Global Citizenship Education for global citizenship?
Students' views on learning about, through, and for human rights, peace, and sustainable development in England, India, New Zealand, South Africa, and Sweden

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- Education about, through and for human rights, peace and sustainability in the global north and south is investigated from students' point of view.
- Knowledge, skills, and attitudes in line with international recommendations are evident in all national contexts.
- Students may identify violations of human rights and recognise acts of violence but struggle more to identify issues linked to sustainability and strategies to solve conflicts.
- Knowing how to promote human rights, peace, or sustainability is more of a challenge than identifying human rights, peace, or sustainability.
- Impact from teaching is associated with local contexts and a mix of teaching methods, both student centred and teacher directed.

Purpose: In this study, we explore students' views and experiences in relation to education about, through, and for human rights, peace, and sustainability in the global north and south. We investigate what students after nine years of schooling see as central issues and productive actions linked to key elements of global citizenship education (GCE) to better understand the complexity of GCE in theory and practice.

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Design: We use a survey designed in line with theories of global citizenship education. Using a mixed methods approach, we analyse responses from 672 upper secondary school students, aged 16–19, in England, India, New Zealand, South Africa, and Sweden.

Findings: We find that students in different contexts may experience global citizenship education very differently, even if they are all part of a global community with guidelines from UNESCO. Dimensions of human rights education, peace education, and education for sustainable development are evident in both the global north and south; yet, students in European contexts, namely in Sweden and England, for instance, appear to be taking away very different learnings. Overall, while students across the national samples have knowledge about human rights, peace, and sustainability, they seem to struggle to identify activities for human rights, peace, and sustainability. We find a vernacularisation of GCE, highlighting a diversity of methods and cultural contexts linked to students' experiences from education.

Research limitations: This study is limited to a few schools in selected countries; thus, our findings may not be generalisable on a national or global level.

Practical implications: Students across our diverse sample highlight the importance of education to promote global goals. Findings indicate that more focus on education for global citizenship is necessary if schooling is to work in line with international recommendations. Similarities and differences in students' knowledge and understanding about peace, human rights, and sustainability call for differentiated and localised approaches in attempts to reach common and shared goals.

1 INTRODUCTION

Global Citizenship Education (GCE) has come to occupy an important place in international policy in the past two decades, seen as the educational response to current world crises: increased conflict, humanitarian crisis, and climate change. Multilateral efforts for international under-standing through global education dates back to the interwar period when the League of Nations found it central to 'develop the spirit of international co-operation among children, young people and their teachers' (League of Nations, 1927, p. 8). Contemporary emphasis on educating global citizens also dates back to the post-war era and UNESCO (1946) underscoring the idea that 'since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed'. Efforts to promote sustainable development followed in the 1970s (UNESCO, 1977) in parallel with efforts to promote human rights and peace (UNESCO, 1974). GCE has followed in the footsteps of this development. UNESCO (2015, p. 15) states that:

> "Global citizenship education aims to be transformative, building the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes that learners need to be able to contribute to a more inclusive, just and peaceful world. Global citizenship education takes 'a multifaceted approach, employing concepts and methodologies already applied in other areas, including human rights education, peace education, education for sustainable deve-lopment and education for international understanding' and aims to advance their common objectives."

Ideas of education for peace, human rights, and sustainability are today central in efforts to build a peaceful, just, and sustainable world (UNESCO, 2016). Ideas linked to GCE promoted by UNESCO have been identified in educational policies in 89% of the UNESCO member states. GCE was mandatory in teacher education in 61% of the member states in 2012 and 75% of the states in 2016 (Mc Evoy, 2016). These global developments, however, should not mask strong regional variations (UNESCO, 2018; Tibbitts et al, 2020). GCE concepts are not stable and might be

experienced differently in different areas of the world. Moreover, these findings do not imply that the intended curricula are implemented in the classroom nor that students actually learn the knowledge, skills, and attitudes foregrounded in international guidelines.

1.1 Purpose

What students take away from teaching in the global north and south in terms of knowledge, skills, and attitudes today remains unclear in relation to key aspects of GCE, namely those related to human rights, peace, and sustainability. Noting the multiple challenges linked to implementing GCE, scholars have called for more empirical comparative studies of GCE (Davies, Evans, & Reid, 2005). In this empirical study, we wish to make a contribution in this direction, the purpose being to explore students' views and experiences in relation to education *about, through,* and *for* human rights, peace, and sustainability in the global north and south. We start in the minds of the students, in the experienced curricula, to better understand the global potentials and challenges of GCE and its implementation. We investigate what students see as central issues and productive actions linked to human rights, peace, and sustainability. There are multiple reasons to investigate students' views and experiences from education *about, through,* and *for* human rights, peace, and sustainability.

(a) Today, it is not always clear what is meant by GCE. Scholars note that GCE is a rich concept with inbuilt tensions. The conflicting aims, actors, and discourses of GCE make it a difficult notion to define (Sant et al., 2018; Welply, 2015; de Andreotti, 2014; Marshall, 2011). What students identify as peace, human rights, and sustainability as well as what issues they relate to these elements of GCE need to be clarified. Key questions: About what content and problems?

(b) Scholars describe human rights education (HRE), peace education (PE), and education for sustainable developments (ESD) as essential elements of global education and GCE, in theory and practice (Evans & Kiwan, 2017; Gaudelli & Fernekes, 2004; Kniep, 1989; Pigozzi, 2006). Davies (2006) notes that GCE, in comparison with previous educational movements as HRE, PE, ESD, GCE, has a stronger emphasis on the importance of acting, in addition to knowing. Asking students how to promote peace, human rights, and sustainability can highlight this action-oriented dimension of GCE. Key question: For what aims?

(c) In line with Alexander (2001), we find that essential empirical questions regarding contents, methods and goals of education can and should be addressed beyond national borders. This is important not least since processes of the "vernacularisation", or localisation, of learning of global themes and values, sponsored as being of a global nature, have been recognised as being central in learning (Coysh, 2017; Merry, 2006; Tibbitts et al., 2020). Specific contexts and concerns linked to GCE may indeed influence teaching and learning, affecting what students take away from schooling. GCE aims to be transformative; moreover, linking methods of teaching to students' perceived impact can highlight transformative potentials and challenges across borders. Key question: Through what methods?

2 THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The emphasis in GCE on knowledge, skills, values, and attitudes can be considered in light of a European didactic tradition where contents, methods, and goals of education are considered through the fundamental questions of *what* students should learn, and *how* and *why* they should do so (e.g. Hudson, 2007; Klafki, 1995). In education, it is central to consider the contents (about), aims (for), and methods (through) of teaching and learning, but there is 'no common agreement on the what, why and how of global citizenship' (De Wit et al., 2013 cited in Jooste & Heleta, 2017, p. 40). Therefore, we started where it matters most—in the worldview of students. With inspiration from theories of HRE, PE, and ESD, we argue that analysing education *about,*

through, and *for* GCE can help us better understand the *what*, *how,* and *why* of GCE, the assumption being that the contents (about), methods (through), and goals (for) in education may differ across sites and key elements of GCE.

Tibbitts (2002, 2016) suggests that HRE is concerned with teaching students *about* human rights and helping students identify their rights, violations of human rights, and human rights in the world. Arguably, this learning is best enabled *through* transformative, student-centred, and active educational designs, which may stimulate learners to critically engage with human rights issues and work *for* a just world (Tibbitts, 2002, 2016; Struthers, 2015, 2017).

Similarly, Standish (2016) notes that PE holds three dimensions, respectively underlining the importance of learning *about* peace violations and peaceful conflict resolution *through* non-violent actions and worldviews *for* positive peace building. The dimensions include perspectives *about* Positive Peace as a matter of positive mindsets, behaviours, beliefs, and perceptions in contrast to Negative Peace, where peace is described as the absence of violence (Galtung, 2016; Standish, 2016). This PE theory emphasises the importance of students being able to recognise acts of violence, namely direct, structural, and cultural violence (Galtung, 1990; Standish, 2016). PE and its dimensions draw from theories in the field of peace and conflict studies and direct attention *for* developing strategies for non-violent conflict resolution and draw from theories noting the importance of learning how to deal with conflicts in peaceful and constructive ways (Harris, 2004).

ESD, as any other branch of "applied" education, struggles with the inherent tensions between education *for* a sustainable development, *about* a sustainable development, and a sustainable development accomplished *through* education. For example, some scholars have offered a typology of fact-based ESD (about), Normative ESD (for), and Pluralistic ESD (through), often arguing for the latter (Öhman, 2009). Other scholars have strongly argued against education *for* sustainable development due to the conceptual vagueness of "sustainability" and the underlying idea of education as an instrument for a desired social situation (Jickling, 1992). Moreover, ESD research emphasises the importance of learning *about* environmental, political, and social issues threatening the planet in a long-term perspective. However, since ESD research has strong connections to the policy framework, ESD is not only concerned with sustainable development as *content* of education; ESD and related global frameworks (UNESCO, 2006, 2014) underscore that what is required is also a transformation of the conditions for learning, which involves a change in the *processes* of education as well (Jucker & Mathar, 2016; Læssöe & Öhman, 2010). Thus, the policy frameworks and pedagogies of ESD highlight the necessity of reforming education with a view to empowering learners, *through* transformative pedagogies, to take action, locally and globally, to work *for* a sustainable future (Jensen & Schnack, 1997; Shephard, 2015).

Thus, theoretically, we find three separate, yet connected, perspectives linked to GCE, which can help us to better understand the complexity of the implementation of global citizenship in schools, namely, the knowledge, skills, and attitudes (promoted or neglected in different contexts) and the ways in which HRE, PE, and ESD interplay in the experienced curricula. Students' *knowledge* about, *skills* to identify issues, and *attitudes* to promote human rights, peace, and sustainability are important elements in this complexity. We also find how the three dimensions of GCE, namely HRE, PE and ESD, overlap, in theory. For instance, HRE engages with equality and non-discrimination as key elements of the concept of positive peace, as well environmental rights; PE theory identifies human rights and an eco-mind as central parts of positive peace (Standish, 2016); and theories of sustainability emphasise peace and human rights as important parts of ESD (Jucker & Mathar, 2016).

At present, the interplay of different dimensions of GCE is not clear, neither in theory nor in practice. In light of this, this paper will seek to shed light on this nexus by exploring relationships between students' knowledge, skills, and attitudes regarding human rights, peace and sustainability.

In addressing this complexity of implementation, we recognise that recommendations and guidelines are interpreted, transferred, and neglected on all levels of the educational system (Goodlad, 1979; Nygren, 2011a, 2016b). Politicians formulate curricula to fit ideological and cultural interests on both the national and regional levels (Ball, Maguire, & Braun, 2011). Teachers subsequently read, interpret, transform, and transact the formal curricula into educational designs in various ways vis-a-vis those students who are coming into the classroom with diverse backgrounds, experiences, knowledge, skills, and attitudes (Nygren, 2016a, 2016b). Teachers make several choices regarding what contents and methods to prioritise, and this selection involves both pedagogic and ethical dilemmas (Kronlid, 2017). Accordingly, questions regarding *what*, *how,* and *why* human rights, peace, and sustainability can and should be taught in schools can be answered in multiple ways— opening for some educational opportunities while hindering other learning potentials.

In line with Goodlad's (1979) curriculum theory and the complexity of implementation noted by Nygren (2011a, 2016b), we understand the implementation of GCE as a process including direct transactions of ideas and interpretations in teaching and learning practices. Accordingly, Figure 1 is a translation of the organic ontology of curricula, created by Goodlad and Nygren, into an analytical scheme that highlights the interconnections of the different dimensions and levels of the curriculum, including the flow of transactions and interpretations between school and society.

Figure 1: Theoretical and analytical model of the relationship between and within curricular realities on different levels, adapted from Goodlad (1979) and Nygren (2011a, 2016b).
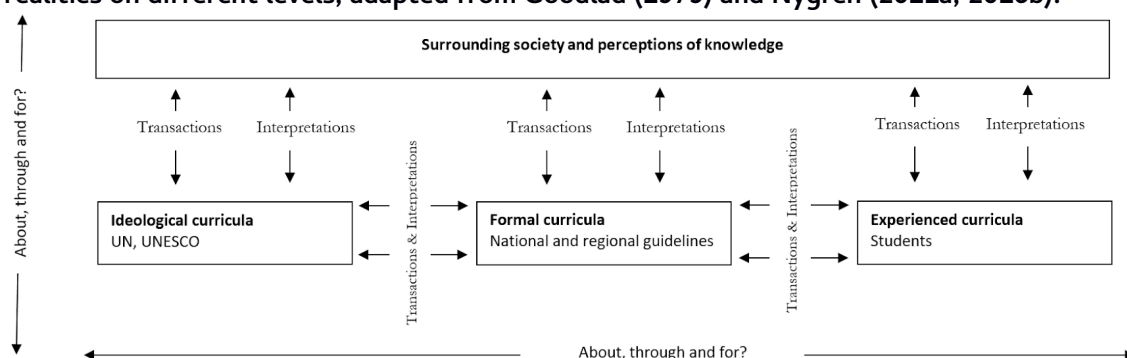
We thereby also acknowledge that learning *about*, *through,* and *for* GCE is a process with a complex interplay with the world at large. What is formulated in recommendations and national guidelines does not automatically reach students without being re-contextualised. This makes it important to pay special attention to students' views on GCE, the experienced curricula, which is at the centre of our study (see Figure 1). Our critical and analytical perspectives come from an understanding that educational research often suffers from a top-down approach, which tends to ignore the perspective of students when analysing curricula. Scrutinising policy documents or textbooks is not enough to understand what students take away from formal schooling.

In the ideological curricula, GCE is described as a way to advance the common objectives of HRE, PE, and ESD. This holistic approach is arguably a tall order for educators to implement in practice. The challenges for implementing UNESCO's framework include multiple barriers to curriculum reform, such as limited time and resources to nurture students' global competences and global consciousness (de Andreotti, 2014; Dill, 2013; Ibrahim, 2005; Oxley & Morris, 2013). Previous research have highlighted how implementing international guidelines is complex and not an automatic top-down process (Nygren, 2016b). Teachers may interpret international and local guidelines differently and teach in accordance with personal beliefs in different classrooms

across national and cultural boundaries (Fogo, 2014; Nygren, 2011b; Sandahl, 2013; Welply, 2019a).

Selecting a particular GCE approach implies making specific conscious ideological choices, which include distinct learning outcomes: cognitive, socio-emotional, and behavioural, and there are numerous ethical and practical dilemmas for teachers to consider when teaching about so-called universal values in an unjust world (Alderson, 2016; Osler, 2015; Oxley & Morris, 2013). Efforts to do good may hold colonial undertones (de Andreotti, 2014; Marshall, 2011; Osler, 2015), and collective peace ideals to support harmony may conflict with more individualistic ideals of human rights (Zembylas, 2011). Moreover, the imperative to do good and help others, a normative decree, can be seen as a contrast to more critical and reflexive viewpoints which analyse global political, economic, and social structures (Popkewitz 1997; Davies & Pike, 2008).

Researchers have especially focused on the need for a teaching that promotes human rights, peace, and understanding in developing countries and young democracies (OSCE, 2009). However, such allegedly universal values are also a concern in wealthy democratic countries, i.e. democratic problems and violations of human rights are not only distant ethical problems, they are necessary to acknowledge, criticise, and arguably defend everywhere (Osler, 2015).

2.1 Method

We designed a questionnaire to capture students' perspectives and experiences related to the what, why, and how of GCE. The questionnaire was the fruit of a collaboration of scholars working in a network linked to GCE in universities and participating in a project aimed at forging partnerships across the global north and south in an effort to better understand GCE and the complexities surrounding its implementation in diverse contexts. Participating scholars are experts in the fields of HRE, PE, and ESD, which ensured that core aspects of the three would be considered when designing the questionnaire.

The questionnaire included 28 questions, both close-ended and open-ended. They prompted students to share their knowledge and views on the GCE-related concepts of human rights, peace, and sustainability as well as convey how they had learned them in school (if at all) (see Appendix A). Questions were designed with an eye to helping us capture a wide variety of experiences and aspects of *what, how,* and *why* students learn about these concepts in schools. Queries regarding teaching methodologies were developed with inspiration from previous research on students' perspectives on teaching and learning in social studies in the US (Wanzek, Kent & Stillman-Spisak, 2015). We adjusted the options in these questions, adding dimensions that considered methodologies adopted in non-American contexts as well as more student-centred and activity-based methodologies, which emerged in conversations with teachers and experts across national borders. The survey was indeed also designed in close collaboration with teachers and was piloted in two different school settings. After feedback from teachers and students, the survey was adjusted accordingly and distributed by teachers.

The questionnaire was administered via Survey Monkey in the fall of 2017 through non-random, convenience sampling and involved upper secondary school students, aged 16–19, in England, India, New Zealand, South Africa, and Sweden. All the participating students had attended schools with guidelines aiming to promote global citizenship for at least nine years, to safeguard that they had experiences from classrooms promoting or neglecting aspects of GCE. Response rate for all sections of the questionnaire was 71%, and we based our analysis on complete surveys only, with a total of 672 responses, including 104 responses from England, 124 from India, 155 from New Zealand, 118 from South Africa, and 171 from Sweden. Our respondents, the majority eventually being female, ranged between year 10 and 13 of schooling and came from different groups within multicultural school contexts. Student respondents in England were from two post-16 colleges, which include students on general tracks (A-levels) and on vocational qualifications (BTECS). These colleges were located in traditionally white, working class areas,

with a recent influx of migration (mainly refugees and asylum seekers), which has somewhat changed the composition of the college population, although the number of students from immigrant backgrounds remains a minority. The two schools that have been taken as samples from India are both public and private, co-educational as well as girls' schools, with both having English and Hindi as a medium of instruction. These schools are highly representative of Indian schools in general. New Zealand's respondents were from two mid-sized state-funded secondary schools (Y9–13) that draw on local, largely urban communities with mixed social-economic profiles. One is co-educational and one is a girls' school. Both offer a full range of academic courses with some vocational options. The schools sampled in South Africa were two urban independent/private schools, a growing sector making up between 5% and 10% of schools in the country. They were all invariably co-educational and English-medium, and serving middle-class parents of all races. Swedish respondents were students at two public upper secondary schools, in two different mid-size cities, with primarily theoretical programmes but also vocational training programmes. Students come from a mix of economic backgrounds since the schools attract a wide range of students across the cities, and the public schools are the most popular option among parents of all social classes. The study was conducted in line with the standards for ethical clearance that apply in the different states. All participation was voluntary and anonymous.

  This small sample inevitably holds limitations, and our conclusions therefore cannot be generalised to the whole population. Nevertheless, the data from each country, collected and analysed by researchers embedded in each context in close collaboration with their partners in the global network, provide a comparative and locally rooted insight into how students under-stand key elements of GCE in these five distinct education systems. The comparative lens can alert us to aspects that would go unnoticed in a single country study, and shed light on aspects of the curriculum and students' learning and understanding of specific GCE concepts. In this study, percentages are merely used as means to highlight tendencies among students' experiences in different contexts and do not serve to make any quantitative claims. That being said, we can still draw valuable comparisons by exploring relationships within and across the participant groups from the different national and cultural contexts in which we carried out the research.

  All participants were educated under the same umbrella of international recommendations formulated to promote human rights, peace, and sustainability. Students' views can thus provide interesting insights into cross-national, local realities, and diverse experienced curricula (Goodlad, 1979) in a multicultural world, again with the acknowledgement that the small and non-random sample does not represent the general population in each country. We note, for instance, that students in the Indian sample attended schools that offered special programmes supporting human rights, while students in all the other contexts learned them as part of national or local guidelines. The place accorded to human rights, peace, and sustainability thus varied across different national curricula, meaning that students would have had different levels of engagement with these areas. We also note that our respondents, coming from communities in the global north and the global south, mostly belonged to the English-speaking part of the world. Many of them, however, would speak a non-dominant language at home. This was especially the case in India and South Africa, where 98% and 64%, respectively, would speak a non-dominant language at home. In New Zealand, only 15% had a language other than English spoken at home, and in Sweden 29% spoke a language other than Swedish at home. Thus, even if most students lived in English-speaking countries, they may also belong to communities speaking, for instance, Hindi, Marwadi, Punjabi, Afrikaans, Xitsonga, Isizulu, Urdu, Arabic, German, Mandarin, Japanese, and Farsi.

  The national guidelines emphasise human rights, peace, and sustainability in various ways (see Appendix B). In England, sustainability and rights are small elements of the statutory guidance on citizenship education, whilst peace is not mentioned explicitly (Department of Education, 2014). Since 2014, reinforcement of national identity in the citizenship and history curricula, along with

the introduction of the Fundamental British Values, has led to a decrease in emphasis on international or global education across the curriculum. In India, there is a National Curriculum Framework (NCF, 2005), which lays the foundation for developing textbooks, an activity that pertains to the National Council for Educational Training and Research (NCERT) or Indian states/provinces, which are free to use NCERT textbooks or develop their own. The NCF (2005) suggests that concepts related to HR, peace, and sustainable development should be integral part of social science in school subjects such as history, political science, geography, and economics. In New Zealand, the overall guidelines, in the national curriculum from 2007, hold visions underscoring the importance of human rights and sustainability, emphasising, for instance, how students should be encouraged to value diversity, equity, and ecological sustainability. Peace, citizenship, and manaakitanga (hospitality) are described as part of participation linked to the common good. Sustainability is explicitly mentioned as part of the syllabi in social science and science, while peace is not mentioned. Students should learn to 'respect themselves, others, and human rights' (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 10). In South Africa, the national curriculum implemented in 2011 strongly foregrounds human rights and links it very directly to issues of citizenship. More specifically, human rights are tied to the constitution and the post-apartheid ambitions to create a non-sexist, non-racist, socially just transformed society. In contrast to the strong emphasis on human rights, peace education is mentioned but in an oblique manner and sustainable development merely hinted at (Department of Basic Education, 2011). In Sweden, there is a great emphasis on human rights and sustainability in the national curriculum from 2011, while ideals on peace are less evident. Human rights is explicitly mentioned, especially in the syllabus for civics, but also in geography, history, and religion. Peace is only mentioned in the religion syllabus, while sustainability is part of the syllabi in biology, geography, crafts, home and consumer economics, history, civics, and technology. The overall guidelines state that all students should learn to 'consciously determine and express ethical standpoints based on knowledge of human rights'; they should also learn to respect 'the intrinsic value of other people' and reject 'the subjection of people to oppression and degrading treatment'. Students should learn to 'empathise with and understand the situation other people are in and also develop the will to act with their best interests at heart'. Finally, they should learn to 'respect and care for both the immediate environment, as well as the environment from a broader perspective' (National School Agency, 2011).
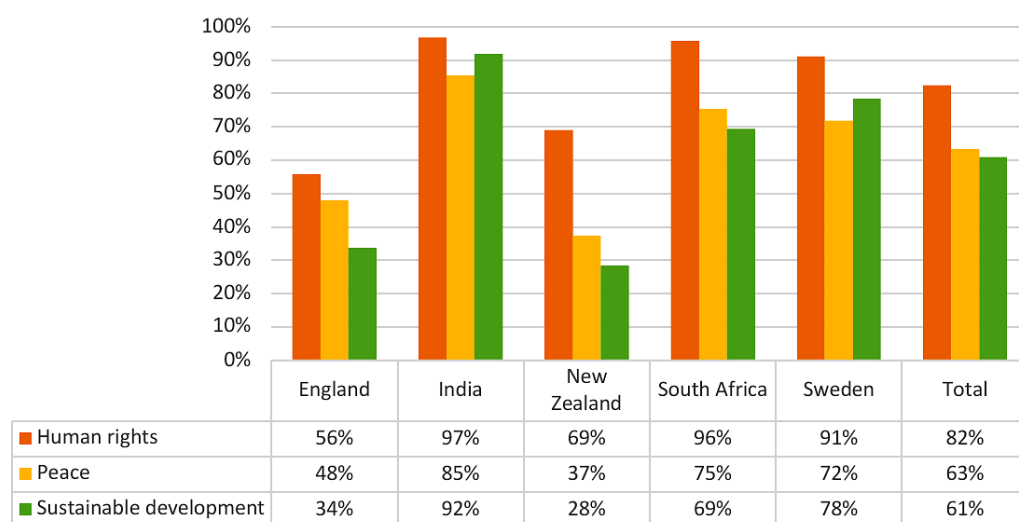
The analysis of students' responses was guided by theories from HRE, PE, and ESD and conducted through an approach, where open-ended responses were coded and calculated in relation to fixed responses and the purpose of the study (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010). This methodological design welcomes numerous interpretations and pragmatic perspectives (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). From a pragmatic point of view, it is central to investigate the practical consequences of ideas (Punch & Oancea, 2014). As highlighted by Lor (Lor, 2011), this approach is a constructive way to conduct comparative studies drawing on a limited number of responses from different countries. Codes for open-ended data were developed in an iterative process, where theories of HRE, PE, and ESD as well as previous research on GCE guided the development of coding schemes (e.g. Shephard, 2015; Standish, 2016; Tibbitts, 2017). Experts from each research field were responsible for developing such schemes, and codes were subsequently presented, discussed, and updated in conversation within the group of researchers collaborating in this project. The codes were then used on a random subset of responses by two coders in a blinded inter-rater reliability test. After determining an inter-rater consensus of at least 80% in the coding, researchers with expertise in each domain analysed the remaining responses (see Appendix C for coding sheet). In the analysis, we used primarily descriptive statistics to highlight similarities and differences within and across groups of respondents and dimensions of GCE. We made three linear regressions in order to investigate whether the teaching methods in HRE, PE, and ESD influenced the students' ratings of how much the teaching affected their thoughts about the respective subject. We also added nationality as a predictor variable in order to detect any

differences in rating pertaining to the country of residence. The outcome variable in the respective regressions were the thought ratings (ranging from 0 to 5), and the predictor variables were nationality (England, India, New Zealand, South Africa, and Sweden). The alternatives in the teaching method were coded as 0 when the alternative was not chosen and 1 when it was chosen. We only report significant results in the results section below; for complete model specifications, we refer to Appendix D.

3 RESULTS

As outlined in more detail in the sections below, most students who participated in our study reported that they had experienced teaching and learning about human rights, peace, and sustainability at school. One key finding in this respect was that overall, learning about human rights was most evident in students' responses, followed by learning about peace and sustainability. Responses to questions "Did you learn about human rights/peace/sustainable development in school or class?" indeed pointed to a higher number of students across contexts having identified human rights as part of their learning experience in comparison to the other two dimensions (see Figure 2). Cross-nationally, significant differences could however be detected: More than 90% of the students from India, South Africa, and Sweden had experiences from HRE, whereas students in the English and New Zealand contexts, in many cases, did not identify this as part of their schooling (see Figure 2). This shows that in a world of international recommendations underscoring the importance of human rights in education, students may find that this is not an integral part of their school experience. Similarly, we found that students in England and New Zealand again perceived that they had learned about peace and sustainability to a lesser extent than had students in the other countries. In India and Sweden, our respondents expressed the view that in school they had learned more about sustainable development than they had about peace, while in the other countries the opposite was true. Again, overall, we found that students across all countries may not identify peace and sustainability—recognised as important aspects of GCE by UNESCO (2015)—as part of their education.

Figure 2: Students' learning about human rights, peace, sustainable development in school or class

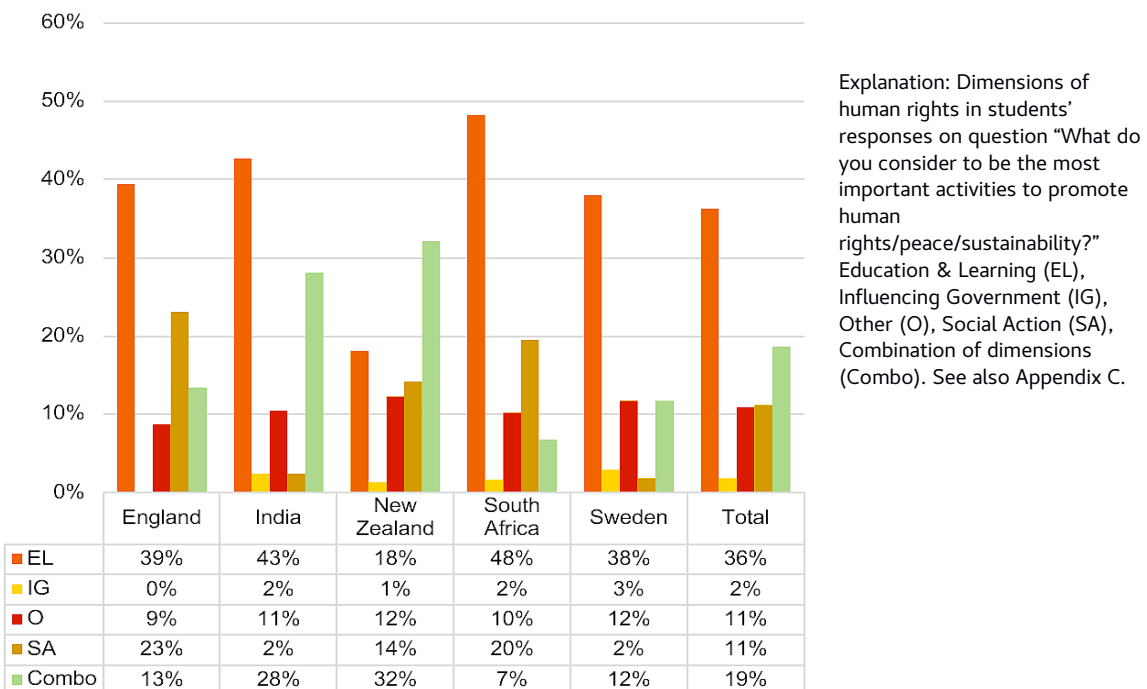|	England	India	New Zealand	South Africa	Sweden	Total
Human rights	56%	97%	69%	96%	91%	82%
Peace	48%	85%	37%	75%	72%	63%
Sustainable development	34%	92%	28%	69%	78%	61%

Explanation: Students' responses to the questions: 1. Did you learn about human rights in school or class? 2. Did you learn about peace in school or class? 3. Did you learn about sustainable development in school or class? (N=672)

3.1 About and for human rights

Students in all five countries identified multiple human rights when asked to list 'up to five rights which you consider to be human rights'. More than 80% listed five rights, thus indicating that students across national boundaries know *about* human rights (even if this was not recognised by them as part of their schooling). As noted in previous research (Tibbitts et al., 2020), students in different contexts indeed are often able to identify human rights ranging across social, economic, and legal rights in line with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) adopted by the UN in 1948. That said, significant cross-national differences in this respect came to light as well in our study, where students in Sweden and New Zealand listed fewer human rights compared to students from other countries.

When asked about their views on how to best promote human rights, students provided a diversity of responses, most of which primarily emphasised education as key. Most students across national boundaries—amounting to 345 (51.3%)—responded by suggesting activities linked to education and learning (EL) (see figure below). They, for instance, emphasised that "People should be educated so that they can understand human rights" and that it is central to "Create awareness via school activities". Conversely, 181 students (26.9%) suggested social actions (SA), and 60 students (8.9%) set forth activities linked to influencing governments (IG); see Figure 3.

Figure 3: Promoting human rights

Explanation: Dimensions of human rights in students' responses on question "What do you consider to be the most important activities to promote human rights/peace/sustainability?" Education & Learning (EL), Influencing Government (IG), Other (O), Social Action (SA), Combination of dimensions (Combo). See also Appendix C.

	England	India	New Zealand	South Africa	Sweden	Total
EL	39%	43%	18%	48%	38%	36%
IG	0%	2%	1%	2%	3%	2%
O	9%	11%	12%	10%	12%	11%
SA	23%	2%	14%	20%	2%	11%
Combo	13%	28%	32%	7%	12%	19%

Social actions were described as constructive by students: in India, for instance, they recommended "spreading awareness among the common people, by organising campaigns, by doing advertisement, by doing nukkad natak (street play)". Street plays are common activities to promote awareness about social issues in India, hence, perceived as effective by the students to promote HR. Similarly, one student in New Zealand expressed the view that "Activism is a good way to sum up promotion of peoples' human rights". Another student stated that "There are different forms that activism comes in e.g. protests, performances. Activists often fight for causes

they believe are limiting people's human rights, and are working towards change or movement in society so that these can be improved". And an English student described the importance of "Engaging in political movements, as rights are generally granted by states and IGOs". Finally, 19% of the students mentioned a combination of activities, while 14.1% of students noted other ways to promote human rights, such as universal acceptance of others, equity, and the "end of religion".
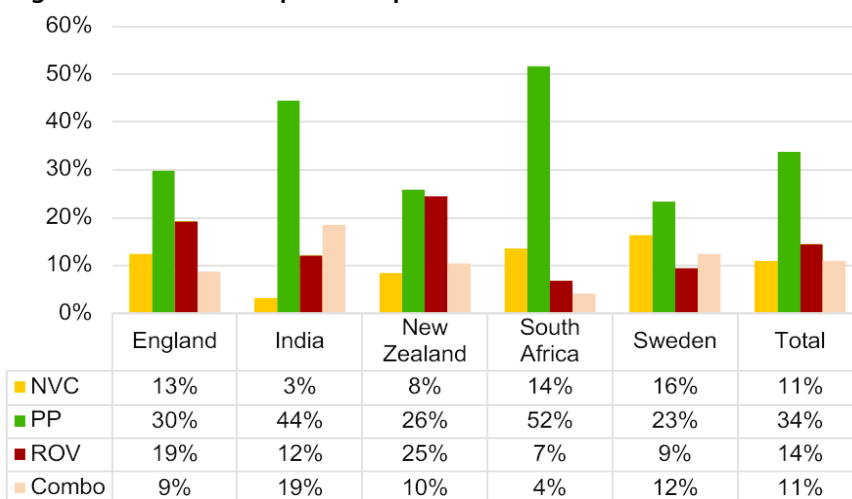
3.2 About and for peace

In total, 420 students (62.5%) mentioned aspects of negative peace (NP) when answering the question "What is peace to you?", while 382 (56.8%) mentioned positive peace (PP) aspects. Twenty-six students (4%) did not respond to this question. In addition, 162 students (24%) mentioned both NP and PP (see Figure 4). More specifically, a small majority of the students described peace, in terms of cessation of violence and war. For instance, they described peace as "oppo-site of war", further associating it with "no wars, no discrimination, no hate" and a "violence free state". More "positive" descriptions of peace included associations, for instance, with "caring", "tranquillity and understanding and acceptance of others" and with "a world where we all get along no matter what gender, colour, or race [we are]". Students also described positive peaceful mindsets, and how "peace is getting lost in the lyrics of songs". Some also associated peace with "being able to connect with your inner being", to "chill at home", and with a "sense of humour". We also found a combination of positive and negative peace in many responses, for instance, "make love not war".

Figure 4: Negative and positive peace

	England	India	New Zealand	South Africa	Sweden	Total
NP	37%	50%	30%	21%	50%	38%
PP	32%	28%	30%	54%	25%	33%
Combo	23%	16%	32%	22%	25%	24%

Explanation: Dimensions of peace in students' responses to the question "What is peace to you?": Negative Peace (NP), Positive Peace (PP), Combination of dimensions (Combo). See also Appendix C.
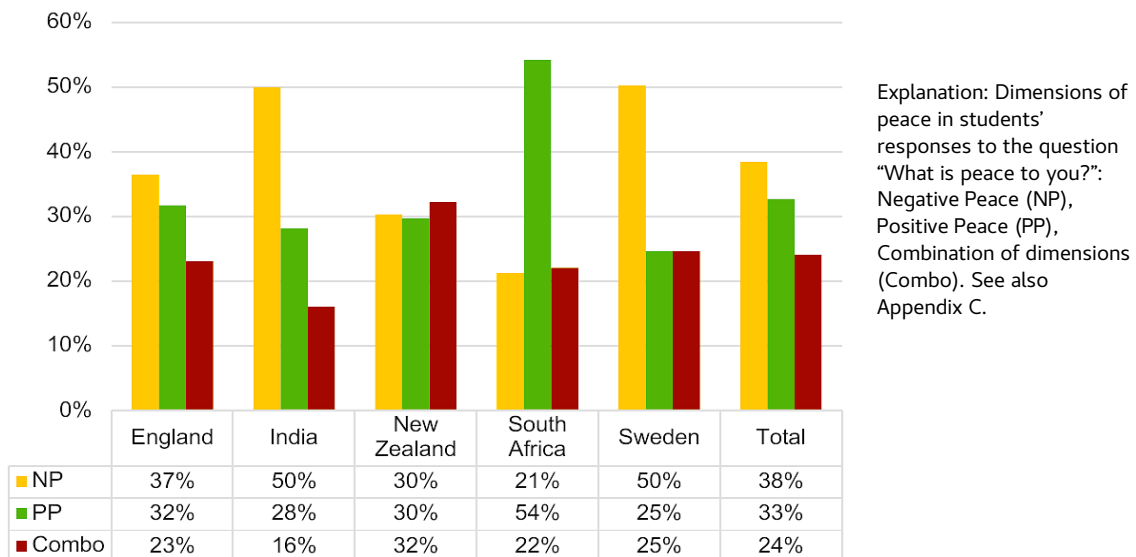
In response to the question surveying students' views on the most important activities to promote peace, most students underscored the importance of positive action *for* peace. In total, 288 students (42.9%) mentioned positive peace actions (PP), 145 (21.6%) set forth actions linked to recognition of violence (ROV), and 115 (17.1%) described non-violent conflict trans-formation (NVC) as central to the promotion of peace (codes in line with Standish, 2016).

Figure 5: Activities to promote peace

	England	India	New Zealand	South Africa	Sweden	Total
■ NVC	13%	3%	8%	14%	16%	11%
■ PP	30%	44%	26%	52%	23%	34%
■ ROV	19%	12%	25%	7%	9%	14%
■ Combo	9%	19%	10%	4%	12%	11%

Explanation: Dimensions of peace in students' responses to the question "What do you consider to be the most important activities to promote peace?": Non-Violent Conflict Transformation (NVC), Positive Peace (PP), Recognition of Violence (ROV), Combination of dimensions (Combo). See also Appendix C.

Positive peace activities included, for instance, "education and integration of minorities into society"; students in this category considered "that human rights could directly link to this", adding that "once we all realise what the rights of every person on earth is [sic], and everyone sees each other as equal members of society, we could come much closer to achieving peace". Cultural events like parades, festivals, and sports were mentioned as ways to promote peace in society. One student in South Africa underscored the importance of "hav[ing] Ubuntu", which may be interpreted as a peaceful attitude consisting of treating others with humanity since we are all part of the universe. The importance of "show[ing] empathy towards every race, religion, and culture" was also underscored. Another student proposed "calm activities like yoga".

Recognising and fighting against injustice and violence, notably through protests against injustices, was mentioned by many students as important activities *for* peace. Students proposed, for instance, the importance of "campaigns against Human violence" and "anti-war protests [...] a ban on nuclear weapons arms trade". One student in India identified the importance of recognition of violence on a global level, stating the importance of "Lessening the influence of the First World" as well as ensuring the "Detonation of Nukes and King Atom [and] the end of an impartial UN". Students also found it constructive to learn from history and "examples of what can happen if the world is out of balance". Education addressing bullying and stereotypes was also recommended.

Students emphasising the importance of non-violent conflict transformation mentioned, for example, "diplomatic discussion" and "us[ing] words instead of violence". Students mentioned the importance of this in the UN, between nations, groups and individuals; they mentioned the importance of "working out conflicts between leaders", "peace negotiations", and "Dialogue! That is the most important thing [sic] you want to resolve a conflict without violence, because violence does not solve anything".

3.3 About and for sustainability

Answering the question "What does sustainable development mean to you?", a total of 307 (45.7%) students referred to issues related to social development. They associated it with "Leaving something in a better state than you found it", with "think[ing] of the next generation when doing an action", or with "meeting people's needs". In addition, 304 (45.2%) students referred to ecological aspects of sustainable development, with answers associating it to a condition whereby "the earth is stable", "All [is] natural", and "Development that does not use natural resources

(e.g. coal)". Finally, 224 (33.3%) students highlighted economic aspects of development, for instance, by linking it to "Developing a country or place that has a sustainable future" and "Making sure we have resources available in the future". Thus, the economic dimension of sustainable development was given considerably less attention by students overall. Notably, most students mentioned a combination of at least two of the three dimensions, quite a contrast to students writing about peace, where combinations were not as common.

One of the main goals of educating about and for sustainable development is to engage students in learning how different aspects of sustainable development interact, reflect, and are dependent upon each other. Students who recognised this interaction gave answers such as "[sustainability] means economical, social, and ecological growth that is beneficial and long lasting", "enjoying life and technological advancement without damaging the planet", and "economic development that is done without the exhaustion of natural resources". Students also stated that "Developing in [a] manner that allows for conservation of resources, and that allows for our future generations to live happily on earth", "develop[ing] something that will bring difference to communities", or "develop[ing] without damaging the environment".

Students who mentioned a combination of two or more aspects of sustainability in their answers amounted to 287 (42.7%); see Figure 6 below. Students from India (69.40%), South Africa (44.80%), and Sweden (43.30%) ranked highest in this category, whereas England (29.80%) and New Zealand (27.70%) had significantly fewer students combining sustainability aspects in their answers.

Figure 6: What is sustainability?
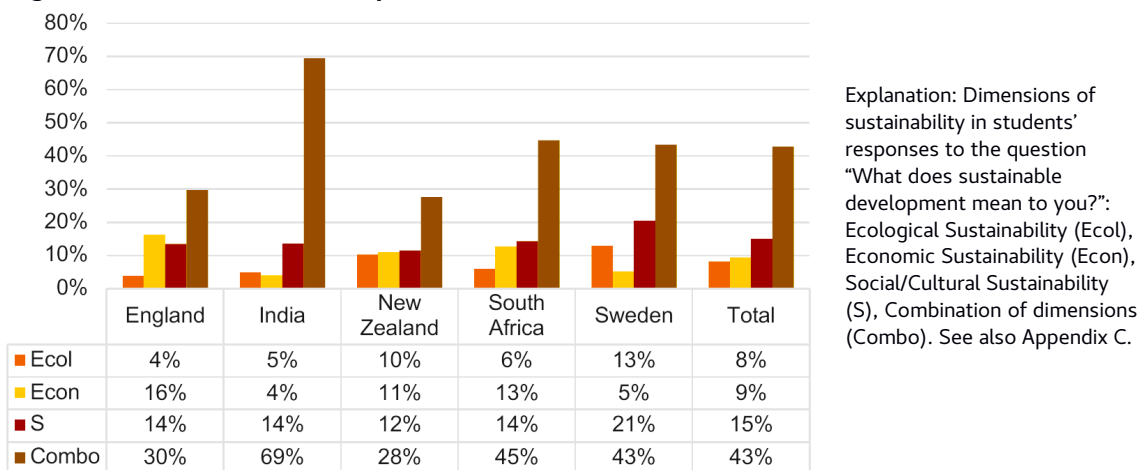
	England	India	New Zealand	South Africa	Sweden	Total
Ecol	4%	5%	10%	6%	13%	8%
Econ	16%	4%	11%	13%	5%	9%
S	14%	14%	12%	14%	21%	15%
Combo	30%	69%	28%	45%	43%	43%

Explanation: Dimensions of sustainability in students' responses to the question "What does sustainable development mean to you?": Ecological Sustainability (Ecol), Economic Sustainability (Econ), Social/Cultural Sustainability (S), Combination of dimensions (Combo). See also Appendix C.
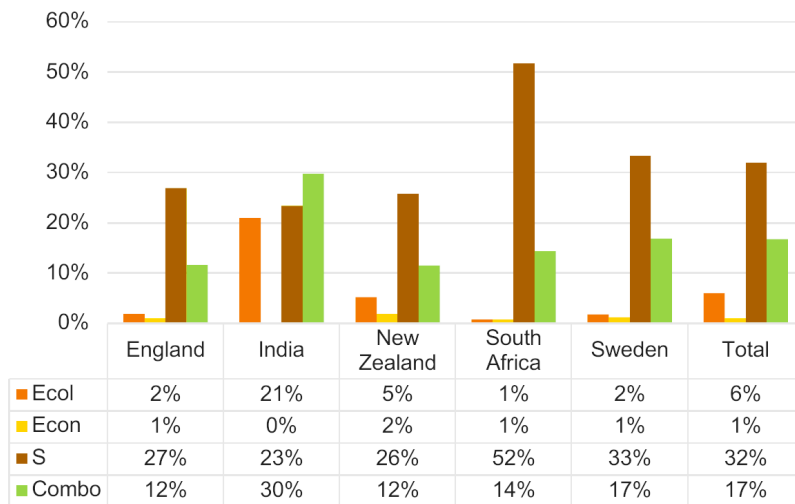
Answering the question "What do you consider to be the most important activities for achieving sustainable development?", 322 (49.9%) students mentioned societal activities (S) such as "Stopping wars and destroying nuclear devices", "Spreading awareness and doing small things like picking up rubbish and joining clubs and signing petitions", "learning about sustainable development", and becoming "vegans". In addition, 140 (20.8%) students mentioned activities focusing on ecological measures, such as "going outside and learning about our world and gardening", "Avoiding using unnatural materials in your home, and growing foods from your own gardens" and "support[ing] each other to provide food organically". Thirty-seven (5.5%) students referred to actions associated with different economic measures, for instance, "put[ting] money into energy", investing in "Innovation", and "looking after the economy".

Regarding a combination of actions, i.e. actions that are dealing with two or all of the three dimensions of sustainable development, the answers follow the same pattern as in the previous question (see Figures 6 and 7). Students from England (11.6%) and New Zealand (11.5%) scored lowest, then South African (14.4%) and Swedish students (16.9%) and finally, India (29.8%) had again the highest number of students that mentioned several of the sustainable development

dimensions in their answers. One example of an answer that combined different sustainable development dimensions was a reference to "Teaching students in schools about sustainable development and encouraging companies to develop sustainably and reducing their carbon footprint", the underlying belief being that "Children are the leaders of the future and these lessons will hopefully guide humanity to a brighter future".

Figure 7: Promotion of sustainability

Explanation: Dimensions of sustainability in students' responses to the question "What do you consider to be the most important activities for achieving sustainable development?": Ecological Sustainability (Ecol), Economic Sustainability (Econ), Social/Cultural Sustainability (S), Combination of dimensions (Combo). See also Appendix C.

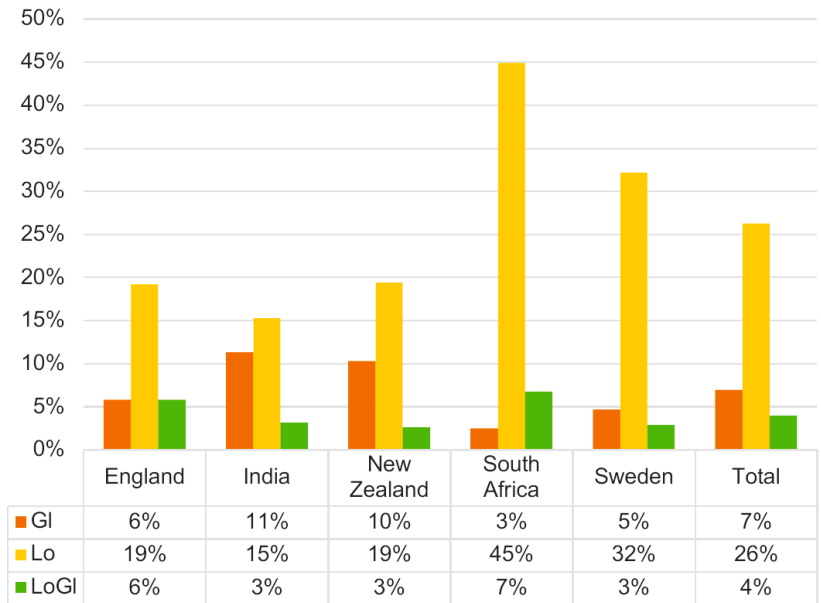|	England	India	New Zealand	South Africa	Sweden	Total
Ecol	2%	21%	5%	1%	2%	6%
Econ	1%	0%	2%	1%	1%	1%
S	27%	23%	26%	52%	33%	32%
Combo	12%	30%	12%	14%	17%	17%

 Notably, when asked what is sustainable development, the total number of students referring to economic aspects of development is 9.4% (see figure 5); moreover, when asked how to promote sustainable development, it is only 1% (see figure 6) of the students who referred to actions relating to the economic dimension of sustainable development.

3.3.1 Local vs global

Regarding the question of promoting sustainable development, we also looked into the distribution of responses, in relation to the local and global foci. While several responses were hard to interpret, we noted 204 (30.4%) students highlighting local actions in their responses, whereas 74 (11.0%) students mentioned actions that can be associated with a global arena. Examples of local actions included "Us[ing] what you have wisely and think[ing] about the future", "recycling", and "using public transport". Actions that related to a global arena included, for example, "conserving the [land]", "Promotion of non-industrial paths to development, as the world cannot take much more pollution than the already industrial nations put out", and "International Agreements". In a few cases, amounting to 4% of the respondents, both types of actions were highlighted, as reflected from the following quote: "Seeing videos on how the challenges that sustainable development faces has an impact on the world."

   The pattern that thus emerges is that students tend to focus on local actions (see Figure 8). One possible explanation for this focus is that local actions are closer to home, within range of one's agency and outreach of action competence.

Figure 8: Global versus local

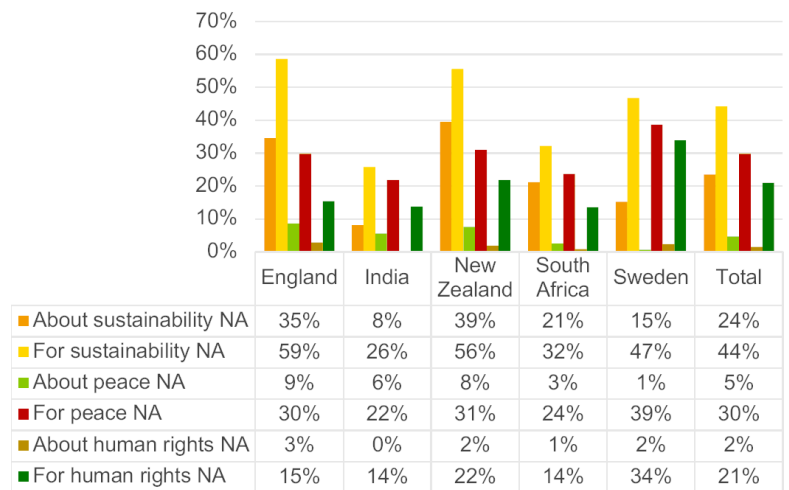|	England	India	New Zealand	South Africa	Sweden	Total
■ Gl	6%	11%	10%	3%	5%	7%
■ Lo	19%	15%	19%	45%	32%	26%
■ LoGl	6%	3%	3%	7%	3%	4%

Explanation: : Dimensions of global and local perspectives in students' responses to the question "What do you consider to be the most important activities for achieving sustainable development?": Global (Gl, red), Local (Lo, orange), Combination of global and local (LoGl, green). See also Appendix C.

3.4 Answers *about* but not *for*

Overall, we found little evidence of students' active engagement with the concepts of HR, PE, and SD across the three dimensions of GCE. While most students listed several human rights, with only 15 students not having listed any, as many as 139 students did not identify activities *for* human rights. A similar pattern is evident in relation to peace: while questions about peace were answered by all but 26 students, 200 students did not answer the questions about activities *for* peace. Again, this same contrast is evident in questions *about* (161) and *for* (294) sustainability (see Figure 9).

Figure 9: No answers about or for

	England	India	New Zealand	South Africa	Sweden	Total
■ About sustainability NA	35%	8%	39%	21%	15%	24%
■ For sustainability NA	59%	26%	56%	32%	47%	44%
■ About peace NA	9%	6%	8%	3%	1%	5%
■ For peace NA	30%	22%	31%	24%	39%	30%
■ About human rights NA	3%	0%	2%	1%	2%	2%
■ For human rights NA	15%	14%	22%	14%	34%	21%

Explanation: Per cent of students not responding to questions *about* and *for* sustainability, peace, and human rights. See questions 23 and 29, 13 and 22, 5 and 22 in Appendix C.
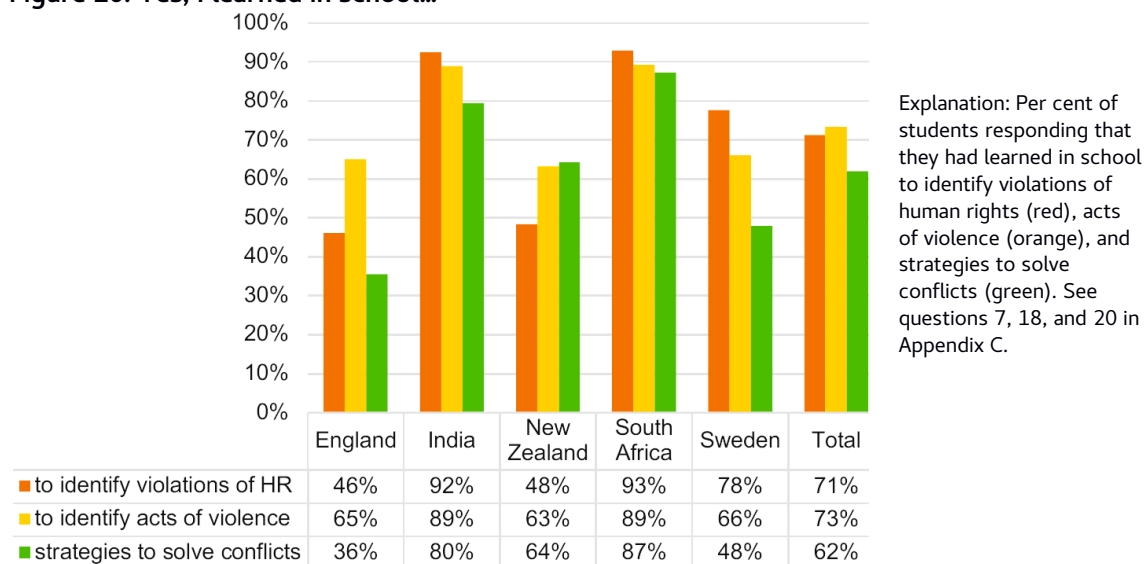
Differences highlight how it may be more complicated for students to identify activities *for* human rights, peace, and sustainability than understanding what human rights, peace, and sustainability are *about*. The design of the questionnaire may explain some of the differences, al-

though the fact that more students answered question number 23 than number 22 is an indica-tion that this result may be related to more than just a tiring effect.

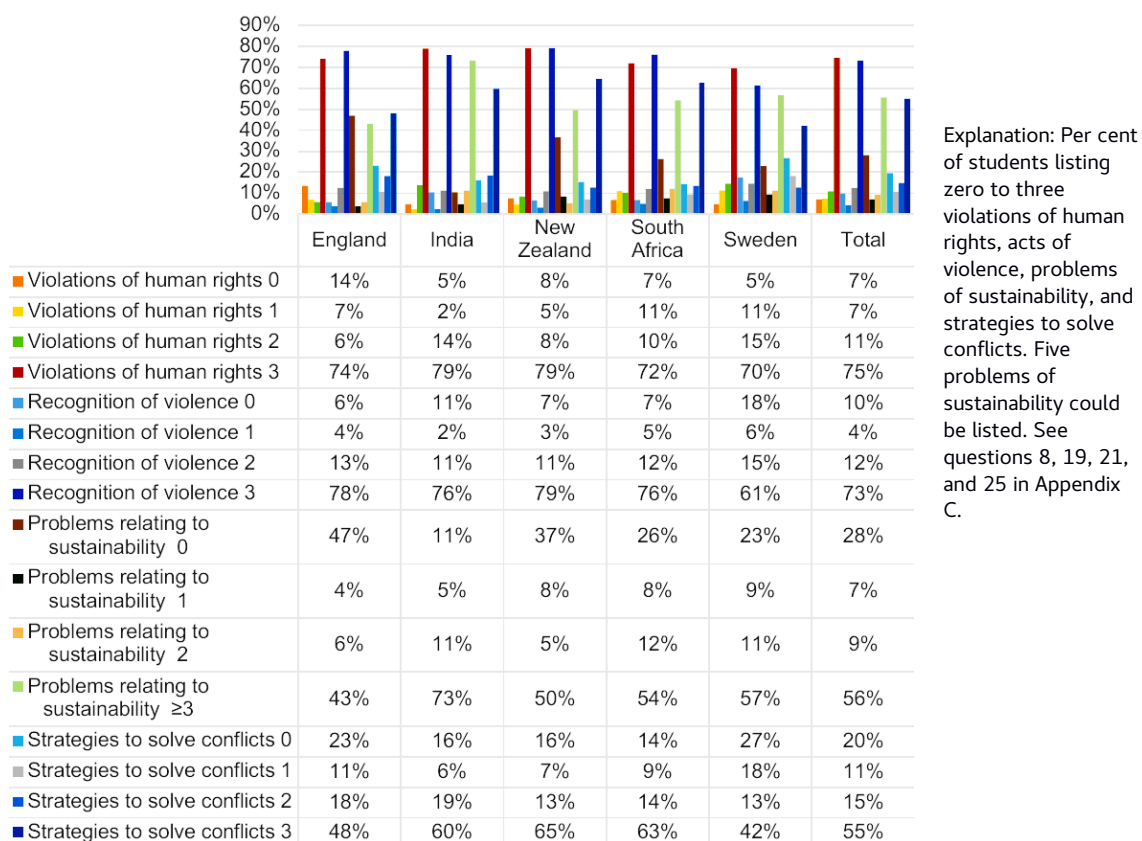### 3.5 Skills to identify problems and solutions

Students in all countries stated that they had learned in school to identify violations of human rights, acts of violence, and strategies to solve conflicts (see Figure 10).

Figure 10: Yes, I learned in school…

	England	India	New Zealand	South Africa	Sweden	Total
■ to identify violations of HR	46%	92%	48%	93%	78%	71%
■ to identify acts of violence	65%	89%	63%	89%	66%	73%
■ strategies to solve conflicts	36%	80%	64%	87%	48%	62%

Explanation: Per cent of students responding that they had learned in school to identify violations of human rights (red), acts of violence (orange), and strategies to solve conflicts (green). See questions 7, 18, and 20 in Appendix C.
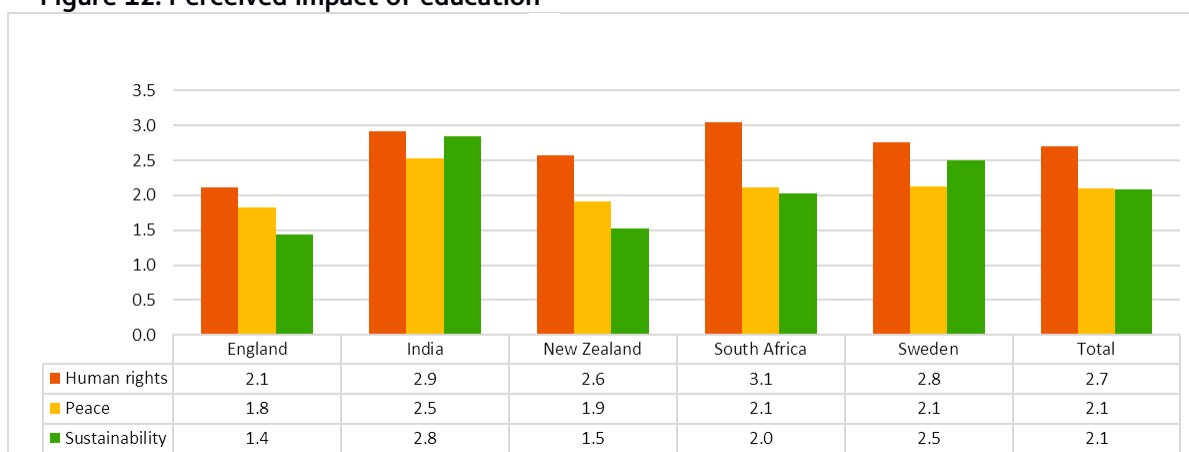
 In all contexts, except New Zealand, students mentioned only to a lesser extent that they had learned strategies to solve conflicts compared to having learned to identify violations of human rights and acts of violence (see Figure 10).

  We found a similar pattern in students' abilities to list violations, problems, and solutions in relation to the three domains. As many as 73.4% and 74.7% were able to, respectively, recognise at least three types of violence and violations of human rights (see Figure 11 below). Students appeared less capable of identifying problems linked to issues of sustainability or strategies to solve conflicts: 55.7% and 55.1% of the students, respectively, could list three or more.

Figure 11: Identification of problems and solutions

	England	India	New Zealand	South Africa	Sweden	Total
■ Violations of human rights 0	14%	5%	8%	7%	5%	7%
■ Violations of human rights 1	7%	2%	5%	11%	11%	7%
■ Violations of human rights 2	6%	14%	8%	10%	15%	11%
■ Violations of human rights 3	74%	79%	79%	72%	70%	75%
■ Recognition of violence 0	6%	11%	7%	7%	18%	10%
■ Recognition of violence 1	4%	2%	3%	5%	6%	4%
■ Recognition of violence 2	13%	11%	11%	12%	15%	12%
■ Recognition of violence 3	78%	76%	79%	76%	61%	73%
■ Problems relating to sustainability 0	47%	11%	37%	26%	23%	28%
■ Problems relating to sustainability 1	4%	5%	8%	8%	9%	7%
■ Problems relating to sustainability 2	6%	11%	5%	12%	11%	9%
■ Problems relating to sustainability ≥3	43%	73%	50%	54%	57%	56%
■ Strategies to solve conflicts 0	23%	16%	16%	14%	27%	20%
■ Strategies to solve conflicts 1	11%	6%	7%	9%	18%	11%
■ Strategies to solve conflicts 2	18%	19%	13%	14%	13%	15%
■ Strategies to solve conflicts 3	48%	60%	65%	63%	42%	55%

Explanation: Per cent of students listing zero to three violations of human rights, acts of violence, problems of sustainability, and strategies to solve conflicts. Five problems of sustainability could be listed. See questions 8, 19, 21, and 25 in Appendix C.

3.6 Impact of schooling

When asked to rate the impact of schooling on a scale from zero to five, students rated its impact in relation to human rights higher than they perceived the impact of peace and sustainability education (see Figure 12 below). Students from England and New Zealand who listed fewer issues linked to sustainability (see Figure 11 above) also stated that they were not much affected by schooling. In this case, skills and students' reflections about education seem to go hand in hand.

Figure 12: Perceived impact of education

	England	India	New Zealand	South Africa	Sweden	Total
■ Human rights	2.1	2.9	2.6	3.1	2.8	2.7
■ Peace	1.8	2.5	1.9	2.1	2.1	2.1
■ Sustainability	1.4	2.8	1.5	2.0	2.5	2.1

Explanation: Perceived impact of education on a scale from zero (no effect) to five (major effect). See questions 11, 17, and 28 in Appendix C.

Linear regressions of students' perceived ratings of impact from education show that students residing in India [b = 1.341, t = 6.168, p < .001]; South Africa [b = 0.907, t = 3.960, p < .001]; or Sweden [b = 0.397, t = 2.013, p = .0445] rated HRE as having significantly more effect on their learning than students in England. Students residing in India [b = 1.0337, t = 4.430, p < .001] rated the impact from PE significantly higher than those living in England. In addition, students residing in India [b = 1.219, t = 5.279, p < .001] and Sweden [b = 0.455, t = 2.036, p = .0423] rated effects from ESD significantly higher than those residing in England.

3.7 Impact related to teaching methods

Students' schooling experiences hold interesting associations between perceived impact and methods. For methods in HRE, there were four significant effects. There was an effect of taking notes [b = 0.338, t = 2.115, p = .0316]; watching a video on the topic [b = 0.459, t = 3.075, p = .00220]; and participating in a class or small group discussion [b = 0.500, t = 3.086, p = .00213], amounting to a higher rating of perceived effect from HRE (see also Appendix D).

We did not find any significant associations between methods and impact in PE; however, in ESD, we found five significant effects linking perceived impact to methods of teaching. There was an effect of reading the textbook [b = 0.483, t = 2.665, p = .00795]; reading texts other than the textbook [b = 0.375, t = 2.087, p = .0374]; answering questions from the teacher [b = 0.696, t = 3.614, p < .001]; participating in class or small group discussion [b = 0.407, t = 2.103, p = .0359]; or discussing controversial issues regarding sustainable development [b = 0.467, t = 2.176, p = .0300] associated with a higher rating on the perceived impact from ESD.

4 CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

International guidelines emphasise the importance of knowledge, skills, and attitudes to promote global citizenship (UNESCO, 2015). We found that students across national borders have a degree of knowledge about human rights, peace, and sustainability. Our results highlight how students hold knowledge that makes it possible for them to define human rights, peace, and sustainability in various ways. We also found that most students are quite skilled at identifying violations of human rights and acts of violence. To a lesser extent, students could identify strategies to solve conflicts as well as problems linked to sustainability. Students across all countries

could list a range of activities to promote human rights, peace, and sustainability. However, identifying activities *for* human rights, peace, and sustainability appeared to be more of a challenge than writing *about* these issues. When analysing associations between methods of teaching and perceived impact of education to act for human rights, peace, and/or sustainability, we find complex links across the elements of GCE. These findings are discussed further below.

4.1 Global knowledge and attitudes

Knowledge about human rights seems to be the most emphasised dimension, and students take away very positive attitudes towards education for human rights. Students' views on the prominent role of education in promoting human rights may be explained by their current experiences from schooling and also by the fact that education is often described, on a global level, as key to solving issues of human rights (Tibbitts & Katz, 2017). To a lesser extent, students believe in influencing governments, which may be understood as a democratic problem when citizens do not see how institutions in society may work for them. In a democratic society, it should be easy for citizens to find ways to engage in politics and influence governments, but this is not what we see in our results.

  Students' knowledge about peace highlights how peace can be perceived as a very private matter and also an international matter linked to international conflicts. Students' attitudes for promoting peace especially highlight views of positive peace between people of all countries, social groups, races, and religions. Again, we find that students see education as key. Attitudes for peace seem to hold a rich spectrum, including also anti-war protests, rallies against nuclear arms, and non-violent conflict transformation—between people and countries. Only a few students mention several dimensions of peace when they describe activities to promote peace. In contrast, we find that students often see a combination of activities to promote sustainability. Students often combine actions to promote social and ecological sustainability. Perhaps, students have a more global/holistic view on sustainability than peace?

  However, we also find a tension between globalisation and sustainability as economic, and globalisation and sustainability as social justice (Stein & de Andreotti, 2017). Students note that economic sustainability is important, but they rarely mention economic solutions to sustainability issues. Instead, their attitudes for promoting sustainability focus on social and ecological activities. This distribution of answers is worth reflecting upon, particularly in light of the critique against market economy in many pro-environmental and social movements as well as scholarly areas. GCE is often caught between providing students with the skills and knowledge to be competitive in the global economy and wider ideas of living together in a sustainable way. This can be quite difficult for schools and teachers to navigate. It raises important questions about global education, and specifically global citizenship education. Do students see themselves without power to influence the economy? What can be done when students are able to define sustainable development but not come up with actions to promote sustainability?

4.2 Global skills

Our findings highlight how students may not get the same amount and types of teaching in all the domains of GCE across different countries. What we see as a pattern across all national contexts is how it is more of a challenge for students to list three strategies to solve conflicts or problems linked to sustainability than it is for them to list acts of violence or violations of human rights (see Figure 11). Thus, skills associated with GCE are more prominent in some domains than others. This cannot be simply explained by what is formulated in national guidelines since issues of sustainability are often emphasised in the formal curricula. We need to consider how it may be easier to identify some problems (e.g. human rights) more than others (e.g. sustainability). It may also be harder to come up with solutions than to identify problems. This is

certainly a challenge when implementing global guidelines, and it may be productive for teachers to reflect upon how to stimulate students' skills to identify more problems and solutions to challenges in a global world.

Previous research on peace education has found that curricula in the global north and south often emphasise the recognition of violence more than non-violent conflict resolution (Standish & Nygren, 2018). We find that this is also the case in the experienced curricula. However, in the case of New Zealand, students stated having learned to solve conflicts more than recognising acts of violence (see Figure 10), in contrast to the emphasis in the formal curricula (Standish, 2016). Nonetheless, students' abilities in New Zealand to actually list acts of violence were better than their skills to list strategies to solve conflicts (see Figure 11). Thus, their self-reported experiences did not match their skills. In contrast to this, we also find that students in some contexts (i.e. England) claim that they did not learn much about human rights in school, but they were still able to identify five human rights. These are intriguing findings, which are difficult to comment upon without further investigation. It may indicate that learning about global issues may take place outside of a school context or without students realising what they actually learn, for instance, in primary schooling. The cases of England and New Zealand highlight some of the complexities of implementation (e.g. Goodlad, 1979; Nygren, 2011a, 2016b). Evidently, the formal curricula do not automatically become a part of the experienced curricula, and students come into the classroom with different levels of knowledge and views. Teachers have great freedom to design education, and what students experience may differ greatly.

4.3 Global education across national curricula

Whilst samples are not representative of the whole population, and we cannot assume that the curriculum is directly translated and implemented into students' learning, it is interesting to note that respondents from some countries showed more knowledge about human rights, peace, and sustainability than others. This could be explained by multiple factors, but it does draw attention to some national specificities. We find that students in two European countries (Sweden and England) may hold more different experiences than students in Indian and South African contexts. A possible explanation for this could be the shared experience of a British postcolonial legacy in India and South Africa. Although these experiences were contextually different, there was in all probability enough of a shared residue for it to surface years later in this project. Context can offer tools for reflecting on national differences. To understand some of these similarities and differences, considering societal changes, historical legacies, and the ways in which these have shaped curriculum choices can be helpful.

Students' responses in South Africa point to a national human rights discourse that has been particularly impactful in the post-apartheid era, including among the country's "born free" generation. Explanations for this can be found in the country's history and its legacy in the present socio-political dispensation, with which these younger generations are however growing increasingly dissatisfied. Promoted as part of an attempt to create a "new" South Africa in the wake of its dark past of internal colonisation and related abuses, this discourse has become deeply embedded in the intended curriculum, both in terms of ideology and content (but only cosmetically in the hidden curriculum), and, as our results show, convincingly seems to have found its way into the experienced curriculum. This is augmented by linking HRE directly to citizenship and the very liberal South African curriculum: in short, the argument made by policy-makers in South Africa is that to be a good, critical, citizen who is human rights-orientated, you need to subscribe to the constitution. The particular significance and strong resonance of a human rights discourse among young South Africans may be further explained by the verna-cularisation, or Africanisation, of a concept and related discourse that is otherwise often seen as universal. Infused into the idea of human rights in South Africa is the Africanist notion of *ubuntu*—of collective humanity, encapsulated in the belief that 'people are people because of people' (or 'I

am because we are'). This is a decolonising statement, which has at its heart the notion that by means of *ubuntu,* human rights is also an indigenous idea.

Students' knowledge, skills, and attitudes in the Indian context highlight how education may support GCE. The potential of education for human rights in India has been noted in previous research also noting challenges to stimulate critical debate about human rights (Anamika, 2017). Critical postcolonial perspectives are rare, but there are some examples from India. They may reflect how students perceive existing inequalities in Indian society and violations of their human rights. Students may witness/experience how their rights have been violated on a daily basis for being a girl or coming from a particular caste or religious or economic background. Indian schools also impose restrictions on the rights of students, in the name of maintaining discipline (National Curriculum Framework, 2005). This situation further unfurls in developing scepticism amongst students towards systems, first at the level of local systems in school and society that fail to ensure HR. This could further accentuate the mistrust towards global systems. Critical perspectives found among students may be an outcome of a discourse where international organisations have been viewed with scepticism; namely, they are seen as having an agenda to promote the vested interests of the west.

The case of England, where students demonstrated lesser knowledge of aspects of GCE overall, offers an interesting example, as there has been a gradual erosion of global dimensions in the curriculum, less focus on human rights and sustainability (peace being absent from the curriculum), and a reinforcement of national citizenship, history, and values in recent curricular changes (DfE, 2014). Whilst we cannot draw causal connections, these findings open up further lines of enquiry into the relationship between curricular changes around GCE and their impact on students' perceptions. They also raise wider questions about political and social contexts. The UK has been marked by increased nationalism, isolationism, and anti-immigration in recent years, as demonstrated by the Brexit vote and the rising success of far right politics. Against this backdrop of xenophobic sentiment, the notion of freedom and rights has also been re-articulated in more nationalistic, anti-Europe discourse (England as the land of freedom and the birth of rights, reclaiming one's right to autonomy against the bureaucracy of Brussels). The heightened neoliberal context of English schools and society in general has also led to increased individualism, which at times builds on a rhetoric of "rights", understood less as shared humanity and more in a litigious sense (see for example, Welply, 2019a). The combination of social/political context and curricular change could be an explanation (but not the only one) for the fact that students in England showed less knowledge of peace and sustainability, yet were able to identify more human rights.

4.4 Practical implications: Mixing to match and critical perspectives

Transformative pedagogies are often described as important in HRE, PE, and ESD (e.g. Jucker & Mathar, 2015; Læssöe & Öhman, 2010; Tibbitts et al., 2020). The International Study of Civic and Citizenship Education (ICCS) and other studies of civic education show, in most cases, a positive relationship between participatory and interactive methodologies, such as open discussions, and learning in the social sciences (Andersson, 2012; Persson, 2015; Schulz et al., 2018; Torney-Purta, 2002). Students' will to participate in the community has been associated with civic learning that links school activities to those outside of the school and extracurricular activities (Pizmony-Levy & Ostrow Michel, 2018; Schulz et al., 2018). ICCS also highlights the use of textbooks, lectures with students taking notes, and discussions on current issues as common methodologies in classrooms (Schulz et al., 2018).

In line with these previous findings, we see that participation in a class or small group discussion can be connected with a perceived impact from teaching of human rights and sustainability. However, we also find that multiple methodologies may be associated with perceived impact from GCE. Taking notes in HRE and reading the textbook and answering questions from the

teacher in ESD are also experienced by students with a significantly higher perceived impact from teaching. Thus, methodologies described as student-passive may be fruitful to promote learning *for* human rights and sustainability in some contexts. The fact that we find significant links in the experienced curricula between perceived impact and methods of taking notes, watching a video on the topic and participating in a class or small group discussion in HRE and reading the textbook, reading texts other than the textbook, answering questions from the teacher, participating in class or small group discussion, or discussing controversial issues regarding sustainable development in ESD highlights how teaching and learning GCE is complex.

Even if student-centred and activity-based methodologies have been linked to good test performance among students (Saye & Social Studies Inquiry Research, 2013), this may not be a silver bullet across cultural borders and all domains of GCE. Instead, teaching and learning may benefit from a combination of methodologies adapted to fit the current topic and school context. The combination of reading, answering questions, exchange of ideas, and discussing controversial issues may work better than using a few methodologies. Transforming content and methods to fit the context may be understood in light of vernacularisation, highlighting how the local culture is important to bear in mind when designing teaching (e.g. Coysh, 2016; Merry, 2001, 2006; Tibbitts et al., 2020). In some cases, students need a teacher at the centre and sometimes more of a student-centred methodology.

Differences between HRE, PE, and ESD are hard to explain; thus, we need further research to better understand this important aspect of teaching and learning GCE. One possible explanation for some of the differences may be that many students found that sustainability issues discussed in texts presented them with new perspectives on a matter not as problematised as issues linked to human rights. Evidently, students did not find it as easy to list problems and solutions linked to sustainability compared to problems and solutions linked to human rights.

5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

This article offers some lines of reflection for critically questioning GCE. First, across the different countries in which data were collected, students' attitudes revealed the tension between elements of GCE as knowledge and elements of GCE as action. This holds implications for thinking critically about how students might, through GCE, come to develop skills and attitudes to participate in democratic processes and actuate change at a local, national, and global level. It raises questions about education and political engagement, and how students can develop the necessary critical skills to do so. Secondly, the diversity of students' views show how the umbrella concept of GCE can take on different meanings in different local contexts. This is evidenced in different types of knowledge about human rights, peace, and sustainability in the different countries. Engaging with these different conceptual understandings of what matters in GCE, beyond national borders or Western discourses, can be a first step towards a postcolonial critique of GCE in both the global north and south. Allowing different perspectives to be heard and the different historical legacies in which they are inscribed (e.g. the notion of *ubuntu* in South Africa, the framing of rights in the context of India) can drive more critical approaches to GCE, and highlight the complexity of GCE across borders. This can also help students in the educational systems of the global north to critically reflect on contemporary socio-political contexts, marked, in many countries, by an increase in xenophobic discourse, nationalism, and populism, all at odds with the principles of GCE. Finally, in terms of teaching and pedagogical approaches, this article has highlighted the limitations of a one-size-fits-all approach. This is an important point to think about regarding GCE programmes in the global north and south, where pedagogy, values, and beliefs about education are, for the most part, shaped historically by national contexts and ideologies. The similarities and differences in students' knowledge and understanding about peace, human rights, and sustainability call for differentiated and localised

approaches in an attempt to reach common and shared goals. How this is achieved will require a diversity of perspectives, critical examination, and de-centring from dominant conceptions.

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APPENDIX A: QUESTIONS IN QUESTIONNAIRE—ABOUT, THROUGH, AND FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, PEACE, AND SUSTAINABILITY. QUESTIONS ABOUT HISTORICAL EVENTS WERE NOT INCLUDED IN OUR ANALYSIS.

1. What is your gender?

2. Is a language other than English/Swedish spoken in your home?

3. What school year are you in?

4. Have you previously studied human rights, peace, or sustainable development?

5. You have probably heard of or learned about "human rights". Please list up to five rights which you consider to be human rights.

6. What are some historical events or movements that you consider to be linked to the history of human rights?

7. Have you learned in class or school how to identify violations of human rights?
Yes/No

8. Please list some actions that you consider as being violations of human rights.

9. Did you learn about human rights in school or class?
Yes/No (go to question 11)

10. If you did learn about human rights in class or school, what did you do? (Please check all options that fit your experiences from teaching and school)

Read the textbook; Read texts other than the textbook; Took notes; Watched a video on the topic; Answered questions from the teacher; Participated in a class or small group discussion; Critically scrutinised information and different opinions; Presented arguments and different opinions; Discussed controversial issues regarding human rights [Q16 peace/ Q27 sustainability]; Worked with a partner or small group; Listened to a lecture; Worked individually on an assignment; Undertook a research based inquiry; Personal involvement in a social action related to human rights [Q16 peace/ Q27 sustainability]; Took a test; Did extracurricular activities; Other (please specify)

11. Have teaching and learning in school or class affected how you think about human rights?
No affect - Major affect

12. What do you consider to be the most important activities to promote human rights? Please explain.

13. What is peace to you?

14. What are some historical events or movements that you consider to be linked to the history of peace?

15. Did you learn about peace in school or class?
Yes/No (go to question 17)

16. If you did learn about peace in class or school, what did you do? (Please check all options that fit your experiences from teaching and school) (see options in Q10)

17. Have teaching and learning in school or class affected how you think about peace?

No affect - Major affect

18. Have you learned in class or school how to identify acts of violence?
Yes/No

19. Please list some actions you consider to be acts of violence.

20. Have you learned any strategies to solve conflicts in class or school?
Yes/No

21. Please list some strategies you find useful to solve conflicts.

22. What do you consider to be the most important activities to promote peace? Please explain.

23. What does sustainable development mean to you?

24. What are some historical events or movements that you consider to be linked to the history of sustainable development?

25. Please list some important problems relating to sustainable development that you see in the world today.

26. Did you learn about sustainable development in school or class?
Yes/No (go to question 28)

27. If you did learn about sustainable development in class or school, what did you do? (Please check all options that fit your experiences from teaching and school) (see options in Q10)

28. Have teaching and learning in school or class affected how you think about sustainable development?
No affect - Major affect

29. What do you consider to be the most important activities for achieving sustainable development?
Please explain.

APPENDIX B: OVERVIEW OF GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN NATIONAL FORMAL CURRICULA

National curricula	Curriculum areas relating to GCE	Human Rights	Peace	Sustainable Development
England	Key Stages 1-2 (primary school). Two mentions of sustainability. One allusion of human rights (the rights of children and older people). No mention of peace education. Key Stages 3-4 (secondary 11 to 16 year old). Curriculum: Statutory guidance on citizenship education (2013) No mention of peace education or ESD in the curriculum. One mention only of human rights for Key Stage 4 (none in Key Stage 3). Main overall focus is on political institutions in the UK, democratic participation, the rule of law, active citizenship (volunteering), preparing for adulthood, critical thinking skills, managing day-to-day finances.	Limited references to human rights in the citizenship curriculum. No explicit reference to human rights in the history curriculum.	No direct mention of peace in the curriculum.	Referred to briefly within the citizenship curriculum. No mention within the statutory guidance for geography curriculum. No mention in science curriculum.
India	National Curriculum Framework strongly emphasises human rights as one of its underpinning principles. "A normative responsibility for creating a strong sense of human values, namely freedom, trust, mutual respect, and respect for diversity", "critical moral and mental energy, making [students] alert to the social forces that threaten these values".	Emphasised in the overall guidelines linked to attitudes. In curriculum of history and political science.	Peace is mentioned directly in guidelines and part of history curriculum in both direct and non-direct ways.	Emphasised in the overall guidelines linked to attitudes, knowledge, and skills. Subject specific in biology, geography, crafts, home and consumer economics, history, civics, technology.
New Zealand	National curriculum: The New Zealand Curriculum (for English medium schools) and *Te Marautanga o Aotearoa* (for Maori medium schools). Vision of education, including diversity, equity, community participation, sustainability, integrity, and respect for self and others—emphasises global citizenship and the importance of human rights.	Mentioned explicitly in vision. The concept is part of the Achievement Objects (AO) in non-direct ways. It is explicitly addressed in a specific AO in Year 10 social sciences.	Only mentioned in vision.	In vision, overall guidelines (principles). Subject specific in science and social science.
South Africa	In the National Curriculum Statement citizenship is explicitly mentioned. In the process equipping learners, irrespective of their socio-economic background, race, gender, physical ability or intellectual ability, with the knowledge, skills, and values necessary for self-fulfilment, and meaningful participation in society as citizens of a free country are foregrounded. At the same time showing responsibility towards the environment, civic responsibility, promoting human rights and peace, and the health of others at a local, regional, national, continental, and global	Human Rights are strongly foregrounded and are directly linked to citizenship and how it speaks to social transformation and equal opportunities so as to address the apartheid past. Additionally, human rights are linked to social justice issues such as poverty,	Peace is only explicitly mentioned on one occasion and is linked directly to citizenship and human rights..	Not explicitly mentioned but hinted as understanding the world as a set of related systems by recognising that problem-solving contexts do not exist in isolation.

	level are also emphasised.	inequality, race, gender, age, and disability as well as associated directly with the South African Constitution.		
Sweden	National guidelines (ages 5-16). Overall guidelines state that: 'Education should impart and establish respect for human rights and the fundamental democratic values on which Swedish society is based. Each and every one working in the school should also encourage respect for the intrinsic value of each person and the environment we all share'.	Emphasised in the overall guidelines linked to attitudes, knowledge, and skills. Subject specific in geography, history, religion, and especially civics.	Emphasised in non-direct ways in the overall guidelines. Subject specific mentioning of peace only in studies of religion. Non-direct mentioning especially in social studies. Peaceful conflict resolution is rarely mentioned.	Emphasised in the overall guidelines linked to attitudes, knowledge, and skills. Subject specific in biology, geography, crafts, home and consumer economics, history, civics, and technology.

SOURCES:

National curriculum in England: secondary curriculum (2014)
   https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/national-curriculum-in-england-secondary-curriculum

National Curriculum Framework [India] (2005)
   http://www.ncert.nic.in/rightside/links/pdf/framework/english/nf2005.pdf

The New Zealand Curriculum (2015) https://nzcurriculum.tki.org.nz/The-New-Zealand-Curriculum

National Curriculum Statements (NCS) Grades R - 12 [South Africa] (2011)
   https://www.education.gov.za/Curriculum/NationalCurriculumStatementsGradesR-12.aspx

Curriculum for the compulsory school, preschool class and the recreation centre [Sweden]
   (2011) https://www.skolverket.se/publikationer?id=3984

APPENDIX C: CODING SCHEME FOR OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS

What do you consider to be the most important activities to promote human rights? Please explain

Education & Learning (EL)
Responses mentioning activities including: education in a school setting (including HR Day, Model UN, guest speakers); expressing one's point of view; having discussions; public education, and awareness (including use of social media); staying informed/access to information.

Social Action (SA)
Responses mentioning activities including: action/advocacy (general); protests/marches; working with/supporting human rights/humanitarian/charitable organisations.

Influencing Government (IG)
Responses mentioning activities including: policy changes/political changes and enforcement, supporting the United Nations; trying to influence decision makers; voting and elections.

What is peace to you?

Negative peace (NP)

Responses describing peace as characterised by cessations in overt violence (not war, violence, or conflicts).

Positive peace (PP)
Responses describing peace, in terms of positive actions, connections, mindsets, e.g. (1) Peace Zone: violence-free spaces; (2) Peace Bond: positive human relationships, characterised by kindness and empathy; (3) Social Justice: fairness, equality, and/or human rights; (4) Eco Mind: harmonious living between humanity and nature; (5) Link Mind: perception of interconnectivity and/or interdependency; (6) Gender Mind: awareness of gender as an important facet of understanding; (7) Resilience: ability to manage crises: personal, social, or environmental; (8) Well-being: health, wellness, and/or taking responsibility for self or other; and (9) Prevention: stopping violence before it starts.

What do you consider to be the most important activities to promote peace? Please explain.

Recognition of violence (ROV)
Responses describing activities, for instance, protests or teaching, to promote peace as identification, and condemning of violence. Violence noticed as deliberate, harmful, and unnecessary human acts or mindsets.

Non-violent conflict transformation (NCT)
Responses mentioning tools to transform conflict without violence; this can include dialogue, mediation, negotiation, collaboration as activities to promote peace.

Positive peace (PP)
Responses describing peace activities, in terms of positive peace actions, connections, mindset activities to promote peace (see PP examples above).

What does sustainable development mean to you?

Social/Cultural Sustainability (SC)
Responses mentioning: social equity, liveability, health equity, community development, social capital, social support, human rights, labour rights, placemaking, social responsibility, social justice, cultural competence, community resilience, human adaptation, education, future generations, and awareness.

Economic Sustainability (Econ)
Responses mentioning: long-term economic growth without negative impact on environmental, social, and cultural aspects of the community. Consumption, production, innovation. Fairer economic conditions for the poorer countries.

Ecologic Sustainability (Ecol)
Responses mentioning the protection of natural environment, water, forests, air, (natural) resources.

What do you consider to be the most important activities for achieving sustainable development?

Social/Cultural Sustainability (SC)
Responses mentioning actions with a focus on: social equity, liveability, health equity, community development, social capital, social support, human rights, labour rights, placemaking, social responsibility, social justice, cultural competence, community resilience, human adaptation, education, future generations, and awareness.

Economic Sustainability (Econ)
Responses mentioning actions with a focus on: long-term economic growth without negative impact on environmental, social, and cultural aspects of the community. Consumption, production, innovation. Fairer economic conditions for the poorer countries.

Ecologic Sustainability (Ecol)
Responses mentioning actions with a focus on: the protection of natural environment, water, forests, air, (natural) resources.

Local (L)
Responses mentioning actions or focus on local responsibility, solutions, concerns, and community

Global (G)
Responses mentioning actions or focus on global responsibility, solutions, concerns, and community

APPENDIX D: REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF METHODS AND PERCEIVED IMPACT FROM TEACHING

Table D1: *Estimates of Best Fitting Linear Regression Model for Rating on Human Rights Teaching for Teaching Activities 1:16 (Coded as 1 if Chosen and 0 if Not Chosen) and Country of Residence (17): England, India, New Zealand, South Africa, and Sweden. For Nationality, which is a Categorical Variable, England is the Baseline Category.*

Coefficient	Estimate	Std. Error	t-value	p-value
(Intercept)	1.777	0.159	11.197	< .001 ***
Reading the textbook (1)	-0.205	0.156	-1.317	.188
Read texts other than the textbook (2)	0.208	0.155	1.342	.180
Took notes (3)	0.338	0.157	2.155	.0316 *
Watched a video on the topic (4)	0.459	0.149	3.075	.00220 **
Answered questions from the teacher (5)	-0.127	0.164	-0.770	.441
Participated in a class or small group discussion (6)	0.500	0.162	3.086	.00213 **
Critically scrutinised information and different opinions (7)	0.174	0.181	0.961	.337
Presented arguments and different opinions (8)	-0.0548	0.173	-0.316	.752
Discussed controversial issues regarding human rights (9)	0.0970	0.161	0.600	.549
Worked with a partner or small group (10)	0.141	0.180	0.782	.434
Listened to a lecture (11)	0.0442	0.151	0.292	.771
Worked individually on an assignment (12)	0.122	0.174	0.700	.485
Undertook a research based inquiry (13)	-0.166	0.203	-0.814	.416
Personal involvement in a social action related to human rights (14)	0.0293	0.248	0.119	.905
Took a test (15)	0.00403	0.166	0.024	.981
Did extracurricular activities (16)	0.263	0.249	1.056	.291
Nationality: England (baseline) (17)	0	NA	NA	NA
India	1.341	0.217	6.168	< .001***
New Zealand	0.300	0.198	1.517	.130
South Africa	0.907	0.229	3.960	< .001***
Sweden	0.397	0.197	2.013	.0445 *

Note: Multiple R^2 = 0.219. Adjusted R^2 = 0.191. $F(21, 577)$ = 7.721, $p < .001$. Significance codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05.

Table D2: *Estimates of Best Fitting Linear Regression Model for Rating on Peace Teaching for Teaching Activities 1:16 (Coded as 1 if Chosen and 0 if Not Chosen) and Country of Residence (17): England, India, New Zealand, South Africa, and Sweden. For Nationality, which is a Categorical Variable, England is the Baseline Category.*

Coefficient	Estimate	Std. Error	t-value	p-value
(Intercept)	1.574	0.173	9.078	< .001***
Reading the textbook (1)	-0.0686	0.174	-0.394	.694
Read texts other than the textbook (2)	0.0142	0.195	0.073	.942
Took notes (3)	0.330	0.184	1.794	.0734
Watched a video on the topic (4)	0.373	0.184	2.023	.0436
Answered questions from the teacher (5)	0.274	0.198	1.381	.168
Participated in a class or small group discussion (6)	0.323	0.195	1.657	.0980
Critically scrutinised information and different opinions (7)	-0.316	0.263	-1.201	.230
Presented arguments and different opinions (8)	0.330	0.240	1.376	.169
Discussed controversial issues regarding human rights (9)	-0.0121	0.206	-0.059	.953
Worked with a partner or small group (10)	0.424	0.224	1.895	.0586
Listened to a lecture (11)	0.0854	0.188	0.455	.649
Worked individually on an assignment (12)	-0.113	0.226	-0.498	.619
Undertook a research based inquiry (13)	-0.336	0.286	-1.175	.241
Personal involvement in a social action related to human rights (14)	0.0145	0.317	0.046	.964
Took a test (15)	0.108	0.224	0.481	.630
Did extracurricular activities (16)	0.0617	0.295	0.209	.834
Nationality: England (baseline) (17)	0	NA	NA	NA
India	1.0337	0.233	4.430	< .001***
New Zealand	0.380	0.216	1.757	.0795
South Africa	0.132	0.230	0.574	.566
Sweden	0.363	0.216	1.683	.0930

Note: Multiple R^2 = 0.157. Adjusted R^2 = 0.126. $F(20, 550)$ = 5.122, $p < .001$. Significance codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05.

Table D3. *Estimates of Best Fitting Linear Regression Model for Rating on Sustainability Teaching for Teaching Activities 1:16 (Coded as 1 if Chosen and 0 if Not Chosen) and Country of Residence (17): England, India, New Zealand, South Africa, and Sweden. For Nationality, which is a Categorical Variable, England is the Baseline Category.*

Coefficient	Estimate	Std. Error	t-value	p-value
(Intercept)	1.281	0.172	7.445	< .001***
Reading the textbook (1)	0.483	0.181	2.665	.00795**
Read texts other than the textbook (2)	0.375	0.180	2.087	.0374*
Took notes (3)	-0.0726	0.191	-0.379	.705
Watched a video on the topic (4)	0.153	0.180	0.852	.395
Answered questions from the teacher (5)	0.696	0.193	3.614	.00033**
Participated in a class or small group discussion (6)	0.407	0.194	2.103	.0359 *
Critically scrutinised information and different opinions (7)	-0.0682	0.244	-0.280	.780
Presented arguments and different opinions (8)	0.110	0.224	0.491	.624
Discussed controversial issues regarding human rights (9)	0.467	0.215	2.176	.0300*
Worked with a partner or small group (10)	0.0108	0.211	0.051	.959
Listened to a lecture (11)	0.0572	0.185	0.310	.757
Worked individually on an assignment (12)	0.126	0.227	0.556	.578
Undertook a research based inquiry (13)	-0.0395	0.266	-0.149	.882
Personal involvement in a social action related to human rights (14)	-0.312	0.325	-0.958	.338
Took a test (15)	0.200	0.201	0.996	.320
Did extracurricular activities (16)	0.223	0.320	0.697	.486
Nationality: England (baseline) (17)	0	NA	NA	NA
India	1.219	0.231	5.279	<.001***
New Zealand	0.152	0.214	0.711	.478
South Africa	0.0421	0.225	0.187	.851
Sweden	0.455	0.224	2.036	.0423 *

Note: Multiple R^2 = 0.365. Adjusted R^2 = 0.341. $F(20, 519)$ = 14.910, p < .001. Significance codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05.