

Global citizenship education in school curricula. A Polish perspective.

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to present global citizenship education from a Polish perspective. Analyzing the issue, the first part of this paper presents the development of citizenship education, followed by the current status of global citizenship education in Polish schools. In the second part of the study I draw attention to national curricula and other supporting documents published after 1945, to verify whether issues of global citizenship education in Poland are included in the curricula, and if so, what they highlight. I then argue that global citizenship education in Poland is based on a framework of world-centered perspectives within a national context. In this understanding, global citizenship education is aimed at creating citizens who are members of the world community, without giving up their own national identity. The Polish perspective on global citizenship education urges pupils to consider global problems as part of the challenges of their own country, and offers the perception of local and global problems being linked and complementary to each other.

Key words: *Citizenship education, global citizenship education, Poland, curriculum*

Introduction

Citizenship in a traditional sense is defined as membership in a political and geographic community, which provides legal status, rights, and belonging (Bloemraad, Korteweg & Yurdakul 2008). Aspects of citizenship include duties, responsibilities, participation (O'Byrne, 2003; Delanty, 2000), a particular set of attributes and a status, feeling or practice (Osler and Starkey, 2005), categories, ties, roles (Tilly, 1996), identity (Tilly, 1996; Delanty, 2000), and participation (Delanty, 2000).

Keatings (2014, 43-44) sees the concept of citizenship as a legal status and a set of behaviors and skills. When considering legal status within citizenship, the global element would rarely be included. The difference within the meaning refers, however, to a set of behaviors and skills, such as participation, involvement, engagement, and the feeling of belonging. If the term 'citizenship' is seen as more of a series of behaviors and skills, such as participation and the feeling of belonging, then the global element to citizenship is more likely to be recognized. It can be argued that if the perception of citizenship refers to identification with a place, or a sense of place, then the global element can be seen as helping people make sense of their place in the world and developing their identity in global issues. This assumption follows Davies' (2006) view that global citizenship education inculcates in

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students the notion of not just belonging to their own nation, but to the world, and encompasses global issues including human rights, democracy, social justice, and conflict. In addition to participation and identification, inclusion can be added. This is emphasized by James Banks (2004) when considering citizenship in a multicultural and global world. One of the aims of citizenship education, according to Banks, “should be the development of reflective and clarified identification with own cultural communities, nation-states and the global community. Students need to be able to acquire the knowledge, attitudes and skills needed to act to make the nation and the world more democratic” (Banks, 2004).

Following the assumptions of Davis, Evans & Reid (2005), global citizenship education should be placed within the broader context of citizenship education, due to the similarity of rationale and the variability of models that the latter offers. The traditional view of national citizenship compared to a more global perspective is one of the constraints in the national versus global dilemma (Rapoport, 2009; Davies, Evans, & Reid, 2005; Parker, Ninomiya & Cogan, 1999; Thornton, 2005). Global citizenship education is not simply an expanded local or nation citizenship education (Davies, 2006), but the logical development of a citizenship needed for all contemporary citizens, aimed at the development of cultural, national, and global identifications; it also significantly contributes to civic democratic development (Rapoport, 2009; Banks, 2004). When discussing the kind of citizenship employed in the curriculum, academics and policy makers distinguish between education *about* citizenship and education *for/through* citizenship. Education *about* citizenship takes the narrow approach to citizenship and focuses on providing descriptive information about civic matters, such as institutions. The opposite model, “education *for/through* citizenship”, is considered adequate for promoting effective citizenship (Kerr, 1999; Keating, 2009) as it aims to provide students with the knowledge, values, attitudes, and skills needed to effectively participate in the civic sphere (Kerr, 1999, p. 12). Keating notes that citizenship education “must include each of these dimensions in order to facilitate the emergence of an active, critical, and knowledgeable citizenry” (2009, p. 166). Additionally, citizenship education has been categorized along a continuum of minimal to maximal characteristics (Cogan & Morris, 2001; Davies & Issitt, 2005; DeJaeghere, 2006; Kerr, 1999; McLaughlin, 1992). Minimal citizenship education includes normative ideas of citizenship and emphasizes knowledge about institutions, responsibilities, laws, rights and the political system, but leaves little room for different perspectives and ideas about the enactment of rights in the daily lives of people, or discussion about the meaning of democracy (See McLaughlin, 1992; Kerr, 1999). Maximal

citizenship education for McLaughlin (1992) and Kerr (1999) deals in participation in democracy and civic life at all levels, which requires development of values, attitudes, and behaviors.

The purpose of this study is to present global citizenship education from a Polish perspective. The first part builds on a review of literature on global citizenship education, presenting the development of citizenship education, followed by the current status of global citizenship education in Polish schools. Global citizenship education in Poland is acknowledged as part of its general citizenship education, therefore I decided to first describe the development of citizenship education, and then the current status of global citizenship education in Polish schools. I chose this approach because in my opinion, global citizenship education has roots in the history of the country, its national traditions, relation to citizenship and perception of global challenges. Another reason for this approach was to give a background for the national context of education in Poland in general, and education in global citizenship in particular. A brief overview of the development and status of civics education and global citizenship education in Poland shows that the changes in this area of education are followed by socio-political changes in the country. Global citizenship education in Poland is another step towards opening Poland to the world, preparing young generations of Poles to be citizens in their own country and active participants in the global community, after years of the country's isolation from foreign influences.

I use an analysis of the literature on global citizenship education and its development in Poland as a starting point for the second component of the paper – analysis of the Polish national core curriculum. Within this component I tried to verify whether issues of global citizenship education in Poland are included in the national curricula, and if so, what they highlight. Looking at the teaching content of the national curriculum in Poland, I argue that global citizenship education consists of a world-centered perspective with a national context. In that understanding, global education aims to create a citizen that is a member of the global community, without giving up their own national identity.

There is a great deal of debate and discussion around this question of what is citizenship education and global citizenship education, for the purpose of this paper the term “citizenship education” follows the UNESCO definition meaning educating “children from early childhood, to become clear-thinking and enlightened citizens who participate in decisions concerning society, understood in the special sense of a nation with a circumscribed

territory which is recognized as a state” and “training children for adulthood and citizenship” (UNESCO, 1998). Although no widely accepted definition for the term “global citizenship education” exists, for purposes of my paper, a common view of global citizenship is adopted that implies equipping young people with the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes required to respond to the increasing number of environmental, economic and social issues facing our world today (Davies, 2006; Goodreau et al., 2004; Oxfam, 2015).

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Research questions and methodology

In order to present global citizenship education from a Polish perspective, I posed the following research questions: (1) How developed is global citizenship education in Poland? (2) What issues of global citizenship education in Poland are included in the curriculum? (3) Which of these issues are highlighted in Polish education?

To address the first research question, I made a review of the literature, to examine the development of citizenship education and global citizenship education. To address the second and third research questions I analyzed the national curriculum, identifying which of the key themes and issues of global citizenship education were present in it. The focus of the study is the national curriculum introduced in schools in 2009. This covers compulsory general education levels: ISCED1 – primary education, ISCED 2 – lower secondary and ISCED 3 – upper secondary (6-18 years of age).

I organized my research into a series of two readings, or analytical stages. With the first reading I went through the structure, objectives and teaching content of all subjects covered by the curriculum. Not surprisingly, it turned out that social studies, environmental education and history emerged as the subjects with the greatest concentration of global education-related topics and activities. With the second reading, I tried to verify which issues in global citizenship education were being emphasized. For the purposes of these analyses, I created a tool, the ‘Template for analysis of core curricula in Poland’. It was used to present the respective parts of the national curriculum and contained 3 parts: 1) subjects covered, 2) structure of documents, 3) scope of the teaching objectives, 4) scope of the teaching content.

Citizenship education and global citizenship education in Poland – past and present

The tradition of citizenship education in Poland dates back to the Enlightenment, in particular to the education reform introduced by the Commission of the National Education (1773-1794)². After the loss of its independence in the nineteenth century, Poland shared the fate of many small European nations who were not politically independent and suffered under occupying forces. Civic education at that time, conducted mainly within families rather than schools, was aimed at developing in young Poles patriotism and a readiness to sacrifice for their motherland (Cwiek-Karpowicz, 2008).

After regaining independence after World War I, and with the introduction of compensatory education, civics education formally came to schools. (Cwiek-Karpowicz, 2008). Its concept was based on new meaning and awareness of being a citizen in one's own country. The education policy, valid in Polish schools between World War I and World War II, strongly emphasized the skills needed to think and act as a Polish citizen. Introduction of the citizenship curriculum was then followed by the development of teacher training materials and recommendations to create a separate room in schools, the so-called national classroom, where the citizenship education of young Poles would be conducted. A significant role was played by citizenship educators, who were not only responsible for teaching, but for being role models by behaving as good Polish citizens in their private life. Citizenship education in 1918-1939 in Poland was characterized by patriotism and the development of the moral principles and range of duties and rights of every citizen (Cwiek-Karpowicz, 2008). The national curriculum and school books emphasized the principles that every citizen should follow in life, in particularly *fidelity and obedience*, which were understood as respect for the constitution and state law in general.

After World War II, “progressive education known in Western countries, was unknown in Poland, pupils were rather trained than educated and frequently alienated by compulsory Russian lessons and excessive doses of political propaganda” (Davies, 2005, p.452). Schools were used mainly as a tool for political indoctrination (Janowski, 1993, pp. 42-43; Korzeniowski & Machalek, 2011, p. 20; Zahorska-Bugaj, 1996, p. 50). Parents and even the educational organizations didn't have any influence on the education of their children, as the education system was allowed only in state-controlled schools. Citizenship education was present in school, under various names, including ‘Citizenship education’,

² As a separate school subject called “*Moral teaching*”.

‘Social studies’, ‘Teaching about Poland and the contemporary world’, and ‘Learning about the Constitution’. School curricula promoted socialist values that were alien or antagonistic to the values respected by many Poles (Zahorska-Bugaj, 1996, p. 50). After 1956 the ideological pressure subsided slightly, but was still present right up to 1989 (Korzeniowski & Machalek, 2011, p. 20; Janowski, 1993, pp. 42-43). When explaining the development of education in Poland, Professor Zbyszko Melosik (1998) goes back to the times after World War II, explaining that the ruling elite treated Polish education as a “passive transmitter of values that were present in schools to confirm its power and dominance. In consequence, Polish education created generations who were deprived of a sense of influence and participation. Education in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s gave Poles an “anti-global, divided and fragmented view of the world: a world of contradictions, a world of superpowers and their satellites, a world of cold war and cold peace” (Melosik, 1998, p.72). Before the major social, political and economic changes 1989, civic education “aimed to prepare society to play the right and politically correct role in a socialist society and was conducted to satisfy the needs of that society. The role of civic education was one of the elements of total indoctrination that led to gaining control over the society and subjecting it to socialist power” (Switala, 2016, p. 64). The civic education of these times “was organized and carried out to prepare society to play a complex and clearly defined role in the socialist state: to submit to the will of the Polish United Workers Party [PUWP]. The aim of the actions of the PRL [Polish People’s Republic] was to build an alleged system of social equality and a socialist society within a just socialist state” (Switala, 2016).

The transformation initiated in 1989 introduced in Poland a multi-party political system, and in 1991 parliamentary elections took place. At the same time, a range of economic reforms of a free-market character were introduced. These reforms included political changes that created the foundations of a democratic system, such as recognition of individual rights, civil liberties and political liberties. Changes in the economic system were designed to restore a market economy. All of the changes together influenced citizenship education in Poland in such a way that, in the completely new political, economic and social situation, it faced its biggest challenge as a ‘guide’ to living in a democracy. The downfall of communism resulted in the de-politicization of civic education in Poland (Zahorska-Bugaj, 1996; Davies, 2005)., When analyzing the relationship between education and socio-political changes, Zbigniew Kwieciński, Polish Professor of Pedagogy, noted that “the practice of education adapts to the tasks, requirements and expectations of its political, economic,

cultural and social environment and tries to repair, heal, improve their surroundings, by enabling people to understand and assimilate of principles and norms and to develop the competences for acting” (Kwiecinski, 1995, p. 9).

Poland’s political transformation resulted in the overthrow of the socialist system of management, forcing society to act independently after years of standing still. After almost half a century of living in a society governed “centrally”, it was difficult to raise a growing generation of voters that could make an independent analysis of the phenomena occurring in their country and society. There was no basis for learning democracy, because the communist system had limited the possibilities for being responsible citizens. Deprived of the right to act independently, Polish citizens were taught conformity and passivity. One of the challenges for Polish education in the 1990s was to change the perception of education among Polish society, to being a tool for individual development and support for social mobility. So a significant change in Polish society became the growing importance of education, as a possibility for better living standards and a source of knowledge and skills for active citizenship. When describing challenges for civic education in Poland after 1989, Marta Zahorska-Bugaj, a Polish sociologist, points to the fact that “the most harmful vestige of the previous socio-political system is that many basic concepts necessary for understanding social, economic, and political issues have been deprived of meaning. How can one communicate with another person who learned that “civic education” means indoctrination, a “citizen” is someone who has no influence over the authorities, “democracy” is really a dictatorship, a “politician” is someone who can do as he or she pleases; and the “economy” is an area of society controlled by the state?” (Zahorska-Bugaj, 1996, p. 54). Due to the fact that there were not many teachers capable of teaching citizenship education like this at the time, its introduction in Polish schools was strongly supported by non-governmental organizations, such as the Centre for Citizenship Education, the Helsinki Human Rights Foundation and other international or national institutions (such as the Polish-American Freedom Foundation, the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, and the Local Democracy Development Foundation).

“Nation-centered” and “world-centered” perspectives in education (Melosik, 1998, p.73) were distinctive of the development of education after the socio-political changes in 1989 in Poland, as a result of the clash between the two dominant political cultures. The nation-centered perspective emphasized Poland’s input in international relations, the exceptionality of Polish history, and notions of what it meant to be a Polish citizen. It also

considered education to be the optimum method of inculcating social values and shaping people “who are unable to negotiate their own values and assumptions” (Melosik, 1998, p. 73). In contrast, the world-centered perspective of education tried to overcome limitations arising from “narrow Polish patriotism and a restricted sense of citizenship” (Melosik, 1998, p. 74). Education based on either orientation, nation-centered or world-centered, affected citizenship education and global citizenship education in Poland for many years. Zbyszko Melosik points at the need to increase global awareness among Poles and makes recommendations for global education in Poland, such as paying attention to change, interdependence, analyzing the future using alternative solutions, integrating the notion of peace, personal and national freedom and justice, development of responsibility for events at local and global levels and an awareness of the relationship between local and global problems, and support for active participation.

A change for both Europe itself and the wider, world-oriented citizenship education came with the change in politics in 2008, when a pro-European party took a majority in the Polish parliament. Following this change, then saw the introduction of a new national curriculum that included, for the first time, a wide variety of global issues. Similarly to the introduction of civics education in 1991 in Poland, there was hardly any promotion of the subject or appropriate support for teachers (i.e. teacher training) in teaching the new, globally relevant topics.

Finally, in 2010 the definition of ‘global education’ was defined between the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the National Institute for Development in Education, regional Teacher Training Centers and various NGOs. According to the “Memorandum of Understanding on Strengthening Global Education” (2010), global education in Poland had been acknowledged as being *part of a civics education that extends range by awareness of global phenomena and the meaning of global interdependences. The main objective of global education is to prepare students to face the global challenges faced by all human beings around the world.* These interdependences are understood as *cultural, environmental, economic, social, political and technological connections.* The definitions are supplemented by a list of global challenges, such as *ensuring peace and security in the world, improvement of life quality in countries of the Global South, protection of human rights, ensuring sustainable development, and building economic and social relationships between the countries of the Global North and Global South.* According to the later, 2010 definition, global citizenship education in Poland is designed to develop skills, in particular *perception*

and understanding of global interdependence, critical thinking to be able to make decisions, cooperation at the local, national and international levels, followed by attitudes such as responsibility, respect, honesty, empathy, openness, accountability, personal commitment, readiness for lifelong learning.

Global citizenship education in the national context: examples from the Polish national curriculum

The core component of my study was an analysis of the national core curriculum, in particular those parts covering teaching content, valid in all schools in Poland, set by the Ministry of Education. As mentioned previously, analysis of the curriculum began with a review of the literature on global citizenship education and identification of the key themes and issues of global citizenship education. The next step was to focus on working directly with the curriculum, to identify where and how the themes and issues of global citizenship education were presented. I looked first at the curricular guidelines for primary, secondary and post-secondary schools, and then in more detail at the curricula for social studies, environmental education and history, where the majority of education about global issues occurs.

As a legal and official document the core curriculum remains “one of the key mechanisms by which the state articulates and communicates their aims and priorities for school education in general, and citizenship education in particular. Official curricula thus illustrate some of the official discourses of citizenship and effort to shape the meaning of citizenship in a contemporary context” (Keating, Hinderliter Ortloff, & Philippou, 2009, p.153). The core curriculum in Poland covers compulsory education, that is, pre-school education (ages 3-5), early years education (ages 6-8), primary school (ages 9-11), lower secondary school (ages 12-15) and upper secondary school (depending on the type of school, ages 16-19). In my paper I analyzed those parts of the core curriculum that correspond to global citizenship education subjects taught in Poland: social studies, environmental education and history. Early years education includes elements of citizenship education, but there is no separate school subject foreseen for citizenship education. The focus of study for citizenship education in the core curriculum of compulsory general education level is: ISCED1 – primary education, ISCED 2 – lower secondary and ISCED 3 – upper secondary (for students aged 6-

18). Areas selected for review were obtained from the official websites of the various institutions responsible.

With the first reading, in analyzing the data I sought first to understand how teaching about global issues is supported by the Ministry of Education, the status of the national curriculum in Poland, and which approaches the curriculum represents. In the communist era the entire education system was subject to central planning by the Ministry of Education. After the socio-political changes, over the past twenty five years schools in Poland have been the subject of much deliberation and have undergone many reforms, in particular as regards their autonomy. The decentralization of responsibilities to the schools themselves and to their local communities was designed to increase the efficiency of school management, although control of the curriculum was not placed on the school level. Teachers were given increased participation in school life and autonomy in decision-making about text books and other teaching materials, methods and ways of teaching. The Government, however, retained the right to decide the general objectives and content within the curriculum. Looking back at the history of Poland after 1945, the curriculum has always been called ‘the *national* curriculum’, and developed according to the views of the ruling political party.³ But despite recent changes in the field of school management, the curriculum in Poland is still developed centrally by the Ministry of Education, and is obligatory for all schools in the country. In this way, the nation-state has retained the right to influence teaching content, as it did in the past.

Another distinctive feature of global citizenship education in Poland found after the first reading is the inclusion of global themes as part of larger, more general core units covering global issues in teaching content, accompanied by national and European perspectives on selected topics. Looking at the structure of the Polish curriculum, it is very much evident that traditional perspectives prevail, in the sense that the emphasis is distinctly on the teaching and learning of facts and data, rather than gaining knowledge through activities and developing the skills of how to learn (Walker & Soltis, 1986). The contribution of the students themselves to the learning process is not a crucial requirement in the Polish curriculum. The content of the document is divided into units, or blocks, which are broken into smaller units of information. At the end of each subject unit, there is a set of skills and attitudes that are recommended to developed in the classroom.

³ It looks as though this trend will be continued in the next few months, as the ruling political party (‘Law and Justice’) has already announced changes in the curriculum, justifying them as compensating for “inappropriate teaching content”.

With the second reading (analytical stage), I was aiming to verify which issues of global citizenship education are highlighted. My analysis showed that the dominant theme in the secondary level curriculum (social studies) was participation in relation to citizens' activity. Citizenship has often been discussed in relation to civil and political rights, and "duties and participation" (O'Byrne, 2003). Participation is, for Delanty (2000), one of four elements of citizenship, with rights, responsibilities and identity. Osler and Starey (2005) link the term "participation" to a "status, feeling or practice". For Keating (2014) an "educated citizen" is one that is schooled and skilled for participation in society. What was surprising, though, was that the teaching objectives refer both to globally- and nationally-oriented citizenship at the same time. The core unit, 'Participation of citizens in public life', contains references to the development of knowledge possibilities for the *participation of citizens in the local area, world citizens in public life, democracy and other systems of government in the world, and the influences of globalization on culture, politics and societies*. What is interesting is that at the end of the social curriculum, recommendations are made on how participation can be developed at the school level. For example, through *participation in school debates, participation in school projects to solve problems in the local community, or participation in decision-making at different schools in selected areas of school life*. In the introduction to the social education curriculum, a set of aims are listed, one of which refers to *discussion about the meaning of citizenship in contemporary times, globalization today: the influence of globalization on culture, economy, politics, ecology, communication*, followed by recommendations for teachers to support pupils in the class room to present *their own perspectives of fairness*, or what it means to be an *ethically engaged global citizen*. The curriculum for upper primary schools contains references to critical thinking about reasons why 'the world has become smaller', including giving one's own examples of this phenomenon in different parts of the world. The concept of global citizenship is visible in the next core unit, 'Nation, Homeland, Minorities', where the learning outcomes are focused on citizenship within nation-states by discussing *ethnic versus civic citizenship*. Pupils are learning about diverse perspectives and notions of civic identities, and developing knowledge about *minorities in Poland and other countries and the refugee crises in different parts of the world in general*.

What is significant to the structure of the curriculum is that, at the end of the curriculum, a set of tasks is given that have to be fulfilled by schools. Some of the tasks involve supporting pupils' "participation in the discussions and debates at the school, in tasks

and projects aiming to solve problems of their community”; “participation in different activities of the student council”; “participation in the life of the local community”; “cooperation with different organizations and public institutions”, and “participation in civic campaigns and activities”. Emphasizing participation and social skills recalls Oxfam’s definition of education for global citizenship, which includes developing “knowledge and understanding, skills, values and attitudes that learners need to fully participate in the globalist society” (Oxfam, 2015, p. 5). A global citizen is someone who “participates in the community at a range of levels, from the local to the global”. Similarly to the Polish curriculum, Oxfam’s curriculum in its “skills” section is referring to “participation in decision-making in schools and contributing to the well-being of the wider community, both inside and outside the classroom” (Oxfam, 2015, p. 7).

Similarly to Canadian global education curricula – despite a rhetorical shift towards an emphasis on active citizenship (Mundy & Manion, 2008) – analysis of the Polish curriculum suggested that teaching content tends to under-emphasize the actionable dimensions of global problems, often by focusing on non-controversial themes at the expense of more controversial ones. The core unit “Problems of Humankind” for secondary-level junior classes emphasizes “poverty aid activities and other intervention measures undertaken by governments (i.e. of Poland) or non-governmental organizations to support people in need around the world”, and “the situation in the countries of the poor South and the wealthy North.” In upper-secondary classes, more attention is paid to armed conflicts around the world, and activities such as *showing on the map places of international conflicts and discussing the course of the conflict and with suggestions trying solve one of them* are emphasized. The United Nations (UN) is listed as an example of an international organization involved in matters of *peace making*, in charge of *security matters*. UN activities are mentioned again in the social education curriculum, when pupils learn about the content of the “Universal Declaration of Human Rights” and discuss *selected examples of violations of human rights in the world*. I was surprised how rarely the national curriculum invited pupils to consider the trade-offs and dilemmas that economic expansion and globalization raised.

My analysis also finds that global citizenship in the Polish curriculum is directly related to social order. Unlike at Oxfam, social change is understood to focus more on activities, with more emphasis on knowledge than skills. There is a core unit entitled ‘Social change’ that contains direct references to the development of *understanding the world as a complex and dynamic altering system, discussing the impact of global processes on people,*

and *participation of global citizens in social change*. Accompanying the discussion about social change, the curriculum recommends including the development of *critical thinking about the impact of social change in selected global processes* (History and Social Education). In addition to the contemporary perspective, the Polish curriculum contains references to the *Solidarity Movement in Poland* and *Martin Luther King's participation in the civil rights movement in the USA*, which incorporates the national and international context within social change.

In addition to the economic, cultural, political relations which shape human lives in the world, the global education in the Polish curriculum increases the understanding of environmental influences. In Environmental education in primary schools, pupils are learning about *the need to respect plants and animals in the world* and about *the risks that a man can harm the environment (i.e. by air and water pollution), how to save water, the importance of water for life on Earth*, all of which are incorporated into the core unit 'Human beings and the environment'.

In opposition to Canadian (Kymlicka, 1998; Manzer 1994; Zachariah, 1989; Mundy & Manion, 2008) or US (Banks, 2006) perspectives on global education, the Polish curriculum doesn't emphasize multiculturalism issues much. There is, however, a mention in the curriculum for Polish Language, at the secondary level, of *developing students' attitude of curiosity, openness and tolerance towards other cultures and discussing similarities and differences between people, understanding and tolerance*. In the core Social Education unit 'Nation, Homeland, Minorities', discussion about the relationship between ethics, civics and multicultural issues in the contemporary world is mentioned. Surprisingly, the multicultural context is hardly represented in other subjects of the national curriculum, and not only within global citizenship education.

It can be argued that Polish global citizenship education, when considering the teaching content in the national curriculum, awakens associations with Zbyszko Melosik's "nation-centered" and "world-centered" perspective of Polish education after 1991. Looking at citizenship education in Poland, Melosik assumes that after the socio-political changes of 1991 there came to "a serious confrontation between two political cultures. Each of them struggled to shape a social awareness and common sense of Polish society" (Melosik, 1998, p.72). The nation-centered culture locates concepts of the Polish nation (state) over Europe (the world). The distinction is visible between the Polish nation, Polish values, Polish history

and other nations, their values, history and traditions. Supporters of nationalism, points out Melosik, “treat education as one of the most important ways to inculcate the ‘only proper’ value system (...) they offer pupils a ‘closed’ contingent of values and an authoritarian ‘climate’ of education” (Melosik, 1998, p.72). In opposition to the nation-centered perspective of education, the world-centered education emphasizes “mutual interaction within economic, political, technological, ecological and cultural systems”. World-centered education aims to equip pupils with “global awareness”, shaping citizens into members of national and state communities and overcoming their “limitations resulting from narrow national patriotism and a restricted sense of citizenship, treats the world as one economic, ecological and political system, is emphasizing commonalities between Polish nation and other nations” (Melosik, 1998, p. 72).

The analysis of social education teaching content showed the domination of world-centered education in the curriculum, however, the incorporation of the national context into global citizenship education is distinctive. For example, social education outcomes for primary schools highlight the knowledge and understanding that *people who demonstrate meritorious behavior towards their local community, in Poland and in the world, deserve respect*. The content of social education in secondary schools refers to *migration in Poland and in other parts of the world, and challenges such as support for refugees*. Migration flows are a background to the discussion on national and ethnic minorities and groups of migrants (including refugees) living in Poland today. Incorporating the national context into global education isn't only ‘a Polish matter’ but seems to be, as Richardson (2004) has shown, “a matter of national self-interest and is almost exclusively tied to the civic structures of nation-state. Thus students in Canada are urged to take up responsibilities and obligations to address global issues such as international conflict, environmental degradation, or the protection of human rights as citizens of Canada rather than as citizens of the world” (Richardson, 2004). Similarly, Pike (2000) and Richardson (2004) have both argued that the Canadian curriculum presents global themes as a matter of national self-interest, almost exclusively tied to the civic structures of the nation-state (Evans, Ingram, Macdonald, Weber 2009).

After analyzing various teaching content revisions, I found that the secondary-level curriculum across Poland does indeed emphasize global themes. Social education teaching references knowledge about *bilateral and multilateral relations between Poland and other countries*. Under the ‘Global relations’ core unit, discussion about the *participation of the international community in cases of natural disasters*, and the *contribution of humanitarian*

aid coming from Poland and from other countries has been included. Another example of the national context in the curriculum is the notion of ‘multiple identities’ that is present in themes such as citizenship, protection of environment, the meaning of patriotism and identity (local, regional, national), different value systems and ways of life in selected nations and communities. The first reading of the Polish school curriculum showed evidence that the notions of ‘global citizenship’ and ‘global citizen’ aren’t directly emphasized. But indirect references can be found in the core unit, ‘The participation of citizens for public life’, where in the teaching objectives *explaining, by giving examples of how citizens can influence the decisions of the authorities at local, national, European and global level* is included. Another core unit, ‘Civil society’, emphasizes knowledge about *civic patriotism and forms of activity of citizens at the local community, region, country and global levels*. Patriotism in the curriculum is recognized as *a sense of alliance – a bond with the local community, national, European and global community*. The teaching content mentions the *idea of being simultaneously Polish, European and a world citizen* (Social education, secondary school). In particular, *interest in matters that concern one’s own region, country, Europe and the world, responsibility for the natural environment and cultural heritage in one’s own region and in Poland, and the meaning of identity in contemporary times*, are all significant for the global dimensions of the Polish national curriculum.

The Polish perspective on global citizenship education draws on Pike and Selby (1995), who propose using global content linking past and present. In the history curriculum, for example, references can be found to the global context in the core unit ‘History of Europe in the 19th and 20th century’. This incorporates various topics, such as ‘Poland and the world after the World War II’, ‘The role of United Nations in peacekeeping after World War II’, ‘Polish involvement in peacekeeping in the world’, ‘The world and the cold war’, ‘Transformation of power & civilization in the world’, ‘Colonial expansion in selected parts of the globe’, and ‘Industrialization in the 19th and 20th century of the natural environment in Poland’. As discussed above, another example of linking contemporary and historical perspectives is the social change theme.

The predominant focus of global citizenship education on knowledge and understanding could be seen to underplay Oxfam’s emphasis on the centrality of values and attitudes of pupils to becoming a member of a more just, sustainable world (Oxfam, 1997, p. 13). This doesn’t mean, however, that Polish global citizenship education is based purely on knowledge and understanding. One of the initial readings I undertook during my research

showed that in the concluding part of each curriculum, there are recommendations for developing certain activities and attitudes in which can be found several references to citizenship education. For example, in social and history education, at the secondary school level, it is recommended to develop *involvement in civic action (through engagement in social activities), social sensitivity, responsibility, for example for action in one's own community or solving conflict situations, a sense of belonging (the student feels a bond with the local, national, European and global community), tolerance (the student respects the rights of others to disagree, behavior, customs and beliefs, they can oppose forms of discrimination)*. In the same concluding section, there is a recommendation for schools to ensure that students *have access to various sources of information and different points of view, participate in discussions and debates in school, in tasks and projects aiming to solve problems of their community, have a real impact on selected areas of school life, including within the student council, participate in the life of the local community, cooperate with different organizations and public institutions, participate in civic campaigns and activities and benefit from various forms of communication in public affairs, and develop self-esteem, willingness and trust in others*.

Conclusions

There are a number of conclusions that can be drawn from examining global citizenship education in Poland. Firstly, global citizenship education in Poland, according to the study, is about overcoming limitations resulting from national patriotism, finding commonalities between Poland and other nations, and giving the same priority to universal and national values. The national dimension to citizenship education is no longer constructed in terms of patriotism for the nation-state, or myths about national history and heroes, as Soysal (2002) and Rauner (1998) suggest have previously stated as being the case. A sense of belonging to a broader global community is shown in the Polish national school curriculum through belonging to a smaller national community. In this understanding, the Polish perspective of global citizenship education aims to create a citizen that is a member of the world community, without giving up their own national identity, similarly to the Canadian model of global education (Pike, 2000; Richardson, 2004; Mundy & Manion, 2008). Both Polish and Canadian models tend to focus on national identity at the expense of more cosmopolitan conceptions. In this understanding, global citizenship education in Poland aims

to create a citizen that is a member of the world community, without giving up their own national identity. The Polish perspective of global citizenship education urges pupils to consider global problems as part of the challenges of their own country, and offers a perception of local and global problems as being linked and complementary with each other.

Secondly, for Polish global citizenship education is a significant factor in overcoming the anti-global view of the world that was introduced through citizenship education in the communist times (Zahorska-Bugaj, 1996; Melosik, 1998; Davies, 2005; Switala, 2016) as being organized and carried out to prepare society to clearly play a defined role in the state. Contemporary, global citizenship education in Poland is based on a pro-global model of active citizenship education that is more in keeping with the post-national cosmopolitan approach (Rauner 1998, Soysal 1994), and the maximal citizenship education model of McLaughlin (1992) and Kerr (1999). Young Poles have opportunities in schools to develop the ability to question their own value systems, understand the value systems of others and develop values around a positive sense of self. Global citizenship education from a Polish perspective aims to grow a willingness to take action for change, develop an appreciation of cultural diversity, passion for social justice and human rights. Through incorporating the national context into global themes pupils gain the opportunity to appreciate their own multiple identities (country, continent, planet).

Also significant are the implications of my findings that the curriculum's definitions of global citizenship education are interwoven with national understandings of citizenship. World-centered education with a national context gives a critical appraisal of the activities of national government and transnational agencies from the perspective of equality and justice, and offers the understanding that individual consumer decisions have multiple impact on the global context. Davies and Reis (2005) indicate new forms of citizenship, growing in the face of globalization. One of these is "a perspective of interconnectedness in which the nation states are not in the prime focus of analysis". The Polish perspective of global citizenship education is focusing on the nation-state (country), that is involved globally and influences the world, and is at the same time a member of a global interconnected society. The perspective of membership and interconnectedness follows the fundamental principle of global citizenship described by Pike (2008), when he says that "an individual's awareness, loyalty, and allegiance can and should extend beyond the borders of a nation to encompass the whole of humankind" (p. 39). Massey (2014) suggests that "to expand one's identity and

loyalty beyond one's country is not meant to suggest that people should not consider themselves national citizens, but rather national and global citizens" (2014, p. 87). Understanding one's identity in this way will result in creating active national citizens with an informed global conscience (Pike 2008, after Massey, 2014).

Thirdly, the 'brandable' nature of citizenship education can lead to different approaches, from the conservative that aims at reproduction of the existing social order, to the more progressive and critical, aimed at transformation of existing social dynamics (McLaughlin, 1992; Kennedy, 1997; Kerr, 1999). Like other educational fields, citizenship education can focus on maintaining the status quo, but can also be a tool for empowering individuals and groups to struggle for emancipatory change (Schugurensky, 2008). Looking at the Polish curriculum, despite the values and attitudes that are complementary to knowledge within global citizenship education, it is evident that the domination of the conservative approach in citizenship education, focused on teaching, and the transmission of information and knowledge about the history of the social order. In terms of content, conservative citizenship education deals primarily with national narratives, historical and geographic facts, and the functioning of government institutions. From this perspective, global citizenship education emphasizes the acceptance of existing social structures, development of moral character and ensuring social cohesion. Good citizens are conceptualized in the curriculum as good producers, good consumers, and good patriots (Schugurensky & Myers, 2003). The conservative approach to global citizenship education in the Polish curriculum follows the "education about citizenship" model rather than "education through/for citizenship" model (Kerr, 1999; Keating, 2009). Knowledge-based global education, that reproduces the social order, is most evident. However, in the curriculum some topics can be found that show a tendency towards the progressive approach by emphasizing participation skills, engagement and motivation, and activities in and out of school.

Fourthly, the historical and contemporary orientation towards global citizenship education is distinctive of the Polish global citizenship model. As a result of my review of the Polish curriculum, I found that primary and secondary subjects don't emphasize Lee's (2012) "future-oriented" perspective on global citizenship education that invites "all people to work together for a better future" (p.10). Apart from the conservative approach, Polish global citizenship education shows a tendency to be more structural-political than individual-humanitarian (Wintersteiner, Grobbauer, Diendorfer, Reitmair-Juares, 2015), more soft than critical (Andreotti 2006), and political than humanitarian (Dobson 2005). The Polish

perspective of global citizenship education contains a reproduction of cultural heritage and knowledge valuable to the present generation, accomplished by the promotion of skills such as discussing, writing, and reading. Teaching content includes the development of an ability to assess alternatives and correct one's own assumptions. Through the Polish national curriculum, young people are being supported in their personal development towards becoming members of the Polish nation, which is presented in the curriculum as part of a wider global community. Critical thinking within global education is focused on problems presented as challenges to humankind. But the notion of global citizenship in Poland urges young people to consider global problems as part of challenges in their own country and close relationships between national and global problems.

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