualise a process that was already under way. In some cases, notably Vernon in the USA and Orchard in Canada, the global education initiative was principally envisioned and shaped by practitioners themselves, only calling on outside support for specific purposes; in other cases, such as Pinewood and Richmond in Canada, where the collective impact of a minority of staff had not led to whole school change, it could be argued that greater external support would have been beneficial. Thus, the data would seem to support Tye and Tye's (1992, 247) hypothesis that:

> the kinds of (intervention) strategies one should use to reach (the goal of globalizing the curriculum) is (*sic*) best determined by the kinds of meanings people are deriving from activity. Activity and the development of meaning are interactive.

This would suggest that external support is most useful when it is directly related to individual practitioners' development of meaning. Confirmation of this view would seem to come from the data indicating that teachers were most appreciative of proponents' expertise when it addressed the 'nitty-gritty' aspects of the classroom (*e.g.* practical activities or concrete strategies for curriculum planning), whereas administrators valued the conceptual frameworks or strategic plans that proponents offered.

With regard to the usefulness of proponents' expertise in general, it is clear that *accessibility* is a critical factor. Wherever proponents were involved in local professional development (*e.g.* school- or district-based workshops, university courses), their ideas and materials were, for the most part, appreciated by practitioners. In some cases, in both countries, the proponents involved are leading global educators, widely known in the field; in other cases, they are educators with an interest in global education but not necessarily recognised as 'experts'. This suggests that accessibility is at least as important as reputation, a view that would be supported by the fact that very few practitioners claimed to utilise the ideas of well-known global educators unless these people had been locally available in some in-service training capacity. It would also be supported by the finding that, for a majority of interviewees, colleagues were listed as among their most significant sources of information about global education; indeed, for those who had not participated in any kind of external professional development, colleagues were often the sole source. In most schools visited, the support of colleagues was valued highly by individual practitioners - a factor that corresponds with Day's (1993a) finding that, post-initial training, colleagues are cited as having the most significant influence upon teachers, ahead of courses attended and other life experiences.

Whilst opinion over the availability of necessary classroom resources was mixed (some schools had clearly foreseen and addressed this potential problem with the help of grant monies), much greater consensus was recorded over the lack of available time to adequately update personal knowledge on global issues and to prepare relevant materials. Implicit in this commonly-held view is the belief that existing texts and resources are not adequate (few teachers mentioned using specialist global education resources from, for example, CTIR and SPICE), or that available information (such as from the news media) needs adaptation for classroom use. Other studies confirm that time is a significant factor in teacher development. Merryfield (1992a) found that lack of time to plan and to network was felt to be an inhibiting factor by global education practitioners; Woods (1990) suggests that time for the inspiration and incubation of ideas is the primary resource requirement of creative teaching; and Day (1993a) argues that practitioners' need for time to reflect in, on and about teaching is well documented in the literature but often not addressed in reality. In one sense, accessibility is the thread that connects all of these 'external needs' of practitioners. As my data indicate, the maelstrom that characterises schooling, and that puts teachers 'under the gun all the time' (Hampton/T4/Int.), creates a demand for resources and support that are on hand and immediate in order to get maximum use out of the little time available; expertise, ideas and materials that are further out of reach - however good and potentially useful - are much less likely to be utilised. Accessibility, therefore, is a critical factor in practitioners' development of meaning: perceptions of global education are significantly shaped by the pool of resources that is locally available and easily attainable.

Given the importance of accessibility, it is not surprising to discover practitioners' appreciation for the school-based professional development that had occurred in all but two locations. The data corroborate and extend Merryfield's (1992a) findings that, from global education practitioners' perspectives, the most valued elements of an in-service experience are working with new instructional materials and having time to interact and work with others. The additional benefits of school-based in-service can be noted from frequent references in my data to the sense of collegiality that the professional development experiences had fostered through interaction and sharing among close colleagues around curriculum and other school-related issues that were common to all. Whilst written evaluations and oral comments indicate that individual practitioners may value particular aspects of in-service programmes differently, the data generally lend support to many of Day's (1990) twelve propositions for developing teachers' 'personal practical knowledge' in school-based settings, especially the first:

> Research in teaching and curriculum development is integral to professional development. Curriculum research and reform should be viewed as activities which serve the needs of professional development rather then vice-versa. School-based developments must be continuing and systematic rather than sporadic and *ad hoc*. (p. 236)

In the schools with the most active and coherent professional development programmes, many practitioners exhibited considerable ownership of, and control over, curriculum - as evident in a low reliance on externally-produced texts and materials, and an apparent tendency to not allow government or board/district regulations to hold precedence over their perception of the needs of their students. Thus, these practitioners (in both countries) illustrate Boston's (1990, 93) assertion that 'teachers are providing much of the leadership in global education in the United States'; in so doing, of course, they are developing meaning in global education separate from the ideas and theories of proponents.

Both Boston and Tye and Tye (1992) argue that effective leadership of the school principal is critical to the long-term success of a school-based global education initiative. Nothing in my data would seem to contradict the essence of this view, save to point out that the nucleus of leadership may not always reside in the principal. At Vernon, the Director of the global education programme could be regarded as a principal-substitute, though he operated within a larger school in which support from the Principal had been less than fulsome; at Orchard, being an 'alternative' school, the non-resident Principal played a very low-key role in the school's collaborative decision-making; and in District 900, the Principals in my sample were supportive of the district-wide initiative, but overt leadership seemed to flow primarily from the highly-esteemed Superintendent. Thus, although these situations differ in their respective detail, they still conform to the underlying premise, that successful school-based global education initiatives require strong and visionary leadership. The premise is further supported by the evidence of weaker, or more equivocal, leadership noted in the schools where global education was less well established. The relevance of school leadership to practitioners' derivation of meaning is intimated, perhaps, in the data from Donview, where the recently-appointed Principal (a passionate advocate of holistic global education) was perceived by some of his staff to have dampened the school's initiative through adopting a different management style from his esteemed predecessor. It might be hypothesised that practitioners' *perceptions* of a principal's leadership in, and views on, global education are critical to their own willingness to become or stay engaged in the initiative and, thereby, to deepen their understanding. As the research studies cited by Fullan (1991) point out, greater success is likely to result if practitioners' perceive principals to be actively engaged in, rather than just verbally supportive of, a programme innovation.

'Administration', suggests Alan Brown (1984, 200), 'is the creation of a culture', in the sense that the person with the primary administrative role exerts the greatest influence, whilst recognising that culture is also shaped by the interactions of all individuals in the school community. What my data reveal in a few cases, however, is the limited power of an administrator to bring about desired change within a culture in which a significant number of individuals appear to display indifference or resistance; and, in many cases, lone individuals can be seen to hang on to beliefs and practices that run counter to the prevailing culture created by administrators and other colleagues. In other words, the ramifications of school culture's influence on innovatory practice are inordinately complex. Day (1993a, 223) offers a key to that complexity:

> Whilst school culture will facilitate or constrain the provision of opportunities for planned professional learning, it is likely that the effectiveness of the opportunities themselves, whatever their intrinsic quality, their immediate and longer term impact upon thinking and practice, how they are received by teachers - will be affected by individual teacher culture.

It is in the dynamics of the interrelationship between teacher culture and school culture that answers to the problems of innovation are likely to be found. As revealed in my data, where a relatively cohesive culture exists, global education appears to flourish. In other words, it can be hypothesised that where congruence can be found between the predominant culture of the school and the individual beliefs, aspirations and worldviews of the vast majority of teachers, innovation is likely to be successful.

However, suggest Tye and Tye (1992, 242), where an innovation is seen to be taken on by a small sub-group of staff, whole school success is unlikely; the data from Richmond, where the four 'global educators' are perceived as an elite group (despite the administrator's claim that global education is widespread), would lend support to this theory. And the situation at Pinewood, where a majority of staff appear to be somewhat indifferent to, or sceptical of, the administrators' fervent desires to institutionalise global education, is illustrative of how the 'defense mechanisms' used by a critical mass of teachers can impact upon the overall climate of the school (Tye and Tye, 1992, 243).

In general, my data confirm Fullan's (1991, 250) conclusion that 'educational reform requires the conjoint efforts of families and schools'. The schools in which global education had been most successfully and comprehensively implemented were those where high levels of community involvement were apparent. In most of these cases, parents were enthusiastically supportive of their school's initiative, though some practitioners expressed doubts as to whether the support was for global education *per se*, or for any school-based innovation that generated interest and excitement amongst students and staff. This suggests that the culture of the community - the predominant attitudes, beliefs and worldviews of parents - may not, necessarily, need to be congruent with the culture of individual teachers and of the school for global education to prosper. Interestingly, one of the most holistic and far-reaching innovations, Education 2000, was being undertaken in a relatively conservative (according to practitioners) community, District 900. Whilst parental opposition appeared to be gathering steam during my visit, the data collected indicated that the conscious and systematic involvement of community members in the project's early stages had managed to assuage parental anxieties, for the time being. *Involvement* of parents would certainly seem to be critical; whether global education can be implemented successfully in a community without majority *support* remains to be seen. Hoffbauer (n.d., 12), writing about the Education 2000 Project in rural Minnesota, is doubtful, arguing that 'as schools continue to generally maintain the culture that is represented in the community, it becomes imperative that community members as well become stakeholders in this effort for school change'. Tye and Tye (1992) hypothesise that, in an era of increasing standardisation in education, success of innovations such as global education will be largely dependent upon the ethos of the school district. Again, District 900 provides an excellent example of the potential for innovation if systematically undertaken on a district-wide basis. However, some of the other schools visited, in both countries, illustrate how single schools - with supportive communities - can implement global education successfully with only token support from their board or district. In fact, in some cases the school's initiative appeared to be acting as a catalyst by generating interest in global education among teachers in neighbouring schools. External support, from some quarters, would seem to be important, though it may not always spring from the same source.

In summary, practitioners' derivation of meaning in global education would appear to be subject to an intricate web of factors, at the heart of which is the dynamic relationship between two cultures: those of the teacher and of the school. Each culture may, in turn, be shaped by a range of influences, including personal beliefs and experiences, the availability of local expertise, meaningful professional development, administrative support and community involvement. While each culture may operate, to some extent, at variance with the other, the greater the degree of congruence, the greater the likelihood of whole-school success in the implementation of global education and in the satisfactory development of meaning among practitioners. This general hypothesis notwithstanding, my data, together with other empirical studies, suggest that there can be no single blueprint, either from a proponent's viewpoint in terms of guaranteeing a successful innovation, or from a practitioner's perspective with regard to the development of meaning. Even when the key facilitative factors are known, the multiple interactions of teacher and school culture create a whole that is infinitely greater, and more complex, than the sum of its parts.

Constructing a framework of influence on practitioners' development of meaning

The influences of school and teacher culture on practitioners' derivation of meaning in global education can be seen to be generally consistent with other research, as noted above, on educational innovation and teacher thinking. However, none of this research provides a satisfactory explanation for the distinctiveness of perceptions of global education held by practitioners in the three countries; nor can it explain how, when proponents' ideas appear to have limited impact on the shaping of practitioners' perceptions, such close parallels exist between the two. A significant piece of the puzzle would seem to be missing: the influence of national culture - the prevailing culture at the macro level of society - on both proponents and practitioners.

My data, from the literature and from the field, pose a challenge to Alger's (1986, 257) contention that global education is fundamentally different from previous attempts to internationalise the curriculum, because 'it requires the removal of the national border as a barrier in education'. Certainly, the ubiquitous focus on interdependence, the consideration of other cultural perspectives and the discussion of universal global issues, inevitably encourage global educators to explore situations and perspectives that lie beyond the boundaries of their nation; and the common strands of theory and practice noted among all three countries are testament to a 'globalisation' of global education that is, perhaps, increasing (K. Tye, forthcoming). Nonetheless, significant differences in perception remain among proponents and practitioners in the three countries studied, especially in relation to prevailing worldviews and their consequent ramifications for the interpretation of the purpose and practice of global education. Despite similarities in general goals and rhetorical belief statements, what global education *actually looks like* - the emphases and nuances in the literature, the concepts and processes given priority in the classroom, the underlying ideologies and values' systems - is distinctive. Such differences, I would suggest, are bound up in the overall influence of national culture on the complex processes through which global educators - both proponents and practitioners - seek to understand and interpret their roles and their craft.

As many writers have noted, to talk about national culture in an era of increasing globalisation is problematic. Anderson's (1990, 21) 'globalization of American society' in economic, political and cultural terms is a reflection of a worldwide trend that is decreasing the homogeneity of any one national culture at the same time as increasing its degree of commonality with others. However, the concept of an emerging 'global culture' - the assumption that individual cultures will inevitably lose their distinctiveness - is, as Johnson (1993) points out, only one interpretation of this trend. Those who take a cultural particularist view, such as Geertz (1973) argue that humans are 'unfinished animals' who complete themselves through highly particular forms of culture. For Geertz, culture is best described as 'a set of symbolic devices for controlling behavior' that:

> provides the link between what men are intrinsically capable of becoming and what they actually, one by one, in fact become. Becoming human is becoming individual, and we become individual under the guidance of cultural patterns, historically created systems of meaning in terms of which we give form, order, point, and direction to our lives. And the cultural patterns involved are not general but specific - not just "marriage" but a particular set of notions about what men and women are like, how spouses should treat one another, or who should properly marry whom; not just "religion" but belief in the wheel of karma, the observance of a month of fasting, or the practice of cattle sacrifice. ... As culture shaped us as a single species - and is no doubt still shaping us - so too it shapes us as separate individuals. This, neither an unchanging subcultural self nor an established cross-cultural consensus, is what we really have in common. (p. 52)

Such a view of culture need not deny the ramifications of the forces of globalisation on societies at economic and political levels; rather, it recognises a reality in which, at the level of individual identity, some cultural patterns endure. Or, as Ignatieff (1994, 7) puts it:

> All this airy stuff about the global village simply doesn't engage with the fact that people don't live in that global village; they live in their language, they live in their culture.

According to this view, national culture does not disappear into an amorphous global pot, because culture is essentially about an individual's sense of belonging: 'the warm sensation that people understand not merely what you say but what you mean' (Ignatieff, 1993, 7). National cultures may intermingle, as in multicultural communities, and this process may result in the cross-fertilisation of ideas and practices, but some fundaments of each culture remain intact. 'Culture', suggests Geertz (1973, 46), 'is not just an ornament of human existence but ... an essential condition for it'.

Within this conception of culture, it is possible to comprehend how, amidst the dynamic forces of globalisation, nationalism as a 'cultural ideal' - 'the claim that while men and women have many identities, it is the nation which provides them with their primary form of belonging' (Ignatieff, 1993, 3) - can thrive. To speak, then, of a 'national culture' in societies - such as those of Canada, the UK and the USA - that are self-evidently polycultural in origin and make-up is to portray a cultural paradox. It is to suggest that there exists a predominant or mainstream culture - 'a set of symbolic devices for controlling behavior' (Geertz, 1973, 52) - that has been shaped by, and continues to shape, the majority of individuals for whom that nation provides their primary sense of belonging. At the same time separate from and interacting with that mainstream culture are minority cultures (perhaps regionally or ethnically based, such as in Quebec or among Afro-Americans), each serving as the purveyors of primary belonging to smaller groups of individuals in the society. Over time, of course, an individual's sense of belonging may shift its primary derivation, by degrees, from the minority to the mainstream culture, often in the process instigating imperceptible changes within the latter. In this way do cultures grow and change. 'National culture' is, according to this interpretation, a concept that conveys principally the mainstream cultural viewpoint of a society at a particular point in time; it does, to an extent, exclude minority cultural perspectives, though it recognises that they are omnipresent and constantly exerting pressures for change.

My hypothesis is that national culture, as so defined, provides the overall context within which proponents and practitioners, in any country, derive meaning in global education. Being common to both, it explains the similarities of interpretation noted between proponents and practitioners, despite limited communication or interaction, as well as offering a rational exposition of distinctive national characteristics. Of course, national culture does not act in isolation; rather, it interacts with the subcultures of the individual practitioner (or proponent) and of the school (or other institution). In this regard, models emanating from research into teacher thinking provide useful frameworks on which to build. In trying to understand the fate of innovations in schools, Olson (1988) is critical of the predominant cognitive perspective on teacher thinking which, he argues, has failed to take sufficient account of the culture of which a teacher is part. Understanding the relationship between thought and action requires more than comprehension of the teacher's personal, private world; meaning is derived through interaction with the public, social world:

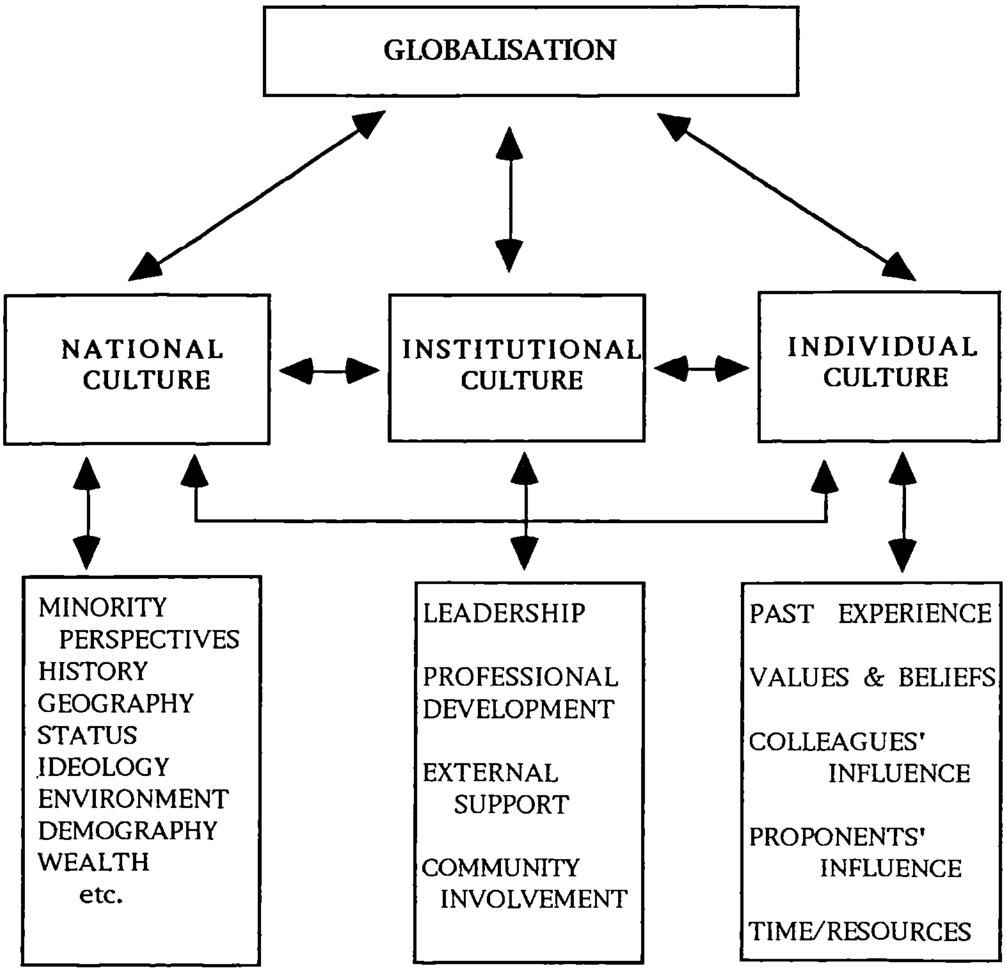
> The *personal* knowledge of the teacher and his or her thoughts during action reflect a teacher's understanding of the culture to which he or she belongs. It is the putting into words of what the teacher knows *how* to do in order to act correctly in that culture. What is personal about it is simply that it is an individual's construction of what is essentially *public*. (p. 169)

It is this 'cultural embeddedness of meaning' (Olson, 1980, 4) that, he argues, innovators and proponents need - and often fail - to appreciate. The culture within which teacher knowledge is most obviously and most immediately embedded is that of the school; but as Hamilton (1993, 88) reminds us, school culture 'is linked to the larger social order by staff members' shared perceptions of the social class of the school's typical student and to the educational demands of the community'. Taking an even broader view, Zeichner, Tabachnick and Densmore (1987, 30) point out that teacher and school cultures are linked to 'ideologies, practices, and material conditions at the macro level of society (e.g. inequalities in wealth and power)'. They contend, however, that this macro level of cultural influence on the socialisation of teachers has received less attention than influences emanating from the classroom and the school.

In their concept of 'ecological intelligence' Yinger and Hendricks-Lee (1993, 102) attempt to identify with greater precision the various influences on teacher thinking and action. They suggest that knowledge is not solely in the mind of the individual, but is inherent in the systems within which the individual interacts: cultural, physical, social, historical and personal. According to this view, teachers' working knowledge is constructed over time through 'interactional conversation' (p. 112), a dialectical process that engages multiple systems in the creation of new meanings, relationships and actions. Thus, knowledge is both extracted from and shaped by teachers' personal experiences and situations, past and present, at the same time as giving new meaning to those experiences. In more concrete terms, Day (1993b, 141) offers a model of the multiple factors affecting teachers' thinking and development: at its heart are the interconnected 'filters' of school and teacher culture, each interpreting and giving meaning to the various external demands and interests that impact upon them. These include, at the school level, legislation, environmental factors and leadership; and at the teacher level, personal values and learning preferences, career situation and professional development opportunities. All these factors, he argues, have to be taken into account in considering the development of teachers' thinking and practice.

Drawing from these studies into the relationship between teacher thinking and the various systems that teachers inhabit, Figure 1 offers a 'framework of influence' on practitioners' development of meaning in global education, incorporating the factors (at the institutional and individual levels) found to be most significant in this study.

Figure 1. A framework of influence on practitioners' development of meaning


GLOBALISATION
NATIONAL CULTURE
INSTITUTIONAL CULTURE
INDIVIDUAL CULTURE
MINORITY PERSPECTIVES
HISTORY
GEOGRAPHY
STATUS
IDEOLOGY
ENVIRONMENT
DEMOGRAPHY
WEALTH
etc.
LEADERSHIP
PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT
EXTERNAL SUPPORT
COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT
PAST EXPERIENCE
VALUES & BELIEFS
COLLEAGUES' INFLUENCE
PROPONENTS' INFLUENCE
TIME/RESOURCES

The framework extends previous work on teacher thinking in two ways: first, by suggesting that national culture is the broader context within which institutional (school) and individual teacher cultures are shaped; and second, in postulating the impact of globalisation on all three levels of culture. This latter hypothesis is derived from the systems view that informs holistic models of global education (Greig, Pike and Selby, 1989; Kniep and Martin-Kniep, 1995); it supposes that, in the contemporary world, two-way lines of influence operate not only between countries and global systems, but also directly between people, social organisations and global systems. In a sense, the very existence of global education is confirmation of this belief. Educators' perceptions of the impact of globalisation, caused by the operations of global systems, has resulted in teachers' and school-based initiatives to increase students' understanding of, and participation in, those systems; in so doing, individuals and institutions are further contributing (via cross-cultural and international links, and the interchange of knowledge and ideas) to globalisation itself. Global education is both a response to and instigator of global change.

Similarly, national culture is seen to exert influence on, and be shaped by, both institutional and individual culture through mutually transformative interactions. At the level of national culture, the predominant framework of values and control mechanisms provides the context in which the principal goals and practices of education - and hence, the functions of teachers and schools - are determined; this is what Barbara Tye (1990, 36) refers to as the 'deep structure of schooling'. At the same time, individuals and institutions are making choices and pursuing paths of action that impact upon national culture. Thus, the interpretation of global education by educators in any country is informed, in part, by the prevailing cultural framework, whilst the collective impact of the practice of global education in schools feeds back into that framework. At each level of culture, of course, other significant factors come into play, as shown in the model (these are not intended to constitute a comprehensive list, but to represent those that appear from my data to be critical to practitioners' development of meaning; factors influential on national culture [not part of my research] are presumed). The model is systemic in conception; in other words, it is possible that any constituent element will impact upon all other parts of the system. For example, one can envisage how lack of time for teachers to reflect on and plan global education approaches - one small component - can result in practitioners' insufficiency of understanding or skills, leading to lack of school-wide take-up and support, thereby contributing to public misconceptions or ignorance of global education and a consequent missed opportunity to gain awareness of the forces of globalisation. In reality, of course, the paths of interaction are not linear; other factors inevitably interfere and steer the 'interactional conversation' in multiple directions simultaneously.

Although not specifically represented in Figure 1, it would seem reasonable to assume that proponents are similarly influenced by the twin forces of globalisation and national culture. Certainly, the perceived impact of globalisation, and its ramifications for the lives of students, are fundamental tenets of the rationale for global education in all three countries (L. Anderson, 1968, 1990; Head, 1994; Pike and Selby, 1988); additionally, global trends and issues that are, in part, the result of globalisation form the backbone of the conceptual models and frameworks constructed by proponents

(Fisher and Hicks, 1985; Hanvey, 1976; Lyons, 1992b). Thus, proponents view global education as a necessary adjustment within education systems to encompass the realities of globalisation. The influence of national culture on proponents' visions is less obvious from their writing, though occasional pertinent references are made, such as Canadians' 'passion for internationalism' (Moore, 1992) and Lamy's (1989) assertion that Americans react unfavourably to a worldview that sees the power of the USA in decline; both of these traits can be detected throughout the respective literatures (see Section Two). Indeed, if one takes Ignatieff's (1993) view that it is the nation that provides people with their primary form of belonging, it is unlikely that proponents, even those with profound understanding of the realities of global systems, can break free from the shackles of the national culture within which they have been socialised. Not all proponents, of course, are embedded within the mainstream culture of the country in which they publish their work; further research would be needed to establish whether proponents who are immigrants, or who espouse minority cultural positions, perceive global education differently. The debate that took place in the UK between world studies and anti-racist educators would suggest this to be so (Mullard, 1982; Wright, 1982); the dialogue developing in the USA between global and multicultural educators (Merryfield, 1996) could offer further enlightenment. As was noted in Section Two, models of global education in the British and Canadian literature borrow from writers in other countries, whereas American models are almost exclusively reliant on the ideas of American proponents. This fact would seem to accord with the more overtly nationalist orientation of global education noted in the American literature; it could also account, in part, for the distinctive characteristics of American models, when compared with the similar visions of many British and Canadian proponents. Again, further research is needed to explore the relationship between national culture, predominant worldviews and specific models of global education, and to thereby determine the extent to which proponents are able - and willing - to break out of the constraining frameworks of culture in order to truly remove 'the national border as a barrier in education' (Alger, 1986, 257).

Concluding reflections

In the final part of this chapter, the framework of influence on practitioners' development of meaning will be utilised in seeking further insight into some of the basic issues and problems, outlined in Chapter 1, concerning the implementation of global education in schools. These can be organised under three general headings: the problems of defining global education; the relationship between meaning and practice; and how proponents might be of greatest assistance to practitioners.

i. The problems of defining global education

Problems associated with defining global education, or with arriving at a succinct and meaningful characterisation, have been noted throughout this study. The framework of influence affords a glimpse at some possible reasons. Alger's assertion of the fundamental difference of global education can be justified in one respect, at least: there can be few other educational innovations that have required of practitioners a conscious understanding of influences on their lives at so many levels, from personal values to the impact of globalisation. Of course, the confluence of all such influences may inform practitioners' responses to any innovation; I would submit, however, that the arena in which the 'interactional conversation' (Yinger and Hendricks-Lee, 1993) usually takes place at a conscious level comprises the interpenetration of individual and institutional cultures. In other words, in responding to innovations, practitioners generally weigh up personal and school-related factors; rarely do they have to consider national and global forces. I am suggesting, therefore, that practitioners' difficulties in defining global education stem, in part, from the problems of finding meaning in an educational innovation that cannot be sufficiently understood in the context of the cultural framework within which teachers normally operate. To understand global education requires more than 'the removal of the national border' (Alger, 1986) as a theoretical idea; it demands crossing the 'perceptual threshold' (Brooks, 1987) into an arena of debate that considers not only the needs of students, teachers and schools but also the priorities of one's own country, other peoples and species, and the exigencies of the planet. As suggested in Chapter 10, that debate inevitably draws upon a complex web of personal attitudes and beliefs, not just about education, but touching upon broader issues relating to the need for identity and belonging, and the obligations of national and global citizenship. This is 'global education as a moral enterprise' (Darling, n.d., 2), wherein teachers' thinking about their practice invokes personal convictions concerning the ethics of global realities and education's moral purpose. In so doing, practitioners are operating at the highest level of Zeichner and Liston's (1987) three levels of reflection, where moral and ethical criteria are incorporated into their thinking about practice. As Handal (1990) found in Norway, and Day (1993b) confirms in England, teachers are unaccustomed to talking about their work at this level, as most of their reflection time is spent at the lowest level, that of pursuing the most proficient means to achieve pre-determined ends.

To put it another way, defining global education can be seen as a public, not private activity (Olson, 1988). Personal knowledge essentially reflects a teacher's understanding of the culture to which he or she belongs; in the case of global education, the scope of the public world - the set of rules that governs correct behaviour - has expanded considerably beyond the culture of the school to incorporate the etiquette of national and global citizenship. As a public arena, it is vast and full of inconsistency and ambiguity: the interests of the planet, the country, the school, the teacher and the student may not always appear to be in harmony, yet global education practitioners - if they are to find meaning - have to steer a course through these sets of conflicting priorities. It should not be surprising, therefore, to discover significant variations in practitioner perceptions (as noted in some Canadian schools), nor indeed to stumble across an isolated 'disconfirming case' (as found in some American locations). Such cases represent examples of individuals who have chosen to steer an alternative course, to derive greater significance from their interpretation of the cultural rules at the national and individual levels than at the institutional level. For them, the culture of the school, generally a major factor in determining the fate of an innovation (Fullan, 1993), has limited influence; meaning is derived more from interactions at other levels.

ii. The relationship between meaning and practice

Definitions themselves become part of established cultural patterns and can, therefore, exercise their own constraints. In District 900, the conscious decision to not use the term 'global education', on the grounds of mitigating potential public antagonism, may have facilitated a more holistic conception of its theory and practice than is generally found elsewhere in the United States. According to the framework of influence (Figure 1), prevailing definitions or characterisations of global education would be located at the level of national culture, in that they represent a collective response by a nation's educators (proponents and practitioners) to the trend of globalisation. Whilst individual definitions may vary, I would submit that a tacit understanding builds up among prominent educators that characterises global education in terms of a set of non-specific goals that is embedded within the national culture; this becomes the 'label' of global education. In her rhetorical question: 'Why label it, when we can't even define it?' (District 900/A2/Int.), the district administrator was alluding to a very real problem in the implementation of global education - that, partly due to the absence of an agreed, meaningful definition, the label with which global education has grown up may actually inhibit the path of an innovation that is at variance with, or wishes to extend, the tacit understanding. The two schools affiliated with the ASCD Project (Chapelton and Fairview) illustrate this point well: practitioners claim to accept the relatively holistic curriculum framework promoted by the Project, but changes in their established global education practice towards the more innovative elements of the framework appear to be few. This would suggest the advisability of reformulating Tye and Tye's (1992, 235) hypothesis that, because meaning develops as teachers engage in activity, 'it is probably unnecessary to spend much time and energy trying to define key concepts prior to beginning an innovative project'. While generally supporting the view that it is the '*moving back and forth between action and reflection* which is critical' (p. 236, italics in original), my data suggest that it may also be necessary to identify, at the outset, the perceptions and assumptions that practitioners already hold. As Tye and Tye found in their own study, teachers responded to the introduction of global education in their schools in different ways, depending upon 'the meaning the concept had for them' (p. 239). Global education, like most other innovations, does not arrive in a school as a blank slate; it is often encumbered by a whole baggage of assumptions and beliefs that are part of the 'deep structure' (B. Tye, 1990) from which educators draw. The development of meaning, therefore, involves not only experimentation with new ideas and practices, but also the measuring of new approaches against dominant preconceptions. Thus, as was found in my data, some practitioners were pleasantly surprised - or disappointed - to find that global education encompasses aspects they had not presumed. With regard to facilitating practitioners' development of meaning, these observations would seem to advocate a hybrid of other proponents' recommendations. The quest for a clear and agreed definition (Alladin, 1989; Case, 1991; Duggan and Thorpe, 1986; Heater, 1980) may not be fruitful, especially at the outset of an initiative, for meaning in global education is individually constructed through the synergetic processes of action and reflection (Merryfield, 1993). On the other hand, jumping straight into action (Tye and Tye, 1992) may be counter-productive, for it allows practitioners' preconceptions to unduly influence the initial period of experimentation.

iii. How proponents might best assist practitioners

In reviewing the questions posed from a personal standpoint as an in-service educator (see Chapter 1), I realise that this study offers few definitive answers. The choice of breadth over depth in methodological design, and the gathering of data in different educational settings, has precluded arriving at valid conclusions concerning the optimum construction of in-service courses in global education. The most that can be said in this regard is that professional development, of some kind, appears to be a critical factor (alongside several others) in practitioners' development of meaning. Additionally, the data from Canada and the USA would suggest that accessibility is a key requirement in the provision of support services and resources; this may argue against the efficacy of long-term, university-based courses such as DIGAME in favour of the school- and district-based initiatives explored in Stage Two. Further research into the best in-service strategies for assisting practitioners' development of meaning is clearly needed. On the other hand, the merits of my methodological choices lie in the number of practitioner perceptions that have been glimpsed, albeit as brief snapshots. One-off, semi-structured interviews with 'information-rich' (Patton, 1990) cases are not likely to produce the kind of 'thick descriptions' (Miles and Huberman, 1994) that can be subjected to profound analysis; they can be relied on, however, to indicate general trends in practitioners' thinking and action, especially where supported by documentary and observational data. Their validity is further enhanced where such trends are commonly found among data collected from related sources (*e.g.* from the same school or district, or from the same country), so that patterns or recurring themes can be detected. It is at this macro level of analysis - the inclusive vision of the panoramic sweep, rather than the microscopic detail of forensic examination - that the findings of this study can be of use in the wider promotion of global education.

If the influence of proponents on practitioners' development of meaning is, generally, as limited as my data suggest, the question remains as to the nature and scope of the role that proponents might play in order to foster the implementation of global education in the classroom. A number of possibilities arise from this study, each worthy of further exploration. The first, and perhaps most important, step is to acknowledge and comprehend the ways in which proponents' visions differ from practitioners' perceptions. As Olson (1980, 3-4) reminds us:

> An innovation is in the eye of the beholder. What the innovator makes of the innovation simply isn't what the user will make of it. ... To assume that an innovation is transparently clear to all is to fail to appreciate the cultural embeddedness of meaning and the extent of the difference between the cultures to which innovators and teachers usually belong.

Evidently, as was noted in the literature survey, proponents do not assume that global education is 'transparently clear to all', for it is a matter of considerable debate among themselves. However, the paucity of research on the classroom implementation of global education suggests that proponents *are* guilty of failing to appreciate the culture within which practitioners work. In terms of my 'framework of influence', it seems probable that both proponents and practitioners derive meaning from the 'interactional conversation' occurring among the national, institutional and individual levels of culture; it is at the institutional level that their cultural worlds will most obviously differ. In attempting to portray what an innovation looks like to practitioners, Olson (1980, 6) uses the personal analogy of once receiving a complex model aeroplane kit without any instructions. He proceeded to construct a simple aeroplane, using bits that looked familiar; some parts did not fit well and many pieces were not used at all. Global education is certainly a complex package, and instructions - where they exist at all - are vague and challenging. It is not hard to imagine how and why practitioners, inhabiting an entirely different cultural world, seize upon certain bits and stick them together in an approximation of the original design, but lacking its depth and sophistication. From the proponents' point of view, two critical questions need to be asked. Is the original design the most appropriate for facilitating assembly of a model that reflects the essence of the originator's intent? And, what instructions should accompany the kit? Of course, the model aeroplane analogy does not allow for the fact that global education practitioners can, and will, add pieces of their own making; nonetheless, the two questions are still important.

The design of an appropriate model for global education will, undoubtedly, continue to exercise proponents and take up space in the literature for some time to come. Although this study did not set out to reach conclusions about particular models, it does point to some general tendencies in practitioners' utilisation of conceptual models that should be taken into account. First, and most obviously, proponents' models are unlikely to be adopted, *in toto*, by practitioners; for all the reasons discussed previously, models will be re-interpreted over a period of time through reflection and action. Second, the models most appreciated are those that provide not just a theoretical framework, but also guidelines for practice. Third, models that appear overwhelming - due to their comprehensiveness, their conceptual complexities, or their lack of groundedness in the experience of the practitioner - are more prone to dismissal, or very partial utilisation, than models that seem 'user-friendly'. Fourth, the model favoured by any single practitioner is likely to be the one that most effectively meshes with the significant components of her/his individual and institutional cultures; even so, it will be adapted. Fifth, practitioners' successful utilisation of models depends not only on the above factors, but also on the availability of other aspects deemed significant to the development of meaning, such as time, professional development, administrative and collegial support, and community involvement. From this list, which is far from exhaustive, it is readily apparent that a 'one size fits all' model of global education is not appropriate. Flexibility and adaptability are critical. In fact, to continue the model aeroplane analogy, it would seem better not to provide the individual pieces at all, but rather to offer an overall design and supply the raw materials with which practitioners can create their own models.

But what of the instructions? In other words, what are the most useful conduits of advice and communication between proponents and practitioners? If the culture of the innovator and the culture of the user are so different, then bridges have to be built between them. In my study, an effective bridge was constructed through professional development situations in which proponents served as local sources of expertise and support; in this way, the two cultures could interact and find mutually acceptable meanings. Another example of a bridge can be found in the development of practical, classroom-oriented activities and units through which proponents illustrate the concrete application of ideas; these may not be used by practitioners in exactly the format prescribed, but they do provide prototypes upon which personalised lessons can be modelled. Perhaps the most useful bridge, however, exists only in skeleton form at present: a substantial research programme, in which proponents and practitioners collaborate in a variety of studies, in multiple locations and contexts, around the practice of global education and its effectiveness in achieving its desired goals. Only then will global educators, proponents and practitioners together, be able to write meaningful instructions with any degree of conviction or clarity.

As I began this study by outlining a personal imperative, it seems appropriate to end on a note of personal reflection. The professional journey that this thesis recounts has not led me to make astounding discoveries or ground-breaking conclusions about the field of global education. Rather, it has unveiled evidence to confirm, and elucidate, some conditions and trends of which my work in the three countries had made me dimly aware. That in itself is satisfying, though it is not the most memorable aspect of the journey. For a proponent, cloistered in ivory-towered comfort, glimpses of the practitioners' world are rare and often discomposing: the actualisation of a vision is a messy, incomplete business. However, my interactions with teachers, students, parents and administrators, my sojourns in classrooms, have been more uplifting than unnerving. True, I have listened to accounts and witnessed events that have made me wonder about the plausibility of some of global education's more Utopian goals; I have anguished about the mixed messages and baldly prejudiced images of the world that have been offered to students. On the other hand, I have encountered professional dedication of the highest order and real commitment to the goals of personal, social and global improvement through the medium of schooling. I have enjoyed a plethora of perspectives on, and definitions of, global education - some quaintly pleasing: 'it's courtesy on a world scale'; some empassioned and all-embracing: 'it's the big picture. It's where I fit. It's how I can change things'; some verging on the poetic: 'it's almost the feeling of every breath you take is part of moving through the universe'. Through such experiences and insights, I have come to gain a little understanding of the complex, unruly world of the contemporary classroom and a lot of admiration for the global education practitioner.

Appendix 1

Global Education Research

Pre-Interview Questionnaire

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire. Please give as much detail as you can - it will help me to focus the interview questions.

Graham Pike

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1. How, and approximately when, did you first hear about global education?

2. What were your reasons for getting involved in global education?

3. What are your principal sources of information about global education (e.g. publications, workshops, lectures, media, colleagues, etc.)? Please give specific titles of publications, if possible.

4. What training, if any, in global education have you received, at a pre- or in-service level?

5. In what ways does global education theory and/or practice influence your teaching?

6. What is it about global education that most interests or motivates you as a teacher?

Please complete:

Name ______________________________ School ________________________

Position in school ____________________ Grade levels taught _______

Appendix 2

Global Education Research

School Profile Sheet

Name of School ____

No. of students enrolled ________ No. of staff (full-time equivalent) _______

Grade levels ___________

1. Description of the community served by the school.

2. Description of the ethnic/cultural composition, and linguistic diversity, of the student population.

3. What are the school's main strengths?

4. What are the principal challenges facing the school?

5. What part, in general terms, does global education play in the goals and programs of the school?

6. Any other relevant information?

Completed by ______________________

Position in the school _________________ Date _________________

Thank you for completing this form.

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