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Understanding National Identity Education: A Comparative Case Study of Two Schools in Mainland China and Scotland

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B.A., M.A.

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Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)**

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Abstract

Situated in the context of globalisation, this study examines the tensions between the search for national consciousness and a new call for global citizenship. The overarching aim is to explore how senses of national identity and global identity are advanced through school education. Specifically, this study explores three research questions: 1. How are senses of national identity and global identity promoted through the intended curriculum in primary schools in Mainland China and Scotland? 2. How are senses of national identity and global identity promoted through the implemented curriculum in primary schools in Mainland China and Scotland? 3. How are senses of national identity and global identity experienced and understood through the attained curriculum in primary schools in Mainland China and Scotland?

This study adopts a comparative case study to compare two primary schools located in Changchun, China and Glasgow, Scotland. Research methods employed include document analysis of curriculum standards and textbooks, semi-structured interviews with policy experts and teachers, non-participation observations of school environment and activities, and focus groups with students. Thematic analysis is adopted as a generic approach to organise and interpret the data.

The findings suggest that both schools are dedicated to multiple citizenship education to advance learners' identifications of different communities. In the case school in Mainland China, greater emphasis is placed on Chinese identity education; global identity education is regarded as simultaneously conducive and threatening to Chinese identity education. In the case school in Scotland, more attention is attached to global identity education, which is not only compatible with, but also conducive to Scottish identity education. According to the analytical framework exploring the relationship between national identity education and global identity education, the Chinese and Scottish case schools are respectively categorised as *Inclusive National* and *Inclusive Global*. These categories reflect the ways in which national-global interactions are shaped by their wider contexts: the need for national cohesion and social harmony is urgent in Mainland China,

while adapting to an increasingly heterogeneous society is of more concern to Scotland.

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I would like to express deepest gratitude to my parents. I consider it a piece of good fortune to have grown up and pursued my PhD with their selfless love and unconditional support and I hope to make their efforts worthwhile. Special thanks go to my boyfriend, who has tolerated my complaints while showing patience and cheering me up.

Author's declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Printed Name: Shuqi Rao

Signature:

Abbreviations

BERA	British Educational Research Association
CfE	Curriculum for Excellence
CPC	Communist Party of China
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEFI	Global Education First Initiative
ISSP	International Social Survey Program
OXFAM	Oxford Committee for Famine Relief
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment
PRC	People's Republic of China
RRSA	Rights Respecting Schools Award
SNP	Scottish National Party
STEM	Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics
UK	The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
WVS	World Value Survey

Chapter One Introduction

This chapter provides an introduction to the study, which engages with the relationship between national identity education and global identity education in Mainland China and Scotland in the context of globalisation. It first introduces the rationale for the study and my personal motivation. This is followed by the research aims and questions that guided the study, and the methodology adopted. The theoretical and practical significance of the research is then discussed. Finally, an overview of the thesis describing its structure and content is provided.

1.1 Statement of the problem

Manifested as a multidimensional phenomenon, globalisation has permeated every walk of life. National boundaries, as scholars have argued, are eroding as a result of the powerful mixture of international migration, technological advancements, growing economic and cultural interdependence, shifts in individuals' national allegiances, and the publication of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Banks, 2008; Giddens, 2002), all of which has led to the alteration of relations within and among nation-states (Chong, 2015). Although they might not portend the death of nation-states, these changes do suggest that the conventional way in which nation-states have traditionally functioned is being transformed (Armstrong, 2006), and so too are nation-specific notions.

Conventionally, a great emphasis has been attached to nation-states in defining individuals' identities. The argument that national identity is important to nation-states and individuals as members has been raised frequently (Brighouse, 2006; Callan, 2006; Hand & Pearce, 2009; Miller, 1988; Smith, 1991; White, 1996). However, influenced by the power of globalisation, individuals are now entering a multitude of situations and are able to build affiliations based on factors other than geographic territories (Myers, 2010). Consequently, national identity, while remaining important, is no longer the default locus for defining individuals' identities (Keating et al., 2009).

The link between national identity and education is a concern for many countries, and the promotion of national identity through school education can be observed

in different parts of the world (Archard, 1999; Grosvenor, 1999). However, since the landscape of national identity has been challenged, so has that of national identity education. In addition, nation-states, as challenged by the power of globalisation, no longer have the power they once had over education systems, which are increasingly subjected to the interests of supranational institutions, regional institutions and nongovernmental institutions (Keating et al., 2009). Therefore, national identity education has to transform its conventional way of engaging with students, who are increasingly likely to construct multiple identities, and this means national identity may not necessarily hold the primary place it has previously enjoyed (Osler & Starkey, 2003).

As scholars have persuasively argued, in a globalised world, the greatest problems do not result from individuals being unable to read and write, but from their difficulties in coping with differences and tackling global concerns collaboratively (Banks, 2004a). The discourse of global citizenship has been attracting growing attention in academic and public discussions. The essence of global citizenship has been incorporated into school settings in both Western and Eastern countries (Moon & Koo, 2011; Rapport, 2010; Richardson & Abbott, 2009; Schweisfurth, 2006). Drawing together the claims for national identity and global identity, it is essential to think about national-global interconnectivity (Rizvi, 2009). In dealing with the relationship between national identity and global identity, what role does school education play?

The problem posed above applies to both nation-states and nations without a state of their own (Guibernau, 2004). Neither China nor Scotland is an exception. In the Chinese context, the value of patriotism has constantly been promoted in both official propaganda and public discussions (He & Guo, 2000). It is widely believed that being a patriotic person benefits oneself and a strong Chinese nation. In addition, because of the country's rapid economic growth and unprecedented social development, China's need for social cohesion and national rejuvenation through promoting a distinctive Chinese identity is viewed as increasingly urgent (Law & Ho, 2011). Meanwhile, as the world's second largest economy (World Bank, 2019), China is actively involved in the global community. There is a growing desire to seek a more influential status through equipping its

people with global perspectives (Law, 2013). Scotland has experienced the transformation of political and social landscapes in the past few decades as well. Events including the opening of the Scottish Parliament in 1999, the Scottish National Party (SNP) becoming a mainstream political party in 2007, and the Scottish Independence Referendum in 2014 have increased interest in Scottish identity (Bechhofer & McCrone, 2007; Bond, 2015; Soule et al., 2012). The tension between Scottish identity and British identity has always been prominent and has recently been further exacerbated by uncertainty about Brexit (McEwen, 2018; Tyrrell et al., 2019). In addition, as a receiver region of immigration, Scotland has expressed the desire to have its own place on the global stage, including in its education system (Swanson & Pashby, 2016).

Overall, there has been an upsurge of interest in questions regarding national identity and global identity in both the Chinese and Scottish contexts. The Chinese nation is depicted as a state-led nation in which “rulers who spoke in a nation’s name successfully demanded the citizens identify themselves with that nation and subordinate other interests to those of the state” (Tilly, 1994, p.133). The Scottish nation is characterised as a stateless nation because it lacks a nation-state of its own (Law & Mooney, 2012; McCrone, 2001). Both nations are facing tensions between national consciousness and global concerns. The manifestation of these tensions in the educational settings of the two nations is the key concern of the study.

1.2 Motivation for the research

Scholars have argued that most of the time, national identity is taken for granted (Billig, 1995). Some people would not see national identity as having direct and immediate relevance to their personal identity (McCrone & Bechhofer, 2008). However, I have to admit that I have always been sensitive to identity issues. This study is motivated by my personal experience.

The first story I would like to share occurred in the winter of 2014, when the Olympic Winter Games were being held in Sochi, Russia. Prior to that event, I had no interest in winter sports, nor was I a fan of any athlete. However, a chance

viewing of a women's figure skating event changed my mind. The performances of Yuna Kim and Mao Asada, two figure skaters representing South Korea and Japan respectively, captured my attention. I came to admire them enormously, especially after learning that they had been rivals throughout their whole careers, but had also built a friendship. I mentioned this one day while chatting with one of my friends. To my surprise, my friend responded, "Why do you pay more attention to foreign athletes than to Chinese athletes? You are not a patriotic person!" Considering our friendship, I do not think my friend was seriously criticising me. Nevertheless, I have to admit that I felt confused by her words. I just liked two athletes who happened to be from other countries. Why should this mean I could be regarded as an unpatriotic person? Was a patriotic person allowed to admire Chinese athletes only? I did not argue with my friend because I could not come up with a response at the time, and I assumed she would forget our short conversation. However, the confusion arising from the conversation remained deeply rooted in my mind.

Another formative experience took place in the fall of 2016, when I was attending a welcome party for international students held by a church near the University of Glasgow. A lovely lady shared with me how she met and fell in love with her husband in Australia 40 years ago. I was curious why she had chosen to live in the UK after having rich experiences in various countries. I asked her if she was British, as that might explain her choice. She, from my perspective at the time, gave an indirect answer: "I am Scottish." I was confused about the way she replied to me, since my question seemed to me to be a straightforward yes/no question. Rather than saying, "Yes, I am Scottish" or "No, I am Scottish", her answer directly revealed her Scottish identity without indicating her sense of belonging to the UK. In terms of my own national identity, I would simply say yes when asked whether I am Chinese, and I would not provide further information regarding the part of China I live in unless I were asked, as this specificity seems unnecessary. Her answer sparked my thinking. Did she identify with the UK? Why did she especially emphasise her Scottish identity? In her perception, what was the relationship between British identity and Scottish identity?

The conversations described above were like interludes in a play that might be overlooked by others, but they impressed me and inspired my interest in studying national identity. My sensitivity in this regard manifests in various aspects of life, a topical example of which is how I witness the outbreak of COVID-19, which was first identified in the city of Wuhan, Hubei, China in December 2019. As of 13 April 2020, 1,699,595 cases of the disease have been reported in 213 countries, areas or territories, resulting in 106,138 deaths around the world (WHO, 2020). It has garnered much attention for the threat it poses to people's health, but also the approaches to controlling the spread of the disease that have been carried out by different governments. Specifically in Mainland China, the value of patriotism has been brought into both official and public discussions. In my private conversations, I have found that people tend to regard selfless medical practitioners as patriots. With the implementation of containment measures, including strict lockdowns, quarantines and travel restrictions, as well as the building of new hospitals in short time periods, the spread of the virus seems to have been brought under control in China. Accordingly, a patriotic fervour has swept the country. Why do Chinese people pay such considerable attention to the value of patriotism? Similarly in Scotland, Scottish identity has been the subject of growing attention over the past few years. A local Scottish friend told me that an important aspect of Scottish identity is "not being English". Is this 'anti-English' sentiment widely shared by the Scottish public? What exactly does Scottish identity mean? How are issues of national identity discussed in educational settings in Mainland China and Scotland? Inspired by my personal experiences and thinking, Mainland China and Scotland were identified as the research sites for this study: one is where I was born and grew up, and the other is where I have been studying for my PhD degree.

1.3 Research questions and methodology

The overarching aim of the study is to explore how senses of national identity and global identity are advanced through school education. To be more specific, the study aims to investigate how a sense of national identity is cultivated in balance with global identity through primary school education in Mainland China and Scotland. The framework of curriculum studies - namely intended curriculum, implemented curriculum and attained curriculum - provides the means to explore

the following three research questions (Travers & Westbury, 1989; van den Akker, 1988,2003).

- How are senses of national identity and global identity promoted through the intended curriculum in primary schools in Mainland China and Scotland?
- How are senses of national identity and global identity promoted through the implemented curriculum in primary schools in Mainland China and Scotland?
- How are senses of national identity and global identity experienced and understood through the attained curriculum in primary schools in Mainland China and Scotland?

To reflect the actual line of inquiry, a more detailed typology of curriculum is applied in developing the following six auxiliary questions (van den Akker, 2003).

1. How is the rationale underlying national identity education and global identity education perceived by policy experts in Mainland China and Scotland? –**Ideal curriculum**
2. How are senses of national identity and global identity presented in primary school curriculum standards/textbooks in Mainland China and Scotland? –**Written curriculum**
3. How do teachers perceive national identity education and global identity education in primary schools in Mainland China and Scotland? –**Perceived curriculum**
4. How are national identity education and global identity education implemented in primary schools in Mainland China and Scotland? –**Operational curriculum**
5. How do students experience national identity education and global identity education in primary schools in Mainland China and Scotland? –**Experiential curriculum**
6. How do primary school students understand national identity and global identity in Mainland China and Scotland? –**Learned curriculum**

A note on terminology that pertains to the whole thesis must be made to clarify what ‘national identity’ refers to in the two research contexts. As a multi-ethnic

country, China is composed of 56 ethnic groups. In the Chinese context and in this study, national identity is framed as identifying with the *Zhonghua minzu* [中华民族, Chinese nation] as a whole nation that is composed of the Han ethnic group and 55 ethnic minorities. The situation is more complicated in Scotland, where 'nation' can be understood as having dual meanings, namely Scotland and the UK. National identity in the Scottish context refers to Scottish identity and British identity.

The study aligns itself with a constructivist paradigm, which acknowledges a relativist ontology and a subjectivist epistemology. Situated within the field of qualitative research, the study adopts a case study methodology to understand the relationship between national identity education and global identity education in Mainland China and Scotland. Document analysis, semi-structured interviews, non-participation observations and focus groups are the research methods through which the data is collected. Thematic analysis is adopted as a generic approach to organise and interpret the data.

1.4 Significance of the research

The increase of diversity worldwide and the growing recognition of diversity challenge the assimilationist notion of citizenship (Banks et al., 2005). In the era of globalisation, an enduring difficulty facing nation-states is the challenge of constructing civic communities that have a shared set of national values to which all citizens are committed while respecting diversity (Banks, 2008). School education has been treated as one of the most important approaches to achieving unity among diversity. By exploring national identity education and global identity education in Mainland China and Scotland, this study offers insight into how issues of unity and diversity are addressed in two specific contexts.

This study will also bridge gaps in the existing literature. First, it contributes to the growing scholarly literature on the interaction between national identity (education) and global identity (education). The last few decades have witnessed a proliferation of studies on national identity (Billig, 1995; Guibernau, 2007; Miller, 1995; Smith, 2001), and there are extensive studies exploring the links

between national identity and education systems (Christou, 2007; Green, 1997; Hand, 2011; White, 2002). Global citizenship and global citizenship education have garnered much attention as well (Andreotti, 2006; Davies, 2006; Engel, 2014; Goren & Yemini, 2017a). However, current studies either focus on national identity (education) or global identity (education), while neglecting the ways in which the national and global dimensions interact. Second, this study takes different stakeholders' perspectives into account. There are some studies examining the intentions of national identity education and global identity education through analysing curriculum documents (Almonte, 2003; Buckner & Russell, 2013; Chong, 2015; Durrani & Dunne, 2010; Moon & Koo, 2011). Practitioners' perspectives are researched to understand their perceptions and corresponding educational practices (Chong, 2013; Hand & Pierce, 2009; Schweisfurth, 2006; Yamashita, 2006), and students' perspectives are explored to understand the educational outcomes (Blankenship, 1990; Davies, 2006; Durrani & Dunne, 2010). A common feature of existing studies is a reliance on single data sources to examine national identity education and global identity education. Consequently, the compatibility between different levels of curriculum remains a gap, which this study aims to bridge. Last but not least, the study is one of few studies to be conducted in comparative contexts. Through characterising the similarities and differences between two contexts, the contextual knowledge of national identity education and global identity education can be enriched. As well, cross-cultural understanding between Mainland China and Scotland could be enhanced.

1.5 Thesis structure

The remainder of this thesis is divided into eight chapters. Chapter Two critically reviews the literature on the main themes of the study: national identity education and globalisation. It first explores national identity in a broad sense by discussing its definitions, formation, manifestations and reviews previous empirical studies on national identity. National identity education is discussed afterwards, with specific reference to its legitimacy and practices in various contexts. The literature on global citizenship and global citizenship education is

reviewed as well. Finally, to bridge the gaps among existing studies, theoretical and methodological insights are provided.

Chapter Three contextualises the issues discussed in Chapter Two in the Chinese and Scottish contexts. It first addresses the field of comparative education in which the study is situated by discussing why and how the comparative study between Mainland China and Scotland will be conducted. Subsequently, the national contexts of Mainland China and Scotland are examined individually and comparatively.

In Chapter Four, the methodology of the study is discussed. It begins with an explanation of the ontological and epistemological stances underpinning the study, and how the case study approach benefits this research. The instruments used in the fieldwork to gather data are described in terms of appropriateness and implementation procedures. It then describes the ways in which the data is managed and analysed, followed by the ethical considerations and research validity issues arising from the research process.

The findings of the study are presented over three chapters. In Chapter Five, the intentions of national identity education and global identity education in the Chinese and Scottish contexts are outlined. It explores how the concepts of national identity and global identity are interpreted by policy experts and presented in curriculum documents and textbooks. Chapter Six presents the implementation of national identity education and global identity education in the two case schools, with specific reference to teachers' perceptions and practices carried out in the schools. Based on students' experience and perceptions, Chapter Seven describes how national identity education and global identity education are achieved in the two case schools.

In Chapter Eight, the empirical data is related to the analytical framework (outlined in Chapter Two). It explores how the relationship between national identity education and global identity education is dealt with in the two case schools. The similarities and differences between the schools, as well as the potential influences that shape the phenomenon are discussed.

Chapter Nine concludes the thesis with a summary of the key findings of the study. It provides implications for methodology, theories and educational practice. It then discusses the limitations of the study and provides recommendations for future research. Finally, the researcher's development is reflected upon.

Chapter Two Literature Review: National Identity Education and Globalisation

In this chapter, previous studies related to the main themes of this study, national identity education and globalisation, are thoroughly reviewed. It is divided into four main sections. First, national identity in a broad sense is introduced to provide a comprehensive understanding. The concepts of nation and identity are examined first, then the definitions and formation of national identity are proposed. As two manifestations of national identity, patriotism and nationalism are each reviewed. The first section ends with an examination of existing empirical studies on national identity. Second, the literature related to national identity education is discussed, with specific reference to the necessity of national identity education and how it has been practiced in various contexts. Third, the challenges that national identity education is facing in the context of globalisation are reviewed. The impacts of globalisation on nation-states and individuals are addressed first, followed by the discourse and practice of global citizenship and global citizenship education. Finally, the gaps left by existing studies are identified, along with the analytical framework and methodological insights that this study will adopt to bridge those gaps.

2.1 National identity

The last few decades have witnessed a remarkable increase in interest in the meanings and consequences of nationalism within cultural, social and political studies. As an extension of the studies of nation and nationalism, the study of national identity has garnered much attention. This section presents a detailed overview of this concept.

2.1.1 Nation and identity

In recent years, the notions of nation and identity have become hot topics within both the public and academic discourses. Before addressing questions related to national identity, the meanings of nation and identity should each be examined. By and large, there is no agreed upon definition of 'nation' in the existing literature. Efforts to understand the concept of nation are diverse and fall into three categories. Previously, scholars have defined 'nation' by relying on either

subjective criteria, such as individuals' senses of belonging, or objective elements like shared culture and territory. A third group of scholars, who dominate the discussion, construct the definition of 'nation' based on both subjective and objective factors.

As a pioneer on the study of nation, Renan (1990) provides a definition of 'nation' based on subjective factors: "A nation is a spiritual principle...It is a spiritual family not a group determined by the shape of the earth" (p.19). In the discussion of this influential definition, Connor (1978) points out the intangibility of 'nation' by arguing that "the essence [of nation] is a psychological bond that joins a people and differentiates it, in the subconscious conviction of its members, from all other people in a most vital way" (p.379). Their arguments are further reinforced by the famous notion of *imagined communities* proposed by Anderson (1983), who states that the concept of 'nation' is imagined "because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (Anderson, 1983, p.6).

Scholars focusing on objective elements also contribute to the definition of 'nation'. Giddens (1985) stresses the importance of the political boundaries of a nation by arguing that a nation "only exists when a state has a unified administrative reach over the territory over which its sovereignty is claimed" (p.119). Smith (1991) further enriches the discussion by defining 'nation' as a "named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths, and historical memories, a mass public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members" (p.14). Even though Smith (2002) introduces some alterations in his subsequent redefining of 'nation', his argument and those works written under his influence are criticised for ignoring the distinctions between nations with states and those nations that do not act as independent political institutions in the international political system (Guibernau, 2004).

The concept of 'nation' has frequently been equated with that of 'state', which is regarded as a misuse within academic circles (Connor, 1978). A nation is a collective of people or a cultural community, while a state is a political unit

composed of relatively permanent territory, people and ruling institutions (Barrington, 1997). Therefore, one should be aware of the distinctions when defining 'nation', and not attribute to nation every fundamental characteristic of state. Taking this into consideration, this study adopts Guibernau's (2000) argument, which recognises the importance of both subjective and objective factors, and defines 'nation' as "a human group conscious of forming a community, sharing a common culture, attached to a clearly demarcated territory, having a common past and a common project for the future and claiming the right to rule itself"(p.989).

As Cohen (1994) argues, "The construction, reproduction and reshaping of identity is the crucial preoccupation of our era" (p.204). The concept of identity has been interpreted from distinctive perspectives without a universally agreed upon definition being reached. Jenkins (1996) argues that identity "refers to the ways in which individuals and collectivises are distinguished in their social relations with other individuals and collectivities" (p.4). Guibernau (1999) argues that identity is "a definition, an interpretation of the self that establishes what and where the person is in both social and psychological terms" (p.72). Hogg and Abrams (1988) define identity as "people's concepts of who they are, of what sort of people they are, and how they relate to others" (p.2). This study has no aspiration to examine all the literature on identity, but argues that identity refers to the way of defining oneself within one's social environment.

Even though some scholars treat identity as a solid and stable concept (Hébert, 2001), this study supports the argument, which dominates current research, that the formation of identity is a flexible and open-ended process, and identity itself is an ongoing product of social interaction (Grosvenor, 1999; Jamieson, 2002). Based on this, two implications can be drawn, one of which is that identity is relational. Implying sameness and uniqueness (Martin, 1995), identity is constructed by relying on the interplay between oneself and others. As Todorov (1984) states, "We know the other by the self, also the self by the other" (p.241). Forming an identity not only implies identifying with a group to form a self, but also identifying groups to form others (Zhong, 2016). Another implication is that individuals could have more than one identity (Jamieson, 2002). Due to the

flexibility of social interaction over time and across spaces, individuals may construct for themselves multiple identities in accordance with different contexts and temporal spaces (Hébert, 2001). The compatibility of multiple identities depends not only upon the settings, but also the decision-making processes that individuals have been involved in. Therefore, it is worthwhile exploring how different levels or aspects of identities are negotiated alongside each other in actual settings.

2.1.2 Definitions and formation

National identity is a contested concept and no consensus on its definition has been reached. Smith (2001) understands national identity as the “maintenance and continuous reproduction of the patterns of values, symbols, memories, myths and traditions that compose the distinctive heritage of nations, and the identifications of individuals with that particular heritage and those values, symbols, memories, myths and traditions”(p.30). Guibernau (2007) defines national identity as “a collective sentiment based upon the belief of belonging to the same nation and of sharing most attributes that make it distinct from other nations” (p.11). National identity is also conceptualised as “a public national self-image based on membership” (Hutcheson et al., 2004, p.28), and a collective identity that is “one of inclusion that provides a boundary around ‘us’ and one of exclusion that distinguishes ‘us’ from ‘them’” (Schlesinger, 1991, p.301). In addition, Billig (1995) argues that national identity implies “a whole way of thinking about the world” (p.61).

Some scholars provide more specific definitions of national identity by explicitly listing its fundamental features. For Miller (1995), national identity contains “shared belief and mutual commitment; extended in history; active in character; connected to a particular territory; marked off from other communities by its distinct public culture” (pp.22-25). For Guibernau(2007), national identity contains “the consciousness of forming a group based on the ‘felt’ closeness uniting those who belong to the nation; values, beliefs, customs, conventions, habits, languages and practices; consciousness of territorial boundaries of the nation and conceive nation as homelands; ancient roots and history of the nation;

and actions of the state destined to construct a cohesive society through a set of strategies designed to generate a culturally and linguistically homogeneous citizenry” (pp.11-25).

Other scholars contribute to the definition of ‘national identity’ by developing ethnic and civic models (Kohn, 1944; Smith, 1991). The ethnic conceptualisation of national identity emphasises factors inherited at birth, including blood ties, common descent and ancestry (Parmenter, 1999), while the civic conceptualisation tends to focus on achieved characteristics, such as citizenship, individual rights and obligations (McAllister, 2018).

Though it has no intention to revisit all the definitions proposed to date, this study argues that the concept of national identity encompasses both sameness and differentiation. First, national identity is a way of relating to one’s own nation based on a set of shared features that binds the members together (Triandafyllidou, 1998). Second, national identity is relational in the way that it casts others as outsiders (Durrani & Dunne, 2010). Furthermore, national identity can be manifested in knowledge, affection and actions (Harttgen & Opfinger, 2014; Omelchenko et al., 2015).

With regard to the formation of national identity, there are two schools of thought. The first, which has a longer tradition, can be referred to as ‘essentialism’, proponents of which treat national identity as timeless, God-given and implanted by nature (Spiering, 1999). As Guibernau (1996) contends, for the essentialists, “emphasis is placed on emotional and ideational aspects of the community rather than economic, social and political dimensions” (p.2). Accordingly, essentialism favours concrete factors that are tied to a specific territory and a specific group of people, such as national character and national temper, as well as the factors that are understood to shape people physically and mentally, such as land and climate (Spiering, 1999). However, essentialists’ approaches to national identity have been criticised due to its close link with extreme sentiment and actions, an extreme example of which is the Nazi propaganda used before and during World War II (Gerson, 2001; Holtz & Wagner, 2009).

The second school of thought conceptualises national identity as the result of nurture rather than nature, and its adherents can be labelled as constructivists (Spiering, 1999). From this perspective, national identity is an entity shaped by political, economic, cultural and social influences. For Anderson (1983), capitalism, print technology and the expansion of literacy play distinctive roles in constructing and expanding national identity. Gellner (1983) links the formation of national identity with modernisation and industrialisation. In addition to the top-down perspective, other scholars cast their eyes to the micro level, insisting that individuals' national identity could be constructed through everyday life and interactions (Bechhofer et al., 1999; Billig, 1995; Deutsch, 1953; Thompson, 2001). For most of time, national identity is taken-for-granted (Billig, 1995; Kiely et al., 2005).

Although both essentialists and constructivists make significant contributions to a fuller understanding of national identity, the latter viewpoint is dominant, being held by the majority. This study adopts the constructivists' argument that national identity is a flexible concept that is open to construction and negotiation over time and across spaces. This study also supports the argument that any given national identity could be understood and interpreted by individuals in different ways (Ariely, 2012; Bond & Rosie, 2010; Thompson, 2001).

2.1.3 Patriotism and nationalism

Patriotism and nationalism as specific expressions (Blank & Schmidt, 2003) or two types (Ariely, 2012; Davidov, 2009) of national identity have attracted the interest of scholars from various fields.

Modern patriotism is traced back to Greek and Roman sources (Viroli, 1995), while nationalism is commonly acknowledged to be a political notion that originated in the late 18th century (Anderson, 1983; Gellner, 1983). Although some scholars insist that the meanings of patriotism and nationalism have significant overlap or cannot be treated as separate concepts (Billig, 1995; Smith, 2009), those scholars who insist on the distinctions between patriotism and nationalism occupy the mainstream (Caballero, 1999). According to them, patriotism and nationalism are

separate concepts and must be differentiated (Barrington, 1997; Merry, 2009). Viroli (1995), as one of the most influential scholars in the field, conceptualises patriotism as “love of country”, which has been used to “strengthen or invoke love of the political institutions and the way of life that sustain the common liberty of a people” (p.1). Meanwhile, Viroli regards nationalism as “loyalty to the nation”, which has been forged to “defend or reinforce the cultural, linguistic, and ethnic oneness and homogeneity of a people” (Viroli, 1995, p.1). Other scholars contribute to the definitions of ‘patriotism’ and ‘nationalism’ from various perspectives, reaching a general consensus that patriotism and nationalism respectively represent positive and negative manifestations of national identity.

Drawing on survey data, Kosterman and Feshbach (1989) argue that patriotism “taps the affective component of one’s feeling toward one’s country...[and] assesses the degree of love for and pride in one’s nation” (p.271). Nationalism, however, reflects “a perception of national superiority and an orientation toward national dominance” (Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989, p.271). Their arguments are commonly adopted by subsequent work in various contexts. Patriotism and nationalism are conceptualised as two distinctive forms of social comparison (Mummendey et al., 2001). As researchers argue, patriotism is a positive attachment to one’s own nation and is independent of feelings about other nations or outgroup devaluation, while nationalism results from devaluating outgroups and implies that one’s nation is superior to others (Ariely, 2012; Li & Brewer, 2004; Meier-Pesti & Kirchler, 2003; Skitka, 2005; Wagner et al., 2012). These arguments have dominated the studies of the relationship between patriotism and nationalism over the course of the last few decades. Therefore, it is not surprising to see that patriotism has garnered much positive attention, but nationalism has commonly been discussed as a danger.

However, with the deepening of the research, scholars recognise that it is difficult to propose definitions of patriotism and nationalism through such a practical but oversimplified criterion. Patriotism in practice might promote hostility towards outsiders, which is inextricably linked to nationalism. Although claiming as patriotic people who have positive sentiment towards national values

and objective opinions of other nations, many individuals are extreme in words and actions towards their own nations and others in society (Shan & Guo, 2011). That is to say, patriotism in practice does not necessarily live up to the vision of gentle sentiment proposed by its supporters (Yack, 1998). Therefore, the distinction of blind and constructive patriotism is further proposed (Schatz & Staub, 1997; Staub, 1997). Blind patriotism is defined as “a rigid and inflexible attachment to country, characterized by unquestioning positive evaluation” of the nation (Schatz et al., 1999, p.153), which is similar to the definition of nationalism in the work of Kosterman and Feshbach (1989), while constructive patriotism implies “an attachment to country characterized by critical loyalty” (Schatz et al., 1999, p.153). Other terms like democratic patriotism (Callan, 2010), liberal patriotism (Tan, 2004) and cosmopolitan patriotism (Hansen, 2003) are further developed.

Researchers also propose different types of nationalism: democratic, authoritarian, civic, ethnic, anti-foreign, defensive, confident, aggressive, anti-traditional and modernising (Carlson, 2009). Although the naming project enriches the understanding of patriotism and nationalism, it also blurs the distinctions between the two concepts (Carlson, 2009). Ultimately, it could be argued that no clear-cut distinction between patriotism and nationalism necessarily exists.

If you stepped into a school at a moment of patriotic expression, how could you tell whether you were in a totalitarian nation or a democratic one? Both the totalitarian nation and the democratic one might have students sing a national anthem (Westheimer, 2009, p.315).

The distinctions between patriotism and nationalism are more easily made in theory than in practice. The importance lies in the way people behave, instead of the names and distinctions that researchers describe. Under different circumstances, national sentiment expressed by different individuals might be either critical or uncritical. There is little need to label patriotism and nationalism as healthy and unhealthy national sentiments; the important point is to admit that national identity can manifest in multiple forms and combine both positive and negative attitudes towards one's own nation and others.

2.1.4 Empirical studies

Research suggests that people who claim to have similar national identities might actually have different interpretations of that identity (Miller, 1995). It is argued that individuals' understandings of national identity are not necessarily compatible with official opinions (Reicher et al., 2009). In addition to macro-level research that focuses the definitions, formation and manifestations of national identity, a good many micro-level empirical studies have been conducted to explore how national identity is interpreted by different groups of individuals (Malešević, 2011).

A quantitative approach dominates the mainstream of these studies. Some large-scale surveys and programs, such as the World Value Surveys (WVS) and International Social Survey Program (ISSP), have been developed and the data they yield is further relied upon to draw a comparative study between countries (Davidov, 2009). Small-scale surveys have been employed to capture individuals' understandings of national identity in different national contexts as well (Blank & Schmidt, 2003; Li & Brewer, 2004; Omelchenko et al., 2015; Sinkkonen, 2013; Skitka, 1996).

A survey-based approach, while contributing to the description of how strongly individuals identify with the nations, has certain drawbacks. First, no systematic or agreed upon indicators of national identity have been adopted in the measurement. The lack of a robust theoretical framework leads to the conflation of concepts of nationalism, patriotism, national attachment, national pride and sense of belonging to a nation (Malešević, 2011), which may have a distorting effect on the results. Second, crude categories oversimplify the daily discourse of national identity. In survey-based studies, respondents are often asked to choose different categories to define their national identity. For example, Scottish people are provided with five statements to describe themselves: "Scottish not British, more Scottish than British, equally Scottish and British, more British than Scottish, British not Scottish" (Moreno, 2006,p.7). Such studies provide information about the intensity of individuals' national identity but are unable to explain people's perceptions of different categories or the decision-making

process they have been involved in (Kiely et al., 2005). In addition, the views captured at specific times and spaces provide no contextual information that could be used to draw further implications (Malešević, 2011).

A qualitative approach is adopted in exploring individuals' perceptions of national identity as well. The interview is a commonly used instrument to generate data (Fenton, 2007; Kiely et al., 2005; McCrone et al., 1998). Through such studies, "identity makers", which are characteristics that commonly represent individuals' national identities, such as ancestry, places of birth, places and length of residence, are explored in depth (Kiely, et al., 2001, p.36). In addition, "identity rules", which explain how identity markers are interpreted in certain conditions, are unpacked with contextual information (Kiely et al., 2001,p.36). Therefore, a qualitative approach is more appropriate to draw out the complexities of the process involved in forming and interpreting national identities (Bond & Rosie, 2010). In this study, I have no intention of measuring how strongly the identity claims are held by different groups of individuals. Instead, the study's main concerns are the choice-making processes involved in individuals' identity claims and the meanings individuals bring to their identities. Therefore, the qualitative approach best suits the landscape of this study. More detailed justification for conducting a qualitative research is to be found in Section 4.1.

2.2 National identity education

As discussed in Section 2.1.2, for most people, national identity is conceptualised as a product of social interactions rather than an entity inherited at birth, and hence could be constructed through institutions including families, workplaces and schools (Özkirimli, 2005). For a long time, the link between national identity and education systems has widely been discussed. Even though the necessity of national identity education is highly debatable, school education has long been employed to foster national identities explicitly or implicitly.

2.2.1 Necessity of national identity education

As a pioneer scholar in the field, Anderson (1983) argues that education plays an important role in creating and bonding a distinctive nation-state. Based on the

results of a comparative study, Green (1997) suggests that there is an inextricable link between the development of modern states and education systems in the 19th century. Similar arguments can be found in the works of Gellner (1983) and Hobsbawm (1990). As illustrated in Section 2.1.2, even though there are two distinctive schools of thought regarding the formation of national identity, the majority take the constructivist approach, which argues that national identity is constructed through social interactions. Some scholars argue that school is not necessarily the primary source of constructing national identity (Torney-Purta & Schwille, 1986), but individuals' understandings and perceptions of their nations are inevitably influenced by school education (Canessa, 2004; Van Peer, 2006). Miller (1995) makes similar efforts to demonstrate the role of schools in promoting national consciousness. Nóvoa (2000) even suggests that "education is, by definition, the space for the construction of national identity" (p.46).

However, the necessity of national identity education has been the subject of frequent debate (Christou, 2007; Yuen & Byram, 2007). As illustrated in Section 2.1.3, nationalism has commonly been discussed as a danger, and has thus seldom been regarded as an aim of education. Instead, the discussion regarding the necessity of national identity education surrounds the debate on whether patriotism should be promoted within schools (Archard, 1999; Hand, 2011; Hand & Pearce, 2009, 2011). By and large, the opinions fall into three categories.

The adherents of national identity education construct their arguments based on the claim that forming a distinctive national identity is important to students as members of nation-states. First, national identity is an essential part of individuals' lives. A large part of individuals' economic, political, cultural and social lives are constructed within national communities. Individuals' attachment to nations are regarding as providing them with meaning beyond what they themselves could generate (Miller, 1988; Smith, 1991; White, 1996). Second, strong senses of national identity can motivate individuals to do their civic duties (Hand & Pearce, 2009). As one of the most influential defenders of this argument, Callan (2006) contends that individuals' "love of country blurs the distinction between self-interest and the interests of compatriots in a way that makes action to support the creation of just institutions less costly" (p.543). Last but not least,

national identity has intrinsic value, which could link personal happiness with the nation-state. “A sense of identification with fellow countrymen, and with one’s country more generally, helps many people to make sense of their environment, helps them integrate into it, and makes them feel good” (Brighouse, 2006, p.107).

However, as expressions of national identity are sometimes sensitive and can cause irrational nationalistic fervour (Yuen & Byram, 2007), the necessity of national identity education is frequently questioned. First, opponents construct their arguments on the general claim that nation-building should never be pursued in educational settings since militarism is a common companion of nationhood (Enslin, 1994). An unhealthy attitude of superiority relative to other polities and cultures is likely to be promoted (Merry, 2009). It is argued that the existence of a common enemy plays a key role in constructing national identity (Guibernau, 1996; Raz, 1998), but it is dangerous to heavily rely on it to invoke feelings of national sentiment among individuals. Second, national identity might impede citizens’ civic and political judgment (Hand, 2011). Too much forcible knowledge on national identity promoted in school settings might be detrimental to the autonomy of students, especially those who have not established sound values (White, 2002).

This study supports the third school of thought, which holds that national identity should be neither promoted nor avoided in schools, but discussed as a controversial issue (Hand, 2011; Hand & Pearce, 2009). First, as illustrated in Section 2.1.3, national identity can manifest in multiple forms, with both positive and negative results. Therefore, the kind of national identity being discussed must be defined before determining whether national identity education is required, permitted or unacceptable (Kodelja, 2011). Second, as “vast swathes of history and substantial areas of contemporary political discourse would be incomprehensive in the absence of some understanding of patriotic feeling and nationalist conviction” (Hand & Pearce, 2009, p.454), it is impossible to avoid national identity-related discourses in educational practices. The importance lies in how to display national identity as a controversial issue. Through developing the awareness of both positive and negative sides of national identity, students

should be enabled to construct knowledge and sentiments in their own ways (Hand & Pearce, 2011; White, 2002).

2.2.2 Practice of national identity education

Although fierce debate on the necessity of national identity education continues, the enthusiasm for promoting national identity within school settings can be observed in both Western and Eastern contexts (Almonte, 2003; Christou, 2007; Durrani & Dunne, 2010; Merry, 2009; Parmenter, 1999).

Broadly speaking, there is a consensus that national identity can be displayed explicitly and implicitly (Grosvenor, 1999). School curriculum, which is “inherently ideological and political” and reveals who holds the power in a given society (Apple, 1990, vii), has enormous power to impart messages concerning national identity to students. Curriculum textbooks, which define legitimate knowledge and desirable social attributes (Bromley, 2009), are regarded as a key site where individuals sharing a common national identity can be created (Hardwick et al., 2010; Lee & Misco, 2014; Merry, 2009; Sneider, 2013; Tormey, 2006). Furthermore, there is an agreement that national identity can be invoked through some specific areas of curriculum, including civic education (Hardwick et al., 2010), moral education (Almonte, 2003) and history education (Vickers & Jones, 2005). The teaching of history is especially regarded as a key factor. School education has placed a great emphasis on consolidating the bond between individuals and their nation through the creation of a shared memory (Christou, 2007; Sneider, 2013). In addition to formal curriculum, scholars extend their visions of education to consider how national identity could be advanced implicitly. Research indicates that rituals and ceremonies (Christou, 2007), routines and symbolic events of everyday schooling (Grosvenor, 1999), as well as the singing of national anthems (Abril, 2012; Guerrini, 2013), are all important means through which national identity could be formed. Furthermore, teachers’ perceptions of national identity are likely to exert an influence on students’ attitudes (Chong, 2013; Van Peer, 2006).

Based on the claim that national identity could be advanced through multiple sources, many empirical studies have been conducted to explore how national identity is designed, implemented and attained in various educational contexts. Although both quantitative and qualitative approaches have been adopted, the latter occupies the mainstream.

The focus has been placed on understanding the written intentions through analysing curriculum policies and textbooks in various national contexts. Employing quantitative or qualitative approaches, most studies have explored how curriculum statements and textbooks display national identity in a single national context, either focusing on narrative styles or the frequency of references to national identity (Almonte, 2003; Durrani & Dunne, 2010; Lee & Misco, 2014; Merry, 2009; Tormey, 2006). A small number of studies have been conducted in comparative contexts (Hardwick et al., 2010; Sneider, 2013). By and large, most documents that have been analysed are related to history education, which is too narrow a focus to reveal a complete picture of official standpoints. Additionally, the voices of policy makers are rarely explored to triangulate the findings drawn from written documents.

Some studies have been designed to explore the voices of head teachers and teachers. Interviews provide room for respondents to express their opinions, and hence interviews are the most commonly used instrument to generate data within the field. A number of studies employing interviews are designed to explore how teachers perceive and teach national identity in practice, as well as to determine what they think ideal national identity education should look like. Teachers' perceptions are understood to have influences on their pedagogical preferences, and thus are explored first through questions like "How do you perceive the meanings of national identity?" (Chong, 2013, p.245); "What do you think patriotism is?" (Nash, 2005, p.219); "How do teachers construct national identity and patriotism?" (Yuen & Byram, 2007, p.23); and "How do principals and teachers perceive national identity education?" (Arar & Ibrahim, 2016, p.682). To understand practical issues regarding national identity education, scholars are guided by the questions including "How do teachers present and respond to patriotic ideas and sentiments in the classroom?" (Hand & Pearce, 2009, p.459);

“Which motives encourage or hinder the school principals from dealing with education for national identity for the school’s students?” (Arar & Ibrahim, 2016, p.682); “How do the principals and teachers cope with the conflicting expectations of the different stakeholders concerning education for national identity?” (Arar & Ibrahim, 2016, p.682); and “What are the educational activities that help the school to reinforce their students’ national identity?” (Arar & Ibrahim, 2016, p.682). In addition, observations of national celebrations and other related activities are employed to investigate how national identity is conveyed in hidden curricula (Christou, 2007). Generally, practitioners’ responses are various. Some of them recognise the role of school education in advancing students’ national identity (Jaskulowski et al., 2018), while others treat it critically, arguing that patriotism and national identity are taught or should be taught as controversial issues with no appeals to the students’ emotions (Hand & Pearce, 2009; Yuen & Byram, 2007).

To understand the results of national identity education, questionnaires, interviews and focus groups have been employed to explore students’ voices, either regarding the education they have experienced in schools or their perceptions of national identity. To avoid students’ non-comprehension, some entertaining activities have been employed, such as asking them to draw images of things that represent the nation (Durrani & Dunne, 2010). Studies of similar themes have been conducted in different contexts (Christou, 2007; Hand & Pearce, 2011; Kahne & Middaugh, 2007; Parmenter, 1999), involving students with various attitudes towards national identity education. Some students express strong sentiments towards their nations, while others take indifferent attitudes and argue that schools should remain neutral on the issue of national identity.

Overall, even though previous studies contribute to the description of national identity education by taking different stakeholders’ opinions into consideration, the extent to which official intentions and enacted curriculum are compatible with each other remains unclear.

2.3 Globalization and global citizenship education

Defined as “the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole” (Robertson, 1992, p.8), globalisation has interrupted the role of nation-states as the predominant unit of social organisation (Koopmans & Statham, 1999). Nation-specific notions have been challenged by the power of globalisation; national identity and national identity education are no exception.

2.3.1 The impacts on nation-states and individuals

Manifested as a multidimensional phenomenon (Humes, 2008), globalisation has already permeated every walk of life and transformed the conventional ways that nation-states used to function.

There is no agreement on the impacts of globalisation. Some scholars argue that it increases the homogeneity of society. From this perspective, globalisation is a persuasive and convergent power that dissolves national cultures, beliefs and lifestyles (Law, 2010). Individuals are expected to share the same rights and responsibilities to solve global difficulties regardless of their backgrounds or the places where they live (Oommen, 1997). Other scholars argue for the heterogeneity of society as a result of globalisation. The advancement of technologies makes it possible to learn about and affect lives anywhere (Appiah, 2008). The transnational population of immigrants challenges the homogenous culture and society conventionally confined within the nation-state framework (Moon, 2010). As a result, individuals are now exposed to heterogeneous environments in which knowledge is shared that originates from a variety of backgrounds (Banks, 2008). This study supports the argument that both homogeneous and heterogeneous effects of globalisation coexist in the economic, political and cultural arenas (Chong 2015; Rapoport, 2009). As has been proposed, “Unity without diversity results in cultural repression and hegemony. Diversity without unity leads to balkanization and the fracturing of the nation-state” (Banks, 2004b, p.298). Nation-states are facing the continuing challenge of balancing unity and diversity in the context of globalisation (Banks, 2004a, 2008).

A vast body of literature discusses the role of nation-states in the globalised world. Hobsbawm (1990) predicts that nation-states and nations will be seen as “retreating before, resisting, adapting to, being absorbed or dislocated by, the new supranational restructuring the globe” (p.182). Some new economic, political, cultural and environmental difficulties that transcend national borders can no longer be solved by a single national system. Meanwhile, the rise of nongovernmental, regional and supranational institutions leads to the erosion of nation-states’ power systems. Consequently, nation-states no longer enjoy the level of control they used to have over various issues (Keating et al., 2009; Law, 2004; Moon, 2010). Other scholars argue that nation-states remain a key factor (Green, 1999). From my point of view, it would be rather arbitrary to argue for the death of nation-states or the legitimate status they used to have. As no global state has come into being at the moment, the nation-state remains one of the key factors on the world stage. I would like to maintain the stance that the role and function of nation-states is transforming under the challenge of globalisation. Nation-states and globalisation are not necessarily incompatible and can coexist in tension (Armstrong, 2006).

In addition to altering the economic, political, cultural and social contexts of nation-states, globalisation influences the identities and actions of individuals (DeJaeghere, 2002; Osler & Starkey, 2003). Due to the uncertainty and confusion caused by a global network of interaction, individuals’ affiliations are no longer based only on geographic territories (Myers, 2010). On the one hand, this undeniably leads to individuals’ loss of identity (Pigozzi, 2006). On the other, it benefits the construction of new identities that may interrupt individuals’ national identities (Crawford & Jones, 1998).

Since identity is conceptualised as an important aspect of citizenship, the discussion of identity is extended to that concerning citizenship. Traditionally, citizenship is defined as the relationship between individuals and nation-states (Chong, 2015), and is connected to nationality and political participation (Bates, 2012; Behnke, 1997; Isin & Turner, 2002). However, in the context of globalisation, citizenship is more frequently interpreted as flexible and multiple identities that are exercised in transnational political communities or as ways of being in the

world (Haste, 2004; Ross, 2007). Since the meaning of citizenship has been broadened, the traditional role of nation-states as the locus of individuals' civic participation is increasingly questioned (Keating et al., 2009). Some scholars suggest a single-levelled approach to replace or shift from national citizenship to global, regional or local citizenship (Delanty, 2000; Oommen, 1997). Recognising the importance of national citizenship, other scholars suggest frameworks for multileveled and multidimensional citizenship to accommodate individuals' membership in various domains, ranging from individual to regional, subnational, national and global (Cogan et al., 2000; Delanty, 1997). Although there is no consensus on the remaining key role of nation-states in forming individuals' citizenship, the importance of other affiliations that individuals could construct is widely discussed.

2.3.2 Concept of global citizenship

Among the scholars who suggest constructing individuals' membership and affinity beyond national borders, the most influential group is that of globalists or cosmopolitans, who call for a form of global citizenship or cosmopolitan citizenship (Appiah, 2006, 2008; Bates, 2012; Myers, 2010; Osler & Starkey, 2003). From a Western perspective, global citizenship as a philosophical idea can be traced back to the ancient Greek notion of 'cosmopolitan' (Hartung, 2017), meaning "citizens of the cosmos" (Appiah, 2005, p.217). The Stoic tradition of world of citizenship and Kant's cosmopolitan citizen also provide a solid foundation for the development of the concept of global citizenship in modern times (Osler, 2011; Zahabioun et al., 2013). Global citizenship, although not a new concept, has garnered much attention since the turn of the 21st century.

As a contentious concept, global citizenship is aligned with four ideological constellations: moral cosmopolitanism, liberal multiculturalism, neoliberalism and environmentalism (Schattle, 2008). Because of the multiple dimensions it encompasses, global citizenship has been conceived of in a range of forms from different perspectives (Bowden, 2003). Consequently, considerable disagreement remains over what exactly it is (Goren & Yemini, 2017a; Rapoport, 2009; Zahabioun et al., 2013), varying from a vague sense of belonging to a global

community to a specific global polity that could guarantee individuals' rights and responsibilities (Ibrahim, 2005). For example, Heater (2002) defines a global citizen as a member of a community of all humanity. He explains that there is a range of meanings that could be applied to global citizenship, including "member of the human race", "responsible for the condition of the planet", "individual subject to moral law" and "promotion of world government" (Heater, 1997,p.36); these meanings which could be placed on a spectrum ranging from *vague* to *precise*. Among several definitions, a frequently cited one is provided by Oxford Committee for Famine Relief (Oxfam) (2006).

[A global citizen] is aware of the wider world and has a sense of their own role as world citizen; respects and values diversity; has an understanding of how the world works; is passionately committed to social justice; participates in the community at a range of levels, from the local to the global; works with others to make the world a more equitable and sustainable place; takes responsibility for their actions (p.5).

Several scholars contribute to the development of a definition by distinguishing different types of global citizenship. For instance, based on a Canadian program, Shultz (2007) differentiates between the neoliberal, radical and transformational global citizen. Veugelers (2011) distinguishes between three categories, including open global citizenship, which recognises opportunities for cultural diversification, moral global citizenship, which emphasises global responsibility, and socio-political global citizenship, which promotes equality and cultural diversity. To date, the typology offered by Oxley and Morris (2013) is the most comprehensive one. By synthesising the most influential theories within the field, they identify eight conceptions of global citizenship and group them into two categories: first, cosmopolitan global citizenship derives from the main approaches to distinguishing the dimensions of social organisations, including the political, moral, economic and cultural; second, advocacy global citizenship involves a strong degree of advocacy from a particular perspective, including social, critical, environmental and spiritual. A comprehensive examination of all definitions or categories of global citizenship is beyond the scope of this section. However, the above discussion demonstrates that global citizenship can be interpreted through multiple perspectives.

The meanings, legitimacy and applicability of global citizenship have been highly debated. Global citizenship as a concept faces both political and academic criticism (Bowden, 2003), labelled as neither “practical nor desirable” (Heater, 2002, p.15). First, as discussed in Section 2.3.1, citizenship is traditionally conceptualised as a notion intimately associated with nation-states, which guarantee individuals’ rights and responsibilities as members. However, when it comes to the global level, since there is no global state or equivalent body of government, the very possibility of global citizenship has constantly been questioned (Bates, 2012; Davies, 2006; Karlberg, 2008). Second, citizenship as a statement of belonging is also taken as a mechanism of exclusion (Bates, 2012). The global world as argued is too amorphous for individuals to construct their senses of belonging, as no one lives outside the world (Gaudelli & Fernekes, 2004). Last but not least, the tensions between nation-states and the global world are frequently mentioned in the discussion. Global citizenship is avoided in some contexts due to the fear that it might provide people with an alternative identity, which may threaten their patriotic sentiment towards their nation-states (Myers, 2006; Rapoport, 2010). There are also some influential scholars advocating global citizenship. For instance, Appiah (2006) argues that global citizenship could provide a unifying identity for individuals, which does not require a global system of governance modelled on the modern nation-state. Nussbaum (2002) advocates the notion of global citizenship by emphasising the responsibility to humankind and common values, as well as the importance of unifying individuals regardless of their national backgrounds.

By and large, global citizenship as a contentious concept has already been elevated to the focus of citizenship study. As Davies (2006) argues, “We cannot be citizens of the world in the way that we are of a country” (p.5). The current debate leaves the questions about the ways in which global citizenship could be constructed, and how the relationship between global citizenship and national citizenship could be balanced in various settings.

2.3.3 Discourse and practice of global citizenship education

As discussed in Section 2.2.2, school education is conventionally regarded as a main forum for socialising young people to become national citizens (Banks, 2004a). However, this situation has been challenged with the increased power of globalisation in recent decades. For one thing, the significance of national identity has been questioned (Law, 2010; Osler, 2011). For another, nation-states no longer enjoy the level of control they used to have over education systems (Keating et al., 2009). Consequently, nation-states are forced to transform their approaches to education, which has traditionally served as a tool for advancing a sense of national identity among individuals (Blankenship, 1990; Law, 2004; Myers, 2006), to adapt to new demands. Although national identity education is of great importance in certain respects, students are expected to develop knowledge of and affiliations with other types of communities within school settings. Global citizenship education dominates the current research, indicating that individuals' global identity should be cultivated through schooling.

The suggestion of incorporating global citizenship into educational settings can be traced back to the work done by the Council for Education in World Citizenship in the UK in 1939 (Heater, 1984). Since then, and especially since the turn of the 21st century, interest in global citizenship education has intensified considerably. As illustrated by Davies (2006), different permutations and combinations of certain words lead to different interpretations of global citizenship education. For example:

- (a) Global citizenship + education (definitions of the 'global citizen', and the implied education framework to provide or promote this);
- (b) Global + citizenship education (making citizenship education more globally or internationally relevant; think global, act local);
- (c) Global education + citizenship (international awareness plus rights and responsibilities);
- (d) Education + citizenship + education (introducing 'dimensions' of citizenship and of international understanding into the school curriculum, but not necessarily connected) (pp.13-14).

Global citizenship education has been explored through different perspectives without a universally accepted definition being reached. As a contentious concept,

global citizenship education is usually conceptualised within the frameworks of education for democracy (Carr et al., 2014), multicultural education (Banks, 2004b), global education (Davies et al., 2005), peace education (Smith & Fairman, 2005) or human rights education (Gaudelli & Fernekes, 2004).

Some scholars define global citizenship by developing useful typologies and models. For example, based on the neoliberal, radical and transformational approaches to global citizenship, Shultz (2007) describes three categories of global citizenship education. The neoliberal approach focuses on how to prepare students to participate in the global community based on cultural understanding and capacities like language skills; the radical approach calls on students to take actions against global institutions that create inequalities; the transformational approach calls on students to embrace diversity and their common humanity and shared concerns. Andreotti (2006) differentiates between soft and critical global citizenship education, arguing that soft global citizenship education empowers individuals to become active citizens in terms of awareness of global issues, while the critical approach, which is further developed into post-critical and post-colonial global citizenship education, requires individuals to actively engage with global issues and take responsibility for their actions and decisions (Andreotti, 2010).

Dill (2013) argues that there are two categories of global citizenship education, one of which is the global competencies approach, which focuses on equipping students with the necessary skills to participate in the global society, while the global consciousness approach focuses more on global values, represented as empathy and multicultural understanding. Similarly, Engel (2014) distinguishes between the skills-based approach, values-based approach, and reflexive approach to global citizenship education. Although no consensus on definitions and categories of global citizenship education has been reached among researchers, it can clearly be argued that global citizenship education is not a stable or uniform concept, but that it can be understood from different perspectives. Global citizenship education can be realised through promoting students' global awareness, knowledge, skills, values or engagement in different educational settings.

Many international organisations such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), OXFAM and the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation are dedicated to promoting global citizenship education (Palmer, 2016). UNESCO, in particular, is a dominant voice in this area. Even though global citizenship education has been increasingly prominent in policy documents and reports over the past few decades, it has been one of the strategic areas of work for UNESCO, particularly in 2012, when it was posted as one of the three priorities of the United Nations Secretary-General's Global Education First Initiative (GEFI, 2012). Since then, UNESCO has not only organised a Global Forum every two years to address issues relevant to global citizenship education policies, but published a series of documents focusing on global citizenship education pedagogy and implementation (UNESCO, 2013, 2014, 2015b). Guided by Target 4.7 of the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which calls on countries to promote global citizenship education to ensure that all learners are equipped with the knowledge and skills to promote sustainable development (UNESCO, 2015a), UNESCO continues to work as the leading institution offering guidance and allocating resources (UNESCO, 2019).

Global citizenship education has been the subject of growing attention in both Western and Eastern governments. Studies suggest that most education systems have incorporated the essence of global citizenship into their curricula in different ways with their own resources (Moon & Koo, 2011; Rapport, 2010; Richardson & Abbott, 2009; Schweisfurth, 2006). Through regional analysis, Goren and Yemini (2017a) summarise regional differences in how global citizenship education is articulated and perceived. They find that in Europe, global citizenship education serves as a tool to promote social cohesion and the acceptance of minorities and immigrants; in the Asia-Pacific region, the emphasis is on providing students with global knowledge and skills to compete in a global age; in Australia and New Zealand, environmental protection is given specific attention; in South and Central America, the primary goal is to strengthen economic and cultural ties with the United States; and in Africa, human rights and global responsibility are commonly promoted.

Many empirical studies have explored how global citizenship education is conducted in different national contexts. The qualitative approach occupies the mainstream, with the most commonly used instruments to collect data being document analysis, interviews, focus groups and observation. To understand education intentions, official curriculum guidelines, documents and supportive texts of related subjects are analysed in terms of how the global community or global perspectives are introduced in schools (Buckner & Russell, 2013; Chong, 2015; Engel, 2014; Ibrahim, 2005; Moon & Koo, 2011; Osler, 2011; Pashby, 2015; Richardson & Abbott, 2009). Though perspectives vary, the global values that have been promoted in different contexts are believed to serve both global and national/local needs. The implementation of global citizenship education is explored through interviews with teachers to understand their perceptions and practice (Harshman & Augustine, 2013; Rapoport, 2010; Schweisfurth, 2006; Yamashita, 2006). Generally, research suggests that the importance of global citizenship education is widely recognised by teachers. However, a lack of confidence when it comes to teaching global citizenship is prevalent in various contexts, resulting from teachers' insufficient knowledge and awareness of the available resources (Davies, 2006). In addition, global citizenship education remains a contentious practice to some extent, and thereby some conflict and sensitive topics have been avoided in practice.

In some studies, students are asked to describe the global citizenship education experienced in schools and their perceptions of global issues (Blankenship, 1990; Davies, 2006; Myers, 2010; Yamashita, 2006). These studies suggest that students have an interest in global citizenship education, and especially that they have a preference for controversial topics. Global competence, as a cross-curricular domain, was also added to Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) 2018 to examine the extent to which 15-year-olds students are equipped with the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values that are essential to live in the globalised world (OECD, 2018). However, current studies commonly focus on individual levels of education without combining the perspectives of different stakeholders to analyse the overall practice of global citizenship education. Fewer studies try to explore the coherence between official intentions and enacted curriculum. In

addition, the existing studies are commonly conducted in a single national context rather than in comparative contexts.

2.4 Bridging the gaps

There is a proliferation of studies exploring the links between national identity and school education in various contexts, and the impacts of globalisation on national identity education have captured the interest of scholars from various fields. However, current analyses commonly focus on either national or global perspectives, while often neglecting the ways in which the national and global dimensions interact. In addition, the existing studies hitherto commonly focus on individual levels of curriculum without exploring national identity education or global citizenship education comprehensively. Consequently, the compatibilities between official curriculum and enacted curriculum remain unclear. To bridge these gaps, this study attempts to provide new theoretical and methodological insights.

2.4.1 The analytical framework

Scholars have persuasively discussed the impacts of globalisation on all spheres of social life. Nowadays, “We are in an age where we are less certain about who we are” (Grosvenor, 1999, p.240), and the notion of a single national identity is increasingly questioned (Osler & Starkey, 2001). The attempts to foster citizenship and affiliations of different levels of communities can be observed in varying discussions and educational literature. Even though some scholars argue for a single-levelled approach to replace national identity with other identities, multileveled approaches to identity occupy the mainstream, suggesting a model to accommodate individuals’ national identities and identities derived from various domains.

There is a growing body of theoretical work on cosmopolitanism (Appiah, 2006; Nussbaum, 1996) and education for cosmopolitan citizenship (Osler & Starkey, 2003, 2005; Osler & Vincent, 2002). In contrast to global citizenship focusing on the identification of a global world, cosmopolitan citizenship is a concept that links identities of local, national and the global (Osler, 2011). Cosmopolitanism

does not deny local or national identifications. Conversely, local identity and national identity remain important in the context of globalisation, as has been argued. Specifically, as proposed by Appiah (2005), “Localism is an instrument to achieve universal ideals” (p.241). “They [cosmopolitans] must be consistent with our being...partial to those closest to us: to our families, our friends, our nations” (Appiah, 2007, p.165). Only people who have concern for their relatives and friends could show respect for strangers. Only people with concern for their nations could care for others beyond their national borders. In short, individuals could not become cosmopolitan unless they are patriotic citizens. In this respect, national identity and global identity are compatible with each other.

However, most existing empirical studies do not live up to the ideal proposed by advocates of cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan citizenship education. Some studies place a great emphasis on national identity (education) or global identity (education), but ignore the ways in which they interact with each other. Although the relationship between national identity (education) and global identity (education) is addressed in some studies, the incompatibility between them is of much concern to researchers. The interaction is oversimplified, as is the discussion about whether the identification with one would interfere with identification with the other (Mahammadbakhsh et al., 2012; Medrano & Gutiérrez, 2001; Pollmann, 2007). In doing so, it is unable to explain the dynamic progress and to provide rich contextual information about the relationship.

As is shown in Figure 2.1, in adherence to the argument that individuals’ identities are flexible and contextual, I create a coordinate system to explore the relationship between national identity education and global identity education. Inspired by the conceptual framework created by Faas (2011) exploring the extent to which Europe and multiculturalism have been intertwined in curricula in European countries, the interaction between national identity education and global identity education can be clustered into four categories in the coordinate system. *Inclusive Global* refers to education that primarily promotes global identity combined with national identity as an important part; *Exclusive Global* is education that merely focuses on global identity and rarely mentions national issues; *Exclusive National* is education that merely places emphasis on national

identity and rarely mentions global issues; and *Inclusive National* is education that primarily promotes national identity combined with global identity as an important part. The analytical framework will guide the analysis of the relationship between national identity education and global identity education in this study.



Figure 2.1 *Analytical Framework*

2.4.2 The methodological insights

Most empirical studies on either national identity education or global identity education are conducted in a single nation instead of comparative contexts. Consequently, the findings and conclusions derived from existing studies have an advantage in explaining the issues in a specific nation, but they are less capable of revealing the multiple possibilities of national identity education or global identity education in different settings.

In addition, a common feature of current empirical studies is that single data resources are relied upon to understand certain aspects of either national identity education or global identity education. From the perspective of curriculum

studies, three different ways of approaching curriculum have been adopted by previous researchers. First, some scholars equate curriculum with syllabus, focusing on the content or the body of knowledge to be transmitted to students (Curzon, 2003). They analyse curriculum standards, textbooks and supporting texts to understand official intentions, but their analyses are inevitably constrained by the researchers' backgrounds and interpretations (Cohen et al., 2011). However, the views of policy makers are rarely explored, which means the studies are unable to provide rich information on the policy-making contexts to triangulate researchers' interpretations of the written intentions. Secondly, scholars who understand curriculum as a process examine the interaction between teachers, students and knowledge in classrooms (Stenhouse, 1975). Specifically, the role of teachers is widely recognised. Both teachers' perceptions and teaching experience of national or global identity are explored to understand the educational process (Hand & Pearce, 2009; Harshman & Augustine, 2013). However, this approach to the analysis is as restricted as the first as teachers' perspectives are overly relied on, and it cannot be denied that there might be potential incongruence between what teachers do and what they say they do. In addition, national identity and global identity could be advanced implicitly, which might not be gleaned from researchers' conversations with teachers. The third group of scholars see curriculum as a product and thus limit their attention to students' attainment and behaviour (Bobbitt, 1918; Tyler, 1949). They explore students' views, but whether students' experiences and perceptions of national identity and global identity are compatible with educational intentions and practice remains unclear.

A systematic analysis of the limitations of the three views of curriculum is beyond the scope of this section, yet it is clear that none of them are inclusive enough to provide an in-depth understanding of national identity education or global identity education. We need a broad definition that embraces at least the following curriculum dimensions: the intentions of the planners, the teaching activities that take place to translate those intentions into practice, the actual experiences of students resulting from the teachers' attempts to implement the intentions, and the implicit learning that occurs as by-products of teaching activities. The definition adopted in this study, therefore, is that "curriculum is

the totality of the experiences the pupils has as a result of the provision made” (Kelly, 2009,p.13).

A further question that needs to be answered is what kinds of activities are counted as parts of the curriculum in this study. I hold with the argument that national identity and global identity can be nurtured explicitly or implicitly in formal, informal and hidden curricula. When referring to formal curriculum, I mean the learning activities and experiences organised into curriculum areas around specific content and resources showing the objectives to be assessed (Leask, 2009). Informal curriculum in the context of this study refers to the learning activities organised in a less rigid manner, for instance rituals, ceremonies and trips: those activities which are not part of the formal requirements of the programme of study, but which nevertheless contribute to the achievement of curriculum objectives (Leask, 2009). Hidden curriculum refers to the implicit or unconscious learning shaped by the educational settings, for instance the mottos and symbols of schools, and teacher-learner interactions (Gordon, 1982; Wren, 1999). Even though these three aspects of learning are differentiated from each other, in most situations, they are all present to different extents and interacting throughout the whole learning process (McPhail, 2013).

Within the field, scholars commonly recognise that curriculum is influenced at different organisational levels of society (Kuiper et al., 2013; van den Akker, 2003). At the macro (system/society/nation/state) level, administrative decisions about the curriculum are made; at the meso (school/classroom) level, the implementation of the curriculum is carried out; and at the micro (learner) level, the impact of the curriculum is emphasised (McKenney et al., 2006). Stakeholders at all different levels exert influence in shaping the curriculum at that particular level, and the consistency across different levels of curriculum has an important impact on teaching and learning, and is thus a chief concern in curriculum studies. This implies that, to achieve a comprehensive understanding of national identity education and global identity education, all three different levels of curriculum and different stakeholders’ perspectives should be taken into consideration.

Even though there have been various attempts to name the different levels of curriculum, it is common to distinguish them broadly as intended curriculum, implemented curriculum and attained curriculum (Travers & Westbury, 1989; van den Akker, 1988,2003). The intended curriculum, which is determined by educational organisational system, consists of two forms: the ideal curriculum, which refers to the goals and expectations set by curriculum planners, and the formal curriculum, which refers to textbooks, curriculum standards and official guidelines that communicate the ideas of curriculum planners (Porter & Smithson, 2001; van den Akker, 2003). The implemented curriculum, which is enacted in schools and classrooms, comes in two forms: the perceived curriculum, which refers to the interpretations of the users of curriculum, particularly teachers, for instance their educational philosophies and lesson plans (Goodlad et al., 1979; van den Akker, 2003), and the operational curriculum, which refers to the actual instructional process and activities. The attained curriculum comprises the experiential curriculum, which refers to the learning experience from learners' perspectives, and the learned curriculum, which refers to the outcomes for learners after receiving instruction (McKenney et al., 2006; van den Akker, 2003).

Table 2.1 *Refined Typology of Curriculum Applied in the Study*

Curriculum level	Detailed typology	Explanation
Intended curriculum	Ideal curriculum	Rationale or basic philosophy underlying national identity education and global identity education
	Written curriculum	Intentions regarding national identity education and global identity education as specified in the curriculum standards, textbooks and teaching materials
Implemented curriculum	Perceived curriculum	National identity education and global identity education interpreted by teachers
	Operational curriculum	Actual process of national identity education and global identity education
Attained curriculum	Experiential curriculum	National identity education and global identity education experienced by students
	Learned curriculum	Students' understandings of national identity and global identity

Curriculum planners assume that the ideal curriculum will be interpreted and enacted in accordance with their expectations (Phaeton & Stears, 2016). However, there is always a “mismatch between expectations and reality” (Rogan, 2004,

p.176). In the process of implementing a curriculum document, there is a chance that the planners' original ideas will be distorted. What is articulated in the written curriculum can also be dissimilar to what is perceived by teachers and what is enacted in classrooms, which accordingly can impact how learning is experienced and achieved by learners. Thus, to achieve a systematic and comprehensive analysis of the coherence across intended, implemented and attained curricula with regard to national identity and global identity, a more detailed typology of curriculum needs to be applied in guiding the research (van den Akker, 2003; see Table 2.1). Based on this, not only will horizontal comparison across the nations be realised, but a vertical analysis will also be conducted within individual national contexts across different levels of curriculum.

Chapter Three National Contexts for Comparison

To contextualise the study, this chapter reviews the previous literature related to national identity education and how it is impacted by globalisation in the Chinese and Scottish contexts. First, the justifications for conducting a comparative study of Mainland China and Scotland will be addressed, along with some methodological considerations. Next, the notions of nation, national identity, global identity and their manifestations in educational settings in Mainland China and Scotland will be elaborated upon respectively, constituting the second and third sections of this chapter. Finally, after familiarisation with the two contexts has been established, a preliminary comparison will be outlined.

3.1 Mapping the field of comparative education: Why and how

Interest in the relationship between education and nations has been longstanding in the study of educational traditions (Kazamias, 2009), specifically in the field of comparative education, which “goes beyond the confines of education in one nation, society or group, and...uses cross-national or cross-cultural methods and techniques” (Kazamias & Massialas, 1965, p.14). Situated in the field of comparative education, this study sets out to explore how the relationship between national identity and global identity is balanced in educational settings in Mainland China and Scotland.

The justification for conducting a comparative study of Mainland China and Scotland primarily lies in the fact that Mainland China is where I originally come from, and Scotland is where I am currently pursuing my PhD degree. By exploring national identity education and global identity education in two contexts, issues that have been ignored and assumptions that have been taken for granted can be identified (Crossley & Watson, 2003). This is likely to make the familiar strange and the strange familiar (Kluckhohn, 1944). The appropriateness of a comparative study also lies in its advantage in providing rich descriptive and exploratory data, which allows me to see varying approaches to national identity education and global identity education in different circumstances. By identifying the similarities and differences between them, a theoretical framework in which to

analyse national identity education and global identity education can be developed (Phillips, 1999). In addition, education is shaped by its wider context and cannot be fully understood without potential influences being acknowledged. By offering explanations of the similarities and differences (Kandel, 1936), a mutual understanding of the two nations under examination can be fostered (Phillips, 1999).

Comparative studies are typically conducted based on establishing the parameters for comparability (Manzon, 2014), or the “equivalence” of the chosen units of analysis (Phillips & Schweisfurth, 2014, p.22). An instructive comparison can be made between Mainland China and Scotland because they “have sufficient in common to make analysis of their differences meaningful” (Bray, 2004, p.248).

Since the advent of the Reform and Opening-up policy in 1978, China has experienced a transformative process in all spheres of social life. The national economy has developed rapidly and is now the world’s second largest economy, with an average of nearly 10% Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth per year, which is the fastest sustained expansion by a major economy in history (World Bank, 2019). Alongside this highly successful economic reform, Chinese nationalism has received growing public and academic attention both within and outwith China. Research indicates that some countries have discussed the idea that the rise of Chinese nationalism poses a threat to global development, and have therefore adopted a series of restrictions against China (Shan & Guo, 2011). However, this has not significantly interfered with China’s aim of being a strong and prosperous nation in the globalised world.

In Scotland, the past few decades have witnessed the transformation of the political landscape. The opening of the Scottish Parliament in 1999 and the Scottish National Party (SNP) becoming a mainstream political party in 2007 reflects Scottish national consciousness in a political sense. Especially since the launch of the Scottish Independence Referendum in 2014, interest in Scottish identity has been growing among both academics and the public (Bechhofer & McCrone, 2007; Bond, 2015; Soule et al., 2012). The discussions of the relationship between Scotland and the UK are further complicated by the

controversial Brexit progress. In the context of globalisation, Scotland is aware of the importance of global communication and participation. It tries hard to construct links with the world to reinforce its existence as a distinctive and vibrant nation (Arnott & Ozga, 2016).

Generally, tensions between the search for national consciousness and global status can be observed in both China and Scotland. Alongside the wide similarities, there are key dissimilarities between the Chinese and Scottish contexts. The primary difference is that China is an independent country, while Scotland, despite having achieved devolution and the establishment of its own parliament in 1999, is still a sub-state nation within the unitary British state. Second, China and Scotland differ in scale. China is currently the most populous country in the world, with its 2020 population estimated at 1.44 billion (United Nations, 2019), while Scotland's population is expected to reach 5.5 million by the middle of 2020 (Population UK, 2019). Similarly, in terms of surface area, China was reported to consist of 9,526,910 square kilometres in 2018 (World Bank, 2018), while Scotland is a small country with a total area is 79,292 square kilometres (Worldatlas, n.d.). Third, substantial differences exist between China and Scotland in terms of their cultural and social environments. Although diversity exists at the sub-national level, in a cultural sense, China is a unified entity with a clear and stable centre (Ge, 2017). While as a receiver region of immigration from both overseas and the rest of the UK, Scotland is much more diverse, encompassing different cultures and values.

However, it is important to note, in making this comparison, that “comparability across cultures can only be approximate at best” (Tobin et al., 1989, p.7). Mainland China and Scotland “have sufficient in common to make analysis of their differences meaningful” (Bray, 2005, p.248). The commonalities, as noted above, include the fact that they both are facing the challenge that globalisation poses to their power systems, both are trying to reinforce individuals' national consciousness, and both are ambitious for their influential status in the global community. Therefore, a comparative study between Mainland China and Scotland can be conducted when approached with the awareness of their discrepancies in terms of political status, scale and diversity.

Traditionally, comparative education studies have focused on nation-states as the unit of comparison (Crossley, 2009). However, this approach exhibits some misunderstandings of nation-states as complex political entities. First, it must be admitted that the idea that every nation should constitute a state was an ideal of 19th century European nationalism (Crick, 2008). The reality is that not every nation constitutes a state, and some states comprise more than one nation. Therefore, in addition to nation-states, sub-state nations and stateless nations should be studied. Second, nation-states sometimes cannot be explored as a whole entity because differences commonly exist within them. China and the UK are good examples to showcase the complexities of nation-states. China is composed of a large mainland as well as a number of islands and autonomous regions, and the education systems in these regions have distinctive characteristics (for example, Hong Kong's education system differs from Mainland China's). The same is true of the education systems in England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, all of which are sub-states of the UK. Therefore, to ensure clarity and avoid limitations and confusion, Mainland China and Scotland are finalised as the specific contexts within which the present study is situated.

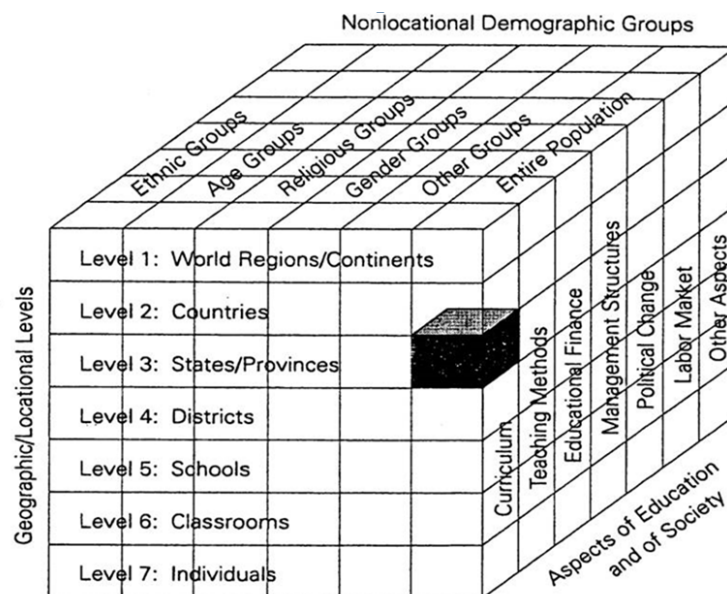


Figure 3.1 *A Framework for Comparative Education Analysis* (Bray & Thomas, 1995, p.475)

To achieve multifaceted and holistic analyses of educational phenomena, I am fully aware of the importance of multi-level analysis, which is proposed by Bray and Thomas (1995) through their three-dimensional theoretical model (p.475, shown in Figure 3.1). As this study aims to explore the relationship between national identity and global identity as it is reflected in school education, the focus of analysis according to the cube model is level 5: Schools. However, the national context is also important as it can provide information on the economic, political, social and cultural environment that has shaped school practice. In addition, different stakeholders' perspectives must be taken into consideration and compared to reveal the similarities and differences between the chosen schools.

The last point to explain is the nature of the comparison that this study attempts to conduct. According to Schriewer (2000), simple comparison is “a universal mental operation embedded in everyday social life...establishing relations between observable facts”, while complex comparison is “a social scientific method...establishing relations between relationships” (pp.9-10). The comparison that this study attempts to conduct is of the relationship between national identity education and global identity education in the two schools; therefore it is a complex comparison. However, the prerequisite is to explore national identity education and global identity education respectively in depth, otherwise a complex comparison of the relationship between the two phenomena cannot be achieved. Given the above considerations, the second and third sections of this chapter will provide background information about the Chinese and Scottish contexts respectively.

3.2 Mainland China

3.2.1 Terminological confusions of the Chinese nation

Since the 1990s, there has been a worldwide upsurge of interest in questions relating to the Chinese nation and Chinese nationalism (Carlson, 2009; Gustafsson, 2016). Although much Western literature has been published on the topic, Chinese nationalism remains poorly understood and inadequately studied. As discussed by

Said (1979), misunderstandings are apt to occur when Western scholars attempt to interpret non-Western cultures. Chinese nationalism and identity should not be understood based on a modern nation-state framework, which was developed through Western experiences (Bislev & Li, 2014; Tang & Darr, 2012). Instead, it is essential to interpret it based upon China's own cultural and historical contexts (Bhattacharya, 2007).

To begin, terminological confusion around the idea of 'nation' in the Chinese language should be clarified. Although they are treated as distinct concepts in Western literature, ethnic groups and nation are conventionally conceptualised using the same Chinese word, *Minzu* [民族]. In the Chinese context, the meanings of *Minzu* are complex and cannot be encapsulated in a single term in English or other languages. With the deepening of research, scholars within the field of ethnicity and nation have increasingly realised the confusion that might be caused by using the same word for different meanings (Ma, 2007). Acknowledged as a multi-ethnic country, China is composed of 56 ethnic groups, with the Han group accounting for 92% of the total population (Law & Ho, 2011). To avoid misleading English-speakers into understanding that ethnic minorities including Tibetans, Uygurs and Manchus are political entities with the right to establish independent nation-states, scholars tend to use *Zuqun* [族群] to describe internal ethnic diversity within China, while using *Minzu* for the collective unity of China (Ma, 2007). Accordingly, in the Chinese context and in this study, national identity is framed as identifying with the *Zhonghua minzu* [中华民族, Chinese nation] as a whole nation that is comprised of 55 ethnic minorities and the Han majority.

In addition, research indicates that the concept of 'nation' is frequently used interchangeably with 'state' and 'country' in the Chinese context (Chong, 2016; Liu & Lee, 2013; Yuen & Byram, 2007). Since distinctions between these three concepts are rarely made in the Chinese language, the meanings of 'Chinese nation' could be more complex than simply being a synonym for 'nation'. This further enables Chinese identity to take on a multitude of forms and contents, which is worthy of exploration.

3.2.2 Chinese nationalism and patriotism

Because of the transformation process in all spheres of social life that China has undergone, Chinese nationalism has been the subject of growing attention in academic and public circles in the past few decades (Callahan, 2004; Cheung, 2012). Although scholars have increasingly realised how ignorance of Chinese cultural and historical tradition might impede understanding (Gries, 2006), Western approaches to understanding Chinese nationalism are not undervalued. Modern Chinese nationalism is understood to have both traditional Chinese nationalism and modern Western nationalism as its intellectual sources (Chen, 2005; Ogden, 2001; Zheng, 2012).

It has been explained that “China has for thousands of years remained in uninterrupted isolation. When our people refer to the land, they call it *Tianxia* [天下, universe] rather than *Guo* [国, country]” (Liang, 1935, p.15). The concept of the modern nation-state does not exist in ancient Chinese thought. Instead, Chinese people historically used *Chaodai* [朝代, dynasty] or *Tianxia* when referring to their cultural and political communities (Chen, 2005; Li & Hong, 2015; Zhao, 2004; Zheng, 2012). Traditional Chinese nationalism is deeply influenced by the nature of *Tianxia*. As illustrated, *Tianxia* is a culturally defined and boundless community. Unlike Western systems of international relations, which focus on the role of economic power and military, the concept of *Tianxia* attaches importance to soft power including culture, morality and harmony (Wang, 2012). Within the *Tianxia* system, which is a Sino-centric worldview, China does not acknowledge the equal status of other countries. Instead, China regards itself as the only truly civilised entity with indisputable cultural superiority (Wang, 2012; Zheng, 2012).

Before the mid-19th century, China had not encountered any other cultural entities that could pose a threat (Chen, 2005). The Sino-centric worldview and cultural hierarchy, however, were challenged by the century of humiliation that began in 1839 with the First Opium War (Gries, 2006). This changed Chinese people’s views of the world and their perceptions of the relationship between China and other countries. For one thing, it suggested that there is no centre or hierarchy to the world. For another, it showed that other countries whose people

used to be labelled as barbarians are not less developed than China, and may be even more technologically advanced (Zheng, 2012). However, the traditional and deep-seated national consciousness did not disappear. Instead, “Cultural inheritance, selectively repositioned, represented and retaught, becomes the effective knowledge-as-power means to maintain national legitimacy” (Doughty, 2009). Pride in the glory of Chinese civilisation constitutes an essential part of modern Chinese nationalism (Bislev & Li, 2014; Callahan, 2004).

At the turn of 20th century, faced with the decay of the *Tianxia* system, Chinese scholars were propelled to find alternative approaches to protect China from outside invasions. Liang Qichao, a prominent intellectual at the turn of the 20th century, is commonly considered as the first scholar to introduce modern Western nationalism to China (Zheng, 2012). Under his influences, scholars in the following decades developed the idea of building a unified China. China’s self-identification as a victim has been frequently mentioned by Chinese nationalists, who frame Western countries and Japan as aggressors (Suzuki, 2007). The historical disgrace resulting from the unequal treaties [不平等条约, Bu pingdeng tiaoyue] with other countries constitutes an essential part of the fabric of Chinese nationalism. Although Mao Zedong announced to the world that the Chinese people had retaken control with the founding ceremony of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, the sense of humiliation that had spanned generations did not disappear among individuals (Callahan, 2004, 2006; Wang, 2008, 2012). The popular slogan “Luohou jiuyao aidai” [落后就要挨打, Backwardness leaves you vulnerable to attack] is deeply rooted in the mindset of the Chinese people. In summary, accompanied by a sense of national humiliation, Chinese nationalism is constituted by anxiety about being invaded again and the desire for acceptance by other countries.

It was not until the 1990s that there was a remarkable increase in interest in modern Chinese nationalism resulting from both external and internal crises. The break-up of the Soviet Union and the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe caused a crisis of faith in Marxism and Socialism (Wang, 2008). The Tiananmen Square protests in 1989 demonstrated social and political groups’ doubts regarding the legitimacy of the Communist Part of China (CPC) and the

bankruptcy of official ideology (Zhao, 1998; Zheng, 1999). To fill the ideological vacuum, the CPC was forced to search for the value of nationalism that could ensure individuals' loyalty and the legitimacy of its regime (Bislev & Li, 2014; Ogden, 2001). Consistently, Chinese patriotism has been seen as synonymous with Chinese nationalism (Callahan, 2006; Zhao, 1998). However, the concept of *Minzu zhuyi* [民族主义, nationalism], which is derived from the Western context, might lead to nationalistic fervour among ethnic minorities, and thus has never been endorsed by the Chinese government (Zhao, 1998). Instead, the concept of *Aiguo zhuyi* [爱国主义, patriotism], which literally means "love of country", echoing Viroli's definition of patriotism (1995, p.1), which can unite people to focus on shared challenges, is regarded as more acceptable and is accordingly promoted in both official and public discourses. As stated in Section 3.2.1, distinctions between nation and state are rarely made in the Chinese context. Therefore, the concept of patriotism can be interpreted as showing loyalty to *Zhongguo* [中国, China] (Bislev & Li, 2014). From this perspective, Chinese patriotism is a state-centric conception of nationalism, which is a "state-led nationalism" (Tilly, 1994, p.133).

Overall, Chinese nationalism and patriotism are commonly conceptualised as multifaceted concepts. They are comprised of the pride in Chinese culture and tradition, the sense of humiliation resulting from the struggle against outsiders, and a belief in the unity of China under the leadership of the CPC.

3.2.3 National identity and global identity in education

As illustrated in Section 2.3.1, considerable attention has been paid to the discourse of multileveled and multidimensional citizenship. Both Western and Eastern countries are increasingly aware of the need to promote students' citizenship and membership of different levels of communities through school education. China is not an exception in this regard. China's intention of broadening the scope of citizenship education to encourage students' engagement in multiple levels of societies can be traced back to the early 1980s (Pan, 2014). In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the three belief crises in Marxism, Socialism and trust in the CPC, as discussed in Section 3.2.2, propelled China to

face the challenge of unifying the nation. Since then, the Chinese government has concentrated on promoting patriotism in multiple ways, including the launching of its patriotic education campaign (Doughty, 2009; Gao, 2011; Law & Ho, 2011; Liu & Ma, 2018).

In 1991, the campaign was made official by two documents issued by the CPC Central Propaganda Department (Wang, 2008). These two documents are called *Notice about Conducting Education of Patriotism and Revolutionary Tradition by Exploiting Extensively Cultural Relics* (CPC Central Committee, 1991) and *General Outline on Strengthening Education on Chinese Modern and Contemporary History and National Conditions* (Ministry of Education of the PRC, 1991). The campaign reached its climax in 1994 when the CPC Central Committee issued *The Outline for Conducting Patriotic Education* (Doughty, 2009; He & Guo, 2000; Zhao, 1998, 2004). The 1994 document explicitly states that the objective of patriotic education is “to boost the nation’s spirit, enhance its cohesion, foster its self-esteem and sense of pride, consolidate and develop a patriotic united front to the broadest extent, and direct and rally the masses”(CPC Central Committee, 1994). After the outline had been published, the patriotic education campaign was carried out at full scale.

Within the Chinese education system, which operates with a top-down management style (Chong, 2016), most institutions, from primary schools to universities, have their own CPC committees or branches (Wang, 2012), which are tasked with fostering patriotic sentiment among students (Wang, 2008; Zhao, 1998). Within campuses, the essence of patriotism has been incorporated into curriculum teaching. Courses including Traditional Chinese Culture, History of Chinese Art and Lectures on Patriotism are available to students (Zhao, 1998). As well, the roles of informal curriculum and hidden curriculum in promoting patriotism are fully acknowledged. Activities including the Flag Raising Ceremony and singing the national anthem are regarded as important routines, which allow students to express their patriotic sentiments (Chong, 2016; Fairbrother, 2003). To create a favourable atmosphere in which to conduct patriotic education, the government has made use of public media and carried out a series of projects, including the Hundred Books Program, the Hundred Films Program and the

establishment of Bases for Patriotic Education in various cities (He & Guo, 2000; Liu & Ma, 2018).

Patriotic education, although considered to be wide-ranging in content, is developed around three core themes. The territorial integrity and national unity of China holds a prominent place in education. In particular, the unity of China's 56 ethnic groups is described as a key aspect of the nation's social harmony (Law & Ho, 2011). The long history of China and the rich tradition of Chinese culture are also heavily focused on in school education. Specifically, emphasis has been attached to how China struggled against Western and Japanese invasions (Gao, 2011). In addition, as the patriotic education campaign is carried out under the guidance of the CPC, the party's leading role in governing China is promoted as a key aspect (Fairbrother, 2003; Wang, 2008; Zhao, 1998).

In China, the idea of global citizenship is deeply rooted in ancient civilisation, for example in Confucians' understanding of one world (Yu, 2013). However, it was not until the early 2000s that the discourse of global citizenship gained room in China's overall education systems. During the period in which its economic and social systems have undergone a significant transformation, China has been increasingly conscious of the world. Like other nations, China has started to emphasise the global perspectives of students, who used to be expected to merely focus on local and national issues. With the issue of *The Outline of Curriculum Reform in Basic Education* (Ministry of Education of the PRC, 2001), a new round of national curriculum reform was launched in 2001. The Chinese government officially defined the global perspective as including four elements: global awareness (e.g. the globe as one world, environmental protection); global knowledge (e.g. world history, current international issues); global skills (e.g. global values, including empathy, respect for life, justice and peace) and global behaviour (e.g. participating in action that promotes world justice). In practice, special emphasis has been attached to students' global competence. Students are expected to be equipped with global knowledge and skills suitable for a changing economy and society (Law, 2013).

This increased emphasis on global perspectives does not necessarily suggest that the value of patriotism has come to be overlooked. The Chinese government has never stopped exploring new approaches to patriotic education. In the early 2000s, patriotic education was reinforced through the *Returning to Tradition* movement (Law, 2013; Yu, 2012). To mark the 60th anniversary of the founding of PRC, 2009 witnessed the intensification of patriotic education as schools were urged to carry out a series of patriotic activities on campus (Chong, 2016). The Confucian tradition, especially its value of social responsibility, was comprehensively promoted as the foundation upon which to rebuild Chinese identity (Lee & Ho, 2005). The national curriculum standards for compulsory education subjects issued in 2011, which further stressed the importance of learning about Chinese culture, traditions and the achievements under the CPC's leadership, were considered more Sino-centric than the 2001 version (Law, 2013).

The strengthening of patriotic education is also reflected in how the CPC continues to promote its ideas and emphasise the ideological function of citizenship education. Since Xi Jinping took office at the 18th National Congress of the CPC in November 2012, the narrative of the *Chinese Dream* has been rolled out across state media platforms and become the CPC's political ideology:

The rejuvenation of the Chinese nation has been the greatest dream of the Chinese people since the beginning of modern times; we call this the *Chinese Dream*. The idea in essence is to make the country prosperous and strong, rejuvenate the nation, and see that the people are happy (Xi, 2013).

As an important component of accomplishing the *Chinese Dream*, a campaign has been carried out to disseminate *Core Socialist Values*, which are a set of official interpretations of Chinese socialism written in 24 Chinese characters, including the national values of “prosperity”, “democracy”, “civility” and “harmony”; the social values of “freedom”, “equality”, “justice” and the “rule of law”; and the individual values of “patriotism”, “dedication”, “integrity” and “friendship” (Hu, 2012). Conceptualised as subordinate to nation and society, individuals are expected to become patriotic citizens dedicated to the establishment of a prosperous Chinese nation (Gow, 2017). With the issue of *Opinions on the Cultivation of and Practice of Core Socialist Values* on 23 December 2013, the CPC

framed national education as a vital forum in which *Core Socialist Values* should be cultivated and practiced (CPC Central Committee, 2013). In addition, the CPC continues to maintain high levels of control over the political nature of citizenship education and corresponding curriculum standards. In September 2017, at the compulsory education level, textbooks for Chinese, history, ideological and political education (these names vary in different grades) were designed and edited (Wang, 2019). Since then, schools no longer have the freedom to choose from various textbooks, but are provided with these standard ones.

We need to energetically foster and promote *Core Socialist Values*; promptly establish a value system that fully reflects Chinese characteristics, our national identity, and the features of the times...If our people cannot uphold the moral values that have been formed and developed on our own soil, and instead indiscriminately and blindly parrot Western moral values, then it will be necessary to genuinely question whether we will lose our independent ethos as a country (Xi, 2014, pp.120-121).

Undoubtedly, integrating *Core Socialist Values* into national education serves the function of disseminating the Chinese vision for nation-society-citizen relations and characterising China's development under the CPC's leadership. However, it has to be admitted that *Core Socialist Values* contain narratives of concepts that challenge or are opposed to the usage of the same terms in Western liberal political discourse, for instance the values of "democracy", "freedom", "justice" and "rule of law" (Gow, 2017). Consequently, ideological conflicts could possibly be created when it comes to determining what kind of citizen is expected to be cultivated through schooling (Chong, 2016). Under Chinese socialist ideologies of education, a good citizen is framed as one who upholds the importance of patriotism and national sovereignty without permitting any interference from outside. However, in the context of globalisation, individuals inevitably absorb information about Western cultures and ideologies, human rights and global responsibilities. Therefore, it is interesting to explore how these conflicts are dealt with in educational settings.

Generally, through patriotic education campaigns, the sense of Chinese identity has been more strongly promoted in Chinese schools than global identity. However, this does not free Chinese education from the challenge of balancing

the perennial demands of national identity with new calls for global identity. The tensions between Chinese identity and global identity have constantly been a key concern of Chinese education, although this concern has manifested itself differently as official standpoints have changed throughout different periods of time. Various studies have shed light on the issues by reviewing government documents, but the current understanding of official curriculum and enacted curriculum remain far from adequate.

3.3 Scotland

3.3.1 Dualistic meanings of national identity

Although national identity has increasingly become a subject of academic and public discussions, it is still a controversial issue in many nation-states. Patriotism, which is widely promoted as a positive manifestation of national identity in China, tends to be regarded less favourably in the UK, where it is associated with fascism and the extreme right (Osler, 2009). Although discussions about citizenship, migration, multiculturalism and British values have massively increased in recent decades, empirical studies show that there is still a broad sense of indifference and hostility towards national identity among British people because they do not want to be labelled as nationalists (Fenton, 2007). The UK actually has experienced a particularly complicated situation as a multinational state (Bond, 2006; Kymlicka, 2011), or a state nation (McCrone, 2002), where most citizens tend to have multiple national identities.

Prior to the 1706 and 1707 Acts of the Scottish and British parliaments that brought about the union, Scotland was considered as an independent nation-state (Soule et al., 2012). Under its current relationship with the UK, Scotland is described as a sub-state nation or a stateless nation (Bond & Rosie, 2010; Law & Mooney, 2012; McCrone, 2001). Although British citizenship defines the legal status of Scottish people, it does not prevent them from constructing a Scottish national identity (Bond, 2006). In the Scottish context, people tend to claim dual-level national identities, encompassing both Scottish and British identity (Crick, 2008; McCrone & Bechhofer, 2008; McEwen, 2018; White, 1996). According

to scholars, for most of the 19th century, the dominant sense in Scotland was of a Protestant-Imperialist-Unionist country where being Scottish and being British were regarded as compatible and complementary (McCrone et al., 1998). With the opening of the Scottish Parliament, the SNP becoming a mainstream political party and the launching of the 2014 Scottish Independence Referendum, the last two decades have witnessed a remarkable increase in the discourse around Scottish identity (Bechhofer & McCrone, 2007; Bond, 2015; Soule et al., 2012). Some empirical studies also demonstrate that being Scottish takes priority over being British among Scottish people (Kiely et al., 2005; McCrone et al., 1998).

As shown in Table 3.1 (ScotCen Social Research, 2014), there have been tensions between individuals' Scottish and British identities, which have been exacerbated by the Brexit process. It has been argued that Brexit is likely to have implications for Britain's place in Europe, and for Scotland's place in the UK and Europe (McEwen, 2018; Tyrrell et al., 2019). Initially triggered by a politics of reasserting British identity in the face of increasing immigration, Brexit has ignited fierce debates on the sense of belonging (Cassidy et al., 2018; Tyrrell et al., 2019). With 62% of voters voting to remain, Scotland expressed wide opposition to the prospect of leaving the EU (Thompson, 2019). During the process of Brexit, Scottish people have experienced a meaningful shift in their national affiliation. In an Internet survey immediately after the vote, Scottish people reported feeling strongly Scottish, while also feeling less British and more European than English or Welsh people did (Pattie & Johnston, 2017). Since uncertainty about the consequences of Brexit remain, the interaction between Scottish identity and British identity continues and is worthy of attention.

Table 3.1 Trends in Moreno National Identity in Scotland, 1999-2014 (ScotCen Social Research, 2014)

	1999	2000	2001	2003	2005	2006	2007	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
SnB	32%	37%	36%	31%	32%	33%	26%	27%	28%	28%	23%	25%	23%
S>B	35%	31%	30%	34%	32%	32%	29%	31%	30%	32%	30%	29%	26%
S=B	22%	21%	24%	22%	21%	21%	27%	26%	26%	23%	30%	29%	32%
B>S	3%%	3%	3%	4%	4%	4%	5%	4%	4%	5%	5%	4%	5%
BnS	4%	4%	3%	4%	5%	5%	6%	4%	4%	5%	6%	6%	6%
Oth	3%	4%	3%	4%	5%	4%	6%	6%	8	6%	5%	6%	7%
No	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	2%	0%	2%	0%	1%	1%	1%	1%

Key: SnB (Scottish not British); S>B (More Scottish than British); S=B (Equally Scottish and British); B>S (More British than Scottish);
Oth (Other description); No (None of these)

A key point to note is whom ‘Scottish people’ refers to in this study. I am aware that the number of immigrants in Scotland is large and that Scotland is a diverse nation in terms of its residents’ backgrounds. Some would identify with neither Scotland nor the UK. Therefore, ‘Scottish people’ in this dissertation describes people who live in Scotland without indicating their origins or nationalities. However, to ensure comparability, national identity in the Scottish context is discussed with specific reference to Scottish identity and British identity.

3.3.2 Scottish identity and British identity

Although it gave up its sovereignty and self-governing status to enter into a political union with England in 1707, Scotland did not lose its national consciousness (Crick, 2008). Instead, a vibrant and distinctive Scottish civil society remains in Scotland (Soule et al., 2012). In the absence of a Scottish state, Scotland’s separate judicial system, distinctive education systems in schools and universities, and separate Church allow its key institutions to maintain Scottish traditions and values (Arnott & Menter, 2007; McEwen, 2018; Ozga, 2017). In addition, Scotland is a bounded territory, which allows people to construct a relatively consistent imagination of the nation (McCrone et al., 1998). Therefore, as former First Minister of Scotland, Alex Salmond (2007) argues, “Scotland has played its full part in the Union...without ever losing sight of our distinctive identity and values” (cited in Mycock, 2012, pp.58-59).

One of the key concerns of many previous studies on Scottish identity is constructing the English as others. Historically, the Scottish have been constructed as an oppressed group because of English imperialism, which creates an oppositional relationship between Scotland and England (Emejulu, 2013). For some Scottish people, anti-English sentiment is not just reflected in sport events when they prefer to support England’s opponents (Whigham, 2012), but also in how English identity is conceptualised as the opposite of Scottish identity. This is explicitly displayed in the well-known saying, “Not being English is really what being Scottish is all about” (Bechhofer & McCrone, 2009,p.13). However, the extent to which Scottish people share the so-called anti-English sentiment

remains unclear. Whether it is an earnestly held prejudice or just ‘banter’ requires further exploration.

Considerable attention has also been paid to the civic nature of the Scottish nation. As discussed in Section 2.1.2, within the field of national identity, scholars make distinctions between ethnic and civic models of nations. Ethnic nations are conceptualised as those focusing on inherited factors including ancestry and blood ties, while civic nations take a relatively inclusive approach by emphasising individuals’ rights, obligations and connections to the local political system and rules. According to this distinction, a civic approach is adopted in Scotland, where people’s Scottish identity is more allied to a sense of place than to a sense of tribe, blood and birth (Emejulu, 2013; Smout, 1994; Soule et al., 2012).

The civic conceptualisation of national identity is also evident in statements from the Scottish government in which birth as a marker of Scottish identity is downplayed, while the sense of belonging based on residence and commitment to Scotland is highlighted (Kiely et al., 2005; Ozga, 2017). Conventionally, Scotland has upheld a welcoming narrative to immigrants (Botterill & Hancock, 2018), with One Scotland, Many Cultures and the New Scots being prominent initiatives that convey the information that people are welcome to reside in Scotland and can claim to be Scottish regardless of ancestry, race, ethnicity or religion (Bond, 2006; Emejulu, 2013; Soule et al., 2012). Since early 2000s, Scotland has experienced positive net migration both from overseas and the rest of the UK (Scottish Government, 2019). However, with the deepening and widening of the discussion, it has been increasingly realised that the complexities of Scottish identity cannot be captured by the oversimplified distinction between the ethnic and civic approaches (Kiely et al., 2005). The civic form of Scottish identity promoted by the government is not fully supported by the public, as for some Scottish people, “Ethnic claims to Scottishness retain more purchase than civic forms” (Reicher et al., 2009, p.35). Some empirical studies also indicate that place of birth and ancestry remains the most prominent markers of Scottish identity from the perspectives of ordinary people (Kiely et al., 2001; McCrone et al., 1998). Therefore, the extent to which people’s opinions are consistent with official views requires further investigation.

Compared to Scottish identity, British identity is a modern construction born of the union between England and Scotland in 1707 (McCrone et al., 1998). Since the early 1960s, initially triggered by the loss of empire (McCrone, 1997), the so-called problem of British national identity has been the subject of debate among both academics and the public in the UK (Parekh, 2000). The factors that used to distinguish the UK from other countries in the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, such as parliamentary democracy and liberties, no longer remain so distinctive (Tilley & Heath, 2007). More recently, British identity has been particularly vulnerable to both internal and external challenges. Within the UK, the last few decades have witnessed a remarkable increase in interest and activities relating to Scottish and Welsh nationalism. It is argued that the devolution of power to Scotland and Wales poses threats to Britishness, as people in these two nations tend to give priority to their Scottish or Welsh identities over their British identity (Bond & Rosie, 2002; Jones, 2001). As a receiver region of international immigration, the UK has experienced a great diversity of ethics, values and cultures, which also increasingly calls into question the significance of British identity in achieving social cohesion (Tilley & Heath, 2007).

Empirical evidence demonstrates that some Scottish people take a neutral-to-negative attitude towards being British (Kiely et al., 2005). This is primarily because Britishness has been a problematic concept in Scotland for a long time (Freeman, 2009). Britain and England are constantly confused without a clear-cut boundary (Crick, 2001; McCrone, 2002). Even some English have difficulty distinguishing Englishness from Britishness (White, 1996). For some Scottish people, in addition to being a synonym for England, the UK is identified in a political sense by its imperial past or is simply regarded as a fact of form-filling when asked to select their nationality (Kiely et al., 2005).

The changing governance in Scotland and the UK also muddles the discussion of Scottish identity and British identity. A series of political events including the Scottish Independence Referendum and the contested Brexit process present further levels of complexity in terms of understanding both Scottish identity and British identity. It is increasingly important to understand what Scottish identity

and British identity mean, and the extent to which political statement is at odds with people's personal thinking.

3.3.3 National identity and global identity in education

Education systems have been inextricably linked to nation-state-building in both Eastern and Western countries for a long time, and the UK is not an exception to this trend. After the attacks of 11th September 2001 and more particularly the London terrorist attacks on 7th July 2005, there was a resurgence of interest in the role of school education in creating a united and cohesive society (Osler, 2009). The discourses of inculcating Britishness and British values have become more pronounced within educational settings (Munn & Arnott, 2009). However, research indicates that the British values strongly promoted by the UK government have less purchase with Scottish people; the idea of Britishness as a key aspect of education does not extend to Scotland (Leith, 2010). Advancing a distinctive British identity is not understood to be a key concern of Scottish education systems.

As discussed in Section 3.3.2, in the absence of a Scottish state, a continuity of key institutions (law, education, Church) and traditions enable Scottish people to continue to enact Scottish ways of being (Soule et al., 2012). In terms of the control of education, Scotland has its own examination system, inspection system and local authority monitoring and review, which in turn offers powerful resources to achieve the distinctiveness of Scottish education (Kisby & Sloam, 2011).

The distinctive education environment in Scotland also has shaped its approaches to citizenship education (Arnott & Ozga, 2016). It is argued that the discourse of national identity is not always easy to detect in Scottish educational settings, largely because Scottish nationalism is often displayed in less visible forms (Leith, 2010). For example, Scotland is one of the few European countries that does not treat its historical culture as a key element of its curriculum (Hyslop, 2008). Unlike countries that employ history curriculum to promote national identity, there is no specific publication for Scottish history (Phillips et al., 1999), nor is

there a school subject specifically called Scottish History. Instead, it is named People, Past Events and Societies, and it focuses on exploring evidence, places and artefacts (Bryce et al., 2013). In other words, history education is not treated as a key factor in consolidating the bond between individuals and Scotland to invoke Scottish identity. Furthermore, while discussing political issues, the general descriptions of local, national and global are commonly utilised. Scotland rather than the UK is emphasised as the national unit, although there are few national referents or appeals to the sense of Scottishness (Leith, 2010).

Nevertheless, education has been employed to define Scotland as a vibrant and distinctive nation. Research indicates that education has been used to provide a solid foundation for the construction of Scottish identity (Arnott & Menter, 2007; Munn & Arnott, 2009). During the period between 1999 and 2007, when the Labour Party was in power, the common themes in education policy in Scotland and England were choice, privatisation and standards (Croxford & Raffe, 2007). The situation changed after 2007, when the Labour Party no longer enjoyed the power it used to have in Scotland. Committed to the discourse of an independent nation, the SNP government has heavily relied on school education to advance students' identification with an inclusive and forward-looking Scotland (Arnott & Ozga, 2010). To attract and retain international migrants, the discourses of inclusion and opportunities have been promoted in educational settings, suggesting that Scotland is a fair and inclusive place (Ozga, 2017). The distinctiveness of Scotland is also reflected in how attitudes towards PISA have been altered. Traditionally, politicians used to rely on PISA results to draw an inter-UK comparison between the four home nations. However, since 2007, when the SNP formed its first minority government in Scotland, PISA has served as a means of comparing Scotland with similarly sized states to reinforce the distinctiveness of Scotland (Arnott & Ozga, 2016).

Although Scottish education has downplayed the role of the UK as a broader national unit, it is not immune to global concerns and perspectives (Munn & Arnott, 2009). It is argued that fostering global citizenship is an essential aim of Scottish education (Mackenzie et al., 2016; Swanson & Pashby, 2016). As "one of the most ambitious programmes for educational change ever undertaken in Scotland"

(Scottish Government, 2008, p.8), the *Curriculum for Excellence* (CfE) clearly states that Scottish pupils are expected to become responsible citizens and effective contributors in a globalised society. Guided by UNICEF and the SDGs, global citizenship has been embedded as a key theme across the experiences and outcomes of the CfE. The achievement of the SDGs relies on the realisation of child rights. The importance of respecting human rights is particularly recognised to encourage pupils' understanding of the wider world and active participation in the global community.

We respect, protect and fulfil human rights and live free from discrimination; we grow up loved, safe and respected so that we realise our full potential; we are well educated, skilled and able to contribute to society; we are open, connected and make a positive contribution internationally (Scottish Government, 2018).

Specifically, Scottish education dedicates a portion of students' time to the Rights Respecting Schools Award (RRSA), which is a program initiated by UNICEF UK in 2004 with the aim of putting children's rights at the heart of schools in the UK. Schools are eligible for the award if four criteria are met: "Rights-respecting values underpin leadership and management; the whole school community learns about the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC); the school has a rights-respecting ethos; children are empowered to become active citizens and learners" (UNICEF UK, 2014). It has been reported that implementation of the RRSA and the introduction of the CRC into schools have led to children's realisation of their rights, which could benefit their commitment to the wider world (Sebba & Robinson, 2009).

Global citizenship education is promoted through an interdisciplinary approach (Daniels, 2018). Without applying a British dimension, it aims to construct direct links between Scotland and the world, developing students' knowledge and understanding of the world and Scotland as a significant part of it (Hillis, 2007). In this regard, Scottish identity and global identity are promoted by the Scottish government as being compatible with each other.

In academic research, considerable attention has been devoted to considering whether people regard themselves as Scottish or British, or whether they see

being Scottish as prior or subordinate to being British (Kiely et al., 2005; McCrone, 2002). Fewer studies are conducted to explore the global attitudes of Scottish people. In addition, although various studies have explored Scottish nationalism and global concerns as they are reflected in official discourses, the perspectives of various stakeholders within educational settings have largely been neglected.

3.4 Contextual comparisons

The aim of the present study is to compare how the relationship between national identity education and global identity education is balanced in schools in Mainland China and Scotland. It is therefore vital to paint a clear picture of both locations' contexts, as "concern with context penetrates to the heart of comparative education" (Crossley, 2009, p.1173). The examination of national identity, global identity and their manifestations in educational settings not only familiarises me with the two national contexts but provides rich information on the environments that have shaped schools' practices. Based on the literature reviewed in the previous sections of this chapter, this section seeks to provide a preliminary comparison of Mainland China and Scotland.

The past few decades have witnessed a resurgence of interest in discourses of Chinese nationalism and Scottish nationalism. The meanings and consequences of national identity in Mainland China and Scotland have frequently interested scholars from various fields, such as economics, sociology, philosophy and political science. However, as a result of the multiple meanings of 'nation', terminological confusion exists in each of the two national contexts. In the Chinese language, distinctions between nation and country or state are rarely made, making the concept of nation an inclusive landscape that incorporates the meanings of country, state, government and party. In other words, the Chinese nation, China, the Chinese government and the CPC are often used interchangeably and rarely differentiated from each other. This leaves considerable space for discussion on what exactly the Chinese nation is, as well as what key elements of the Chinese nation should be identified with. In Scotland, 'nation' can be seen as having dualistic meanings, referring to either Scotland or the UK. Accordingly, people in Scotland are able to claim both Scottish identity

and British identity as their national identities. Neither Scottish identity nor British identity are constructed in a vacuum, but are to a large extent shaped by the societal environment. Not only should Scottish identity and British identity be explored in depth respectively, but the relationship between Scottish identity and British identity are also worthy of attention.

The power of globalisation to transcend national borders has made human activities increasingly interconnected and interdependent. Neither China nor Scotland is an exception. Faced with the challenge that globalisation presents to their legitimacy as the key sites of individuals' attachment and identification, China and Scotland are trying to promote national consciousness. In Mainland China, people are greatly influenced by national glory and trauma. The traditional Sino-centric worldview, which considers China to be the most civilised and culturally advanced country, provides a solid foundation for Chinese people's national confidence and pride. The century of humiliation makes Chinese people constantly anxious about lagging behind and gives them a desire to be accepted by other countries. Since Xi Jinping became the General Secretary of the CPC at the 18th Party Congress in 2012, *Core Socialist Values* propaganda has not only characterised China's development under the CPC's leadership, but has called on individuals to rejuvenate the Chinese nation to make it strong and prosperous. Scotland, given the current political system in which it is situated, is a sub-state nation within the unitary British state. However, it used to be an independent nation-state prior to 1707, when a political union with England was constructed. The national consciousness of an independent nation is historically implanted in Scotland. In the era of globalisation, through framing itself as an inclusive nation that is different from England, Scotland is trying to reinforce its national distinctiveness. Furthermore, through building direct links with the global world without the British dimension as an intermediary, the voices that favour achieving Scottish independence are always expressed.

As Banks (2004b) proposes, "Unity without diversity results in cultural repression and hegemony. Diversity without unity leads to Balkanization and the fracturing of the nation-state" (p.298). Balancing the relationship between unity and diversity is a continuing challenge for nation-states in an era of globalisation

(Banks et al., 2005). For Mainland China and Scotland, an important task is to balance the relationship between the demands of national consciousness and a new call for global citizenship. In Mainland China, advancing a distinctive Chinese identity has been promoted by the patriotic education campaign, which was officially launched in the early 1990s. Patriotic education has been carried out at full scale, demanding that educational institutions foster patriotic sentiment through formal, informal and hidden curricula. The interest in global citizenship education has intensified since early 2000s, when China started to undergo its systematic economic and social transformation. The tensions between Chinese identity and global identity, which have constantly been a key concern of Chinese education, have been exacerbated by the dissemination of *Socialist Core Values*. Conflicts are evident in educational settings in terms of what kind of citizen should be cultivated and what kind of identity should be constructed (Chong, 2016). British identity is of less concern to Scottish education. On the other hand, Scottish identity has had importance attached to it, and it is implicitly advanced through education. Regarded as an essential element of Scottish education, global citizenship education has been conducted with the aim of equipping students with global perspectives, as well as with an understanding of Scotland as a vibrant and inclusive nation within the world. Specifically, Scotland has implemented the RRSA and introduced the CRC into schools, recognising that students' understanding of the world and active engagement in the global community is impossible unless their rights and voices are respected. It seems that Scottish identity and global identity are promoted compatibly in Scottish education, while the precise nature of the relationship between the two identities is yet to be discussed. In addition, it is interesting to see how Scotland responds to the tensions between Scottish identity and British identity.

Being similar in their awareness of the need to broaden the scope of citizenship education to include both national and global components, Mainland China and Scotland differ in terms of how school education is managed. Although the Chinese education system is supposed to be one that embodies a mixture of centralisation and decentralisation (Bray, 1999; Hanson, 1998), "Control over the content of schooling is usually one of the last areas that central authorities are willing to decentralize" (Bjork, 2007, p.35). Scottish education has a fairly

flexible curriculum, which offers schools and teachers a relatively high degree of autonomy. These different education management styles inevitably impact the approaches to national identity education and global identity education that are adopted in the two national contexts, and they make the levels of school and individual teacher additionally important.

In general, the construction of national identity and global identity has, to different extents, been the concerns of schools in Mainland China and Scotland. Many studies dealing with national identity education and global identity education have been conducted in both nations, but most commonly at the policy level. The enacted curriculum in school settings, and the extent to which it is at odds with particular political standpoint remains a gap in the scholarly understanding, which this study aims to bridge.

Chapter Four Methodology

This chapter illustrates how the research questions are addressed in this study. It begins with a discussion of the ontological and epistemological stances underpinning this study, followed by an explanation of how the case study methodological approach was adopted. The research instruments used in the study are then introduced, along with the data collection procedures. It goes on to describe the data management and data analysis process. Finally, the ethical considerations and validity issues arising from the research process are addressed.

4.1 Ontological and epistemological stances

A research paradigm, which is “a perspective about research held by a community of researchers that is based on a set of shared assumptions, concepts, values and practices”(Johnson & Christensen, 2012), represents a worldview that defines the nature of reality and how it is understood. Summarised as distinctive responses to ontological, epistemological and methodological questions (Guba & Lincoln, 1994), competing paradigms make particular demands on researchers (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). The study aligns itself with a constructivist paradigm.

First, in intending to understand “the world of human experience” (Cohen & Manion, 1994, p.36), a constructivist paradigm assumes a relativist ontology, which treats reality not as static or fixed, but as a construction in the minds of individuals (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). As “situated activities” (Guba & Lincoln, 1989, p.71), realities to a great extent are constrained by individuals’ backgrounds and experience. Consequently, realities are multiple; no matter whether they are shared and represented as “disciplined constructions” or conflicting with each other (Guba & Lincoln, 1989, p.71), all are meaningful. As illustrated in Section 2.1.1, although the concept of identity is hotly contested, there is an agreement that identity refers to how an individual defines himself or herself within a social environment. Identity is not formed in a vacuum, but through a dynamic process of interaction and negotiation open to economic, political, cultural and social influences. National identity and global identity are capable of changing in varying contexts and can be interpreted differently by individuals.

Second, a constructivist paradigm acknowledges a subjectivist epistemology, which regards the relationship between researcher and respondents as interactively linked (Morgan & Smircich, 1980; Smith, 1983). As research proceeds, findings are created accordingly (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). In exploring national identity education and global identity education in the two contexts dealt with in this study, the researcher-respondent relationship was carefully characterised by trust and collaboration (Manning, 1997). The subjectivities of the respondents and myself as the researcher were taken into consideration. I am fully aware that the respondents' perceptions of national identity and global identity were co-shaped by their backgrounds and the particular contexts in which the study was conducted, and hence could be framed differently by other researchers in different settings. In addition, guided by its specific research aims and questions, this study is constructed by my own background and interpretations, which are influenced by my previous experience. In the Chinese context where I was educated, much attention was paid to unique approaches to cultivating patriotic individuals, as the previous chapter demonstrated. At the start of my fieldwork in Scotland, my unfamiliarity with its education systems made me unconsciously look for similar approaches to national identity education, which to a certain extent contributed to my research bias. However, as the study proceeded, based on my growing knowledge of Scottish education and my interactions with my research, my prior assumptions were gradually transformed. Therefore, my revised subjectivity could be regarded as "a producer and a product" of the study (Creswell, 2007, p.213).

Framed by a relativist ontology and a subjectivist epistemology, this study adopts a qualitative approach to investigate the issues of national identity and global identity in school contexts. As illustrated in Sections 2.2.2 and 2.3.3, both quantitative and qualitative approaches have been used in exploring national identity education and global identity education. Quantitative studies, despite being assumed to be effective in assessing the attitudes of various populations, have been criticised for overlooking context information and for being incapable of explaining what people mean by different categories and the decision-making processes in which they have been involved (Bond & Rosie, 2010; Kiely et al.,

2005). Therefore, to arrive at in-depth insights on individuals' claims of national identity and global identity, qualitative approaches are worthy of exploration.

Situated in the fields of citizenship education and comparative education, this study has no intention of measuring how strongly official education promotes senses of national identity and global identity, nor of assessing how strongly respondents identify themselves as members of their respective nations or the global community. Instead, this study aims to achieve a holistic and comprehensive exploration of national identity education and global identity education in the Chinese and Scottish contexts. Rather than reporting findings arrived at by any means of quantification (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998), the study attempts to interpret the meanings that individuals in school settings bring to national identity education and global identity education (as in Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Therefore, a qualitative approach best suits the landscape of this study.

4.2 Case study methodology

Multiple methodologies have been adopted in qualitative studies. It has been argued that the actual suitability of a research methodology derives from the nature of the phenomenon being investigated (Morgan & Smircich, 1980). Likewise, in the context of this study, the choice of case study methodology was made in accordance with the nature of the research problem. In this section, the case study methodology will be explained with reference to its appropriateness and applications to this study.

4.2.1 Comparative case study

As is persuasively argued by Yin (2009), the type of research questions, the extent of control that a research project has over actual events and the degree of focus on contemporary events that it takes ought to be considered when choosing a research methodology. The justifications for using a case study primarily derive from the statement that the study aims to explore how national identity education and global identity education are promoted in the Chinese and Scottish contexts, which is a 'how' question that a case study approach lends itself well to addressing (Crowe et al., 2011). Second, this study examines the words and

behaviours of respondents, as well as events that are investigated within natural, real-life contexts without being manipulated by me as the researcher (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998; Yin, 2009, 2011). Third, although background information on national identity education and global identity education is relied on, the objective is to add more evidence to achieve an in-depth understanding of the contemporary education phenomena in the two contexts (Yin, 2009). In addition, national identity education and global identity education, as education phenomena, occur in particular times and spaces (Stenhouse, 1979), and thus can never be fully understood and compared without examination of the specific contexts in which they are set. In contrast with other methodologies, which have less or no awareness of contextual information, a case study is argued by its defenders to be advantaged in achieving a holistic view of phenomena and contexts (Gummesson, 2000; Stake, 2008). Therefore, to achieve a holistic understanding of the education phenomena under examination, a case study was identified as the most suitable methodological approach.

Research questions that are informed by an understanding of the existing literature, theoretical issues and settings are important in defining the case (Crowe et al., 2011), the case being my “unit of analysis” (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p.25). The overarching aim of this study is to explore how national identity education and global identity education are promoted in schools in Mainland China and Scotland. In the existing literature, considerable attention has been devoted to considering how Chinese and Scottish education respond to the tensions between national consciousness and global concerns at the policy level, while the perspectives of education stakeholders in school settings have largely been neglected. As discussed in Section 3.4, the different education management styles in Mainland China and Scotland impact the practice of national identity education and global identity education in schools; this makes the school level important, although it has yet to be investigated. Therefore, to explore how senses of national identity and global identity are promoted through school education in Mainland China and Scotland, the unit of a school was identified as the most appropriate in this study.

To illuminate how the case is understood in this study, some shortcomings of traditional approaches to defining a case should be noted. First, there is a tendency to define a case as place, which blurs the boundaries between case and context (Ragin, 1992). In doing so, the place-based elements would be of central interest to the research, which runs the risk of overlooking other factors relevant to the phenomenon. Second, traditional studies, represented by the work of Stake (1995), Merriam (1998) and Yin (2011), are likely to view a case as a bounded system, which inevitably predefines variables and relationships, while precluding other influences in the interactive process. In this study, a school is understood as a complex functioning unit rather than as a static system. Instead of being viewed merely as a place to conduct fieldwork, a school is regarded as the structure and process that shapes national identity education and global identity education in a particular context. Educational philosophies and practices, the voices of stakeholders and other relevant factors to a school will be explored to achieve an in-depth understanding of the education phenomena.

To be more specific, this research adopts a comparative case study (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017b), which was initially dubbed a vertical case study (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2014; Vavrus & Bartlett, 2006), as its methodology. The approach was created and exemplified by Bartlett and Vavrus (2014) to explore the Learner Centred Pedagogy in Tanzania (p.136, shown in Figure 4.1). A comprehensive explanation of their work is beyond the scope of the present study. However, their study suggests that it is essential to clarify that the comparative case study approach incorporates horizontal, vertical and transversal comparisons. First, the horizontal axis compares how similar policies or phenomena are manifested in varying locations. It conducts comparisons not only between cases, but also between the influences that shape cases. Second, the vertical axis pays attention to the influences across different levels, including the micro-, meso- and macro-levels. Third, the transversal axis insists on connecting the horizontal elements and the vertical scales to explore how policies or phenomena have changed over time (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2014, 2017a).

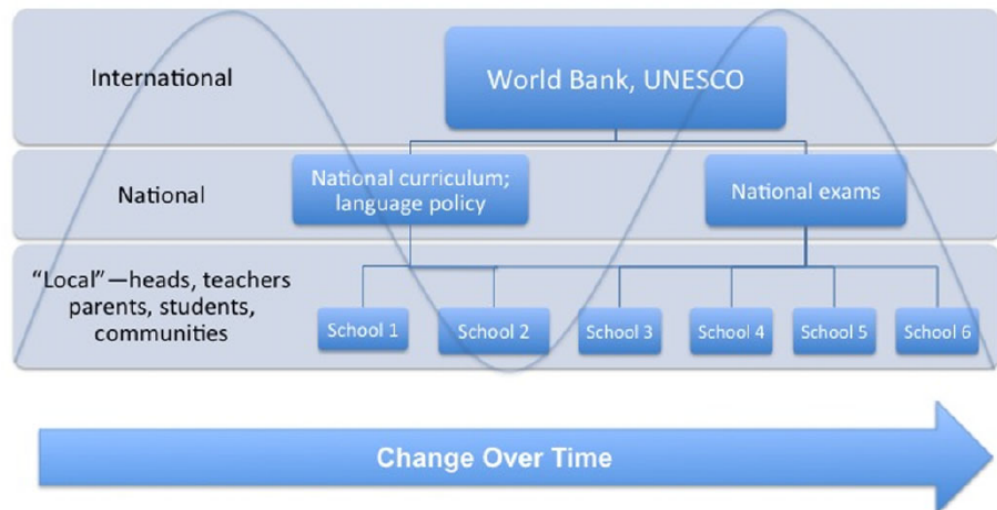


Figure 4.1 *An Example of the Comparative Case Study Approach (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2014, p.136)*

Adopting a comparative case study approach, this study conducted comparisons across three axes. First, a horizontal comparison was conducted across case schools in Mainland China and Scotland to explore how national identity education and global identity education are framed in different locations. Second, as “nested or embedded comparisons” are involved in a horizontal perspective (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017b, p.52), a vertical analysis was conducted across scales. The activities and individuals that have shaped the intended curriculum, implemented curriculum and attained curriculum were carefully considered, with the aim of exploring how different respondents experienced and interpreted national identity and global identity in the context of schooling. Furthermore, a transversal perspective was brought into the research since contemporary social phenomena all have historical roots (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017a). In particular, adult respondents were asked to reflect on the education policies and practices they had experienced, which can contribute to the knowledge of how national identity education and global identity education have changed over time.

In terms of national identity education and global identity education in the case schools, I would like to tell the whole story but certainly cannot, as it exceeds my knowing and telling (Stake, 2003). The comparative case study conducted in this research aims to understand the particular case schools rather than offering

results that are generalisable to other settings. However, this is not to say that they do not represent a clear contribution to the knowledge on national identity education and global identity education. As a qualitative study, this research has no intention to achieve statistical generalisability. I am less interested in generalising the findings to other cases than I am in making conclusions that are specific to this study. However, I have no doubt that the theoretical insights arising from the whole process of the study could be transferable to other times and places (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017b).

4.2.2 Selecting the case schools

As a unique aspect and challenge of case study approaches (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Stake, 2003), the selection of cases to study was carefully considered. Research indicates that many important cultural and political sentiments that adults hold have roots in their early years (Coles, 1986). In early adulthood, through experiencing a variety of social interactions, children become increasingly aware of the wider context in which they are set and develop considerable skills. Therefore, primary school, which can exert significant influence on children's early development, was determined as the general type of school to select for the cases. Subsequently, the question of the number of cases to include was considered (Small, 2009). To facilitate comparison between the cases, as well as an in-depth understanding of each case (Meyer, 2001), Phoenix Primary School and St Andrews Primary School (pseudonyms) were identified as the case schools¹ in the Chinese and Scottish contexts respectively.

Founded in 1948, Phoenix Primary School comprises four campuses. The main campus, where the fieldwork was conducted, has 157 members of staff, 1,662 students and in excess of 40 classes taught from Grades One to Six, with an average class size of 40. Under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education of the PRC, the school focuses on seven national curriculum areas: Chinese, Mathematics, English, Morality and the Rule of Law, Art, Music and Physics. Following the national curriculum framework to conduct teaching and learning activities, the

¹ The information of the case schools provided in this section is summarised based on the data gathered from the schools' websites, the interviews with teachers and the focus groups conducted with students.

school has limited freedom to develop its school-level curriculum. Each teacher is responsible for one subject area.

Founded in 1976, St Andrews Primary School is a non-denominational school. Serving one of Glasgow's city centre communities, the school has 25 members of staff, 220 students and 10 classes taught from Grades One to Seven, with an average class size of 22. The school is committed to the principles of the CfE and provides a broad general education with eight curriculum areas: Expressive Arts, Health and Wellbeing, Languages, Mathematics, Religious and Moral Education, Sciences, Social Sciences and Technologies. Due to the flexibility of the Scottish education system, the school tries to meet the requirements of the CfE, but in their own way and with their own resources to meet local needs. With the exception of the teachers who deliver special nurture and language help, class teachers are responsible for teaching all curriculum areas to a specific level or grade.

The selection of the two schools was not random, but took the following factors into account. Practicability was the first consideration. Phoenix Primary School and St Andrews Primary School are respectively located in Changchun, which is the city in which I grew up and was educated, and Glasgow, where I have been studying for my PhD degree. The obvious convenience of the school being a short walk from my home and office not only freed me from having to spend a lot of time commuting, but also helped me build an insider's perspective due to my familiarity with both schools' locations. Access to schools was the second key factor considered, as the researcher needs to know the sites and to work cooperatively with them (Crowe et al., 2011). As a former student of Phoenix Primary School, I had personal relationships with some of the teachers, and therefore it was assumed that my access to people, activities and resources would be favourable. In addition, the school's emphasis on developing different levels of students' social identity could facilitate the ideas and sentiments regarding identity development liable to be explored. My second supervisor (Dr Alan Britton at the time) had a pre-existing relationship with the head teacher of St Andrews Primary School, and therefore was familiar with the educational philosophy and

practice promoted in the school, which ensured that I could favourably collect the related data in the fieldwork.

Phoenix Primary School and St Andrews Primary School were deemed appropriate as the case schools based on two equivalences they share. First, both of them are public schools that follow the national curriculum frameworks. They are shaped and influenced by their respective national economic, political, cultural and social environments, and can therefore provide perspectives to understand the wider picture of Mainland China and Scotland. Second, both schools' values were determined under the distinctive leadership of their present head teachers. Previously employed as the head of the Faculty of Education at the university that Phoenix Primary School is attached to, the present head teacher joined the school in 2014 and has exerted a profound influence on transforming the school's philosophy. Influenced by his personal research interest in educational philosophy, he has promoted *Free-spirited education* as the school's key value, which advocates protecting children's nature, respecting children's uniqueness, and cultivating children's social consciousness. Joining St Andrews Primary School in 2007, the present head teacher felt that it was essential to have straightforward and agreed values replacing the previous wordy mission statement to reflect the work of the school. By taking the multicultural community within the school into consideration, the present school philosophy, *Respect, Nurture, Empower, Achieve*, was arrived at through a process of consultation with parents, students and teachers. In summary, this study wants to explore how the two case schools under the guidance of their respective national curricula and the distinctive leadership of their head teachers conduct national identity education and global identity education.

It cannot be denied that neither Phoenix Primary School nor St Andrews Primary School is typical. First, it must be acknowledged that neither Phoenix Primary School nor St Andrews Primary School can be said to represent all schools within their national contexts (as, indeed, no single school can). They are shaped not only by their nations, but also by their local communities. Phoenix Primary School is located in an area where the culture of the Han people, which is the majority ethnic group in China, is dominant. Consequently, the stakeholders within the

school are likely to have different perceptions of Chinese identity from individuals living in ethnic minority regions. St Andrews Primary School has an international flavour, with children from many different countries and over 20 languages spoken on campus. Alongside an Arabic group, which forms the largest ethnic minority group, the school has a big Chinese demographic and a growing Indian contingency, while the Scottish local group only accounts for 30% of the whole student body. The students' studies and life experiences might therefore be different from those of students who are living in relatively homogenous communities. Second, in terms of students' family backgrounds, both schools are unusual in certain aspects. Phoenix Primary School is attached to a university, and half of its students come from university staff families and have international study or travel experience. This indicates that the students may have a higher standard of living than the norm. Conversely, in St Andrews Primary School, there is a large group of students who come from disadvantaged families, where the parents do not have post-secondary education experiences. Because of the studying or working status of the students' parents, the school also has high student turnover rate. Third, regarding students' educational achievement, neither of the case schools is representative of the national averages. Phoenix Primary School is a renowned one with a great reputation at home and abroad. Because of its outstanding achievements in quality education and comprehensive innovation, the school has achieved a strong reputation in its region and is praised by staff as "an example of basic education in Jilin province" and "a pearl of basic education in China". St Andrews Primary School, although it continues to provide a broad range of opportunities for individual students' development, is still struggling to raise attainment and close the achievement gap.

To sum up, Phoenix Primary School and St Andrews Primary School are not typical schools in their respective contexts, and the findings generated from the two schools cannot be generalised to draw a comprehensive comparison between Mainland China and Scotland. As stated in Section 4.2.1, statistical generalisability is not the concern of this study. Instead, it aims to explore national identity education and global identity education in the two case schools. Therefore, the typicality of the schools does not threaten the trustworthiness of

the findings. However, the findings generated from each school will need to be analysed in the light of the particular characteristics of the cases.

4.2.3 Entering the case schools

Access to the case schools commenced after the College of Social Sciences Ethics Committee in the University of Glasgow had granted me full ethical approval. The fieldwork in Mainland China was conducted first at the beginning of 2018 and consisted of a two-month presence on the school site. Permission to conduct fieldwork in Phoenix Primary School was granted through an e-mail exchange with the head teacher, who directed the information about my study further to the deputy head teacher. The next week, I went to the school and talked with the deputy head teacher about the details of the study, including its research purposes and questions, the methods to be used, the selection criteria for teachers and students, as well as the possible benefits and risks. At the end of the meeting, we agreed on a proposed schedule for the fieldwork and I was issued a Visitor Pass, which granted me access to the school during working hours. After two weeks of processing, I was informed of a finalised fieldwork schedule stating the locations, time and respondents. I am grateful for the deputy head teacher's highly efficient work, which not only minimised the potential disruption I caused to the school, but also freed me from the tricky work of contacting teachers and students. There were no difficulties in accessing activities and facilities in the school because of my familiarity with it. All the people I encountered, including the head teacher, deputy head teacher, teachers and students, were very kind and cooperative throughout the whole process of my fieldwork, especially as they knew me as a former student of the school.

Access to St Andrews Primary School presented some difficulties because of my irregular contact with the head teacher. Permission to conduct fieldwork on the school site was granted during an email exchange between my second supervisor (Dr Alan Britton at the time) and the head teacher in August 2018. However, my initial visit to the school was not arranged until late October with the help of a staff member in the School of Education at the University of Glasgow. In my first meeting with the head teacher, I provided a proposed plan stating the details of

the study and the fieldwork needs. The head teacher was very supportive and immediately arranged interviews and observations for the following week. However, as there was no regular response to my enquiry for further schedules, the fieldwork was suspended for two months until the end of Christmas holidays. Fortunately, the contact with the head teacher resumed afterwards, and data collection resumed without disruption until it was finished at the end of February 2019. Ultimately, my fieldwork in St Andrews Primary School lasted nearly half a year, which was much longer than I had expected. Even so, I by no means question the support that the school provided to me, as I was always made to feel welcome. I highly appreciate all the individuals' participation and help, especially the head teacher's, who actively arranged my fieldwork within and outside the school, even in the midst of a busy schedule and the pain of a death in her family. The relatively long duration of the fieldwork also equipped me with patience and the time to reflect on my knowledge of Scottish education.

4.3 Research methods and data collection

A distinguishing feature of case study methodology is that multiple data collection methods and sources of evidences are relied upon to achieve an in-depth understanding of a phenomenon (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Eisenhardt, 1989; Tellis, 1997). As discussed in Section 2.4.2, a more refined typology is applied to guide the research questions. As shown in Table 4.1, to reflect the actual line of inquiry in the fieldwork (Yin, 2009), document analysis, semi-structured interviews, non-participant observations and focus groups were identified as the main research methods. The aim of using these methods was not only to get access to relevant evidence but also to serve as a means of triangulation (Stake, 2003). Following the sequence in which they were used, this section will discuss the methods in terms of their appropriateness and applications.

Table 4.1 *Research Methods Adopted in the Research*

Curriculum level	Detailed typology	Explanation	Research methods
Intended curriculum	Ideal curriculum	Rationale or basic philosophy underlying national identity education and global identity education	Semi-structured interviews with education policy experts
	Written curriculum	Intentions regarding national identity education and global identity education as specified in the curriculum standards, textbooks and teaching materials	Document analysis of curriculum standards, textbooks and teaching materials
Implemented curriculum	Perceived curriculum	National identity education and global identity education interpreted by teachers	Semi-structured interviews with teachers
	Operational curriculum	Actual process of national identity education and global identity education	Semi-structured interviews with teachers; Non-participant observations of related activities and school environment
Attained curriculum	Experiential curriculum	National identity education and global identity education experienced by students	Focus groups with students
	Learned curriculum	Students' understandings of national identity and global identity	

4.3.1 Document analysis

Document analysis, as one of the research methods applicable to qualitative case studies, was adopted in this study to serve particular purposes. The appropriateness of document analysis primarily lies in its role in addressing specific research questions. More than a simple container of meaning, a document can indicate the decision-making process underlying how it is produced, in what style, and for what purpose and audience (Miller & Alvarado, 2005). To

understand how national identity education and global identity education are officially intended, an education document is worthy of attention. Second, as “social facts” (Atkinson & Coffey, 1997, p.47), documents to a certain extent can reflect the social circumstances in which they are produced and used. Documents not only enabled me to understand national identity education and global identity education in both contexts, but also suggested questions that needed to be asked in the fieldwork (Bowen, 2009). Last but not least, document analysis can be used as a means of triangulation (Connell et al., 2001; Yin, 2009). If there is a contradiction between the evidence from a document and other sources, further investigation is necessary.

As Apple (1990) persuasively argues, school curriculum is “inherently ideological and political” (p.vii) and is therefore likely to transmit powerful messages to children about their identities. Curriculum standards and textbooks, which define legitimate knowledge and desirable social attributes (Bromley, 2009), are appropriate types of document through which to understand official intentions. Although they have received relatively little attention from scholars, school level documents are significant records of an institution itself, providing detailed information of educational philosophies and practices promoted on campus (Cohen et al., 2011). Consequently, they were targeted in this study (see Appendix F for the documents collected in the fieldwork).

Access to textbooks presented some difficulties in the Chinese context. As assistants in bookshops informed me, textbooks are provided to schools by the government at the beginning of each semester, and are therefore no longer available for sale in the market. The electronic versions of textbooks are available online, but cannot be downloaded by individual users due to copyright restrictions. Fortunately, with the help of the deputy head teacher, a set of textbooks was finally provided for free by the school, which also provided me with reports on the school activities and examples of the students’ work. The curriculum standards of related subjects and basic information of the school were gathered online. However, teaching in the Scottish context is less reliant on textbooks than it is on teachers’ autonomy. No government issued textbook as told was used in St Andrews Primary School. Therefore, I instead focused on the principles and

practices documents of the CfE, which serve as the roadmap for teachers to design and develop corresponding work.

Treating documents collected in the fieldwork as an important source of evidence (Corbin & Strauss, 2008), I focused on how senses of national identity and global identity are elicited. However, I am fully aware that the content, which has been created completely independently of the researcher (unlike interview or focus group data) (Bowen, 2009), has been recorded for specific purposes and may contain elements of spin (Atkinson & Coffey, 1997; Bowen, 2009). Therefore, to achieve a comprehensive understanding of their intentions, the perspectives of policy makers need to be explored.

4.3.2 Semi-structured interviews

Interviews, as a suitable method to study individuals' perceptions and the ways individuals make sense of their personal experience, were used in the study (Barriball & While, 1994). The appropriateness of interviews lies in its advantage as a format in addressing the research questions and allowing both the verbal and non-verbal reactions of respondents to be recorded (Hiller & DiLuzio, 2004), which can enrich the meaning of what is expressed. It was the semi-structured interview that was specifically employed in the study. One advantage of the semi-structured interview is that it allows topics and themes closely related to the research questions to be asked (Rabionet, 2011). Another is that it provides respondents with more space to express themselves. Based on their responses, follow-up questions can be improvised (Rubin & Rubin, 2004). The respondents were selected through purposive sampling (Robinson, 2014) and convenience sampling (Etikan et al., 2016; see Appendix G for information about the respondents). The interview guides were carefully designed, revised and tailored to each group of respondents (Adams, 2015; see Appendix A for the semi-structured interviews guides). All the interviews were audio recorded with the respondents' consent.

4.3.2.1 Semi-structured interviews with policy experts

While examining documents certainly contributed to my understanding of how national identity education and global identity education were intended in written forms, it could not be over-relied on given its obvious limitations. First, the evidence gathered from the documents was mediated by my interpretation and confined by my knowledge and experience of both contexts (Cohen et al., 2011). Second, the documents provided limited information on how policies were created. Therefore, with the aim of deeply exploring the philosophy and policy-making process underlying national identity education and global identity education, conducting interviews with policy experts was essential.

The difficulty of getting access to policy experts was never underestimated, since I was fully aware of what busy schedules they commonly have. Therefore, targeted respondents were selected by identifying the individuals either directly involved in, or indirectly consulted in, making education policies regarding national identity and global identity. Nevertheless, the study still encountered various difficulties in recruiting respondents in the Chinese context. The first two proposed individuals were unsuccessfully engaged; one was unable to be interviewed due to her retirement, and the other withdrew from the research without giving any reason after being provided with the interview guide. Finally, Wen (pseudonym), who had been leading the citizenship education course in the university where I pursued my bachelor's and master's degrees, agreed to participate in the study. As one of the most influential researchers in the fields of moral education and citizenship education in China, Wen had been consulted by the government in compiling related curriculum standards and textbooks, and was therefore identified as an appropriate respondent. Conversely, establishing contact with policy experts in Scotland was easier than I had expected. James (pseudonym), who is responsible for sustainability and citizenship in Education Scotland, was identified and contacted for consent to participate in the study by my second supervisor (Dr Alan Britton at the time). Grace (pseudonym), who works in a not-for-profit educational institution dedicated to supporting educators to deliver global citizenship education, was recommended by the head

teacher of St Andrews Primary School, and she readily consented to participate in the study.

To ensure equivalence, the interview questions prepared for policy experts in Mainland China and Scotland were generally the same, while remaining open to adjustment and localisation in terms of the wording of questions and the specific topics arising from fieldwork in the case schools. The interview guides were provided to respondents in advance to review and prepare in case of discomfort. The respondents were also informed that they had a great deal of leeway in how to reply and that they could raise any topics they thought were relevant. In arranging the interviews, I adapted myself to the preferences of the respondents. The interviews were conducted in a public park and offices in the respondents' workplaces, offering the respondents a sense of comfort and convenience (Herzog, 2005). These locations were deemed appropriate as interruptions could be managed or minimised. With the generous cooperation of the respondents, each interview lasted about one and a half hours, which was much longer than I had expected.

In each interview, prior to the formal questions listed on the interview guides, some basic information was provided by both the respondent and me, including education background and current study or working experience; this was a way of warming up and building trust (Jacob & Furgerson, 2012). Although the interviews aimed to determine how education policies regarding national identity and global identity were created, the respondents' personal standpoints were explored as well. The rationale for doing so was that the respondents' interpretations of related policies were shaped by their backgrounds and experience.

Since the study is situated in the field of comparative education, comparisons should also be made between the ways in which the data was generated. The way in which Wen responded to the questions and phrased his answers, which can be found in Chapter Five, was distinct from the ways that James and Grace responded. The conversations with James and Grace were more straightforward, while Wen commonly beat around the bush without providing direct answers to the questions. This reflected his personal way of communication, while to a

certain extent it might also indicate that some of the research topics were sensitive in Mainland China. He was probably choosing to express his personal point of view in a way that made him feel safe and comfortable. I by no means thought the richness of the information was sacrificed as a result, since the way he responded in the interview provided valuable data beyond what words could generate.

4.3.2.2 Semi-structured interviews with teachers

The examination of related documents and the interviews with policy experts generated valuable information, but relying exclusively on these methods would privilege a top-down view of education that fails to engage with the actual teaching and learning context (Cohen et al., 2011). Since teachers are likely to exert significant influence on students, there is a great possibility that the educational practices at the school and classroom levels may differ from official intentions. Although the role of school education in developing children's national identity has widely been discussed (Canessa, 2004; Jaskułowski et al., 2018; Van Peer, 2006), the specific influence that teachers' perceptions and practice might exert is far from clear. Therefore, it was deemed necessary to interview teachers to explore how national identity education and global identity education are implemented in Phoenix Primary School and St Andrews Primary School. To be more specific, the objective of the interviews was to explore teachers' perceptions of national identity and global identity, as well as their corresponding educational practices.

To access knowledgeable experts (Tongco, 2007), purposive sampling was used to select the people who were either responsible for managing the schools or who had related teaching experience of national identity and global identity. As deputy head teacher of Phoenix Primary School, Yongshan (pseudonym) volunteered without being asked as an appropriate respondent to be interviewed given her experience in managing the school. In addition, bearing the selection criteria of respondents in mind, she assigned 19 teachers to me directly, which she stated would be convenient and efficient for both of us. However, I am fully aware that having teachers assigned to me in this way ran the risk of sacrificing

other teachers' voices being heard, which may pose a threat to variability of the data generated from the interviews with teachers (Acharya et al., 2013). Therefore, the findings generated from the data should not be generalised beyond the sample of teachers. In St Andrews Primary School, access to respondents followed similar procedures, but involved much more time and effort. It is noteworthy that the school was comparably small in scale. Teaching and supporting staff members had close contact with students and were therefore all assumed to be influential in constructing students' social identities. Under the arrangement of Alisa (pseudonym), who was the head teacher of St Andrews Primary School, five more teachers who had expressed interest in my research agreed to participate in the study.

For the two schools, the prepared interview questions exploring teachers' perceptions and practice of national identity and global identity were generally the same. Some questions were slightly revised to meet local needs or added to in order to clarify issues arising from school observations. Prior to the interviews, the respondents were provided with the interview guides and informed that the actual questions may vary. In Phoenix Primary School, as explained in Section 4.2.3, a detailed interview schedule indicating respondents, locations and time of interviews was assigned to me directly before the commencement of the fieldwork. All I had to prepare was to familiarise myself with the different rooms to avoid getting lost on campus. Since no specific interview locations were pre-determined in St Andrews Primary School, I was asked to wait in the visitor room in advance of each interview.

The interviews with the (deputy) head teachers were conducted first in both schools. The advantage of doing this was that a general understanding of the schools could be achieved and then applied to guide the further fieldwork on campus. On average, the interviews with the (deputy) head teachers lasted one and a half hours, while those with teachers took less than 40 minutes due to the teachers' busy class schedules. In Phoenix Primary School, the length of some teachers' interviews was curtailed because I had to make it to my next scheduled interviews in different buildings. In St Andrews Primary School, some interviews with teachers took less time than expected as well, partly because teachers

arrived late due to class issues. However, the quality of the interviews was not sacrificed. The teachers provided invaluable insights in the limited time and were consulted for further information after the interviews when we met on campus.

The interviews with teachers were slightly different from those with the policy experts because teachers may never have been involved in academic studies, either as researchers or subjects (Leech, 2002); consequently, some may have felt nervous. Instead of imposing the world of academia upon teachers, it is important to make them feel at ease (Fontana & Frey, 1994). Taking this into consideration, the interviews were carefully conducted with the aim of empowering teachers. First, through re-clarifying myself as a novice researcher who was interested in the educational philosophy and practices of the schools, a good rapport was established and maintained (Rabionet, 2011). As a way of building trust, teachers in Phoenix Primary School were also informed that I was a former student of the school. Second, the importance of clarity in questioning was fully acknowledged (Patton, 2015). In addition to adjusting questions according to the schools' situations and the subjects that each teacher taught (specifically at Phoenix Primary School), plain language was used in framing the questions with the aim of being comprehensible to the teachers (Kvale, 2007). Furthermore, teachers were provided with encouraging words to express their opinions as much as they could within the time allowed without being interrupted.

4.3.3 Non-participant observations

Observations were used to collect further research data for the following reasons. First, observation is suited to capturing "implicit meanings" (Lichterhan, 1998, p.402). The relevance of national identities to people's everyday lives tends to be implicit; it is not something that is commonly spoken about (McCrone & Bechhofer, 2010). It is hereby assumed that schools may advance national identity and global identity explicitly through the teaching of related subjects, and implicitly through hidden curriculum (Abril, 2012; Christou, 2007; Grosvenor, 1999; Guerrini, 2013). Observation was chosen because it could be helpful to explore how senses of national identity and global identity are promoted in unnoticed ways. Second, there might be potential incongruence between what teachers say they do and

what they really do (Mulhall, 2003; Robson, 2002). In addition to self-reported data, observation could serve as a reality check regarding the implementation of national identity education and global identity education in the case schools. The focus of the observation was to note down the phenomena and events relevant to the topics of nation, state and the global world (see Appendix C for the observation protocol form). It is noteworthy that the specific method adopted in the study was non-participant observation, in which my role was classified as that of a complete observer (Gold, 1958). Teachers and students in the case schools were informed in advance that they might be observed throughout the whole process of my fieldwork, and I promised to keep my intrusion to a minimum. Not only was this in adherence to the study's ethical concerns, which will be outlined in Section 4.5.1, but it also enabled me to obtain feedback from the respondents in the fieldwork afterwards.

As stated in section 4.2.3, in Phoenix Primary School, I was issued a Visitor Pass, which allowed me to seek relevant data within naturally occurring school settings instead of being limited to the evidence that the school chose to present. As I was told by teachers in the interviews, most relevant activities related to advancing students' national identity and global identity were carried out in another semester, which did not work for my fieldwork schedule. Therefore, the observations conducted in Phoenix Primary School focused on routine activities. Conversely, the observations in St Andrews Primary School were conducted under the head teacher's arrangement, whenever she thought the events might be relevant to my research interest. I tried to ask her permission to be involved in other relevant activities that were mentioned in the interviews, but I did not get a timely reply. I prefer to attribute this to the head teacher's busy schedule instead of other possible reasons.

The observations followed the protocol prepared in advance: the details of each observation, including the time, location, layout of the setting, behaviour and words of respondents, as well as the chronology of events were recorded (Moyles, 2002; see Appendix H for the information about the school observations). Other field notes, including notes on questions and points of confusion arising from the observations, were also carefully recorded to inform further interview questions

(Mullhall, 2003). In addition, some visual data of the layouts of the case schools and classrooms were obtained with the head teachers' and teachers' consent.

4.3.4 Focus groups

The extent to which students' experience and perceptions of national identity and global identity are compatible with the intended curriculum and implemented curriculum is one of the key concerns to this study. To capture students' voices, focus group was identified as an appropriate tool for three key reasons. First, focus groups not only allowed me to explore the views of individual students, but also to see how they inspire or argue with each other (Morgan, 1988). Through witnessing the interactions between students, the meanings of national identity and global identity were created collectively and could be noted down (Smithson, 2008). Second, since the groups shared the responsibility for answering questions (Morgan & Krueger, 1993), the power imbalance between me as an adult researcher and students as minor-aged respondents could be lessened. In addition, from a practical perspective, more students could be accessed in a short period of time through focus groups.

Purposive sampling and convenience sampling were adopted to select the respondents (see Appendix G for the information about the respondents). Students of around 10 years old were targeted for the focus groups mainly due to practical considerations: the primary school age is 5 to 11 in Scotland, while it is 6 to 12 in Mainland China. In both countries, 10-year-old children are in their primary school studies and are more likely to be involved since they would not be about to leave for secondary school. Bearing the selection criteria in mind, in Phoenix Primary School, six groups of students were selected by the deputy head teacher, who chose them based on the fact that they were more expressive and easier to access than their peers. In St Andrews Primary School, teachers selected three groups of students, giving the reason that those students were available when the focus groups were scheduled to be conducted. Having the school representatives select the students brought the benefit of convenience, but it ran the risk of excluding others who might be interested in the study, which might threaten the variability of the voices. In addition, it remains unknown whether

those students were chosen because they could provide the information that the schools wanted to present. Therefore, the data gathered from the focus groups would only be relied on to explore those students' personal perspectives, rather than being taken as generalisable evidence to understand the views of others who were not involved.

While planning the focus groups, the characteristics of conducting research with children, in terms of their cognitive development, use of vocabulary and comparatively short attention span, were carefully considered (Boyden & Ennew, 1997; Horner, 2000). As the research topics of national identity and global identity are complicated and may exceed students' knowing and learning, the questions were formed using plain language in accordance with students' life experience (see Appendix B for the focus group guide). A task-based method, which could make children feel more comfortable with me as an adult researcher, was applied in the research as well (Punch, 2002). Word cards with pictures of different communities were designed for students to select, with the aim of exploring their senses of belonging and the rationale behind their choices in an interactive way. In Phoenix Primary School, two cards presented to each student read "Chinese Nation" and "World". In St Andrews Primary School, three cards - "Scotland", "UK" and "World" - were initially designed. Considering the international flavour of the school in terms of students' backgrounds, an "Other Countries" word card was added in case any students felt ignored.

All carried out in classrooms, the focus groups lasted more than 50 minutes on average and were audio-recorded with the students' consent. In addition to the questions prepared in advance, the focus groups were also open to follow-up topics and questions arising from the students' responses and interactions. In case any student felt pressure to give 'correct' answers, I assured them that no right or wrong answers existed. Throughout the whole process of the focus groups, my role was identified as a moderator to allow the students' discussions to flow freely (Smithson, 2008). When disagreement about specific issues appeared, for instance the relationship between Scotland and the UK, I by no means presented my point of view or took sides. I certainly intervened in the discussion when the students' focuses were far from the interest of the research. The students were expressive

and provided a variety of interesting insights. However, some energy was indeed spent, especially in St Andrews Primary School, to manage discipline and remind the students to talk one at a time.

4.4 Data analysis

The evidence collected in the fieldwork was gathered and sorted into a usable format, including documents, transcripts of interviews and focus groups, observation field notes and photos. Before proceeding with the analysis, the question “what counts as data or evidence” in my study was carefully considered (Mason, 2002, p.37). The textbook issue was the key concern to the study at this stage. Since no textbook was used in St Andrews Primary School, the textbooks collected in Phoenix Primary School, although accounting for a large amount of the data set, were not identified as key evidence for analysis to ensure comparability. Thematic analysis, which was applied to all forms of data, will be discussed in terms of the justifications and application procedures. This section goes on to discuss how the data was relied on to provide evidence for the three findings chapters.

4.4.1 Thematic analysis

As “a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.79), thematic analysis was adopted as the general approach to data analysis in this study. The appropriateness of thematic analysis primarily lies in its advantage in examining perspectives of different individuals (Nowell et al., 2017). Through thematic analysis, not only could different levels of national identity education and global identity education be researched, but the similarities and differences between the two case schools could also be addressed (Alhojailan, 2012; Connolly, 2003). In addition, thematic analysis is flexible as it allows both theoretical perspectives and ideas derived from the data to be brought together, which can enrich the analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In analysing the data generated from the Chinese and Scottish contexts, the detailed procedures of thematic analysis proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006) were followed.

Familiarisation was the first step of the thematic analysis. I was aware of the importance of familiarisation as a crucial activity in the fieldwork (Ritchie et al., 2003). I transcribed all the interviews and focus groups on the same days that I had conducted them. As well, the documents, field notes and photos were organised right after being collected or created. In doing this, my engagement with the content of the data was established at an early stage. After the fieldwork, familiarisation with the content was achieved through repeated reading of all the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). No interpretation was considered at this phase, although some general notes on ideas for coding work were noted down (Nowell et al., 2017; Robson, 2002).

The second step involved generating initial codes. Using highlighters and writing marginal notes, the data were read and coded line-by-line manually. Both approaches of deductive coding and inductive coding were employed in developing the initial codes (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006; Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2000). At the beginning, to help illuminate important aspects of my study, prior codes generated on concepts of national identity and global identity were brought into the analysis. Regarding the study of national identity, I followed Guibernau's work (2007), which defines national identity as "a collective sentiment based upon the belief of belonging to the same nation and of sharing most attributes that make it distinct from other nations" (p.11). Accordingly, the psychological, cultural, territorial, historical and political dimensions of national identity, as Guibernau (2007) proposes, were identified as the initial theory-driven codes. Following a similar way of understanding national identity, global identity in the study was identified as a cognitive and affective way of relating to the global world. As most studies of global identity have been carried out within the scope of global citizenship, the most comprehensive typology of global citizenship, developed by Oxley and Morris (2013), was adopted to generate corresponding codes. The aim of doing this was to explore which aspects of national identity and global identity were emphasised in each of the two case schools.

However, the theory-driven codes turned out to be too rigid to provide a rich description of the data, and they were especially unable to identify the features

of education discourses in both settings. Hence, some inductive codes were generated from the data set as well. After all the documents, transcripts and field notes were initially coded, which resulted in a total of 796 and 617 data segments in the Chinese and Scottish settings respectively, all the segmented data were revisited and recoded to ensure that they were appropriately assigned to the most applicable and relevant codes (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2000).

The next phases included searching for, reviewing, defining and naming the themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Once the codes had been generated, all the segmented data with the same or similar codes were grouped together to identify the overarching patterns within them (Ritchie et al., 2003). This was done by writing each code name on a separate piece of paper with its clusters of data. The language of the respondents was fully retained at this stage. In identifying the themes, two specific techniques proposed by Ryan and Bernard (2003) were applied, one of which was searching for repetitions. The similarities and differences in the ways in which respondents discussed a topic were focused on as well. For instance, in the Chinese context, while discussing essential factors in constructing Chinese identity, the distinguishing attributes of China and the development that China had achieved in the past decades were repeatedly referred to, and hence were identified as initial themes. Afterwards, the initial themes developed through each code table were synthesised and refined to draw up the final themes. This process ultimately resulted in 29 themes and 24 themes in the Chinese and Scottish contexts respectively (see Appendix I for the codebook).

It is worth mentioning that the thematic analysis applied in the study was not a linear process of moving from one phase to the next (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Instead, it was a recursive process, during which reading data, assigning codes and extracting and revising themes were simultaneously and alternately engaged in throughout the analysis to ensure consistency (Cohen et al., 2011).

4.4.2 Making sense of the evidence

The thematic analysis was applied throughout the process of analysing the data, while the presentation of the evidence in the three findings chapters was framed by the respective sub-questions of the study, and therefore presented some differences.

The evidence on education intentions was gathered from two sources: interviews with policy experts and the documents collected at national and school levels. The policy experts' views were analysed to unpack the philosophy underlying national identity education and global identity education. The overarching themes that were generated in both contexts were their views of their nation and the world, as well as their perceptions of what national identity education and global identity education should be, while the specific themes and sub-themes generated in the Chinese and Scottish settings varied. The documents were analysed to shed light on how national identity and global identity were officially specified in written forms. The themes identified were generally about the status, aims and content of related educational practices, as well as the roles of students and teachers within school settings. It is noteworthy that the textbooks collected in the Chinese contexts, although they were not analysed following the steps elicited above, were treated as complementary documents enriching the content of the key findings.

The interviews with teachers and the observations served as two sources of evidence to understand the practices in the two case schools. To be more specific, the interviews were analysed to identify teachers' personal understandings of national identity and global identity, as well as their corresponding practices. Accordingly, the themes that emerged from the interviews fell into two general categories, while the themes generated from the observations were mainly related to the implicit educational practices in the case schools.

The focus groups with students were analysed to explore the experience and perceptions of the students. The themes fell into two general categories, one of which was the educational practices the students had experienced, while the

other was their perceptions of national identity and global identity. Due to the interactive nature of the focus groups, many themes were identified from the agreement and disagreement between the students' points of views. The students' voices were not analysed independently, but in conjunction with the evidence gathered from other sources, with the aim of exploring the similarities and differences in the ways in which different respondents interpreted national identity education and global identity education.

The evidence relating to the intended, implemented and attained curricula is presented in Chapters Five, Six and Seven respectively. Based on juxtaposition of the findings generated from the two case schools (Bereday, 1967), a comprehensive comparison between them is presented in Chapter Eight.

4.5 Ethical considerations

This study was conducted with the ethical approval granted by the College of Social Science Ethics Committee in the University of Glasgow. As child respondents were involved in the study, a Basic Disclosure Certificate was obtained from Disclosure Scotland. The *Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research* established by the British Educational Research Association (BERA, 2018) were closely referred and adhered to in developing and implementing the study. The legislation and ethical requirements of the different settings in which the study was carried out were complied with as well. The following sections will provide a discussion of the ethical considerations in terms of informed consent and protection from harm.

4.5.1 Informed consent

Access to the institutions and respondents was sought after the College of Social Sciences Ethics Committee granted ethical approval. Official permissions to undertake the study within the case schools were gained through contact with the head teachers. Having been provided with the fieldwork application forms clarifying the nature and scope of this study in advance, the head teachers were fully aware of the demands likely to be made on the schools and the individuals involved.

To ensure that the respondents understood the nature of this study and the implications of their participation, the plain language statements and consent forms were tailored to each different group and provided at the outset (David et al., 2001; see Appendix D for the plain language statements; see Appendix E for the consent forms). In the case schools, the teachers and students were informed that besides participating in interviews and focus groups, they might be observed in some situations. They were assured that their participation was voluntary and there would be no adverse effects if they refused to participate or withdrew from the study (Crow et al., 2006).

All the adult respondents read and signed the consent forms, while the procedures were a bit different for the children respondents. Before commencing the fieldwork, I provided the schools with the plain language statements and consent forms designed for the students and parents/carers. In Phoenix Primary School, the forms were not distributed to the parents/carers as the deputy head teacher thought it was unnecessary. While participating in the focus groups, the students thought it was weird to sign forms before discussions, and therefore they granted their consent to be involved in the study orally. In St Andrews Primary School, no forms signed by parents/carers ever came back to me. Since the parents/carers were informed of the details of the study and no objection was raised, as the school told me, permission to involve their children in the study was granted accordingly. All the students who agreed to participate in the focus groups signed the consent forms.

4.5.2 Protection from discomfort

“All educational research is sensitive; the question is one of degree” (Cohen et al., 2011, p.164). Considering the sensitive nature of the present study in terms of its topics and the vulnerability of some of the individuals involved, protection from potential discomfort was considered accordingly.

The study of national identity and global identity is sensitive considering its potential to raise strong feelings and opinions regarding ethnic, racial and political issues, which might make the respondents feel discomfort and

challenged (Renzetti & Lee, 1993). The social circumstances, especially the political contexts in Mainland China and Scotland, had the potential to pose substantial threat to the respondents in expressing their personal views. To minimise the discomfort the study may cause in this regard, a variety of measures were taken as follows. Sensitive controversies, such as the 4th June Incident in Mainland China and the Independence Referendum in Scotland, were avoided unless the respondents raised them. The respondents were assured that they were fully respected and that I did not bring any biased opinions or sentiments into the study. Since respecting the privacy of respondents is at the heart of the conduct of ethical research (Johnson & Christensen, 2012), confidentiality was assured throughout the study. The real names of the case schools and respondents were replaced with pseudonyms (Baez, 2002; Kaiser, 2009). Any identifiable information would not be revealed to anyone other than the researcher and the respondents, either in the dissertation or in any subsequent publications.

Researching vulnerable people is also a sensitive matter in this study. As one of the targeted groups of respondents, students of about 10 years old may feel powerless and insecure in the presence of an adult researcher (Greig & Taylor, 1999). The topics of national identity and global identity may lead to their incomprehension and uncertainty. To mitigate any possible distress on the part of the child respondents, further measures were taken. All the focus groups and non-participant observations were conducted in the schools and classrooms, which were familiar and non-threatening places, to put the students at ease. I strictly obeyed the *Protection of Vulnerable Groups (Scotland) Act 2007* (Scottish Parliament, 2007) by avoiding causing any physical, verbal or psychological offence to the children. Although there is no corresponding act in Mainland China, no harm was caused to the students in any circumstances. In conducting the fieldwork, I used child-friendly language to ensure their understanding of the study and encouraged them to ask for repetition and explanation if they were unsure of any questions (Punch, 2002).

I have sound reasons to believe that the study brought certain benefits to the respondents. First, the respondents' senses of self-worth could be enhanced (Hutchinson et al., 1994). The interviews and focus groups gave voices to the

respondents, especially teachers and students, who may have a sense of not being heard. They were empowered to express their experience and understandings of national identity education and global identity education. Most discussions lasted longer than expected. The respondents seemed to be enjoying the conversations with me and were willing to be contacted for further information regarding the topics. Second, through expressing their views and hearing others' voices, there might have been impetus for behavioural change (Cassell, 1978), which could make the potential for purposeful and thoughtful educational practices real possibilities.

4.6 Research validity

Although the concept of validity has traditionally been attached to quantitative approaches, I believe it should be addressed in qualitative approaches as well to consider the trustworthiness of studies (Golafshani, 2003; Johnson & Christensen, 2012). In this section, descriptive validity, interpretative validity and theoretical validity, as proposed by Maxwell (1992), are addressed to ensure the trustworthiness of this study.

As Wolcott argues, "Description is the foundation upon which qualitative research is built" (1990, p.27). I accurately reported the events and individuals within the contexts in which the study was conducted. One specific strategy used was to promptly record what I saw and heard in the fieldwork. Instead of only describing noteworthy and interesting elements, I adopted a comprehensive note-taking approach by noting down everything in the order in which it happened (Wolfinger, 2002). The advantage of doing this was to display the whole picture to ensure that no piece of valuable information was overlooked. All the interviews and focus groups were transcribed right after they had been conducted, when the encounters were still fresh in my mind (Longhurst, 2003). Through repeated listening to the audio recordings, I wrote down detailed information about the interviews and focus groups. Upon request, copies of the transcripts were also shared with three teachers in Phoenix Primary School for verification.

To accurately portray the meanings conveyed by the respondents, the interpretive accounts were grounded in the language of the respondents. The low-inference descriptor as a key strategy was applied in writing the findings chapters, where direct quotations and language similar to the respondents' original accounts were used (Johnson, 1997; Zohrabi, 2013). The contexts' indigenous languages - Mandarin Chinese and English - were used in the fieldwork preparation, data collection, transcription and data analysis. The decision to carry out the translation work by myself was made due to financial considerations, and the argument that the role of translator could offer me significant opportunities to pay close attention to cross-cultural meanings (Temple & Young, 2004). To adhere as closely to the original data as possible, the acts of translation from Mandarin into English were not conducted until the final writing up of the research findings (Van Nes et al., 2010). However, the process of translation from Chinese to English might result in incongruity in meanings, especially as some Chinese words cannot be easily translated into equivalent English terms. To capture the meanings as accurately as possible, I considered both the original arguments and the ways in which they were reported, being careful not to overlook cultural backgrounds to achieve uniformity in languages (Peña, 2007).

Here is an interesting example of a way in which the translation issue was dealt with. In Phoenix Primary School, some students raised the term *Xiao Riben* [小日本], which could be literally translated into *little Japanese people*. The term *Xiao*, which means 'little' in English, was used not in reference to the height of Japanese people, but to imply the students' anti-Japanese sentiment to some extent. Therefore, I have chosen to translate *Xiao Riben* into 'little Japanese people' with the understanding that it connotes antipathy rather than a comment on physical size. In addition, translation involved interpretation, which was bound to my positioning as the researcher. My predispositions and potential biases inevitably exerted influence on my designing and conducting of this study. Therefore, I have been actively engaged in self-reflection throughout the study to manage that.

Going beyond concrete description and interpretation, I have also been devoted to ensuring that the findings developed from the study are credible and reliable.

As an adult who grew up and was educated in Mainland China for more than 25 years, including six years of learning in Phoenix Primary School, and as a researcher with rich experience within Chinese education systems, I have been equipped with the ability to explain education phenomena and wider contexts in Mainland China. My extended fieldwork in St Andrews Primary School provided me with sufficient time to immerse myself in the actual school settings and enabled me to achieve an understanding of Scottish education systems and society (Johnson & Christensen, 2012). In addition, continuous academic reading has been conducive to the cogency of my explanation.

Chapter Five Understanding Policy Experts' Perceptions and National Policies

This chapter explores how national identity education and global identity education are promoted through intended curriculum in the Chinese and Scottish contexts. Through interviewing policy experts, the basic philosophies underlying national identity education and global identity education are illustrated. It goes on to explore the officially stated intentions through performing analysis of related policy statements and curriculum standards.

5.1 The Chinese context

I interviewed Wen to unpack the philosophy underlying Chinese identity education and global identity education in the Chinese context. As one of the most influential scholars in citizenship education in Mainland China, Wen is based in a university responsible for teaching and research. He has worked in teams of experts advising the Ministry of Education of the PRC on designing the curriculum standards and textbooks for subjects related to citizenship education, but he admitted that he and other experts were consulted for reference only. Therefore, the views and arguments he expressed in our interview can be considered reflective of his own perception rather than being representative of the PRC's official standpoint. In addition to the data generated by speaking with Wen, large numbers of textbooks used in Phoenix Primary School were collected. However, no textbook was used in St Andrews Primary School; therefore, to ensure comparability, evidence gathered from the curriculum standards in both countries was analysed to ascertain the written intentions, with the data from the Chinese textbooks examined to complement it.

5.1.1 Policy expert's perceptions of national identity education

5.1.1.1 The Chinese nation as a political entity

Before describing his perception of Chinese identity and Chinese identity education, Wen discussed the rich meanings of the Chinese nation. According to him, the Chinese nation is complex and can be interpreted differently by individuals.

Guo [国, country] has multiple meanings. In Western contexts, the concepts of nation, state and country are distinguished from each other. However, in the Chinese context, *Guo* can refer to nation, state, country and political system. (Wen)

As was discussed in Chapter Two, in the Chinese context, the Chinese nation and China are treated as interchangeable concepts, and indeed, no clear-cut distinction between them was mentioned in the interview. Since the interview with Wen was conducted after the fieldwork in Phoenix Primary School had been finished, I shared with him some key findings regarding the practice in the school and stakeholders' perceptions. When I touched on the topic of teachers' confusion about the distinction between the Chinese nation and the Communist Party of China (CPC), Wen provided his views.

Teachers equipped with knowledge of citizenship are able to understand the difference between nation and party. Apparently, some teachers lack that knowledge. Considering the political system in China and the influences of Chinese culture, I think it is not difficult to understand why that confusion is so prevalent among teachers. First, China is a socialist country under the leadership of the CPC. For some people, loving China equals to loving the CPC. Second, Confucianism has exerted a profound influence on individuals' understanding of the political system. In Chinese culture, there is a tendency among individuals to personify governments and governors as their parents, who always take care of ordinary people the way parents do for their children. I think some teachers' perceptions may be shaped by this influence... To some extent, I think their argument that loving China equates to loving the CPC government is right. *Guo* [国, country] is a political entity led by a particular government. Which *Guo* do you have a sense of belonging to if you do not love the government? (Wen)

From Wen's perspective, the Chinese nation and the CPC are distinct concepts, and using them interchangeably indicates a person's limited knowledge of citizenship. However, he did admit that the Chinese nation and the CPC are intimately linked, and he tried to explain the rationale underlying the understanding of teachers who consider the two concepts to be synonymous. First, as the ruling party of China since 1949, the CPC plays a significant role in the Chinese government. To a certain degree, the CPC and the government it rules represent the Chinese nation in a political sense. Therefore, individuals' identification with the party and the government can be regarded as a form of Chinese identity. A second key influence on Chinese identity is Confucianism. The

bureaucracy in ancient China selected good and capable people for public service, and officials were likely to be regarded as parents who took actions for the sake of the public as children. Therefore, individuals tended (and, to a degree, continue to tend) to express gratitude to the government and governors as a way of showing their senses of belonging to the Chinese nation.

5.1.1.2 Parental love

According to Wen, national identity and patriotism are distinctive concepts. For him, national identity refers to cognition of the nation of one's origin, while patriotism is a value manifested in individuals' emotions and behaviours. To illustrate his perceptions of the Chinese nation, Wen used the word 'patriotism'.

Being patriotic means that you accept the nation's good and bad points. Parents would not refuse to love their children because they are not good-looking... You are the master of the nation. You should be proud of its advantages and frustrated by its disadvantages... The problems of the nation are also your problems. You should dedicate yourself to solving the problems. (Wen)

Wen used the metaphors of parents and children while analysing the relationship between the Chinese nation and its people. Three implications can be drawn from his argument, one of which is that patriotic sentiment is a kind of parental love. Just as taking care of children is parents' duty, it is the duty of individuals to love the Chinese nation. This is the inverse of the notion described in the previous section that the government assumes a parental role while the citizens are the children for whom it cares; although these two perceptions are the inverse of one another, they exist simultaneously in the Chinese consciousness. Second, treating the nation as a child indicates that optimistic attitudes towards its future are encouraged. Individuals are expected to take pride in the advantages and achievements of the Chinese nation, while understanding that making mistakes is inevitable in the Chinese nation's development. Third, as a Chinese proverb goes, "Tianxia xingwang, pifu youze" [天下兴亡，匹夫有责, The rise and fall of a nation rests on every one of its citizens], the fates of individuals and the Chinese nation are bound together. Individuals are expected to take actions to help the Chinese nation solve its problems.

Being patriotic implies showing support for the nation and expressing criticism of the nation to some extent. However, blind criticism should be avoided. (Wen)

As Wen argued, in addition to showing support for the Chinese nation, patriotic people should be able to criticise it. However, such critiques should be based on reasonable evidence. Despite this caveat, Wen made no reference to the extent to which evidence can be regarded as reasonable.

I dislike seeing the TV full of programs about the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-45)... It is not good to stimulate patriotic sentiment among individuals through reinforcing national humiliation... However, I cannot agree with some foreigners' argument that the Chinese people should forget history. We would not have dignity anymore if we did whatever other countries asked... I think it is important for Chinese people to draw lessons from the past and make China prosperous and understood by outsiders. (Wen)

According to Wen, China's tragic history is relied on too heavily to foster individuals' Chinese identity. The example he gave to support this opinion is the prevalence of war content on television, but he was implicitly arguing that this can be witnessed not just on TV, but in schools and beyond, and that he regards this as an unpleasant phenomenon. Teaching about national humiliations should enable people to learn from the past and make China stronger instead of cultivating hostile attitudes towards other countries.

5.1.1.3 Practical considerations

Wen elaborated on some practical issues that ought to be considered in conducting patriotic education. The content of patriotic education was not of specific concern to him. Instead, he paid considerable attention to the instructional strategies that should be adopted.

Teachers should be equipped with knowledge of pedagogy and psychology to conduct patriotic education. It is important to reflect on the ways in which children of different ages construct their awareness of the nation. Complex topics of nation that are not in accordance with children's understanding should not be discussed in class... Children ought to be allowed to construct their understandings of the Chinese nation in their own ways. (Wen)

In the first place, Wen argued that patriotic education, particularly in primary schools, should be conducted taking younger children's ways of learning into consideration. Teachers should be familiar with pedagogy and psychology in addition to possessing subject knowledge. However, Wen believes that in practice, patriotic education does not live up to his ideals. Many teachers, as Wen argued, lack corresponding knowledge, and are therefore unable to reach desirable educational outcomes.

Patriotic education should allow students to develop critical thinking; otherwise they are vulnerable. For instance, Northern China relies on heavy industry, and therefore has been experiencing more severe smog than in the South. Every country encounters the issue of smog during industrialisation. Students equipped with this background information will not reach the conclusion that the air in other countries is sweeter. (Wen)

Wen reinforced the importance of students' critical thinking by citing a controversy that took place at a University of Maryland graduation ceremony in 2017. A Chinese student gave a speech in which the comparative air quality in China and the US was used as a metaphor for freedom of speech and democracy. The speech, which conveyed anti-Chinese sentiment to some degree, triggered a fierce discussion among people from all walks of life in China. Despite his suggestion that critiquing the nation to some extent is a way of being patriotic, Wen argued that the student's criticism of China demonstrated a lack of critical thinking. Wen made no reference to the rationale behind his opinion. However, considering Wen's quote in Section 5.1.1.2, it might be assumed that he regards the student's statement as a kind of blind criticism, unsupported by solid evidence. Wen's interpretation of the student's statement partly reflects a culture in which traditional patriotic education pays considerable attention to the positive aspects of China, while overlooking its shortcomings. Under this influence, students may easily come to believe that China is a perfect country. Upon seeing the wider world, they may discover that the opinion they formed in school is too idealistic to be realistic, and consequently change their attitudes towards China entirely, which achieves the exact opposite of the goal of patriotic education. Therefore, to cultivate students' critical thinking and allow them to construct knowledge independently, both of the positive and negative aspects of the Chinese nation, as Wen argued, should be introduced in schools.

5.1.2 Policy expert's perceptions of global identity education

5.1.2.1 The world as a planet

Wen was not surprised at my findings that most teachers interviewed in Phoenix Primary School were reluctant to identify themselves as global citizens. He attributed the teachers' difficulties to the influences of their life experiences. As members of the generation that was born and raised in the late 1970s and early 1980s, most of the teachers lacked knowledge and experience of citizenship education. Based on his research experience, Wen suggested that the sense of belonging to the world could be constructed through perceiving the world as a planet.

The world can be understood as the planet on which all human beings, flowers, plants and animals alike live ...Everyone is inextricably linked with each other, and can exert influences on each other's life...For instance, when George W. Bush issued the command to attack Iraq, the price of oil soared to \$180 per barrel... All living creatures are in the same world and should have a sense of being connected with each other. (Wen)

According to Wen, the sense of being connected with each other is essential for individuals to construct identification with the world. Unlike the ambiguous concept of 'the world', the meaning of 'the planet' might be easier to understand; individuals can perceive themselves and each other as organisms sharing the planet. Accordingly, compassion for plants and animals can be formed, as well as a sense of having a shared destiny with people regardless of their backgrounds, all of which may contribute to individuals' sense of having a global identity.

5.1.2.2 Respecting differences

While Wen supported the idea of global unity and cohesion, he suggested that diversity should be respected in the context of globalisation. In discussing the construction of global identity, Wen paid considerable attention to the importance of respecting differences, with specific reference to how human rights and democracy can be understood and achieved in various ways.

I believe the basic human rights of people should be respected. Evidently, the issue of human rights is complicated... Different approaches to achieving human rights should be recognised. (Wen)

Human rights arose as a subject of specific concern to Wen while discussing the construction of individuals' global identities. He made no reference to the content of human rights, but instead argued that it is possible to understand and achieve human rights in different ways. He elaborated on this argument by discussing the issue of human rights in China. According to Wen, outsiders' criticism of the human rights situation in China demonstrates that they lack understanding of the importance of respecting differences. He defended China by arguing that it had made great achievements, including raising 800 million people out of poverty within 70 years, which is an important step. Therefore, China's efforts and achievements in the area of human rights should be respected.

It has been proved that Western democratic systems have caused great crises for many countries... I disagree with outsiders' criticism of the political system in China. Each country should be allowed to develop in its own way... Under no circumstances should we copy the political systems of other countries. As home to a quarter of the world's population, China should be respected and able to retain its own character. (Wen)

Wen expressed a similar attitude when discussing the issue of democracy. First, he argued that the political systems in Western democratic countries had caused many social and economic problems, and thus ought not to be imitated. However, the rationale underlying his judgement was not elaborated on. Second, he argued that democracy could be achieved in multiple ways. Each country should be allowed to build its political system in accordance with its characteristics. Therefore, China ought to be respected and able to maintain its political system rather than being criticised.

Wen started with the argument that diversity among unity should be respected. An interesting point to note is that Wen made the argument particularly from the Chinese perspective. Exemplified by the issues of human rights and the political system in China, which have been frequently challenged by outsiders, Wen stressed that countries - particularly China - should be respected. However, the way Wen defended his ideas made his argument ambiguous. It remains unknown

whether Wen really thought that diversity among unity should be respected, or if his purpose was to rely on that argument to deflect outsiders' criticisms of China.

5.1.2.3 Necessity and practical considerations

When discussing global identity education, Wen did not focus on its content. Instead, he was interested in the necessity of global identity education and practical considerations.

Global identity education is certainly important. The community with a shared future for mankind proposed by President Xi is a dream for us... Through implementing global identity education, extreme nationalistic sentiment can be avoided. (Wen)

Wen recognised the importance of global identity education. He made specific reference to the relationship between national identity and global identity. According to him, global identity education is significant, largely because implementing it is conducive to advancing students' national identity. One should construct global identity and respect differences; otherwise people are likely to devalue other countries and feel superior to them, which are manifestations of unhealthy national sentiment. In addition to the necessity, the instructional strategies expected to be adopted in global identity education were discussed.

Children should be allowed to develop their understanding of the world in their own ways. Younger children could be encouraged to take care of flowers and send postcards to people in other countries. Older children could understand global issues such as global trade and climate change through research-based learning. (Wen)

In Wen's opinion, importance should be attached to building connections between students and the world while conducting global identity education. Particularly, students' autonomy ought to be respected. First, they ought to be enabled to develop understandings of the world in their own ways rather than having others' perceptions imposed on them. Second, in conducting global identity education, teachers should design corresponding activities in accordance with the ways in which children access the world.

Younger children should not be expected to think and behave like adults. It is impossible for kindergarten children to develop global awareness... Therefore, realistic objectives should be set for global identity education. (Wen)

According to Wen, global identity education should be set realistic objectives. Specifically, he argued that younger children cannot be expected to develop an awareness and understanding of the world. However, something of a contradiction can be observed when considering this opinion alongside his previous quotes. As Wen argued, the world could be understood as the planet on which all human beings, plants and animals live. Therefore, compassion for flowers and animals indicates an awareness of the world to a certain extent, which apparently is not difficult to develop among kindergarten children. The contradictory positions he held probably resulted from his distinctive perceptions of global awareness, which he did not define in a specific way. He also did not explain at which age should children be expected to develop their global awareness.

5.1.3 National identity education in written documents

5.1.3.1 The flag and the CPC

Before delving into the written intentions regarding Chinese identity and global identity, it is important to reflect on how prescriptive the curriculum standards are for teachers in the Chinese context. Designed by the Ministry of Education of the PRC, the curriculum standards set out not only general purposes of learning within curriculum areas, but also the particular purposes of each lesson. In terms of the content, instructional strategies and assessment, very specific guidance is provided, and teachers' practice is expected to adhere to the curriculum standards. Therefore, it is reasonable to infer that the curriculum standards might exert significant influences on teachers' practice in advancing Chinese identity and global identity.

Through learning about the magnificent landscape, individuals, history, culture and social development discussed in art works, students can develop a sense of patriotism. (CS5², 2011, p.9)

Through learning English, students can broaden horizons, enrich life experiences and become patriotic individuals. (CS2, 2011, p.2)

A key point to note is that in the curriculum standards, much attention is paid to advancing a sense of patriotism among students. Students are expected to become patriotic Chinese through school education, and the responsibility for cultivating their patriotic sentiment is shared across different curriculum areas, including English.



(Pictures extracted from TR1, 2016, p.3, 21, displaying the flag of China in classroom and students wearing the red scarf showing respect to the flag respectively.)

These intentions can be observed in textbooks as well. In Mainland China, the flag of China is a ubiquitous national symbol. In the textbooks, schools and classrooms are depicted as places in which the flag is displayed. Therefore, it is reasonable to infer that a sense of Chinese identity is expected to be advanced through school education. In addition, students in the textbooks are often depicted wearing the red scarf, indicating that they are part of the Young Pioneers of China, which is a mass youth organisation for children aged six to 14 in the PRC. Considering that it is run by the Communist Youth League, which is an organisation for older youth under the CPC's leadership, it is not difficult to detect the influence that the CPC might exert on students' understanding of the Chinese nation. To a certain degree, it confirms Wen's point that the distinction between the Chinese nation and the CPC is rarely raised.

² Each document collected in the fieldwork is attached to a code, of which the detail information can be found in Appendix F.

5.1.3.2 Characteristics and achievements of China

Considerable attention is paid to students' senses of belonging to the Chinese nation. Chinese identity is advanced in different curriculum areas. Generally, two themes can be identified in the content, the first being the characteristics of the Chinese nation that differentiate it from other nations.

Outstanding Chinese traditional art and folk art should be valued particularly. (CS6, 2011, p.32)

Students ought to appreciate Chinese traditional music and the folk music, dance and drama of ethnic groups. (CS5, 2011, pp.16-17)

Students should appreciate outstanding Chinese culture...love Chinese language and literature. (CS1, 2011, p.6)

Knowledge of the Chinese nation is treated as a criterion for assessing Chinese patriotism. Students are expected to have rich knowledge of China's national symbols, rituals, history, culture and any other characteristics that distinguish it from other nations. In primary school, certain national symbols and characteristics of China, such as the flag, food and festivals, which are easy for young children to comprehend, are introduced. Students in senior grades are introduced to more complex topics, including the political system in China and the CPC. Some strong emotional words such as loyalty, love and pride are commonly used, encouraging students to develop strong affection for the Chinese nation, as the following picture and quote demonstrate.



(A picture extracted from TS6, 2006, p.54, depicting students saluting the Monument to the People's Heroes.)

The major historical events in China and tremendous success that have been achieved in the course of China's socialist development should be understood. (CS4, 2011, p.6)

The history of China, especially that of the century of humiliation, is also paid much attention to. The First Opium War, the burning of Summer Palace, the Battle of Peking, the First Sino-Japanese War, the Xinhai Revolution, the Second Sino-Japanese War and the Chinese Civil War are introduced as significant events in the Chinese history, showing how Chinese people suffered national humiliation under imperialism. Sun Yat-sen, the CPC under Mao Zedong's leadership and numerous national heroes are framed as the people who saved China and laid the foundations for it to now stand on the global stage. Learners are expected to learn the history and show respect to the people who were and are dedicated to the Chinese nation.

The development that China has achieved is reinforced as well. For the generation of children who were born in the early 2000s, it is rather difficult to imagine that China used to be an underdeveloped country. However, some information regarding this development is discussed in textbooks, indicating that students are also expected to be aware of the poor living conditions that Chinese people faced in the past. Some off-campus activities are designed as well. For instance, students are asked to consult their parents and grandparents about the China they experienced in their childhood. Basically, the objective of doing this is to demonstrate the achievements that China has made through reflecting on the improvement of individuals' living standards. In addition, a strong emotional appeal is evident in the corresponding illustrations, where terms such as "great", "prosperous" and "splendid" are frequently used to describe China's development.

5.1.4 Global identity education in written documents

5.1.4.1 A Chinese perspective

There is less attention paid to global identity than to Chinese identity in the curriculum standards and textbooks. Unlike Chinese identity, global identity is

implicitly promoted in subtle forms, and a Chinese perspective is specifically adopted.

Students should be enabled to develop observation skills, imagination and creativity, improve aesthetic taste and ability, as well as develop a sense of responsibility to nature and society... Students should love the outstanding culture and traditions of China and respect cultural diversity. (CS6, 2011, p.1, 3)

Learning English is beneficial for students to understand the world, learn advanced science and culture, and disseminate Chinese culture to the world. (CS2, 2011, p.1)

The objective of global identity education is generally framed as a means of cultivating students' awareness of the world, equipping them with global knowledge and skills that can then be used to benefit the Chinese nation. No expectation of students to develop a strong emotional attachment to the world is reported in the documents. Students' responsibilities in the world are prevalently mentioned in the documents. However, no reference is made to explain exactly what these global responsibilities are. A key point to note is that there is a tendency among the documents to focus on the relationship between individuals' global identity and their Chinese identity. Students' global identity should be formed on the basis of their Chinese identity. In addition, the construction of global identity serves to broaden students' horizons, allowing them to understand the role of China in the world. In other words, forming students' global identity partly aims to foster their Chinese identity.

The Chinese perspective is also adopted in organizing the content of global identity education. The common concerns to the world - for instance, water shortages and air pollution - are often discussed in the Chinese context. In addition, cultures, values and habits in different parts of the world are introduced by being compared with their counterparts in China, aiming at helping students understand the differences between China and other countries. In general, students are expected to develop understanding of the world through a Chinese perspective.

5.1.4.2 Issues of unity and diversity

Content related to the outside world is less prevalent than that related to the Chinese nation. Generally, both unity and diversity issues are discussed in the curriculum standards and textbooks.

Students ought to have a preliminary understanding of the interdependence between human beings and the natural environment, the environmental problems and the shortage of resources that all human beings are facing. (CS4, 2011, p.6)

Knowledge about the earth accounts for a great proportion of the global identity education contained in the documents and textbooks. The topics discussed include the composition and structure of the planet, the climate and natural environment in different regions, as well as the common environmental problems and resource shortages that the world is facing. Students are expected to be aware of these issues and encouraged to work collaboratively to solve the problems.

Students should have a basic knowledge of the key events that have exerted influences on world history. Students should be aware of different lifestyles and customs in different settings, and the significance of mutual respect between ethnic groups, countries and regions. (CS4, 2011, p.6)

Students should learn the music of different ethnic groups and countries created in different times...Students should understand the diversity of musical culture. (CS5, 2011, p.9)



日本第一高峰——美丽的富士山是一座活火山。



德国的建筑很有特点。走进大街小巷，你会发现古老的教堂、房屋和现代化的新设施融为一体，既古朴又时尚。



(Pictures extracted from TS8, 2002, p.34, 40, 43, 47, introducing Mount Fuji in Japan, Germany's architecture, the flag of Russia and the Sydney Opera House in Australia.)

Students are also expected to develop knowledge of diversity issues that exist widely in the world. Specifically, the differences are defined based on nation-state. To advance students' understanding, the flags, music, habits, customs, architecture and landscapes of different countries are introduced. However, neither curriculum standards nor textbooks aim to enable students to understand and respect differences in other senses; the sole unit in which differences are expressed is the nation-state.

5.2 The Scottish context

In the Scottish context, I interviewed James and Grace to understand the philosophy underlying national identity education and global identity education. Working in Education Scotland, which is a Scottish Government executive agency aiming at supporting quality and improvement in Scottish Education, James is responsible for managing education for sustainability and citizenship. Grace is based in a not-for-profit organisation supporting educators in the West of Scotland to develop their skills in global citizenship education. Neither of them is directly involved in making education policies. Therefore, their opinions reflect their perceptions of the policies rather than the official attitudes or rationales behind them. Considering the role of the organisation Grace is working in, the interview with her mainly dealt with global identity education. Therefore, the illustrations of policies regarding national identity education will rely heavily on James' statements. However, when it comes to global identity education, both the opinions of James and Grace will be taken into account. In understanding the

written intentions, the findings come from performing document analysis of the principles and practice documents of eight related subject areas.

5.2.1 Policy experts' perceptions of national identity education

5.2.1.1 Tension between Scotland and the UK

To explore James' perceptions, the term 'national identity' was used without explaining whether Scottish identity or British identity was the concern of the study. James pointed out the distinction between Scottish identity and British identity at very beginning of the interview and clearly stated that the former was of much more concern to Scotland.

There is one very important distinction between Scottish national identity and British national identity. This will probably come up in other interviews as well...This is a source of tension between the government in Scotland and the government in England...The government in England would very much like us to promote what they called "British Values". We really do not, because we do not recognise them as uniquely British. We do not have British values or Scottish values or anything much like that. We push values and the values are generic...So when I talk about national identity, I'll do it in the context of Scottish national identity, because that is much more of what we would focus on, as you would guess. (James)

As James stated, the tension between Scottish identity and British identity is not a newly emerging issue but is already taken for granted in Scotland. Shaped by his work experience or other influences, James attributed the phenomenon to the tension between the Scottish and English governments. Taking the issue of British values as an example, James unpacked the divergence between the two governments in two aspects, the first being their attitudes towards British values. According to James, the Scottish government is less interested in the British values promoted by the British government. However, it remains unclear whether this discrepancy results from their different understandings of which values could be regarded as uniquely British (as James suggested) or the tensions between the two governments in a general sense (which James also referenced). The second divergence is related to the argument about whether specific or general values should be advanced in schools. James stated that Scottish education is concerned

more about values in a broad sense, including politeness, respect and tolerance, which can apply worldwide rather than being specific to any one country.

Now, it is rare to find Scottish football supporters who would support England. You know, they are neighbours, and they speak the same language. But because of the rivalry between the two countries, because of the occasional bad feeling between the two countries, there are a significant number of Scottish football supporters who could never possibly imagine supporting England. They would support Sweden, Portugal, Spain, but not England. That is very sad, and that probably says something more about their personalities. (James)

The tension between Scottish identity and British identity was exemplified by Scottish football supporters' reluctance to support English teams. According to James, despite speaking the same language and being geographically close to each other, some Scottish and English people are estranged from each other due to the historic rivalry between Scotland and England.

5.2.1.2 Complexities of Scottish identity

James illustrated the complexities of Scottish identity in spite of not identifying himself as Scottish. According to him, Scottish identity can be constructed and interpreted in different ways. In addition, Scotland has rarely been understood in depth.

I think Scottish identity is a really complex one because it means lots of different things to different people. And as you go around Scotland, I think it is definitely stronger in some places than other. But the other thing about Scotland, as in many countries, is that you also get a very strong regional identity. For example, when you visit the Shetland Islands, which are in the north but actually closer to Norway than they are to Edinburgh, there is a really strong sense of a Shetland identity. If you ask people who they are, they would say they are Shetlanders before they would say they are Scottish and British. And that is true in several other parts of Scotland. We are very happy with that because that is part of our culture and context. That is definitely not something that we try to dilute or diminish. (James)

James argued that Scottish identity is constructed as opening to individuals' differences. Individuals can form and interpret their Scottish identity in varying ways. He also pointed out that regional identities might be prevalent in Scotland.

According to him, regional identity is not only compatible with Scottish identity, but is also an essential part of Scottish people's life that can facilitate their Scottish identity.

If you look at one picture of what Scottish national identity would be, you get the character that you would have seen in lots of cartoons about what a Scotsman might look like, wearing a kilt and tartan. There is some truth in it, but it is just a stereotype. It is nothing more than that...It is hard to say what makes Scotland unique. I mean the language is important, especially the Scottish accent. (James)

James argued that Scotland has rarely been fully understood. The cartoon character he described contains some characteristics associated with Scotland, but is ultimately a stereotype. He admitted that it is difficult to say what distinguishes Scotland from other countries. However, he referred to the importance of language in assuring the uniqueness of Scotland. I initially assumed he was referring to the Gaelic language. However, he subsequently argued that Gaelic language is not capable of standing for Scotland, given that the number of people using it is too small. Instead, the Scottish accent is what he regards as Scotland's unique linguistic characteristic, setting Scottish pronunciation apart from English pronunciation. While framing the distinctiveness of Scotland, James to a certain degree conceptualised England as an important other. Again, the argument may only represent his personal view, and certainly cannot be treated as a solid evidence to understand the official standpoint.

5.2.1.3 Scottish as an implicitly promoted identity

James suggested that it is important to check where the government puts its money to understand education intentions. Based on internal assessment results, which have also been confirmed by the international assessment results of PISA, the Scottish government invests a large amount of money in Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) and Literacy. Citizenship education has never been treated as a priority. In addition, within the field of citizenship education, global identity education more than national identity education is of concern to the Scottish government. Nevertheless, attention has been attached to Scottish identity education in school settings.

Scottish identity is not something that we do explicitly, because you do not find any document that talks about Scottish national identity. When you look at our curriculum documentation, we talk about how young people should be responsible citizens of modern Scotland and effective contributors to modern Scotland. So there is a lot of citizenship wrapped up in that, and within that citizenship there is an identity. But it is not a very forceful Scottish identity. It is more about being good citizens of our society. (James)

In James' view, Scottish identity education is promoted in an implicit way. No education document explicitly talks about Scottish identity and how schools should promote it. Students are not expected to construct strong emotional connections with Scotland, but to become responsible citizens of Scotland. James made no reference to how responsible citizens should act. It was evident that strong emotional sentiment towards Scotland is not regarded as an assessing criterion of responsible citizens in the Scottish context. In the curriculum, Scottish elements are presented in subtle forms.

The subtlety comes in when you look at individual parts of the curriculum, for example, at the area covering English literature. There is quite clearly more emphasis on Scottish literature, Scottish poetry than there was, for example, 15 years ago. When you look at the Social Studies and History areas, there is now a requirement that people do more on Scottish history and less on other histories. Because in order to understand what your national identity is now, you need to have a sense of where you have come from. That is why the history is important, and that is why the literature is important. That is very much about Scottish identity. It is about feeling proud in your background and in what Scotland has done in the past, and hopefully what Scotland will do in the future. (James)

Through school education, students are expected to develop an understanding of Scotland, especially in terms of its culture and history. As described by James, many activities are organised to expand students' knowledge of Scotland by building links with the past. For example, teachers can get a subsidy to take a group of students to historical sites, like Edinburgh Castle and the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum. Although it is not an enormous amount of money and much less than is spent on STEM, it represents the Scottish government's willingness to put money into promoting Scottish identity.

5.2.1.4 British as a partly mentioned identity

James understood national identity education in the Scottish context as Scottish identity education straight away and did not mention the issue of British identity education. In case any education intention regarding British identity was overlooked, I raised corresponding questions.

We have a Scottish curriculum. So it will mention Britain in parts, but not very frequently. We get a strong focus on lots of Scottish stuff, which is great and proper. There is a big focus on the global stuff, which again is great and proper. But an element in the middle about what it means to be British is not there. (James)

James stated that within Scottish education systems, students are expected to become responsible citizens of a modern Scotland and the world. However, British elements and British identity are less stressed. English literature is covered in the curriculum, but it does not occupy the main section and, as mentioned above, receives less attention than Scottish literature. As a policy expert, James has become accustomed to the situation, and he expressed no approval or opposition towards it.

That probably is related to the fact that we have the Scottish National Party in government. It is partly a political thing. If in the last ten years we'd had a conservative government here in Scotland, I think you would see a stronger element about that middle area, about what it means to be British. However, under a Scottish National Party government, that is never likely to happen. (James)

When asked to reflect upon the rarity with which British identity is mentioned in education settings, James attributed it to the close connections between education and politics. He believes the situation is shaped by the fact that education, as a devolved issue, is looked after by the Scottish National Party (SNP) government, whose political objectives are different from that of the government in England. Scottish education is rarely concerned with British identity, but rather focuses upon Scottish identity. A point to note is that when I mentioned that students in St Andrews Primary School commonly lack awareness of the UK, James argued that it was the school's fault, pointing out that schools have a great

degree of freedom in delivering curriculum within Scotland's flexible education system.

5.2.2 Policy experts' perceptions of global identity education

5.2.2.1 An abstract concept

James and Grace commonly used the term 'global citizen' rather than global identity while illustrating their perceptions of global identity education. To better understand their views, it is important to explore how they interpreted the concept of 'global citizen'.

For me, 'global citizen' is an abstract concept. There is not a passport that takes you anywhere. (Grace)

As discussed in Section 2.3.2, citizenship has traditionally been understood as a notion closely associated with nation states. Since there is not a global state or equivalent governance, global citizenship does not really exist in the same way as national citizenship. For Grace, it is an abstract concept.

Global citizens are the individuals who feel a huge sense of connection with the planet that they live on and everything on that planet. They recognise unfairness and inequality in our current systems and have a desire to change that. And they are empowered and have a sense of agency to work with others and the communities, to make the world a fair place and more equitable. (Grace)

Grace understood the world as the planet that everyone lives on, rather than a community composed of various countries. According to her, only by having a sense of connectedness with others, including plants, animals and human beings, can one claim to a global citizen. Individuals' knowledge of the world and the skills to participate in global life were not stressed. Instead, global citizens were conceptualised by Grace as individuals who are aware of their responsibilities as members of the world and can exercise influence to solve common problems that the world is facing. In other words, awareness of connections with others and involvement in global issues, rather than having a wealth of knowledge and skills, makes a global citizen.

5.2.2.2 Specific concern for Scotland

Both Grace and James became more animated while discussing global citizenship education. They perceived schools as the places in which global identity should be advanced. They argued that global citizenship education can benefit both Scotland and individuals.

We do not have an economy with much graduate employment. You can find a lot of people who are underemployed. Local people want to stay in Scotland, so they are taking jobs that are beneath them, that do not pay a great salary... We also have a lot of young, well-educated graduates who will leave Scotland to find jobs in England, Australia or Canada. Very few go to countries where they need to speak other languages. So that is interesting. But it is one reason why they need to consider themselves as global citizens. You know, they may have a Scottish heritage, but they can go worldwide for employment reasons. (James)

In James' view global identity education is important primarily because it can broaden individuals' horizons. As James explained, a graduate degree is not commonly required for the job market in Scotland, and thus to stay in Scotland, many local people take jobs for which they are overqualified. Due to their lack of foreign language skills, the students commonly head to English-speaking countries instead of countries where other languages are spoken. Scottish students, either staying in Scotland or leaving for English-speaking countries, see a relatively narrow world. Therefore, global identity education, through which students can gain foreign language skills and broaden their horizons, is significant.

Scotland has become much more diverse in the last 20 years. It is important to be a global citizen partly because it is about living in Scotland today. You must be able to get on with lots of people from different backgrounds and different cultures whose first languages may be different from your own. (James)

Students are also expected to become global citizens to deal with the changes and challenges that globalisation brings to Scotland. In the era of globalisation, lots of people with different backgrounds have settled in Scotland, making it a much more diverse society than it used to be. With the huge clash of cultures and values, it is important for Scottish people to adapt to and live with differences, which could be achieved through receiving global identity education.

If we talk about the concept of community cohesion, global citizenship is important for that. It makes Scotland more welcoming to people who want to come here to live in and work from other countries. (James)

In addition to satisfying individuals' needs, global identity education could contribute to the development of Scotland. In the context of globalisation, Scotland has been trying to build the links with the rest of the world. Certainly, global identity education could advance values such as mutual respect and inclusiveness, allowing more people with diverse backgrounds to settle down. Accordingly, Scotland could become a more inclusive country.

5.2.2.3 Global Storylines

Global citizenship education is promoted through multiple approaches, one of the most influential being Global Storylines. Working in the organisation that was responsible for launching the Global Storylines project, Grace was consulted to explore corresponding issues.

Global Storylines uses drama and story to take children into an experience that is different from their own... The story always ends with the community being empowered. It is a really rich context for children. Global Storylines embeds global citizenship through all areas of curriculum in a connected way. It is not like we are going to do some learning about global citizenship [that is] very separate. It is an example of how you can do global citizenship through everything for a whole block, like six weeks or 12 weeks. (Grace)

As Grace outlined, Global Storylines is an approach to global identity education combining traditional interdisciplinary methods of storyline with research, drama and deep reflection. Students become characters within a community affected by a particular global issue, exploring how other individuals in real life have tackled problems. Grace suggested that Global Storylines can safely take children into an experience that is different from their own lives. Although some global issues can be frightening, Global Storylines provides an emotional distance so students can see it happen to their characters. In addition, issues like climate change, female inequality and water scarcity, which are difficult to understand in an abstract way, can be experienced in more practical ways through Global Storylines. Students

can learn what it feels like to be disempowered due to finite resources and unequal systems, then develop the agency to take actions to tackle problems.

As one of the most representative and influential approaches to global citizenship education in Scotland, the Global Storylines project was developed in 2010. As of 2017, over 250 teachers across 10 local authorities in Scotland had been involved. As Grace stated, Global Storylines has been especially successful in terms of how teachers are able to conduct global citizenship education through an inter-disciplinary approach.

5.2.2.4 Facilitators and constraints

Tension was perceived by James to exist between Scottish identity and British identity, but not between Scottish identity and global identity. In Scotland, different governments have attached importance to global identity education. However, the practice depends to a large degree on schools' autonomous approaches.

I suppose the helpful thing for me is, if you look at our different political parties, they are to some degree reasonably well minded towards global citizenship. I mean some of them see more than others. We are quite lucky, because all of our politicians believe this kind of education is useful. (James)

Despite not being treated as a particular priority, global citizenship had been regarded by different governments as an important idea that should be promoted in educational settings. There had been a long period of continuity in advancing global identity education by incorporating it into various aspects of Scottish school life. In other words, global identity education has been consistently supported at the policy level.

Some local authorities decide that global citizenship is what they want all their schools to do, but mostly they could not really force this on schools... Local authorities have different priorities... And it depends on head teachers as well. (Grace)

Global citizenship education has never been forced on schools by the government, but depends instead on the autonomy of teachers and schools. Taking St Andrews

Primary School as an example, Ailsa, the head teacher, was keen on global citizenship and therefore prioritised it by sending teachers to Grace's organisation to be trained. However, schools whose staff are less interested in global identity education may not advance it. Therefore, the practice of global citizenship education does vary in different settings.

We do not have a separate part of the curriculum that is labelled as citizenship. We also do not have any qualifications that are labelled as citizenship. So global citizenship aspiration is incredibly hard to be assessed. So, to some degree, to be honest, it is more like a thing about trust. We trust that schools are doing the right kind of thing. (James)

No scale is available to evaluate the outcomes of global identity education. Expect for teachers who have participated in Global Storylines being asked to reflect on their understanding and practice, students and other teachers are not assessed. Grace and James admitted that it is particularly difficult to assess students' performance in this area. They felt that all they can do is trust that schools are producing the right kind of young person by looking at a range of indicators, such as crime rates and students' willingness to improve their communities. However, the tricky issue is that despite school education potentially influencing such statistics, there is no clear causal relationship. It cannot be proven that it is global identity education that leads to such positive outcomes.

5.2.3 National identity education in written documents

5.2.3.1 National needs of Scotland

Unlike the curriculum standards in the Chinese context, the principles and practice documents of CfE are brief and straightforward in terms the guidelines that are offered. The documents set out the general purposes of learning within particular curriculum areas and explain how learning and teaching could be organised and assessed, rather than being inextricably linked with national values and ideology. Teachers are encouraged to carry out teaching activities in their own ways. Aligning with James' perceptions that British identity is of less concern to Scottish education, British elements are rarely referred to in the documents.

The presence of Scotland and Scottish elements are less prevalent in the documents than the emphasis of the Chinese nation in the curriculum standards in the Chinese context.

It is important for the nation's prosperity that young people are attracted to learning a modern language, well equipped with the skills needed in the new Europe and in the global marketplace. This framework of experiences and outcomes is intended to help to address this national need. (PP4, 2016, p.1)

Scotland has a strong tradition of excellence and innovation in technological research...Learning in the technologies provides a strong foundation for the development of skills and knowledge which are, and will continue to be, essential in maintaining Scotland's economic prosperity. (PP8, 2016, p.1)

Nevertheless, close interplay between school education and national development can be easily found in the documents. The above statements clearly state that learning Technology and Modern Languages serves as an important means to satisfy the national needs of Scotland and boost Scotland's prosperity. Similar intentions can be found in the other six documents as well. However, a key point to note is that the principles and practice documents are less prescriptive than the curriculum standards provided in the Chinese context. The extent to which the guidance is followed relates to teachers' autonomy.

5.2.3.2 National heritage of Scotland

In addition to satisfying the national needs of Scotland, the documents set expectations to incorporate Scottish elements into different curriculum areas, including Technology, Social Studies, Religious and Moral Education, Modern Languages, Expressive Arts, Literacy and English. Students are encouraged to develop their awareness and understanding of Scotland.

The languages, dialects and literature of Scotland provide a rich resource for children and young people to learn about Scotland's culture, identity and language. Through engaging with a wide range of texts they will develop an appreciation of Scotland's vibrant literary and linguistic heritage and its indigenous languages and dialects. (PP3, 2016, p.4)

As they mature, children and young people's experiences will be broadened using Scottish, British, European and wider contexts for learning, while maintaining a focus on the historical, social, geographic, economic and political changes that have shaped Scotland. (PP7, 2016, p.1)

The experiences and outcomes are structured ... to enable teachers to plan learning about and through Christianity and those other world religions... and to plan for the development of beliefs and values. (PP5, 2016, p.2)

Evidently, a Scottish perspective is adopted within different curriculum areas. For instance, when studying religions, specific importance is attached to Christianity, which has shaped the history of Scotland and continues to exert influences on Scotland. By and large, the curriculum documents tend to make both traditional and modern aspects of Scottish culture accessible. Students are expected to understand the historical roots of Scotland and appreciate its traditional heritage, and awareness of Scotland's role within the world is encouraged as well. A key point to note is that unlike in the Chinese documents, no strong emotional expressions appear. Students are not expected to develop strong emotional connections with Scotland. No teaching approaches were prescribed. Teachers are encouraged to empower students to conduct independent thinking and cooperative learning. In terms of teaching about the UK, no specific information came to my attention.

5.2.4 Global identity education in written documents

5.2.4.1 An important issue

The evidence gathered from the principles and practice documents confirms James' argument that global identity is of great concern to Scotland. All the documents stress the importance of cultivating global citizens.

Learning other languages enables children and young people to make connections with different people and their cultures and to play a fuller part as global citizens. (PP4, 2016, p.1)

Through developing awareness and appreciation of the value of each individual in a diverse society, religious and moral education engenders responsible attitudes to other people. This awareness and appreciation

will assist in counteracting prejudice and intolerance as children and young people consider issues such as sectarianism and discrimination more broadly. (PP5, 2016, p.1)

Children and young people participating in the experiences and outcomes in the sciences will...develop an understanding of the Earth's resources and the need for responsible use of them. (PP6, 2016, p.1)

The essence of global identity is incorporated into nearly all curriculum areas. It is worthwhile examining how the concept of 'world' is conceptualised. In the documents, the world is framed as the planet on which living creatures co-exist, rather than a community composed of various countries. Students are expected to develop awareness and appreciation of multiple cultures, religions and values, as well as the world's natural resources and environment. Importance is attached to living in harmony with others regardless of their backgrounds and working together to solve the common difficulties the world is facing. Values including mutual respect, inclusiveness, human rights, equity and equality are widely promoted.

5.2.4.2 The idea of multiple identities

Great importance is attached to the idea of multiple identities. In addition to Scottish identity and global identity, the documents suggest that students develop their identifications with other communities.

The expressive arts play a central role in shaping our sense of our personal, social and cultural identity. Learning in the expressive arts also plays an important role in supporting children and young people to recognise and value the variety and vitality of culture locally, nationally and globally. (PP1, 2016, p.1)

Children and young people must become aware that beliefs and values are fundamental to families and to the fabric of society in communities, local and global. (PP5, 2016, p.1)

The documents discuss learning within curriculum areas in local, national and global contexts, indicating that students are expected to develop their understanding of issues in different settings, rather than being confined to particular contexts. To a certain extent, it encourages students to construct connections with different levels of communities and form multiple identities

accordingly. In terms of the relationship between Scottish identity and global identity, no specific reference is made in the documents. However, based on the documents' approval of multiple identities, it could be argued that Scottish identity and global identity are at least not regarded as being mutually exclusive.

5.3 Summary

This chapter has discussed the intentions of national identity education and global identity education in the Chinese and Scottish contexts, with specific reference to the philosophy underlying the corresponding policies, and how senses of national identity and global identity are framed in policy statements and textbooks.

In the Chinese context, Wen discussed the interchangeable use of the Chinese nation and the CPC. He used the metaphor of parental love to explain Chinese people's patriotic sentiment. He argued that patriotic education should be conducted in accordance with the way children understand the Chinese nation. Specific attention was attached to students' critical thinking. Wen suggested that individuals conceptualise the world as the planet on which everyone co-exists. Global citizens were understood as those who are able to support global unity while respecting diversity issues. He recognised the necessity of global identity education, and specifically addressed its function in cultivating students' Chinese identity. Practical considerations such as respecting students' autonomy and setting realistic goals for global identity education were elaborated upon. In the official curriculum standards and textbooks, greater importance is attached to Chinese identity than global identity. The responsibility for cultivating students' patriotic sentiment is shared by the teachers across different curriculum areas. Students are expected to construct a strong Chinese identity through learning about the characteristics and achievements of the Chinese nation. A Chinese perspective is adopted in global identity education. Students are expected to understand the common concerns to the world and work collaboratively to solve the problems. Awareness and knowledge of other countries is encouraged as well.

In the Scottish context, James raised the issue of the tension between Scotland and the UK, conceptualising Scottish identity as a complex cultural identity that is

open to individuals' interpretations and implicitly promoted in Scottish education. British identity was framed as a political identity that is of less concern to Scottish education. Global identity education, as argued, could benefit Scotland and the people living in it, and therefore is widely promoted, with Global Storylines as a representative approach. Global identity education has been supported by different governments, but still faces the difficulty that no scale is available to assess the performance of students. In the relevant principles and practice documents, more importance is attached to global identity education. Cultivating students' global identity is commonly regarded as an objective of teaching within different curriculum areas. In addition, the presence of the idea of multiple identities is prevalent in the documents, suggesting that students are encouraged to engage in multiple levels of communities and develop identifications with them accordingly. Certainly, the learning within different curriculum areas serves as an important means of satisfying the national needs of Scotland. Students are also expected to develop awareness of Scotland and appreciate its national heritage. British elements are rarely mentioned in the documents.

Chapter Six Understanding Teachers' Perceptions and Schools' Practices

The main purpose of this chapter is to examine how national identity education and global identity education are implemented in Phoenix Primary School and St Andrews Primary School. The findings reported here come from the interviews with teachers and school observations. Teachers' perceptions of national identity and global identity are illustrated first, supported by direct quotations, then the observation data is used to explore the schools' practices of national identity education and global identity education.

6.1 Phoenix Primary School: Practices and teachers' perceptions

This section explores the practice of national identity education and global identity education in Phoenix Primary School, as well as teachers' perceptions, by drawing on the data from 19 teachers' interviews and seven school observations. The respondents to the interviews were chosen by the deputy head teacher, who gave the reason that it would be convenient and efficient for both of us if she set up the interviews. All of the teachers, as I was told, had experience in teaching national identity and global identity or had been responsible for managing the school. As was discussed in Section 4.3.2.1, having the participants chosen in this way may pose a threat to the variability of the teachers' voices. Therefore, the teachers' perceptions will be analysed in the light of the particular characteristics of the groups of teachers.

6.1.1 Teachers' perceptions of national identity

6.1.1.1 Multiple meanings of the Chinese nation

To illustrate teachers' perceptions of Chinese identity, the meanings they assigned to the 'Chinese nation' ought first to be explored. Generally speaking, from the teachers' perspectives, the Chinese nation has multiple meanings.

I have never thought about what the Chinese nation is. For me, it feels like an instinct being a part of the Chinese nation. It is like I am a woman, but I have never thought about why. It cannot be more natural.

(An, female, teaching Morality and the Rule of Law)

Most teachers were got caught off guard when asked to illustrate their perceptions of the Chinese nation. The above quote is largely reflective of the opinions expressed across the interviews, indicating that most of the teachers regard national identity as an instinctive sentiment. According to them, close links between individuals and the Chinese nation are constructed at birth. Therefore, teachers take their Chinese identity as granted and rarely experience or express confusion around it.

I have deep faith in the Chinese nation because I am a member of the CPC... The interests of the Chinese nation and the Party are above all. That is what I have learned and believe in.

(Yan, female, teaching Comprehensive Practice)

Similar sentiments were shared across the interviews. The teachers rarely made a distinction between the CPC and the Chinese nation. Some teachers even tended to express their beliefs and faith in the CPC rather than the Chinese nation to demonstrate their Chinese identity. It is a truism that political parties and nations are distinct concepts. However, there was a tendency among teachers in the school to conflate the two.

It feels like the Chinese nation is my own child. I love it, cherish it, take care of it and try my best to advance its development.

(Siyue, female, teaching Music)

I think we should be forgiving. Making mistakes is inevitable in children's growth and nations' development... I cannot agree with some people's criticism of China, as the problems they point out are common to other countries, and even more serious... We should be optimistic about the future of China rather than paying excessive attention to its problems.

(Shilin, male, teaching English)

Furthermore, national sentiment was frequently equated with the unconditional love between parents and children. The teachers showed a tendency to personify the Chinese nation as their child. Taking the role of parents, teachers expressed

their love for the Chinese nation in various forms, including appreciating its advantages and cheering for its development. They admitted that China is not perfect, but made no specific reference to its problems. Instead, a recurring argument against criticism of China was that some problems China faces are even worse in other parts of the world.

6.1.1.2 Two types of comparison

All the teachers who participated in the interviews claimed to have a strong Chinese identity. Some emotive words, including love, loyalty and pride, were frequently used. From the teachers' perspectives, all Chinese people should build emotional connections with the Chinese nation.

I feel proud of the Chinese nation, especially its long history and rich cultures. Our ancient civilisation is brilliant and better than other nations'... We certainly should not dwell on the past. However, these factors make me proud of the Chinese nation.

(Xiaoxin, female, teaching Morality and the Rule of Law)

Horizontal comparison between the Chinese nation and other nations served as an important means through which the teachers' Chinese identity was constructed. Chinese culture and history were cited as the most important attributes in distinguishing the Chinese nation from others. The teachers mentioned China's rich culture and long history in different interviews, but provided no explanation of what they were exactly talking about. They commonly expressed strong emotional connections to ancient China, which accordingly contributed to their strong identification with the Chinese nation.

I am so proud of being a member of the Chinese nation. We have experienced 100 years of turbulence transforming from a feudal society to a modern society. China is currently in a good development situation and has been playing an increasingly important role in the global community... I felt envious of people who could go abroad in the past, especially in the 1990s when other countries were developing faster than us. However, nowadays China has surpassed those countries and is already a leader in the world...In terms of my personal living experience, I was born in the 1980s, when China started to develop dramatically because of the implementation of the Reform and Opening-up policy, therefore my happiness index is relatively high.

(Siyue, female, teaching Music)

Horizontal comparison with other nations was certainly important, but the vertical comparison between China's present and past was found to contribute more to the teachers' sense of Chinese identity. Averaging just over 15 years of teaching experience, the teachers were commonly born in the late 1970s and early 1980s, when China started to implement the Reform and Opening-up policy and experience a dramatic political and economic transformation. The teachers belong to the generation that had the experience of living in both poverty and prosperity. They were more sensitive than other generations to these changes and had a tendency to attribute the changes to the rapid development of China. In other words, it was the rapid development of China that led to the improvement of the teachers' living standards, which accordingly strengthened their Chinese identity.

A Taiwanese teacher said he felt unsafe taking trains when he came to China 10 years ago. However, when he came to our school for an educational exchange last year, he praised the improvement of China's public transport and admitted that our lives were more convenient than theirs. I told him that the facilities in Beijing and Shanghai were far more developed than in our city.

(Yongshan, female, deputy head teacher)

The above quote suggests that Chinese people's personal experiences may not be convincing enough to demonstrate the progress that has been achieved by the Chinese nation. If outsiders, especially those coming from regions that used to be ahead of Mainland China, express their admiration for the Mainland, the sense of achievement can be more warranted.

6.1.1.3 Being a patriotic Chinese

Like Wen, the educational expert, the teachers commonly used the word 'patriotism' instead of 'national identity'. According to them, being patriotic is an ideal personality trait and way of life.

Patriotism is reflected in subtle forms. For example, as a teacher, I must do my job to guide students, which is a way of showing patriotic sentiment.

(Xiaoxin, female, teaching Morality and the Rule of Law)

As the teachers stated, patriotism is a value that can manifest in various forms. Cultivating oneself, caring for others and developing passion for life were all cited as forms of patriotism. On the one hand, this establishes patriotism as a down-to-earth sentiment, while on the other, it creates more requirements for people who want to be patriotic. Anyone who fails to meet these criteria may be labelled unpatriotic.

As a Chinese person, you should develop awareness of the Chinese nation. For example, you should be able to introduce its characteristics when asked by foreigners. You should learn Chinese traditional culture. If you do not know about *Nüwa* [女娲, mother goddess of Chinese mythology], the education you have experienced is a failure... There are more than 100 Confucius Institutes around the world and lots of foreign people are passionate about learning Chinese culture. Foreigners would laugh at you if you lacked the knowledge of Confucius.

(Liang, female, teaching Chinese)

In addition, the teachers expressed their belief that curriculum should incorporate Chinese culture as a significant element, and that it would otherwise be deficient. From their perspectives, awareness and knowledge of the Chinese nation is essential for people who strive to be patriotic Chinese. The teachers made specific reference to Confucianism. According to them, a patriotic Chinese person should be equipped with richer knowledge of Confucius than outsiders.

We should have a positive attitude towards China, especially when it is facing difficulties. The argument that China is hopeless should be avoided. I believe the Chinese nation is promising.

(Manjun, female, teaching Chinese)

The mass media makes our voices and judgments jumble together. I have seen lots of people who were educated and raised in China speak against China. I do not mean that China cannot be criticised. Instead, I think the critique should be made with love and hope for China. There

are so many people who have got fed up with the Chinese nation and who criticise it for nothing.

(Yongshan, female, deputy head teacher)

Zhengnengliang [正能量, positive energy], which is a popular word used in China basically referring to optimism and a tendency to focus on people and things that bring hope, was frequently mentioned by the teachers while discussing the value of patriotism. According to them, individuals should always take positive attitudes towards the Chinese nation, especially when seeing the nation encounter difficulties and obstacles. Criticism that shows limited confidence in the Chinese nation is based in *Funengliang* [负能量, negative energy], and should therefore be dismissed. The teachers argued they did not blindly worship China, as they admitted that China have certain shortcomings and problems. However, when hearing criticisms of the Chinese nation, either from insiders or outsiders, they felt uncomfortable.

6.1.2 Teachers' perceptions of global identity

6.1.2.1 The impact of globalisation

Global identity was an unfamiliar concept to the teachers interviewed. Taking this into consideration, I asked them to reflect on the issue of globalisation and its impact on individuals' lives as a means of empowerment.

I feel that globalisation has a great impact on my own life. I can access information about people living in different parts of the world. I can travel abroad and buy foreign goods.

(Yan, female, teaching Comprehensive Practice)

The teachers expressed awareness of the era of globalisation and its impact on their own lives. From their perspectives, the biggest change that they had experienced was the sharing of information, lifestyles and experiences. They can travel abroad and buy products not previously available in China. This led me to wonder whether the life changes they were describing were caused by

globalisation or internationalisation. Did the teachers understand the two concepts and the differences between them?

I do not know whether I understand it correctly. In the context of globalisation, the competition between countries is reflected more in political and cultural ways. The global resources are limited and can only be shared by countries with strong *Zonghe guoli* [综合国力, comprehensive national power] ... Neither permanent friends nor enemies exist in international relations.

(Yongshan, female, deputy head teacher)

In the context of globalisation, the discussion of comprehensive national power is prevalent. China should try its best to develop itself, otherwise it will not be involved in equal dialogues with other countries.

(Siyue, female, teaching Music)

It is evident that most teachers constructed their understandings of globalisation by relying on the nation-state framework. They were more concerned about the conflicts and confrontations between countries, while making limited reference to global communication and cooperation. From the teachers' perspectives, only countries with strong comprehensive national power can dominate the conversation, with weaker countries being silenced. To a certain extent, this reflects the influence that the century of humiliation has exerted on Chinese people. The teachers expressed anxiety about being invaded by outsiders, and therefore they placed importance on the Chinese nation being strong, echoing the CPC's narrative of the *Chinese Dream* (Xi, 2013).

China has become a vital part of the world. Although we lagged behind other countries for a long period of time, we are currently ahead of the rest of the world in several aspects... I believe China will stand at the top of the world in the near future.

(Chuying, female, teaching Chinese)

The role and status of China on the global stage were of concern to the teachers. From their perspectives, China has experienced a long period of transformation from being a backward society to a world leader. Their senses of belonging to the

Chinese nation were strengthened accordingly. In other words, the teachers' awareness of globalisation contributed to their construction of Chinese identity.

6.1.2.2 An unfamiliar concept

None of the teachers identified themselves as global citizens. They were uncertain about the meanings of 'global citizen' and 'global identity'. They were also reluctant to express a sense of belonging to the world.

I have been to some countries and met some local people there who were very friendly. However, for people in my generation, the concept of a global citizen is still unfamiliar.

(Chenyi, male, teaching Art)

First, the teachers perceived the global citizen as a newly developed concept that is inextricably linked to the context of globalisation. Most of the teachers who participated in the interviews were born in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The issue of globalisation was not discussed when they were children or young adults. Therefore, they commonly had difficulties understanding the concept of the global citizen.

I rarely have an opportunity to express my opinions on global affairs. I spend most of my time in classroom.

(Miao, female, teaching English)

Second, global citizenship, as perceived by the teachers, is a concept that is applicable in particular situations and environments, but schools and classrooms were not perceived to be among these environments because they are not inextricably linked to the world. The teachers found it difficult to get access to the world within schools and classrooms. In undertaking teaching tasks, the teachers expressed the opinion that they rarely had sufficient time and space to express opinions on global issues, and accordingly identified difficulties in building senses of connections with the world.

Individuals cannot abandon their national identities. In a broad sense, the global community is an unrealistic concept. All people express

opinions based on their national needs... The United Nations is comprised of countries competing for their own interests. Therefore, the so-called global village and a community with a shared future for mankind is a utopia.

(Shilin, male, teaching English)

Considerable attention was paid to the role of nation-state in the context of globalisation. As the teachers argued, the United Nations and other organisations advocating global unity and cooperation could not exist outside of the nation-state framework. In addition, the incompatibility between national identity and global identity was raised. There was a tendency among the teachers to argue that global identity and national identity are mutually exclusive, indicating that the acquisition of one might threaten the other. The teachers commonly had a strong sense of Chinese identity, therefore thought it was difficult or impossible for them to construct a global identity.

6.1.2.3 Prerequisites for being global citizens

The teachers believed that individuals do not naturally develop a sense of global identity, but that it is developed as long as a series of prerequisites are met.

First and foremost, one should develop an understanding of the world. For example, the global scarcity of resources and diverse cultures around the world should be something people are aware of... People should know about differences, otherwise they are unable to respect and cope with differences.

(An, female, teaching Morality and the Rule of Law)

First, global citizens were understood by the teachers as individuals with adequate knowledge and understanding of the globalised world. Global citizens were expected to be aware of the common problems that the world was facing, and the characteristics of other countries in terms of history, culture, beliefs and languages.

As a member of the world, people ought to know how it works. For example, what is the relationship between China and the United States? What is the relationship between China and Japan? Only by being

equipped with knowledge in this respect can individuals become global citizens.

(Linxi, female, teaching Chinese)

Second, the teachers pointed out that global citizens should be aware of international relations, which were identified as the relationships between China and other countries, especially Japan and the USA. This, to a certain extent, demonstrates that the awareness of the Chinese nation constitutes an important aspect in constructing global identity.

I have certain awareness of the world. I am interested in multi-culturalism. However, I lack the international experience and the ability to participate in international life, the foreign language skills for instance.

(Mei, female, teaching Chinese)

Foreign language skills and international experience were frequently discussed as well. Most of the teachers were neither equipped with foreign language skills nor rich international experience, and therefore were unable to build links with the world and identify themselves as global citizens.

I think a global citizen probably is not a person who has rich knowledge of other countries and the world, but who knows how to care about oneself and others... People who can get along well with different groups of people could be regarded as global citizens.

(Yu, female, teaching Chinese)

The opinion expressed above by Yu was unique among the teachers. In her eyes, being a global citizen is not about speaking foreign languages or having rich international experience, but being able to live in harmony with people regardless of their backgrounds. Her uncertainty about her argument was apparent in the interviews, as she repeated that she was unfamiliar with the concept. My personal point of view was not expressed during the interview. However, after the interview had finished, I provided encouraging words to invoke her confidence in teaching and thinking as a way of empowerment.

6.1.3 National identity education in the school

6.1.3.1 Undoubted legitimacy

In accordance with their strong sense of Chinese identity, all the teachers agreed it was important to foster that same sense of Chinese identity in the school. Among the teachers, a consensus was reached on the legitimacy of Chinese identity education.

All countries incorporate national values into their education systems. The United States has its 'American dream' and probably teaches about it in schools, probably in different ways from us... Political education is welcome in all schools around the world... For example, the 19th National Congress of the CPC was held last year, when the Constitution was revised. It was an essential affair in China, and therefore it was discussed in schools.

(Yongshan, female, deputy head teacher)

The teachers primarily relied on two justifications to defend Chinese identity education. First, they expressed the belief that every country in the world advances national identity through their education systems. This was presented as a solid rationale for the legitimacy of Chinese identity education. Second, considerable attention was paid to political issues. The teachers argued that students, as members of the Chinese nation, ought to develop an understanding of its political issues. Considering the current political system in China, the CPC and its philosophy are particularly relevant to individuals' lives, and therefore should be discussed in schools and classrooms.

6.1.3.2 Formal, informal and hidden curricula

Upon entering Phoenix Primary School, one can easily feel that it is a Chinese school. This is not only because all the slogans are written in the Chinese language, but also because of the way in which Chinese elements are widely promoted on campus.



(Photos taken in the school displaying Chinese traditional literature and masks used in Beijing Opera.)



(Photos taken in the school displaying the *Core Socialist Values* and a student's work on his/her perception of the value of patriotism.)



(Photo taken in the school showing the flag of China. The slogan underneath states that the flag-raising platform is solemn, and people are not permitted to play on it.)

Chinese elements are widely incorporated into every corner of the school. The national flag fluttered in the centre of the campus, the map of China drawn at the entrance of main building, and ancient Chinese poetry displayed on the walls,

co-contribute to students' awareness of the Chinese nation. In addition, elements of the CPC are easily found on campus. The school has not only posted the *Core Socialist Values* at its entrance, but has also set up a bulletin board to exhibit students' paintings themed on these values. Each class also has its bulletin boards to display students' works, which is also what I had experienced when I was a student in the school. However, when conducting all my observations, I noticed that all the classroom boards had a section called "Embracing the new age, striving to be a good teenager". I was curious about the consistent appearance of this slogan throughout the classrooms, so I asked the teachers about it.

It was promoted by our President Xi Jinping. The government expects students to be aware of the national values that are promoted in our country... Schools are required to post the *Core Socialist Values* on campus and carry out related activities to help students understand these values.

(Li, female, assistant head teacher)

It seemed that the slogans posted on campus were full of political significance, while the content of the boards was not related to political issues. For example, all the classes posted students' work sharing their holiday experiences when the school observations were conducted. However, whether the boards would be utilised to serve other functions in different situations remains unknown.

In addition to informal and hidden curricula, the formal curriculum exerts significant influence on the cultivation of students' Chinese identity. All the teachers participating in the interviews insisted that the subjects they taught play essential roles in cultivating students' Chinese identity. For instance, the Chinese teachers stated that the teaching of Chinese culture contributed to students' understanding of the Chinese nation and civilisation. The music teachers argued that they could stimulate students' passion for Chinese traditional music and instruments. All the teachers treated cultivating students' Chinese identity as a central part of their job.

I prefer to introduce positive stories to students, such as the development and achievements of China. Living in a prosperous society, students can construct a sense of pride in the Chinese nation... I never

impose my personal feelings on students, as I believe they ought to develop independent thinking.

(Yan, female, teaching Comprehensive Practice)

As discussed in Section 6.1.1.2, most of the teachers interviewed come from the generation that experienced a dramatic improvement of living standards. They tended to contrast China's past and present to construct senses of belonging to the Chinese nation. There was also a tendency among the teachers to integrate related information and their personal experience into school education. Therefore, students were made to understand the achievements that China had made in the few decades that the teachers had experienced. Yan claimed not to interfere in the students' construction of Chinese identity. However, a contradiction can be observed when considering her previous quote, in which she stated that she prefers to introduce positive rather than negative aspects of China. This would inevitably sacrifice students' access to the knowledge about China's weaknesses, and consequently interfere with the formation of their Chinese identity.

6.1.3.3 Students' performances

The teachers reached the consensus that Chinese identity education is carried out in subtle forms and no scale is available to assess its outcomes. Nevertheless, they commonly expressed dissatisfaction with students' performances.

Students' understandings of the Chinese nation are insufficient. Lots of students in my classes point at the photo of President Xi Jinping and call him Chairman Mao.

(Dantong, female, teaching Chinese)

The children I am currently teaching are six years old. They know little about our country and do not even know who the president is. I think this generation of students' awareness of the Chinese nation is limited.

(Chenyi, male, teaching Art)

According to the teachers, being patriotic is a demanding task. In terms of the awareness and knowledge of the Chinese nation, they commonly set high

expectations for students. Even when taking factors like the students' age into consideration, the teachers still argued that students were underperforming in terms of understanding the Chinese nation.

Many children have more access to foreign music and instruments. I find they prefer the music of other nations to our own. I think it is not a good phenomenon.

(Siyue, female, teaching Music)

We used to introduce foreign festivals and culture to students. However, starting from this year, we have been making some adjustments to our curriculum to focus on Chinese elements.

(Yan, female, teaching Comprehensive Practice)

According to the teachers, students are commonly more interested in foreign elements, while having less passion for their Chinese counterparts, which poses a threat to their identification with the Chinese nation. To mitigate this situation, the school had taken actions to limit the discussion of foreign issues to a certain extent, calling on students to pay more attention to Chinese issues.

6.1.4 Global identity education in the school

6.1.4.1 Practical difficulties

The teachers were not confident in identifying themselves as global citizens and became less animated when discussing how global identity education had been implemented in the school. Compared with Chinese identity education, global identity education is poorly supported by the government and is conducted with ambiguous responsibilities in Phoenix Primary School.

In 2008, we conducted international education through the English curriculum and related activities. We used to hire foreign teachers, but unfortunately not at the moment... That's because of various policy reasons. The policy has been tightened in the past few years. We no longer have time and freedom to do international education. However, we still are trying to enhance students' understanding of the world.

(Yongshan, female, deputy head teacher)

When asked what school practices contribute to students' awareness of the world, the teachers frequently referred to the international education implemented in 2008. At that time, due to relatively higher level of curriculum freedom, the school could carry out its educational practices in various forms. However, as a result of the tightening of education policies, the school's freedom to conduct a local curriculum and activities was later curtailed. Without sufficient government guidance and support, global identity education was pushed aside.

In English class, we discuss some global issues like global warming and world peace. However, we cannot discuss these issues in depth because there is limited time.

(Miao, female, teaching English)

I think the sense of global identity could be advanced through every curriculum area. [For instance?] Well, I cannot give specific examples at the moment.

(Huiting, female, teaching Chinese)

Teachers' instruction is not the only way students can develop their understanding of the world. Students can get access to the world in multiple ways... More than half of the students in our school come from university staff families and have international study or travel experiences. Some students may have already been to a country before it is introduced in classes. Therefore, I feel global identity education is less systematically conducted.

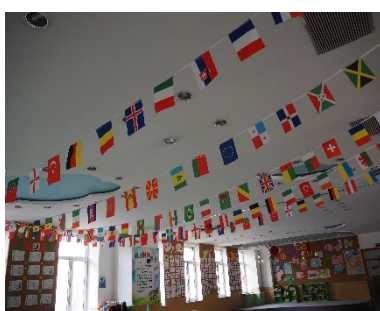
(Yongshan, female, deputy head teacher)

Global identity education's insecure curriculum status was reflected in three aspects during the interviews. The primary factor mentioned was that due to a lack of government support, global identity education is not treated as a necessity in the school. Therefore, some discussions of global issues are sacrificed for other topics. Second, global citizenship was found to be an unfamiliar concept to most of the teachers, nor did they have confidence identifying themselves as global citizens. They were uncertain about their responsibilities around cultivating students' global identity and were therefore unable to conduct corresponding practices. In addition, students' knowledge of the world, as teachers argued, was constructed based not only on school, but on off-campus influences. Students,

especially those with rich international experience, may be more advantaged in understanding the world. This accordingly was seen as a factor that makes it difficult to plan lessons introducing the world.

6.1.4.2 More diversity than unity issues

Although practical difficulties were frequently cited, the school's efforts to enhance students' understanding of the world could be easily observed on campus. Specifically, more attention was paid to diversity than unity issues.



(Photos taken in the school showing the flags of various countries and a board introducing Halloween.)

In summer and winter vacations, we organise a 15-day trip to developed countries, like Japan, Australia, Singapore and United States... We take students to local schools and let them live with local families. I think only through going abroad can students be aware of different education, culture, history and values. The students with international experience can understand differences.

(Li, female, assistant head teacher)

A world map hanging at the entrance of the school, the flags of different countries displayed on campus, and the bulletin boards introducing different cultures all exert influences on students' awareness of other countries. As the teachers stated, students' global identity is cultivated mainly through two curriculum areas: English and Comprehensive Practice, in which knowledge of other countries is introduced. In addition, the teachers believed that going abroad is the most efficient approach to global identity education, giving the reason that it allows students to experience differences. The school organises study abroad trips to make other countries more accessible to students.

Evidently, students are expected to be aware of differences in the world. However, the attention paid to global unity issues is limited. In the school observations, efforts to advance students' awareness of common problems the world was facing did not come to my attention. As far as I observed, the school rarely called on students to be involved in global communities. This caused me to wonder whether it is international education rather than global identity education that is promoted within the school.

6.1.4.3 Students as potential global citizens

Generally, the teachers were satisfied with how global identity education was carried out in the school. Students, as they argued, could be regarded as potential global citizens.

I think the students in our school have great potential to become global citizens. With rich international experience, they are unlikely to be confined to local issues... I usually ask students to share their experiences in the first two weeks of each semester, and I find that most of them would go abroad rather than stay in China for their vacations.

(Cheng, female, teaching Morality and the Rule of Law)

I think students of this generation are more like global citizens. They are curious about what is going on in the world and are willing to express their opinions on international issues.

(Chuying, female, teaching Chinese)

According to the teachers, it is students' rich international experience, willingness and ability to participate in international life that makes them potential global citizens. However, they also indicated that students are not yet global citizens, which largely results from their insufficient knowledge of the world and their so-called biased views towards the Chinese nation.

I often ask the children's parents why they overlook the landscape in China and waste their money in other countries. I believe it is caused by competition among parents who want to show off their wealth... Lots of students learn nothing from traveling abroad. It contributes little to students' understandings of the world.

(Linxi, female, teaching Chinese)

Some students still hate Japan... Some students blindly worship various countries and hold very negative attitudes towards China, which is not a nice phenomenon.

(An, female, teaching Morality and the Rule of Law)

Some teachers complained about students' frequent international trips. According to them, students should travel domestically first to learn about the national heritage of China, otherwise they will not be capable of understanding the differences between China and other countries. In addition, some students have a tendency to hate Japan. Blind faith in other countries and blind criticism of China were described as being prevalent as well, which meant students could not be considered global citizens yet. Another point to note is that teachers did not raise students' blind worship of China as a problem. It remains unknown whether that sentiment is common among students or whether it is regarded as detrimental to students' global identity.

6.2 St Andrews Primary School: Practices and teachers' perceptions

This section explores teachers' perceptions and the practice in St Andrews Primary School through interviews with six teachers and seven school observations. The head teacher arranged the observations when she thought certain activities might be of interest for my research. In having my observations curated this way, potentially relevant information that the school chose not to present was sacrificed. Therefore, the data will be interpreted with this limitation in mind.

6.2.1 Teachers' perceptions of national identity

6.2.1.1 Scotland as a cultural entity

All six of the teachers participating in the interviews claimed to have a strong sense of Scottish identity. They also had other levels of identities, but they all considered their Scottish identity most important. For most of the teachers, Scotland was the place where they were born or had lived for the longest time.

I identify myself strongly with Scottish culture. I also have a strong connection with the countryside. The west coast in particular is stunningly beautiful. And when you get into wider parts of Scotland, you do get a sense of how the landscape has shaped the nature and the mentality of Scottish people. But you know the weather is so harsh. And in some ways, the simplicity and tastelessness of the food could represent Scotland as well.

(Ailsa, female, born in England and married to an English person, head teacher)

The teachers brought rich meanings to their Scottish identity. Among the aspects of Scottish culture were Scottish literature (represented by Robert Burns and his work), Scottish food (haggis and shortbread), Scottish music (ceilidh dances), as well as the landscape in Scotland. Another key point to note is that non-positive characteristics of Scotland, such as the harsh weather and the bland food (as Ailsa suggested), were discussed rather than overlooked. Unlike their counterparts in Phoenix Primary School, the teachers in St Andrews Primary School rarely invoked emotional words when illustrating their identifications of Scotland.

I do have a strong Scottish identity... Scottish people say what they think and what they mean... I think we are a welcoming country and I am quite proud of it.

(Sophie, female, born and raised in Scotland, class teacher of Grade Seven)

The teachers also reported their images of Scottish people, whom they regard as hardworking, generous, friendly and placing importance on family. It was the positive characters of Scottish people that teachers saw as making Scotland a welcoming country, and that invoked their senses of belonging to Scotland.

I think Scotland would like to present itself as a young and vibrant nation... But If I travel abroad, people may think Scotland is a part of England... I do not think people really understand Scotland. People know about tartan and haggis. But they do not really know anything about Scotland.

(Ailsa, female, born in England and married to an English person, head teacher)

In addition, three of the teachers reported their desire to educate outsiders about Scotland, especially in terms of its uniqueness and its relationship with England and the UK. According to them, tartan, haggis and shortbread do not represent Scotland in essence; outsiders with knowledge of these particular Scottish aspects were still assumed to lack a proper understanding of Scotland. However, the teachers provided no explanation as to what type and extent of knowledge constitutes a sufficient understanding of Scotland.

6.2.1.2 The UK as a political entity

With the exception of Joyce, who only identified with Scotland due to her background as a Scottish islander, the rest of teachers interviewed claimed to have British identity along with Scottish identity.

I would probably identify myself as British as well because I grew up in a town south of the Scottish boarder, just technically in England by one mile. I have married someone who is English. So I always feel British.

(Ailsa, female, born in England and married to an English person, head teacher)

Life experience was seen to contribute to the teachers' construction of their British identity. However, the teachers did not conceptualise the UK as the place where they were born and raised, which was how they framed Scotland. Their British identity was constructed as a result of the connections they had with the other three countries of the UK, either because they had education experience there or family members from there.

If you were to fill in a form or something, maybe Scottish is not an option... I know we are a part of the bigger United Kingdom as well. I would be happy to be British.

(Susan, female, born and raised in Scotland, class teacher of Grade Two/Three)

From my cultural point of view, I am obviously Scottish. It is where I live, where I was brought up. From a political perspective, I have got a passport saying I am British... Political identity can be changed because governments can be changed, but you cannot really change where you were born.

(Paul, male, born and raised in Scotland, support for learning worker)

The significance the teachers attached to their British identity was less than what they attached to their Scottish identity. The teachers did not reflect on the cultural characters of the UK. Instead, they paid more attention to its political issues, such as Parliament, Brexit and the British Royal Family. The teachers' British identity was commonly reported as their British citizenship, which is displayed on their passports and asked for when filling in forms. It was pointed out that British identity could change, particularly given the uncertainty that Brexit was bringing to the UK and Scotland at the time of my fieldwork. Therefore, the teachers' British identity was regarded as less firm than their Scottish identity.

6.2.1.3 Discussions on nationalist tendencies

The teachers were sensitive to the uncertainty of the Brexit process and concerned about the future of Scotland and the UK. Considerable attention was paid to the undesirable sentiment of extreme nationalism when discussing national identity related issues.

As an adult born and raised in Mainland China, I had become accustomed to the great significance being attached to the national flag within and outside schools, and thought it was applicable to other countries. However, the attention paid to the flag of Scotland turned out to be limited within St Andrews Primary School. During my fieldwork, the flag of Scotland only appeared once, on Burns Night. The flag of the UK was never observed on campus. I was surprised at this phenomenon and tried to understand the potential influences.

I quite like the fact that Scotland is not a flag-waving country... I am quite uncomfortable with the idea of national pride. I have not done anything to be proud of it. I am not proud of being Scottish and I am not *not* proud. I think it is just the wrong word. It is like I was born in Scotland, grew up in Scotland, live in Scotland and contribute to Scotland. I am happy to be Scottish... I am proud of some people who have done things and the heritage, but the idea of national pride is not even deep. It is a superficial pride to see flag-waving.

(Emily, female, born in Scotland with parents from Italy and Ireland,
principal teacher)

As she stated, Emily was not against a sense of pride in Scotland, since she did express deep affection for people who had contributed to Scotland and the national heritage of Scotland. However, raising and waving the national flag, from her perspective, shows a kind of superficial national pride. Emily was happy with the fact that Scotland is not excessive with its national flag and there was no flag-waving in the school. However, it made me wonder if the argument indicated another form of superficial national pride: Did she think Scotland was superior to countries in which people are passionate about raising and waving flags?

I personally am concerned about the nationalist agenda in Scotland, I mean the move towards independence. There was a referendum that you all know about a couple of years ago and it was not successful. But I think they will revisit that because of the Brexit problem... I do not think people who voted for independence have different values from people who did not because it was quite an emotional vote.

(Ailsa, female, born in England and married to an English person, head teacher)

The idea of national identity in Scotland has been hijacked by some people who want to tell you what it is to be Scottish. The debate that went on in Scotland during the referendum became very polarised and people were trying to own what it was to be Scottish. It was not pleasant at all.

(Emily, female, born in Scotland with parents from Italy and Ireland, principal teacher)

I remember my husband said something about people who voted Yes waving the Scottish flag. And I said to him that it is my flag as well, but I would like to stay in the UK. The flag does not just belong to you, but also belongs to someone who wants to stay with the UK. I am very Scottish, and I will see myself as a British as well. But there are lots of people going a narrow way of Scottish identity.

(Sophie, female, born and raised in Scotland, class teacher of Grade Seven)

Most teachers were concerned about the so-called nationalist tendency among the public, particularly in the lead-up to the 2014 referendum. In preparing the interview questions, controversial issues, especially political events, were avoided with the aim of minimising the discomfort that the study might cause the teachers. However, while participating in the interviews, several teachers raised

the issues of the Scottish Independence Referendum and Brexit. According to them, in these events, many people were trying to define Scottish identity and British identity, which was not pleasant. As the teachers believed, national identity is more flexible than fixed, and therefore people should be allowed to construct theirs in different ways. From this perspective, everyone has the freedom to bring varying meanings to their national identities instead of being managed by others. Furthermore, national identity is not mutually exclusive with other levels of social identity. Scottish identity, British identity, European identity and global identity can co-exist.

6.2.2 Teachers' perceptions of global identity

6.2.2.1 An inclusive identity

Five of the teachers identified themselves as global citizens. Joyce, although claiming to only have Scottish identity, was aware of the close connections with the world. To illustrate the relationship among different levels of social identity, the teachers also mentioned the issue of European identity.

I am surely a member of the world... I like the fact that we are learning about the world. There is lots of news on the Internet and television about the world... When I was at school, we more or less talked about our own history, but did not get very much about the world. But now I can feel that I am involved in the global community.

(Sophie, female, born and raised in Scotland, class teacher of Grade Seven)

I do identify myself as a part of Europe and the world around us. I think it helps working in this school to be honest, because we have so many children from different countries. I have watched a lot of schools where there are only white children coming from Glasgow. I mean that is great, but you do feel it is quite shut off... In this school, we celebrate where children come from, and that makes me feel part of the global community.

(Susan, female, born and raised in Scotland, class teacher of Grade Two/Three)

The teachers constructed their global identity in multiple ways, including international travel experience, convenient access to information about the world and involvement in global trade. The international community within the school was also identified as contributing to the teachers' identification with the world. Unlike the teachers in Phoenix Primary School, the teachers in St Andrews Primary School did not raise any prerequisite for being global citizens. Global knowledge, experience and skills were not taken as the evaluation criteria of global citizens.

I feel Scottish, I feel British, I feel European and I feel more like a human being of the world. I feel a bit of everything. These identities are quite interconnected and could enhance each other in particular aspects.

(Emily, female, born in Scotland with parents from Italy and Ireland, principal teacher)

The idea of multiple identities was commonly raised among the teachers as well. For some of them, Scottish identity, British identity, European identity and global identity are not mutually exclusive to each other. Instead, these identities could co-exist and even enhance each other.

6.2.2.2 Living with differences

The teachers also summarised the essential characteristics of global citizens based on their personal experience. Specifically, great attention was paid to one's attitude towards differences.

As a global citizen, you should respect other cultures, explore other cultures, go to other cultures and immerse yourself in their cultures. If I am going to Spain, I would like to eat in Spanish restaurants and go to Spanish events. I also would like to share my culture, I mean the Scottish culture, with other people.

(Joyce, female, born and raised in the Isle of Lewis, nurture teacher)

Global citizens, in the opinion expressed by Joyce, are those who are aware of the differences, especially in a cultural sense, that exist in the world. Global citizens are expected to immerse themselves in other cultures and respect other cultures.

Introducing home culture to others coming from different backgrounds is essential as well.

I want to give you an anecdote from my daughter who is studying in our school. She was maybe about seven years old at that time and asked me, “Is Chenwei [a boy in her class] Chinese?” I said yes. I mean she never actually knew he is Chinese. Why would that be a story? I mean, why would you ever describe someone in terms of ethnicity first?

(Ailsa, female, born in England and married to an English person, head teacher)

In addition to an awareness of differences, the teachers discussed how differences could be understood in different ways, rather than merely being described in terms of nationality or ethnicity. This certainly extended the meanings of differences, indicating that differences widely exist among individuals regardless of their backgrounds. Global citizens ought to be aware of, respect and cope with differences instead of overlooking them.

6.2.3 National identity education in the school

6.2.3.1 More Scottish than British elements

Unlike how Chinese identity education was treated in Phoenix Primary School, neither Scottish identity education nor British identity education was conducted in an explicit way in St Andrews Primary School.

I think we are more global than we are Scottish. That would be interesting to see what other people think in the school. Other people may feel differently because it is not something that I have really sat down and thought... I have maybe used the word ‘an international school’. I have not necessarily thought of it in terms of global identity. But actually, when I think about it, that is what I feel about the school.

(Ailsa, female, born in England and married to an English person, head teacher)

The findings generated from the school observations were confirmed in the teachers’ interviews. Considering the international community within the school, it was widely believed that the multicultural needs of the students should be

satisfied. Global identity education, which allows corresponding actions to be carried out, is given great attention. The space for cultivating students' national identity, either Scottish or British, is comparatively limited.

If you look at the CfE, you would see there is a lot with Scotland. We have got to learn about where is Scotland in the world and learn a bit about its cultural and political things as well.

(Sophie, female, born and raised in Scotland, class teacher of Grade Seven)

Due to its commitment to the CfE, the school is indeed devoted to incorporating Scottish elements into classes through specific celebrations. Considering the relatively high degree of autonomy that schools have within the Scottish education system, the school's practice to a large extent can reflect the head teacher's and teachers' preferences. For instance, the Burns Supper is treated as an annual event to appreciate Scottish literature. St Andrews day, which is another key chance to learn Scottish culture and history, was not celebrated in the year when I conducted the fieldwork due to scheduling difficulties.

I do not know whether we have really sat down and talked about being British... Certainly, the curriculum does not require that. The curriculum leans Scottish, always 'Scotland, Scotland, Scotland'. The British elements, we occasionally might do this. But I cannot see this as a cohesive strategy or anything.

(Ailsa, female, born in England and married to an English person, head teacher)

We have never been asked to explore the UK. We celebrate Scottish culture and children's various cultures. But the rest of the UK? No, we do not. I have never thought about why. It is just the way it's always been.

(Joyce, female, born and raised in the Isle of Lewis, nurture teacher)

Based on my observations and the teachers' statements, the attention paid to the UK and its other three countries is limited in the school. I was confused about the situation and asked teachers to provide further explanation. The teachers did not deny the fact that British elements are rarely mentioned in the school; even if they are occasionally raised in terms of politics issues, they are never explored in

depth. The teachers had become accustomed to the situation, expressing neither agreement nor disagreement. It would be interesting to see how different stakeholders would reflect on the phenomenon. As discussed in Section 5.2.1.4, James, as a policy expert, attributed it to the responsibilities of schools and teachers, who enjoy great autonomy in conducting educational practices within the flexible Scottish education system. However, the teachers in St Andrews Primary School put the lack of British elements down to the Scottish government's guidance, as they had never been explicitly required to explore the UK.

6.2.3.2 Organic ways of celebrating Scotland

In St Andrews Primary School, different stakeholders were empowered and incorporated into the educational practices. For example, the school values were arrived at by taking the ideas of children, parents and teachers into consideration. The school logo had been designed by a student, who was the winner of the logo competition. In the Halloween Assembly and Fair Trade Assembly that I had the chances to observe, the students' families were invited to wear their national costumes and bring their national foods to the school. The ethos of inclusiveness was also reflected in how Scottish identity education was carried out.

Rather than making something really explicit, we are letting in the sense of belonging to Scotland through organic ways. We would encourage people to be part of all our celebrations.

(Emily, female, born in Scotland with parents from Italy and Ireland,
principal teacher)

I think we prefer to teach or help people understand what is to be Scottish, I mean the way we welcome and the values we make real, rather than telling them about our mountains or rivers. It is about what we do, how we present ourselves, and how we welcome.

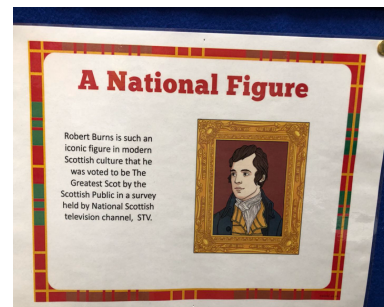
(Sophie, female, born and raised in Scotland, class teacher of Grade
Seven)

The Scottish elements were introduced into the school in an organic and participatory way. Instead of being told what Scotland is like and what it is unique for, students and their families are allowed to construct their own understandings and experience. My observations provided a reality check. I was invited by the

school to attend the Burns Supper, which is frequently mentioned as the most significant celebration of Scottish literature and culture. As an annual celebration, the Burns Supper was organised by Grade Seven students. As the teachers explained, other classes were not involved because students in lower grades might have difficulties in understanding what the activity is about. That evening, about 50 people including teachers, students and their families participated in the celebration. The school was immersed in a strong Scottish atmosphere. Cultural decorations, such as tartan and Robert Burn's work, could be easily found in every corner of the school. This was also the only occasion that I observed the flag of Scotland in the school.

✧ The routine of the Burns Supper

- Piping in the top table guests
- Welcome from the Master of Ceremonies (a student)
- Selkirk Grace recited by a student
- Piping in the Haggis – two students
- “Address to the Haggis” recited by a student
- The Meal
- “A Man’s a Man for a’ That” recited by a student
- The Immortal Memory: An ode to Robert Burns by a student
- “My Heart’s in the Highlands” by Primary Seven students
- “Toast to the Lassies” by a student
- “Reply to the Toast” by a student
- “Charlie is my Darling” by Primary Seven students
- Vote for thanks: Master of Ceremonies (a student)
- Ceilidh dance: “The Dashing White Sergeant” & “The Military Two Step”
- “Auld Lang Syne” by Primary Seven students and all guests



(Photos taken in the school at the celebration of the Burns Supper)

The event lasted for about two hours. Seven students, including two of Indian and Middle Eastern origins, were seated in front wearing tartan as the hosts, with the rest of the Grade Seven students participating as performers. While performing, some students were more or less timid and forgot their lines, but they were encouraged by teachers without bringing any interference. All the other participants were actively involved in the celebrations without being told how unique or great Scotland was. As an important section of the event, a plate of haggis was provided for each person present. Even though I did not much like it, I ate it, since that was what I would expect guests to do with Chinese dishes. However, none of other participants, including the school staff, finished the food. They just threw the rest of dishes out as if nothing had happened. To my surprise, when seeing that most people did not like the dishes, Ailsa, the head teacher, did not feel disrespected or offended. Instead, she explained the participants' behaviour by restating the tastelessness of the haggis in her follow-up conversation with me.

6.2.3.3 Scotland as an inclusive country

Based on my personal education experience and the evidence gathered from Phoenix Primary School, I thought that national identity education would always have been carried out with clear emotional orientation. However, this turned out not to be the case in St Andrews Primary School.

Whether students stay here forever or they are going back to their homeland where they originally come from, we want them to live with a really wonderful experience of being in Scotland.

(Emily, female, born in Scotland with parents from Italy and Ireland, principal teacher)

We have got other families maybe settling here for a short period of time. They can still have their culture in this country and school. They do not have to change themselves to be Scottish. I mean, what does being Scottish mean to them? Wearing a kilt, eating shortbread and haggis? No, that is stereotypical Scots. We only do that on special occasions.

(Sophie, female, born and raised in Scotland, class teacher of Grade Seven)

Considering the international community within the school, the teachers tended to discuss the aim of Scottish identity education with regards to the students who had originally come from other countries. It was hoped that those students, as the teachers argued, would understand Scotland as a welcoming country in which they had been living for a period of time. The relationship between the students' original national identities and Scottish identity was frequently raised in different interviews as well. As the teachers stated, other countries were explored and celebrated in the same way that Scotland was. The students were not expected to replace their original national identities with Scottish identity. The evidence gathered from the school observations to a certain extent confirmed the teachers' arguments. When attending activities, students and their families were encouraged to wear their national costumes, even at the Burns Supper.

I do not think it is a big expectation to love Scotland. I think it is just about being proud of who they are and where they come from. We would support them in the same way as we do to celebrate the cultures

of people from different countries. Because sometimes I think some children think they come from Scotland, which is not a fancy place. I want them to know their worth. But they do not have to love Scotland.

(Susan, female, born and raised in Scotland, class teacher of Grade Two/Three)

There is not an expectation for local students to love Scotland. However, this does not mean that local students' deep affection for Scotland was not encouraged. Instead, those students were expected to develop an awareness of Scotland as a unique and vibrant country. As the teachers argued, this could benefit students' understandings of their worth as individuals, which was understood by Susan to be important because of certain economic disadvantages that exist in Scotland. These economic disadvantages might be particularly evident in St Andrews Primary School, which is not an affluent school.

6.2.4 Global identity education in the school

6.2.4.1 An essential aspect of education

As Grace, the policy expert, had mentioned, St Andrews Primary School is enthusiastic about conducting global identity education. The evidence gathered from the school observations and the interviews with the teachers further confirms her statement. The school widely carries out global identity education in a number of ways.

I want students to be aware of the outside world. I want them to experience and understand the world without having to travel abroad, because lots of children in our school had never been to other places. It is important to let them know that they are still part of the bigger picture without feeling disadvantaged.

(Susan, female, born and raised in Scotland, class teacher of Grade Two/Three)

In terms of students' development, the school attaches great importance to global identity education. As the teachers illustrated, to access employment in the 21st century, a global perspective was especially significant. Students ought not only to develop awareness and knowledge of the world, but also be able to

live with differences and understand their responsibilities to promote world peace and integration. In addition, many students come from the families where the parents or carers have insufficient time and financial resources to bring up their children, let alone provide chances to travel internationally. Therefore, the teachers feel obliged to bridge the gap between students and the world so that they will no longer feel inferior to others.

I want to promote the similarities between Scotland, the UK and the world. I want to promote that as different human beings, we could have the same passion. I really want these kids to be passionate about their world because it is the same world... I do not care about what is going on with national identity. I think it is a very narrow world for them.

(Sophie, female, born and raised in Scotland, class teacher of Grade Seven)

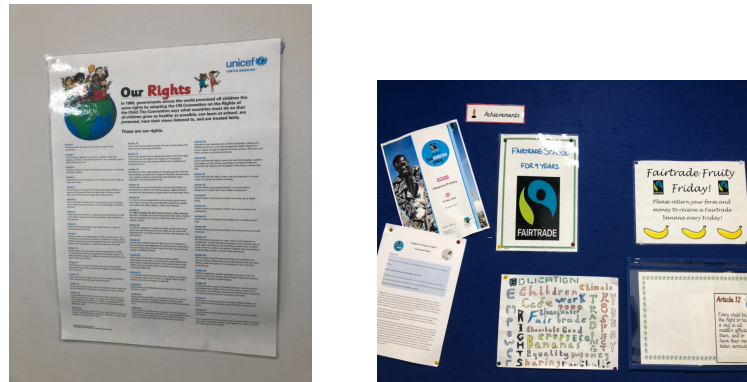
The school's passion for global identity education also results from the teachers' common concern about the so-called nationalist sentiment. In case extreme nationalism might lead to fascist tendencies, the teachers expect their students to shed narrow national identities to embrace the wider world. Through promoting similarities between different levels of communities, the common passion and the difficulties of various groups of people are emphasised, which could accordingly benefit global cohesion.

6.2.4.2 Formal, informal and hidden curricula

The school is keen on building global citizenship into almost all aspects of life. Global identity education is widely conducted through formal, informal and hidden curricula.

United Nations children's rights have been a massive thing in our school.... We are looking through everything as children's rights and helping children understand what is common to all people.

(Emily, female, born in Scotland with parents from Italy and Ireland, principal teacher)



(Photos taken in the school displaying children's rights and fair trade activities that the school has conducted.)

The school advocates students to see the world as a whole and calls for students' to accept their shared responsibilities as members of that world. This is not only evidenced by the great importance attached to rights-based education, but also by how issues of natural resources and fair trade are comprehensively introduced within the school.

The Global Storylines have been implemented in classes of Grades One to Seven. Usually it develops a community with everything we human beings do, and each student has a character. Students are quite emotionally involved within that situation and can realise that there is a bigger world out there.

(Sophie, female, born and raised in Scotland, class teacher of Grade Seven)

Global Storylines is a representative practice of global identity education in the school. I was invited to observe how it was delivered in a Primary Two class. Before observing the class, I had no idea what Global Storylines was. I initially thought it was about introducing students to stories from different countries. However, it turned out that Global Storylines is an implicit approach to advancing students' global identity through drama and art. The context of the story I observed was a mountain community engaging in a competition for the best village. The community was thwarted by the presence of a troublesome giant who caused destruction. Each student had a character in the community, such as bus driver, zookeeper and weather forecaster, and was asked to think from the perspective of their character and exercise their corresponding rights and duties. Instead of being instructed by the teachers, the students actively discussed the

values of inclusiveness, cooperation and mutual respect, which are all significant to being global citizens.

Like on the school calendar, we make sure that we celebrate everybody's culture. So we have Chinese New Year, and then we have Burns Night. We celebrate at the end of Ramadan... We always have big celebrations of these cultures in the school where we invite all families to come along and bring the food of their culture.

(Joyce, female, born and raised in the Isle of Lewis, nurture teacher)



(Photo taken in the school displaying stories written by students in different languages.)



(Photo taken at the entrance of the school, displaying "hello" in different languages.)

To develop the students' awareness of different components of the world, the school celebrates different cultures. As the teachers explained, the school celebrates various festivals in accordance with the cultural origins of students, although I did not get the chance to be involved in any other than Burns Night. The aim of doing this is not only to make all the students and their families feel respected and integrated, but also to develop mutual understanding among them. Different languages are introduced into the school as well. Students are

encouraged to write stories in their mother tongues and display their work on the board. The school also carries out a formal curriculum to develop students' basic foreign language skills. However, the implementation of the One Plus Two policy, which requires schools to teach two foreign languages, has been a bit tricky in the school. Since the vast majority of students speak English as the second language, the school only teaches French as a foreign language from Grades One to Seven. The head teacher defended this practice by arguing that the school did not desire to place a further burden upon students who speak other languages as their mother tongues. However, it did prompt me to ask whether the language-learning opportunities of students who are native English speakers are sacrificed.

6.2.4.3 Students as global citizens

In addition to the formal curriculum and activities carried out to promote global identity, the international community within the school was argued by teachers to support students' understandings of the world.

Teaching in this school is quite different. For example, I can ask, "Does anyone come from the country?" "Does anyone know the country?" It is really good to have children saying that, "I come from that country" or "I am going back to that country". You do not need to bring the world to the class because students come from different countries.

(Sophie, female, born and raised in Scotland, class teacher of Grade Seven)

The teachers believed that the school environment facilitates their practice because students have already been in the international community with real experience of cultures different from their own. This means teachers are not the only source of information about the world. Instead, students can develop their understandings of the world through daily communication with schoolmates. Therefore, the teachers were generally optimistic about the outcomes of global identity education.

I think students become so immersed with one another in this school. They become normalised that they do not see me as a Scottish and him as an Asian or whatever. They do not identify themselves as being different from anybody else in the school.

(Emily, female, born in Scotland with parents from Italy and Ireland,
principal teacher)

I think by the time the children get to Grade Seven when they have done the full journey through the school, they are talking like global citizens. They do not see the differences. They just see the world.

(Ailsa, female, born in England and married to an English person, head
teacher)

The teachers did not deny the fact that no scale is available to evaluate the impact of global identity education on students. However, considering the good feedback that the school has received from secondary schools about what good citizens their graduates are, the teachers expressed confidence in their practice. They believed that students could be regarded as global citizens, especially in terms of understanding and respecting differences.

6.3 Summary

This chapter has explored teachers' perceptions of national identity and global identity, as well as the practice of national identity education and global identity education in Phoenix Primary School and St Andrews Primary School.

In Phoenix Primary School, the teachers commonly had a stronger sense of Chinese identity than global identity. The Chinese nation was perceived as having multiple meanings. Specifically, teachers tended to conceptualise the Chinese nation as their own child. Teachers identified with the uniqueness of the Chinese nation and the development that it had achieved. Being patriotic was framed as an ideal characteristic. The teachers were aware of the impact of globalisation on individuals' lives, but commonly had difficulties in understanding the concept of a global citizen. According to them, only individuals equipped with global knowledge, experience and skills can be regarded as global citizens. Within the school, more importance was attached to Chinese identity education than global identity education. A consensus on the legitimacy of Chinese identity education was reached among teachers. Chinese identity education was widely advanced through formal, informal and hidden curricula. The teachers were unsatisfied with some of students' performances. In conducting global identity education,

practical difficulties in terms of limited government support and ambiguous curriculum responsibilities were reported. In the school, more attention was attached to diversity issues in the world. Students were regarded as potential global citizens.

In St Andrews Primary School, most teachers understood Scottish identity, British identity and global identity as mutually compatible with each other. Both Scotland and the UK were identified by most teachers, however each identity was said to be attached to different meanings. Scottish identity was conceptualised as a cultural identity, while British identity was a political one. Concerning the issues of the Scottish Independence Referendum and Brexit, the teachers were vigilant about the potential nationalist tendency, and therefore argued that individuals should be allowed to construct their national identity in different ways. Most of the teachers identified themselves as global citizens, who were framed as individuals capable of living with differences. Within the school, global identity education rather than national identity education was comprehensively conducted. The Scottish rather than the British element was of more concern to the school. Scotland was framed as an inclusive country and celebrated in a participatory approach. Global identity education was treated as an essential part of school life. The essence of global citizenship was incorporated into nearly all aspects of the school through formal, informal and hidden curricula. The teachers were confident in their related practices and believed that the students were global citizens.

Chapter Seven Understanding Students' Experiences and Perceptions

This chapter explores students' experiences and perceptions to examine how national identity education and global identity education are attained in Phoenix Primary School and St Andrews Primary School. The findings reported here come from focus groups with students of about 10 years of age. The students' experiences of national identity education and global identity education are illustrated first, followed by their perceptions of national identity and global identity.

7.1 The perspectives of Chinese students

This section examines the perspectives of Chinese students by looking at the data from six focus groups conducted in Phoenix Primary School. The 36 respondents, as was discussed in Section 4.3.4, were selected by the deputy head teacher, who gave the reason that they were particularly expressive students who could provide rich information. The respondents were homogenous in terms of their presentation skills, and as a result often expressed their experiences and perceptions in similar ways. Therefore, their perspectives should not be treated as generalisable evidence to understand the experiences and perceptions of students who were not involved in the study.

7.1.1 Students' experiences of national identity education

7.1.1.1 Rituals and symbols of the Chinese nation

Most of the students became animated when discussing the education about the Chinese nation they had experienced in the school. Their enthusiasm not only confirmed that they were expressive students, as the deputy head teacher had promised, but also indicated that Chinese identity education was indeed something they were familiar with from their education, and that it was an emotive topic for them. According to the students, their learning mainly dealt with the rituals and symbols of the Chinese nation.

We sing the national anthem every week. I feel proud of China while listening to our national anthem on campus and outside the school. I know every country has its own anthem, but I do not think they embody long histories and rich cultures as ours does. (Jiangbing)

We learn about Chinese traditions, food, festivals, customs and culture that other countries do not have. (Ziyi)

We are required to recite Chinese literature. Unlike English letters, each single Chinese character has a specific meaning, not to mention Chinese poetry. I admire ancient Chinese people's wisdom very much. (Linlin)

As the students illustrated, their learning about the Chinese nation is rich in terms of content. The learning activities they reported were commonly knowledge-based and revolved around attributes that make the Chinese nation different from others. Meanwhile, the students prevalently invoked their sense of pride in Chinese symbols and civilisation. However, it remains unclear whether this pride had been developed under the influence of the school or through other factors outside the school.

7.1.1.2 Formal and informal curricula

Regarding the instructional strategies used in Chinese identity education, incongruence was evident between the students' and teachers' experiences. The school environment and decorations, which were cited by teachers as ways in which Chinese identity is implicitly advanced, were not mentioned by the students. Instead, the students commonly focused on how Chinese identity is advanced through formal and informal curricula.

The role of formal curriculum in constructing Chinese identity was widely acknowledged by the students. Nearly all the curriculum areas covered within the school were referred to, with specific reference to certain subjects like Chinese, Morality and the Rule of Law and Comprehensive Practice. According to the students, Chinese literature, history, culture and values are incorporated into the formal curriculum, contributing to their comprehensive understanding of the Chinese nation.

I became a Young Pioneer when I was seven. I still remember the day when I first wore the red scarf. At that moment, I knew I was a part of China and should study hard to devote myself to it. (Ruijia)

Some routine activities were discussed. In addition to the Flag Raising Ceremony, the activities of the Young Pioneers were referred to frequently. In Phoenix Primary School, all the students in Grade Two would be simultaneously enrolled in the Young Pioneers of China, receiving their red scarves together. Although the Young Pioneers of China is attached to the CPC, most of the activities it carries out within schools do not deal directly with the CPC, but are focused on protecting the environment and community resources.

7.1.1.3 Debate on the Flag Raising Ceremony

Unlike the expert and teachers who agreed on the necessity of Chinese identity education, the students held a wider variety of opinions. Specifically, the Flag Raising Ceremony, which is one of the best-known approaches to Chinese identity education in the school, ignited fierce debate among students, who disagreed about whether it should be an obligatory activity.

Dabai: When I started school at six, seeing the flag raising made me feel proud of our country. However, now I feel it is boring and should be cancelled.

Mingjin: I disagree with Dabai. The Flag Raising Ceremony should not be cancelled as it allows us to feel that our country is strong. I feel strongly proud of being Chinese.

Jiangbing: You should not treat the flag of China like a toy that you quickly lost interest in. The Five-starred Red Flag was dyed with martyrs' blood, and therefore should be respected. Our President Xi Jinping attends the Flag Raising Ceremony and sings the national anthem every day in the midst of his busy schedule. We as primary school students should do the same thing.

Dabai: Fine, I know I am wrong.

The above conversation exemplifies the uniqueness of focus groups, which allow participants to inspire or argue with each other (Morgan, 1988). Dabai claimed to be 'wrong' at the end of conversation. However, it remains unknown whether she was truly convinced that the Flag Raising Ceremony should be an obligatory activity or if she temporarily abandoned her actual position due to peer pressure. The significance of the above conversation does not lie in the fact that the

students seemingly reached a consensus in the end, but in the fact that a conversation - albeit a brief one - took place on the topic of Chinese identity education; to a certain degree, the mere fact that a student wondered about an aspect of national identity education suggests that the current generation may be starting to reflect on this topic rather than just taking it as granted (although this child was evidently in a minority, at least within this focus group, where she was quickly overpowered by the majority). In addition, the following excerpt shows that unlike the expert and teachers, the students advised that the current approaches to Chinese identity education could be transformed.

Momo: I think the Flag Raising Ceremony should be more interactive. Otherwise we can easily lose interest in the monotonous routine.

Mingjin: Students' voices should be taken into consideration while designing the curriculum. We cannot not build emotional links with the Chinese nation without having an interest in it.

Yiran: I agree with Momo and Mingjin. Education about the Chinese nation should be carried out while respecting students' autonomy, otherwise it is meaningless.

It is noteworthy that ideas relating to interactivity and students' autonomy were repeated in different focus groups, indicating the students' reflections on the current top-down approaches to Chinese identity education in the school. According to the students, education about the Chinese nation is carried out following a routine that the teachers designed, which leaves very limited room for students' own exploration. Specifically, the students argued that the knowledge-oriented approach, which is currently used in the school, is incapable of making students' learning entertaining.

7.1.2 Students' experiences of global identity education

7.1.2.1 Learning about other countries

The students who were expressive in describing the Chinese identity education they had experienced in the school had little to say when it came to the topic of global identity education. It is reasonable to infer that the global identity education the students had experienced was less rich than the Chinese identity education.

The students showed a tendency to interpret the world as consisting of “other countries”, which inevitably influenced their experiences of global identity education. When asked what they had learned about the world in school, the languages, food and festivals of other countries were often referred to. However, the students rarely explained their personal understandings of the foreign elements they mentioned in the discussions.

Zhuyu: We celebrated Christmas last year and I enjoyed it very much.

Researcher: What is Christmas?

Shuozhi: It is American people’s New Year. It is important for American people, just like what Lunar New Year means to us.

Researcher: What do people usually do at Christmas?

Zheming: They eat together and play games with their families.

The conversation above is by no means presented with the intention of judging students’ knowledge of Christmas, but to indicate the extent to which students’ understandings of global issues might be achieved under the school’s instruction. As the students explained, elements of other countries are often introduced in the school by discussing their Chinese counterparts. Since most learning activities are carried out with the aim of promoting Chinese identity, the room for advancing students’ understanding of other countries is limited.

7.1.2.2 International experience

Global identity education in the school, as experienced by the students, is often conducted following an experience-based approach. The learning that is achieved through core curriculum areas, cited as Morality and the Rule of Law, English, and Comprehensive Practice, was recognised by the students, while considerable attention was paid to study abroad trips, which are two-week trips to developed countries organised by the school in summer and winter vacations. Most students participating in the focus groups had gone on these trips and believed they were more helpful than formal curriculum in constructing their global understanding.

Research: Which countries have you been to?

Qingzi: I have been to Singapore, the United Kingdom and Australia. I have visited several castles, including the most famous one, Windsor Castle in England. Australia is famous for different kinds of animals, like kangaroos and koalas.

Zhuyu: I went to Japan last year. Japan is very clean and Japanese people are very friendly.

Xiwen: I have not been to other countries. The only way I learn about them is through television.

The argument that constructing global identity relies on international experience was shared by students in different focus groups. Even though more than half of the students in Phoenix Primary School, as the teachers had said, have overseas experience, there are still large numbers of students who have never been abroad due to financial or other considerations. Since the students in the school commonly have a higher standard of living than the norm, the proportion of students with no overseas experience would be much larger in most primary schools in Mainland China. Even though no scale is available to assess whether students with international experience have an advantage in developing global understanding, the uncertainty expressed by Xiwen and other students who had never been to other countries could be easily observed in focus groups. In other words, when it comes to conducting global identity education, resources and information are not equally accessible to students, which might lead to their senses of superiority or inferiority. How to achieve a sense of equality among students remains a distinctive challenge for global identity education, and one thing that can be inferred from this situation is that relying on the students' personal experiences rather than curriculum to construct their global identity makes a sense of global identity a commodity that is available only to the most privileged students.

7.1.2.3 Meeting individual and national needs

Whereas there was some controversy over whether Chinese identity education should be treated as a necessary aspect of school education, the legitimacy of global identity education did not cause divergence among the students. The students shared curiosity about the world and were content with the way that foreign elements were being incorporated into the school. They also reached a consensus on the importance of global identity education based on utilitarian considerations.

I think it is important to learn about other countries because it can help improve us. In the school, we learn a lot about the advantages and disadvantages of different countries. For instance, I know Japanese people are very considerate and well-organised. But we should not betray history like they do. (Yiran)

I enjoy eating food, both Chinese food and foreign food, and my mother always requests that I keep fit. I like the way our school introduces the culture of foreign food, as it will be helpful if I want to study abroad. (Qingzi)

The students primarily expressed concern about their individual needs. In the context of globalisation, they were aware of their connections with the rest of the world. The knowledge and experience of other countries provided in the school were regarded as beneficial for the students, especially those who planned to study or live abroad in the future. The students also expressed concern about the national development needs of China. According to them, learning from other countries can help make China a strong and prosperous country.

7.1.3 Students' perceptions of national identity

7.1.3.1 Three meanings of the Chinese nation

Prior to being asked any formal questions, the students were provided with two cards with words written on them - "Chinese Nation" and "World"- and asked to select or put the cards in order to explain their senses of belonging. Not surprisingly, the "Chinese Nation" card was put in first place by 35 of the 36 students. The only exception was Yushu:

Yushu: I select the world only. I think there is no need to select the Chinese nation as it is located in the world.

Xinxin: I disagree with Yushu. The world is composed of China, Japan, Korea and lots of countries. If you do not choose the Chinese nation, people cannot tell where you are from.

The Chinese nation was interpreted as having multiple meanings. First, it was understood as a part of the world. For all the students participating in the focus groups, the Chinese nation was primarily the place in which they had been born and raised. Although some students had international experience, China was still

the place where they had lived most of their lives, and it therefore provided them with the strongest sense of differentiation and belonging.

Researcher: How could an individual born and raised in other nations become a part of the Chinese nation?

Jiangbing: The only method is to change their nationality.

Yiran: Yes. Dual nationalities are not allowed in China. We welcome anyone who loves China and wants to be Chinese. However, we cannot completely trust people who decline to change their original nationalities to become Chinese.

Second, the students have a legal status (their Chinese nationality) that makes them part of the Chinese nation. According to the students, obtaining Chinese nationality is the only way individuals coming from other countries might become part of China and be accepted by Chinese people as compatriots.

Ruijia: Without China, there would be no family. Without family, there would be no me.

Xinxin: Yes. The Chinese nation gave birth to me. I should show filial piety and respect for the Chinese nation as how I do for my parents.

In addition, an intimate blood relationship with the Chinese nation was repeatedly mentioned in different groups. As the students argued, the Chinese nation is a large family comprising numerous families and laying the foundations for individuals' family lives. Unlike the adult respondents, who framed the Chinese nation as a child, the students tended to speak of the Chinese nation as their parents and further personified it as a mother, as Xinxin did when saying the nation "gave birth" to her. In addition to life, they attributed the resources and opportunities they had enjoyed to the generosity of the Chinese nation. They regarded it as an obligation to respect and support the Chinese nation as how they do for their mother.

7.1.3.2 Characteristics and development of the Chinese nation

35 of the 36 students put the "Chinese Nation" card in first place, indicating their strong Chinese identity. As was discussed in Section 2.1.2, the construction of national identity is open to individuals' differences. Among the students who claimed to have a strong sense of Chinese identity, the meanings they brought to

‘Chinese identity’ were not necessarily the same. To avoid the confusion and uncertainty that the topic might cause among the students, the question was simplified: the students were asked what they would say if they were to introduce the Chinese nation to people from other countries.

The Chinese nation has a history of more than 5,000 years, which is much longer than any other country. Although the United States is currently the most advanced country, it only has a history of 200 years. I am particularly interested in some famous emperors from ancient times, such as *Qin Shi Huang* [秦始皇, the First Emperor of the Qin dynasty] and *Kang Xi* [康熙, the Fourth Emperor of the Qing dynasty], who advanced the development of the Chinese nation. The Great Wall, the Summer Palace, the Forbidden City and other places that are profoundly embedded in Chinese culture and history should be introduced to the world as well. I hope foreigners can visit and understand China. (Ruijia)

I would like to teach them the Chinese language and Chinese literature. Unlike English and French, our language is full of culture and history. Each single character even has its own meaning. (Linlin)

The students tended to compare the Chinese nation with other nations in their construction of Chinese identity. The characteristics of the Chinese nation that the students perceived as distinguishing it from other nations constituted the main sources of the students’ Chinese identity. The rich history and cultural heritage of the Chinese nation was specifically acknowledged.

I want to introduce the economic development of China. America and the United Kingdom, which used to be more advanced than China, have to admit that the Chinese economy has been experiencing steady growth. Nowadays, Chinese technologies and inventions are leading the world. (Yushu)

The students also referred to the economic development and leading role of China globally to demonstrate their senses of pride in the Chinese nation. Although commonly born in the early 2010s, when China’s economy was already experiencing steady growth, the students had been told by adults, including their teachers, parents and grandparents, about the Chinese people’s poor standard of living in the past. In other words, although they had never personally experienced a ‘backward’ China, the students could contrast China’s present and past based on what adults had told them. The students’ senses of pride and accomplishment

were particularly strongly enhanced by the knowledge that China had caught up with countries that had previously been ahead of it and that had subjected China to unfair treatment. In summary, the students' Chinese identity is constructed based on both the uniqueness and development of the Chinese nation. The students also expressed a desire to make foreign people recognise these elements, an aspect that will be elaborated on in the next section.

7.1.3.3 Being patriotic as a duty

The students' strong Chinese identity was not just reflected in their knowledge of the Chinese nation and their intimate emotional relationships with it, but also in their commitment to the corresponding responsibilities. According to the students, being patriotic is a duty.

I am a primary school student with limited knowledge and experience, so I'm not able to make great contributions to the Chinese nation. All I can do at this stage is start with small efforts, like studying hard and helping others. (Hengyuan)

A classic piece of Chinese moral wisdom was frequently mentioned: "Xiushen, qijia, zhiguo, pingtianxia" [修身, 齐家, 治国, 平天下, Cultivating oneself, regulating one's family, as well as governing one's states, soothing the whole kingdom]. When asked what people should do as parts of the Chinese nation, nearly all the groups of students cited the above proverb. This also confirms the findings illustrated in Section 7.1.3.1: in the eyes of Chinese people, the Chinese nation is a combination and extension of individuals' families. The students expressed the belief that the fates of individuals, families and the Chinese nation are intimately linked with each other. It was indeed early for 10-year-old students to think about making great contributions to China. Therefore, cultivating oneself was commonly cited as what they could do at the moment.

I think people should have the Chinese nation in their hearts. As proposed by our President Xi Jinping, Chinese people should study Chinese traditional culture and celebrate Chinese festivals, instead of being addicted to foreign culture. (Ruijia)

The students' general opinion was that in addition to cultivating oneself, a patriotic Chinese person should always think and behave by following the Chinese approach. When facing the choice between Chinese and foreign elements, Chinese people are expected to concentrate on their national heritage, including Chinese history, culture, customs, language and literature. An individual with no knowledge or limited understanding of China cannot be regarded as a patriotic Chinese.

Furthermore, although they expressed contentedness with the development that China has achieved, the students said they were devoted to its further prosperity. The students particularly hoped that China could be recognised in terms of its advantages and uniqueness, as represented by its profound history and rich culture. As for the disadvantages of China, for instance Chinese tourists' "uncivilised behaviour", the students believed that they had obligations to defend China and correct outsiders' misunderstandings. It was evident that the century of national humiliation had a profound impact on the students, as the proverb "Luohou jiuyao aida" [落后就要挨, Backwardness leaves you vulnerable to attack] was repeated by different groups of students. The students worried that if China lags behind other countries, they will be open to the kind of aggression that Chinese people experienced in the past. Therefore, although they agreed that it is important to be friendly to foreign people, the students clearly stated that the help and support provided to other countries should be limited to a certain extent in case any of them surpass China. In other words, a patriotic Chinese person should concentrate on making contributions to the Chinese nation.

7.1.4 Students' perceptions of global identity

7.1.4.1 Two meanings of the world

19 of the students selected the "World" card to explain their senses of belonging. For most of them, the Chinese nation and the world are compatible rather than mutually exclusive to each other in defining their identities. Without exception, all the students who selected both cards put the "World" behind the "Chinese Nation".

I select both the Chinese nation and the world. I am undoubtedly a part of China. Since China is an essential part of the world, I am a part of the world as well. (Dongshu)

I put the Chinese nation above the world. I am first Chinese because I was born and educated in China. I can travel around when I grow up. (Wenzi)

Based on the similarities in the students' responses, it is easy to summarise how the world as a concept was interpreted. First, the world is a much bigger place than China. Similar to the way that the Chinese nation is perceived as an extension of individuals' families, the world is understood as an extension of the Chinese nation. An individual is like a stone thrown in the water, with family being the first ripple to emanate from it, followed by the Chinese nation and then the world. Second, in the minds of the students who did not select the "World" card, the world was perceived as referring to other countries. Because they had not been born or raised in other countries, they could not regard themselves as a part of the world.

Two implications can be drawn from the above findings, one of which is that the nation-state framework is still the most influential factor in forming the students' social identities. The Chinese nation is an important medium for students to construct their senses of belonging to the world. Chinese identity is essential, and even the prerequisite for the formation of individuals' global identity. Second, for most students who have been born and raised up in China, global identity is constructed based on a series of preconditions, which will be elicited in Section 7.1.4.2.

7.1.4.2 Prerequisites for being global citizens

The argument that global identity is constructed based on a set of prerequisites was widely shared by students. It also explained why many students claimed not to identify with the world.

I have not been to other countries. I am not sure if I am eligible to be regarded as a part of the world. (Dabai)

The students expressed a particular understanding of the prerequisites for being a global citizen. Specifically, since the world is conceptualised as other countries, a personal lack of international experience interferes with individuals' cognitive understanding of the world, making it difficult to construct sense of belonging to the world.

I think people should not forget who they are. Only by identifying with China, learning about China and making contributions to China can individuals become global citizens and be devoted to the world.
(Yueran)

When asked about the efforts global citizens should make, the Confucian approach to managing the relationship between oneself, one's country and the world was raised as well. In addition to emphasising the significance of self-cultivation, the students pointed out that individuals should actively protect and preserve their national identity. All the characteristics and responsibilities of patriots discussed above were repeated. To my surprise, the concept of multiple citizenship was simply explained by the students using plain language. In addition to the argument that individuals' global identity should be constructed based on their Chinese identity, the students proposed that the aim of constructing global identity is to expand individuals' thinking and vision, allowing them to make contributions to the Chinese nation. In other words, global identity serves the function of strengthening Chinese identity. Since the world is perceived as a bigger family as well, the students who were aware of the connections with the planet declared that global citizens should shoulder corresponding responsibilities, including protecting the environment, saving energy and contributing to world peace.

7.1.4.3 Discussions on Japan

Although only two of the students had heard about the concept of globalisation, 32 of them expressed the willingness to deepen their understandings of other countries. Considerable attention was paid to international relations. In particular, Sino-Japanese relations attracted the students' interest.

Xiaoyue: I hate little Japanese people. They invaded China and killed thousands of Chinese people. I will not forgive them.

Pangpang: Me too. I would like to make friends with people from all other countries except Japan.

Youyou: I do not hate Japanese people since I know they are innocent. What I hate is the Japanese government, who made the cruel decision to invade China.

Zhehan: I think we should consider the Sino-Japanese relationship from the perspective of Japanese people as well. They invaded us for the sake of their country. Compared with China, Japan is a small country with limited natural resources and more frequent earthquakes. If Japan had not made the decision to invade China, their people would eventually have had no food to eat. In fact, I think Japan's invasion was good as it forced Chinese people to work hard. Otherwise China would not have achieved such remarkable development.

The above quotes are not presented to pass judgement on the students' various responses, but to indicate that the topics of the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-45) and Sino-Japanese relations were frequently mentioned by the different groups of students, which did not surprise me. Phoenix Primary School is located in the city of Changchun, which used to be the capital of Manchukuo, which was invaded in 1931 during the prelude to the Second Sino-Japanese War. A part of the school buildings was the former site of the Culture and Education Department of Manchukuo. Therefore, the students commonly expressed mixed feelings towards Japan. While Sino-Japanese relations are a key topic of discussion in Phoenix Primary School, China's relationships with the USA or other countries might receive more focus in schools in other parts of China. In conducting global identity education, international relations is a topic that cannot be circumvented.

7.2 The perspectives of Scottish students

This section sets out to examine the perspectives of students through three focus groups conducted in St Andrews Primary School. Due to international flavour of the school, heterogeneity was certainly observed among the students. Unlike the students in Phoenix Primary School, who had all been born in China, most of the students in St Andrews Primary School were not born in Scotland or had lived in another country longer than they had lived in Scotland. In this section, 'Scottish

students' refers to the students participating in the focus groups in St Andrews Primary School; it does not indicate their origins or nationalities.

7.2.1 Students' experiences of national identity education

As discussed in Section 3.3.1, in the Scottish context, national identity has dualistic meanings, referring both to Scottish identity and British identity, with the former meaning being stronger than the latter. This section sets out to explore students' learning experiences of Scotland and the UK in St Andrews Primary School.

7.2.1.1 Scottish culture

Scottish elements are introduced into the school through implicit means. The students claimed to have developed a comprehensive understanding of Scotland through their school education, with the most in-depth knowledge and experience revolving around Scottish culture and history.

I have lots of things to say. In the school, we learn about the tartan patterns while we are doing art. We learn Scottish culture and Robert Burns. We learn Scottish dances in PE classes. We also learn about Scottish history, like we go to churches and museums to see so many things about Scotland. (Ellie)

According to the students, learning about Scotland is often experienced through an interdisciplinary approach. Since the three focus groups were conducted at the beginning of February 2019, right after the celebrations of Burns Supper and Scottish literature, Robert Burns was frequently mentioned by the students.

Lucas: We celebrated the Burns Supper last month. I think it is good to learn about Robert Burns because the words he used were very powerful, I mean very Scottish. He can represent Scotland.

Natalie: From Robert Burns, we could learn how Scotland was different before.

Jacob: For other people, I mean the people who come from other countries, it is good for them to come here and learn more about Robert Burns.

Natalie: Yes, Robert Burns wrote in Scots. But now people do not really write and talk Scots, they speak English. So I think it is good to see how

he can write in that and his song “Auld Lang Syne” can go around the world.

For the students of Scottish origin, Burns Supper was significant as it brought the past of Scotland to life, allowing them to construct their imagination of Scottish history. They also spoke of Robert Burns as a representative of Scotland, who could help outsiders develop a sense of the Scottish nation. For the students who originally came from other countries, Robert Burns enabled them to understand the country in which they are studying and living. The songs Robert Burns wrote, particularly “Auld Lang Syne”, have been translated into different languages and circulated around the world, serving as solid evidence of his international influence. Compared with other Scottish figures and elements, Robert Burns is more capable of bringing Scotland to the world and is therefore capable of representing Scotland.

The students recognised the importance of Scottish elements being introduced into the school. However, unlike the students in Phoenix Primary School, who commonly expressed strong emotional connections with the Chinese nation, the students in St Andrews Primary School took less serious attitudes towards Scotland. As they explained, while topics related to Scottish identity are discussed on campus, they do not dominate school life. Additionally, the students did not debate whether Scottish identity education should be treated as a necessity in school education.

7.2.1.2 British politics

The students became less animated when discussing what they had learned about the UK in school. Some general answers were provided without much elaboration. Some students even expressed a reluctance to engage in the topic.

Researcher: What do you learn about the UK?

Daisy: I learn that the United Kingdom is a big place and it is a good place.

Hannah: Can I do Scotland?

On one hand, the above conversation reflects the way the 10-year-old children discussed places, while on the other it indicates the limited extent to which

British elements are touched upon in the school. In the students' experience, the UK is less accessible in the school. However, this does not mean that related topics are avoided. Instead, the students had developed understandings of the UK, especially of its political issues, through school education.

Jessica: We learn about the politics of the United Kingdom.

Researcher: What do you mean by politics?

Jessica: Something about the relationship between us and the EU, like Brexit. I know the UK wants to come out of the EU. But we have not won it yet.

Luke: We have learned a lot about Brexit. Our class teacher tells us she hates it. She is, like, every day, tells us that "the word I do not want to hear today is Brexit".

Jessica: We have to hear about Brexit all the time. But I dislike the issue, as it is not my business.

Other students: Me neither.

The contested Brexit process certainly impacted the school life and the ways in which the students responded to the topic. To understand the students' attitudes towards Brexit, what was happening outside the school should be taken into account. The students were likely to be hearing the narrative of uncertainty at home and from the mass media, which might have exerted influences on their perceptions and behaviour on campus. In addition, their apparent indifference about Brexit does not necessarily indicate that the students did not care about the UK. They may have been suffering Brexit fatigue, or other issues might have been of greater concern to them.

7.2.2 Students' experiences of global identity education

7.2.2.1 Formal, informal and hidden curricula

The students became more animated when discussing their learning about the world. According to them, global identity education is comprehensively carried out in the school.

We learned Nelson Mandela last semester. At that time, the dark coloured people were treated differently. Mandela stood up for them and then he got in prison. I learned that we have the rights to be treated equal no matter what colour we are. (Natalie)

We learn children's rights as well. You cannot abuse anyone online or face-to-face, as everyone has the right to be safe. (Jayden)

According to the students, many topics introduced in the school were aimed at developing their awareness of the world. Issues like global warming, human rights, equity and equality were widely discussed. The students could construct their understanding of the world in multiple ways, including formal curriculum and participating in related activities. The celebrations of different cultures were commonly discussed across the three focus groups.

Ethan: We celebrate Chinese New Year, when you can get a moon cake or something.

Natalie: We also celebrate Diwali and Eid.

Jacob: Yes, we celebrate a lot of festivals. In our class, there are lots of students coming from different culture. We try to celebrate everyone's culture.

St Andrews Primary School is advantaged in that many of its students come from different countries. The teachers do not need to bring the world to their classrooms or organise trips abroad for the students. Instead, students with different backgrounds can learn from each other in their day-to-day settings. Given this multicultural environment, the students are conveniently empowered to construct a sense of identification with the world.

7.2.2.2 Respecting others

For the students participating in the focus groups, the experience of global identity education they reported not only revealed the facts of their school life, but also reflected their personal attitudes towards it to a certain extent. The students enjoyed learning about the world and considered it an essential part of school education.

Lucas: It is important to learn about other countries. If we do not know about others, we would not be able to understand them.

Ethan: We could know why these different cultures do things in different ways, and then we do not judge.

Lucas: We could know how to respect others. We could understand why people behave in different ways.

Kate: When you learn about other cultures, you know why these people believe in these things.

The students commonly recognised the importance of global identity education. Given the international flavour of the school, the students are surrounded by lots of schoolmates from different backgrounds and are therefore more sensitive to the issues of unity and diversity. According to them, the significance of learning about the world does not lie in expanding knowledge, but in understanding and respecting others. In addition, when discussing the function of learning about the world, the students did not rely on the nation-state framework. Global identity education, as described by the students, was not treated as a means of advancing their own national identities.

7.2.3 Students' perceptions of national identity

7.2.3.1 Scotland as a place of birth and of living

Initially, to achieve equivalence, two cards - "Nation" and "World" - were designed to present to each student participating in the focus groups. Considering the dualistic meanings of 'nation' in the Scottish context, cards reading "Scotland" and "UK" were designed. Since St Andrews Primary school has many students from diverse backgrounds, an "Other Countries" card was provided as well in case any student felt ignored. Therefore, the students participating in the focus groups were provided with four cards: "Scotland", "UK", "World" and "Other Countries". Prior to being asked the formal questions, all the students' personal information, including their origins, was carefully recorded to help understand their choices of cards. 16 of the 20 students selected "Scotland" to define their senses of belonging. Even students originally from other countries declared that they were parts of Scotland.

I pick "Scotland" first because I was born here. I also pick "Other Countries" because I am from Pakistan. (Doris)

I choose "Other Countries" first because before I came to Scotland, I was living in Saudi Arabia. And when I came to Scotland at about three, I went to a nursery. So "Scotland" is chosen as well because it has been my home for a couple of years. (Evan)

I will say “Scotland” because I was born in Glasgow and my mum was, too. But my dad is from Nigeria, so I pick “Other Countries” as well. (Ellie)

For the students who felt like they are part of Scotland, regardless of whether they put the “Scotland” card in first place or not, Scotland was the place either of their birth or where they had been living for a significant period of time. Unlike the students in Phoenix Primary School, students in St Andrews Primary School did not report close links between Scottish identity and Scottish citizenship. None of them argued that only possessing Scottish nationality could an individual be accepted as a part of Scotland. No similar metaphor of mother or family was used in conceptualising Scotland.

7.2.3.2 Scotland as a unique and welcoming country

Unlike their counterparts in Phoenix Primary School, the students in St Andrews Primary School rarely used strongly emotive expressions to explain their senses of belonging to Scotland. The students certainly stated that they felt happy and comfortable living in Scotland. However, no stronger feelings beyond that were reported, which was against my expectation. Considering the international community within the school, the students were asked to identify the uniqueness of Scotland, instead of being asked to introduce Scotland to outsiders.

Scotland’s national animal is a unicorn. So that is unique. And we have got Robert Burns, who is a famous poet. (Evan)

Thistle is the national flower of Scotland. I really like it because there are nice colours in it and Scotland is really a colourful place. (Hannah)

Scotland is a unique place because there are so many different types of foods, like shortbread and haggis. There are so many interesting things as well, like kilts. (Ellie)

Compared with the answers provided by the policy experts and teachers, the Scottish elements identified by the students were more concrete. Haggis, shortbread, tartan, Irn-Bru and other cultural symbols, which were cited as stereotypes of Scotland by policy experts and teachers, were commonly

mentioned in the focus groups. To a certain extent, this was in adherence to the way 10-years-old students understand places.

In Scotland you have the right to free speech. (Ethan)

Like other countries, people do their own business and do not like to talk to you. But in Scotland, if you are new here, everyone tries to understand your background and be your friend. (Jaden)

My country is quite dangerous. I get nervous and scared when I land there. But when I come to Scotland, it is safe and makes me feel part of it. (Luke)

In addition, as the above quotes show, Scotland was characterised as a welcoming country. The students who originally came from other backgrounds tended to make comparisons between Scotland and their nations of origin. In particular, the students who were refugees or asylum seekers had a tendency to attribute the uniqueness of Scotland to the characteristics of democratic countries. Furthermore, the nice and friendly Scottish people they had met and the welcoming atmosphere they had been immersed in contributed to their senses of belonging to Scotland. Taking the students' responses into consideration, a question was inevitably raised: Are those students' senses of belonging to Scotland sufficient to demonstrate their Scottish identity? If not, what does Scottish identity mean in such a diverse Scotland with many people with different backgrounds moving in and out?

7.2.3.3 Confusions about the UK

Although the policy experts and teachers expected the students to have an awareness of the UK, only two students accurately explained the relationship between Scotland and the UK. Other than those two, none of the students selected the "UK" card to define their senses of belonging. An ambiguous understanding of the UK was prevalent in all three focus groups.

Luke: Is the United Kingdom in Scotland or Scotland in the United Kingdom? So what is the United Kingdom? Is it a giant country or a continent?

Jessica: Scotland is the summary of the United Kingdom.

Jack: The United Kingdom is Europe.

Evan: The United Kingdom is a part of Europe.

Ellie: Is the United Kingdom England?

Bella: Yes.

When disagreement and misunderstandings arose, I by no means defended either side or corrected the students. I initially thought some of the students' responses were caused by speaking errors, but I changed my mind upon finding that the confusions illustrated above were commonly shared across all three groups of students. Evidently, the students lacked a spatial understanding of the UK. Their limited knowledge of the relationship between the UK and its home nations also indicated that the students had insufficient understanding of the political structure of the UK. I have no intention of arguing to what extent 10-year-old children should be expected to develop a spatial understanding at the national level. However, it cannot be denied that students' spatial knowledge of the nation would influence the construction of their national identities. Taking this into consideration, it is no longer difficult to understand why the "UK" card was not selected by more students to define their senses of belonging.

7.2.3.4 Discussions on Brexit

The students were relatively silent when asked to discuss the uniqueness of the UK. The elements they came up with were either vague or general and were not elaborated on.

Evan: The map of the United Kingdom is small, but it is actually a very big country.

Jayden: Yes. There are different sites to go and you will see quite a lot of tourists around there.

The above conversation is not presented in order to question the uniqueness of the British landscape, but to illustrate the extent to which the students' understandings of the UK had been achieved in school. The only issue about the UK that was seriously discussed was its politics, specifically Brexit.

Jessica: It is funny but awkward. Politicians talk really slow, like, "Well this, well this".

Luke: It can take them one hour just to say one paragraph.

Jessica: 10 minutes later, “We have to think of a plan.” 50 minutes later, “This is going to work amazing.”

Jayden: Yes, I see no meaning of what they were saying. They said we are going to make a deal at April, but I do not think that is true.

Jessica: 10 years later, “We are not ready for that.”

Other students laughed.

Evidently, the debate around Brexit had been brought to the students’ attention. The students reported receiving a great deal of information about Brexit from school or the mass media. Although they commonly expressed indifferent and even antipathetic attitudes, the students’ imitations of British politicians served as a solid evidence of their familiarity with political satire, which is certainly a distinctive aspect of British politics. In other words, the students’ knowledge of the uniqueness of the UK proved to be richer than they thought.

7.2.4 Students’ perceptions of global identity

7.2.4.1 The world as a planet

14 of the students selected the “World” card. For them, the world was compatible with the nations of their origins in defining their identities. Like their counterparts in Phoenix Primary School, the students in St Andrews Primary School commonly put the world in last place when selecting more than one card.

I pick “Scotland” because I was born here. I pick “UK” because Scotland is a part of the UK. I pick “World” because the UK is a part of the world.
(Ethan)

Unexpectedly, the above argument was rarely raised in the focus groups. Unlike the students in Phoenix Primary School, the students in St Andrews Primary School did not heavily rely on the nation-state framework to build their connections with the world. Neither Scotland nor other nations, as far as students stated, was regarded as the medium to form their senses of belonging to the world. An “Other countries” card was provided in case any of them felt ignored, but it might have suggested to students that the meanings of ‘other countries’ and ‘world’ were not the same. This may accordingly have affected their understanding of what was meant by ‘world’ in the focus group discussions. The students who selected the “World” card rarely provided corresponding reasons. To figure out the meanings

they brought to the concept of “World”, I asked the students to explain their choices.

Doris: Because we are humans walking on the world.

Kate: I agree. Because everyone is in it, I mean the earth.

The world is where all the humans live. We are parts of the world because we live inside the world. (Ellie)

The students tended to understand the world as the planet on which everyone lives. For those students, the world was not a distant or unimaginable place, but the community in which they had been living their daily lives. Some of them even asked me why I was wondering about their choices, as all human beings, plants and animals naturally become parts of the world at birth.

7.2.4.2 No prerequisite for being a global citizen

The students understood the world as the planet where all creatures and plants co-exist. Individuals construct connections with the world naturally from birth, and therefore were all regarded as global citizens by the students.

Like my great great-great-great-granny sits in a retirement home. If she could not read about anything, it would not mean she is not a part of the world. (Phoebe)

According to the students, there is no prerequisite for being a global citizen. In their view, a lack of foreign language skills, international experience, or even a complete lack of awareness of the world would not pose threats to individuals' global identity. As with their counterparts in Phoenix Primary School, students in St Andrews Primary School were interested in international politics. Donald Trump was particularly discussed as an undesirable politician by the three groups of students.

Hannah: I do not like Donald Trump. But if I go to America, I should not do anything bad to American people because they did not do anything. You should not blame the rest of country and make their life miserable.

Phoebe: Yes, you should blame the people who voted for them.

Ellie: No, it is not right. They never know that he is going to do like racism.

Daisy: Can I tell what I am going to do to Donald Trump? First, I would invite him for a cup of tea and give his body a poison. Then I would set his chair on fire.

Hannah and Ellie: Oh no, God.

The conversation above is by no means presented to judge the students' various responses. However, in exploring the construction of the students' global identity, discussions about other countries and international relations were inevitable. When conducting global identity education, topics related to politics should be addressed rather than ignored.

7.2.4.3 Responsibilities of global citizens

Although they took their global identity for granted, most of the students did not neglect their corresponding responsibilities. All the students, whether they had selected the "World" card to define their senses of belonging or not, contributed to the discussion on the responsibilities of global citizens.

A global citizen is a good citizen taking care of where you live. You should not litter in your community, because your community is a part of the world. (Ellie)

Evan: We should pick the litter up and tidy the world.

Jayden: I think we should try to have world peace because there are quite a lot of wars going on. Like in the World War One and Two, more than one millions of people died. I think we should stop making people's life miserable.

Luke: I agree with them. You should respect others and treat others like how you want to be treated. That is basically the most important thing.

Global citizens were primarily framed as those who care about their local communities. They are expected to take actions including being environmentally friendly and saving energy. Global citizens are also expected to respect and get along well with others. It should be noted that 'others' not only refers to individuals coming from other nations, but also those who are different in any aspect. In addition, the students argued that there is no difference between being a global citizen and a national citizen, either of Scotland, the UK or other nations, as the places where individuals originally come from are not relevant to their global citizenship.

7.3 Summary

This chapter has outlined the perspectives of students in Phoenix Primary School and St Andrews Primary School, with specific reference to their experiences of national identity education and global identity education, as well as their perceptions of national identity and global identity.

According to the experiences of the students in Phoenix Primary School, Chinese identity education is conducted more comprehensively than global identity education. Within the school, formal and informal curricula are relied on to advance students' understandings of rituals and symbols associated with the Chinese nation. The students debated the necessity of the Flag Raising Ceremony and reflected on the top-down approaches to Chinese identity education, advocating for interactivity and autonomy. Global identity education as experienced mainly consisted of learning about other countries. The trips abroad organised by the school were specifically discussed. The students recognised the significance of global identity education, as it can satisfy individuals' needs and the national needs of China. The students' identification with the Chinese nation was stronger than their identification with the world. Three meanings were attached to the Chinese nation: the students' place of birth and of living, the legal status and the idea of the nation as a mother. The students commonly identified with the uniqueness of the Chinese nation and the development that China has achieved. They regarded being patriotic as a duty. The world was conceptualised by the students in two ways: as a bigger place than China and as a collection of other countries. Only individuals with international experience, awareness of global responsibilities and strong Chinese identity were regarded by the students as global citizens. Within the discussions, Japan emerged as a controversial topic.

According to the experiences of the students in St Andrews Primary School, global identity education is conducted more comprehensively than national identity education. Within the school, greater importance is attached to Scotland than the UK. Knowledge and experience of Scottish culture and history are provided in the school, while information about the UK is limited. Global identity education is

carried out through formal, informal and hidden curricula, with celebrations of other cultures being the most commonly recognised approach. The students enjoyed the learning about the world as it provided them with chances to understand and respect others. Regardless of their origins and backgrounds, the students commonly had a strong sense of belonging to Scotland, which was conceptualised as a place of birth and of living and as a welcoming country. The students regarded themselves as not knowing much about the UK. However, British politics, especially Brexit, remained a hot topic. The students conceptualised the world as the planet to which everyone's connection is naturally constructed at birth. Therefore, there is no prerequisite for being a global citizen. The corresponding responsibilities that should be shouldered by global citizens include being environmentally friendly and respecting others.

Chapter Eight Discussion

This study attempts to compare how the relationship between national identity education and global identity education is balanced in Phoenix Primary School and St Andrews Primary School. By juxtapositioning the findings generated from different levels of curriculum (Bereday, 1967), this chapter explores the similarities and differences between the two case schools, as well as explaining the potential factors that might have shaped the phenomenon (Phillips & Schweisfurth, 2014).

8.1 The conduct of national identity education

The argument that education serves the function of fostering national consciousness, through either formal or hidden curricula (Osler & Starkey, 2003), is applicable to both Phoenix Primary School and St Andrews Primary School. However, the data indicates that the types of national identity education conducted in the two schools differ in certain aspects. This section compares the two schools by looking at the similarities and differences in the objectives, contents, instructional strategies and assessment of national identity education (Dillon, 2009; Hoover, 1990; Salimi & Ghonoodi, 2011).

8.1.1 Objectives

Within the field of educational studies, there has been a proliferation of research projects exploring the inextricable links between education and politics. Not only is citizenship education assumed to be closely associated with ideological and political education (Qin, 2013), but curriculum development has also been identified as “inherently ideological and political” (Apple, 1990, p. vii). Both arguments hold true in the contexts of Phoenix Primary School and St Andrews Primary School, where advancing national identity is treated as an objective of education, albeit in different ways.

In Phoenix Primary School, the importance of Chinese identity is widely recognised across the intended, implemented and attained curricula. According to the categorisation developed by Kerr (1999), its approach to citizenship

education can be classified under “national values expressed in detail” (p.9). The curriculum standards and textbooks, which define “legitimate knowledge” (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991, p.8), explicitly state that cultivating students’ patriotic sentiment towards the Chinese nation is a shared responsibility across different curriculum areas. It is argued that a robust sense of national identity can be sustained once transmitted from one generation to another (McAllister, 2018). School education has evidently played a key role in passing a sense of Chinese identity down across generations; it was clear in the interviews that the teachers exerted significant influence in instilling a sense of Chinese identity in their students. The teachers who participated in the interviews, as members of a generation that experienced systematic patriotic education, took Chinese identity education for granted and did not question why it was an essential aspect of school education. The Flag Raising Ceremony, which is a distinctive characteristic of China’s approach to national identity education, ignited a debate among the students about whether it should be treated as a compulsory activity, with the only student who expressed an objection abandoning her point of view. It remains unclear whether the student was convinced by the others in the focus group. However, it to a certain extent demonstrates that the majority of the respondents supported the Chinese identity education in their school.

In St Andrews Primary School, the attention paid to national identity is less strong. Comparatively speaking, its citizenship education can be classified as “minimal reference to values in education legislation” or “national values expressed in general terms” (Kerr, 1999, p.9), in which national identity is promoted through an implicit approach. For one thing, limited reference was made by the participants to the meanings of ‘nation’. Nevertheless, Scotland appears to be of greater concern to St Andrews Primary School, while the UK to a great extent was shown to be missing across the intended, implemented and attained curricula, an absence that one policy expert attributed to the tensions between the governments in Scotland and England. However, no similar argument was made by the teachers or students. The teachers reported that they had never been required to explore the UK and they were accustomed to this situation, neither did students ever express a strong desire to learn about British elements. Consequently, advancing British identity is not treated as an objective of

education. At the same time, Scottish identity is promoted in an implicit way (Leith, 2010). In the curriculum documents, the discussion of Scottish identity is less consistent than Chinese identity is in the Chinese counterpart documents. The teachers participating in the interviews commonly recognised the importance of Scottish identity, but did not attach much attention to it in practice. Similarly, the students did not report that they were required to develop a strong sense of Scottish identity through school education.

The differences between the two schools also lie in the kinds of national identity that learners are expected to develop. The objective of Chinese identity education was agreed by the interviewees to be to cultivate the patriotism desired of Chinese people, of which the primary determinant is a person's wealth of knowledge. Learners are expected to develop rich knowledge of the Chinese nation in all senses. At the same time, the argument that national identity can be manifested in affection (Harttgen & Opfinger, 2014; Omelchenko et al., 2015), or sometimes be emotionally charged (Nash, 2005) is applicable to Phoenix Primary School. A strong emotional appeal was evident since showing love and loyalty to the Chinese nation was commonly reported as an essential characteristic that patriotic individuals ought to have. In addition, patriotic Chinese people were framed as those who contribute to the prosperity of the Chinese nation, and who defend the Chinese nation when it faces criticisms from outsiders.

No agreed upon objective was attached to Scottish identity education. To a certain degree, this reflects that contemporary Scottish identity is difficult to define in a pure sense. In addition, St Andrews Primary School is comprised of many students coming from multicultural backgrounds, which makes its practice unlikely to be carried out with a unified objective. Learners are neither expected to have a wealth of knowledge about Scotland, nor to construct strong affection for it. In particular, students from other countries are not encouraged to shift from their original national identities to Scottish identity. The teachers are cautious about any discourse or practice that may lead to extreme nationalistic sentiment among students. Therefore, it is not surprising that a teacher argued that raising the flag shows a superficial love of nation and might give the students a sense of superiority over individuals from other nations (as in Hand, 2011).

Neither the flag of Scotland nor that of the UK is present in St Andrews Primary School.

8.1.2 Content

The two schools attach importance to different types of content. The content of Chinese identity education mainly revolves around two themes. First, the characteristics that make the Chinese nation distinct from other nations are explicitly discussed. This is represented by emphasising national symbols and rituals and explaining to the students why they are important. Traditional Chinese society receives a strong focus.

The second theme that is focused on is the changes that China has undergone. The century of humiliation that began in 1839 with the First Opium War forms a part of that topic (Wang, 2008; Yuen & Byram, 2007). Learners are taught how China suffered national humiliation under imperialism. Their dedication to a strong and prosperous Chinese nation is also motivated by the development that China has achieved in the past few decades (Kung, 2006). Emotional expressions such as pride, love and loyalty are prevalent in official documents and occurred in the interviews and focus groups, demonstrating the respondents' emotional attachment to the Chinese nation. It is argued that the content of history can be analysed both in terms of what ought to be known about the past, as well as what is forgotten (Davies, 1997). The decision to emphasise some aspects of Chinese history over others results from the desire to create patriotic students with a particular understanding of the Chinese nation. In addition, the conventional argument that education serves the function of glorifying the leadership of the CPC is applicable to the setting in which the study was carried out to a certain degree (Bhattacharya, 2007). The influence that the CPC exerts on Chinese identity education could be observed in the curriculum documents and the practices in Phoenix Primary School.

The students participating in the focus groups commonly discussed their learning about national symbols and rituals, and these traditional elements informed the way they understood the Chinese nation. However, this does not mean that the

students were absent from the discussions of China's more recent development. As Fukuoka (2011) argues, "How people reflect upon history issues is not necessarily the function of school history textbooks as often assumed" (p.83). Although the students had no first-hand experience of a 'backward' China, it was evident that they had constructed a historical imagination of China's past under the influences of mass media and their families (Qian et al., 2017; Wang, 2008). In particular, the stories shared by their parents and grandparents enabled them to understand how disadvantaged China used to be. Consequently, the students were aware of the improvement that China has achieved in the past few decades. To a certain degree, this demonstrates that Chinese identity education is supported by off-campus influences.

In St Andrews Primary School, two themes of content are commonly emphasised in defining a distinctive Scottish identity. First, it turned out to be true that cultural identity is a matter of great importance in Scottish education (Kisby & Sloam, 2011). The cultural heritage of Scotland, especially Robert Burns and his work, are widely discussed in school settings. A striking point to make is that no strong emotional appeal was observed in the documents or the participants' responses.

In the second place, Scotland is conceptualised as an inclusive nation. The idea of inclusiveness is reflected not only in how Scottish education is managed (Ozga, 2017), but also in how it is framed as a welcoming nation in which everyone who comes and settles down can be regarded as an insider. At the intended curriculum level, Scottish identity is not treated as an exclusive identity, but is instead framed as an identity compatible with individuals' local and global identities. At the implemented curriculum level, great importance is attached to multicultural understanding and respecting differences. Perhaps owing to the international makeup of St Andrews Primary School, the balance between Scottish identity and students' identities of their nations of origin is carefully maintained.

However, it cannot be denied that school education is not as inclusive as the policy experts and teachers proposed. Although the relevant parties claim to be inclusive in promoting students' local, national and global identities, St Andrews Primary School rarely explores UK issues. In straightforward terms, all levels of

identities are promoted in school settings except for British identity. The evidence gathered at the attained curriculum level demonstrates that the students commonly lacked awareness of the UK, and few of the students claimed to have a sense of British identity. It can be argued that British identity might not be likely to be promoted by an SNP government. However, something of a contradiction might be observed when taking the policy experts' and teachers' arguments into account. As they commonly proposed, learners ought to be aware of the nation where they are studying and living. Considering the current political relationship between Scotland and the UK, the UK is also the nation in which the students study and live. Why then is the UK missing in school education? It might be interpreted as the result of a deliberate and politically motivated oversight due to the agenda of the party in government.

8.1.3 Instructional strategies

National identity education is conducted through both formal and informal curricula in Phoenix Primary School and St Andrews Primary School (as in Grosvenor, 1999). There is a clear resemblance between the two schools when it comes to advancing national identity through themed activities. However, the instructional strategies used in the teaching within the schools' formal curricula are distinctive.

The importance of informal curriculum, especially nationally themed activities, is widely apparent in both schools. To invoke learners' awareness and understanding of the Chinese nation, various Chinese-themed activities are implemented in Phoenix Primary School. Similarly, Scottish-themed activities are carried out in St Andrews Primary School, albeit less frequently than in its Chinese counterpart.

It is noteworthy that the role of the school environment is conceptualised differently in the two schools. In Phoenix Primary School, school decorations and environment, as the curriculum documents and teachers stated, have a significant function in advancing Chinese identity. On the other hand, in St Andrews Primary School, neither the documents nor teachers ever proposed that Scottish identity is or ought to be promoted through school decorations.

The differences between the instructional strategies adopted in the two schools primarily lie in how the connections between disciplines are dealt with. In Phoenix Primary School, teaching practice is carried out in different disciplines that are separated by clear boundaries. All disciplines share the responsibility for invoking learners' Chinese identity. Teachers of different disciplines all stated that they play particular roles in developing students' attachment to the Chinese nation. The students also reported that they had constructed their Chinese identity through their learning within different curriculum areas. In St Andrews Primary school, Scottish identity is promoted through an interdisciplinary approach. The teaching and learning of Scottish identity, as the teachers and students reported, is carried out across subjects, with no particular subject identified as being irrelevant, and no nationally themed event being limited to just one subject (the Burns Night celebration, for example, cannot be neatly categorised under one particular subject).

In addition, different learning models are adopted in the two schools. In Phoenix Primary School, Chinese identity education is conducted through a knowledge-based approach. Throughout the whole education process, teachers are conceptualised as the "legitimate authority" (Macleod et al., 2012, p.499). The teachers commonly expressed strong confidence in their teaching abilities and rarely reported difficulties or confusion. Meanwhile, a preference was identified among the students to transform the knowledge-based learning they had experienced into something that leaves more room for student autonomy, which might be more entertaining. In St Andrews Primary School, it is an experience-based approach that has been adopted, through which learners are empowered to experience and explore Scotland on their own without being told what Scotland is or what is unique about it. The school actively engages learners and their families, especially those who are originally from other countries, with the aim of making Scotland more accessible.

8.1.4 Assessment

No scale is used in either school to assess the outcomes of national identity education. Therefore, in both contexts, the respondents were asked to reflect on

their experiences and perceptions to gauge the effectiveness of the practices in their schools respectively. Generally, the feedback received from the two schools differed to a great extent.

The respondents from Phoenix Primary School commonly framed Chinese identity education as a demanding mission that cannot be easily accomplished. The respondents at the intended, implemented and attained curriculum levels all expressed high expectations for each other. The inconsistency between actual practice and expectations led to the assessment that no respondents' efforts were adequate, particularly those of learners. Wen, the policy expert, expected teachers to take learners' autonomy and methods of learning into account and attached importance to learners' critical thinking. However, the practice did not meet his expectations. In his eyes, inadequate knowledge of pedagogy and psychology, as well as limited experience of citizenship education, made most of the teachers incapable of achieving the desired results. For their part, the teachers expected learners to become patriotic Chinese people with a wealth of knowledge of the Chinese nation and strong emotional attachments to it. However, considering their ages, the learners were unlikely to achieve an in-depth understanding of the Chinese nation as the teachers expected. The policy expert and teachers expressed the belief that learners' worship of other countries reflected an emotional detachment from the Chinese nation. The students, who were considered to be underperforming, also reflected on the work that had been done by policy makers and teachers. According to the students, the top-down approach should be reformed through enhancing classroom interaction and learners' autonomy.

In St Andrews Primary School, no respondent across different levels of the curriculum set high expectations for others in Scottish identity education. No one identified any incongruence between what Scottish identity education ought to be and what it actually is. Unlike their counterparts in Phoenix Primary School, all the respondents in St Andrews Primary School reported that they were happy with what had been done with regard to Scottish identity education.

Since no scale or agreed upon indicators of national identity education are available in either context, the assessment feedback given by the respondents could not provide firm evidence of the results. It cannot be asserted that Scottish identity education in St Andrews Primary School achieves more remarkable success than the Chinese identity education in Phoenix Primary School. However, the respondents' feedback did reflect that the expectations attached to national identity education in the two schools are distinct, as was specifically illustrated in Section 8.1.1. In Phoenix Primary School, all the respondents across different curriculum levels set high expectations. This may be because patriotism is regarded as a significant moral value in China. Being patriotic was agreed by all the respondents to be an ideal personality that everyone should strive for. A general consensus was achieved among the respondents on the objective of Chinese identity education, which is that it should cultivate patriotic Chinese people who have a rich knowledge of the Chinese nation, a strong emotional attachment to it and a willingness to contribute to its prosperity. In the Scottish context, it is difficult to define Scottishness in a pure sense considering the constantly changing environment in Scotland. Scottish identity was understood as a complex identity open to individuals' interpretations. The respondents in St Andrews Primary School did not reach a unified understanding of what exactly Scottish identity is or how Scottish people should be. To a certain degree, this makes Scottish identity education more flexible and likely to be achieved in multiple ways.

8.2 The conduct of global identity education

Although it is valued in both Phoenix Primary School and St Andrews Primary School, national identity is not the only level of identity that learners are encouraged to develop. The importance of broadening the scope of citizenship education to advance different levels of identities has increasingly been recognised by many societies (Pan, 2013). Neither Mainland China nor Scotland is an exception to this trend. Global identity education is conducted in both schools, albeit with distinct objectives, contents, instructional strategies and assessment feedback.

8.2.1 Objectives

In Phoenix Primary School, global identity is conceptualised as a desirable identity that learners ought to form through school education. However, less attention is attached to global identity education than to Chinese identity education. At the intended curriculum level, global identity is framed as a tool serving the function of broadening learners' horizons, which is beneficial for constructing their Chinese identity. From the teachers' perspectives, global identity is not prioritised as other education initiatives and Chinese identity are by education policies (as in Davies, 2006). The lack of government support and advice consequently results in teachers' confusion about how to enact effective practices to advance learners' global identity. The students recognised the importance of education that aims at advancing their global identity, but they did not identify it as a priority.

In St Andrews Primary School, the importance attached to global identity education is greater than that given to Scottish identity education. In curriculum documents, the attention paid to global identity is evident. According to policy experts, global identity education has enjoyed a long period of continuous government support in Scotland. It is worth mentioning that James as a policy expert argued that global identity education is significant partly because it can benefit Scotland. However, neither the teachers nor the students ever linked the importance of global identity education with the national needs of Scotland. The relatively flexible curriculum enables Scottish schools and individual teachers to choose whether or not to advance global identity. Therefore, it is reasonable to assert that the teachers in St Andrews Primary School, who widely conduct global identity education on campus, have a belief in its significance. The students within the school also recognised the importance of global identity education, giving the reason that it allowed them to understand schoolmates with different backgrounds and the world beyond Scotland.

The two schools also differ in their understandings of the kinds of global identity that ought to be developed among learners. In Phoenix Primary School, the objective of global identity education is conceptualised as preparing learners to

become globally competitive people who are equipped with global knowledge and skills (Law, 2013). In addition, global citizens are framed as individuals who have an awareness of their Chinese heritage in the context of globalisation. Learners are unlikely to be regarded as global citizens unless they fully understand the Chinese nation.

In St Andrews Primary School, global identity education is conducted with the objective of engaging learners in shared global concerns and multicultural understanding rather than equipping them with global knowledge and skills (as in Shultz, 2007). In cultivating learners' global identity, the issue of understanding differences is regarded as being of particular importance. The idea of 'differences' is understood in various senses, including culture, belief and socioeconomic background, rather than merely in the sense of nationality or ethnicity. In addition, learners are expected to become global citizens who are actively involved in resolving global difficulties and making the world a better place. Although a policy expert tried to demonstrate that cultivating learners' global identity could benefit the future of Scotland, the teachers and students rarely mentioned the link between their global identity and Scottish identity.

8.2.2 Content

The content addressed by each of the two schools in their global identity education shows the difference in their preferences and aims. Specifically, different emphases are evident in how the schools deal with the issues of unity and diversity.

In Phoenix Primary School, more attention is paid to diversity than unity issues. At the intended curriculum level, the issue of global unity is raised. However, topics of global concern are often put in the Chinese context and discussed with reference to how the concerns are manifested in China specifically. Considerable attention is paid to diversity issues at the implemented and attained curriculum levels. The characteristics of other countries are introduced by being compared with their counterparts in China. International relations are discussed as well, with Japan in particular being conceptualised as an important other to invoke

learners' patriotic sentiment towards the Chinese nation. When dealing with global issues, the characteristics of other countries account for the main theme of the content in Phoenix Primary School. However, mentions of international issues do not necessarily suggest a move toward global unity, as they can be utilised to emphasise distinct national identities (Anderson, 1983). The global identity education conducted in Phoenix Primary School is more like international identity education, as the world is rarely understood as a whole and national boundaries are recognised and even emphasised (Marshall, 2007).

In St Andrews Primary School, the relationship between unity and diversity is balanced in the global identity education content. First, the importance of diversity issues was widely acknowledged by the policy experts, teachers and students who participated in this study. The culture, history, customs, festivals and other characteristics of different countries are introduced through an experience-based approach, which will be discussed in the next section. Learners are expected to be aware of and respect differences. As was stated in Section 8.2.1, differences are conceptualised not just in terms of nationality, but in other ways as well (e.g., culture, religion, socioeconomic background). Global unity issues are emphasised as well. A variety of topics, including sustainable development, peace and conflict, social justice and equity are discussed in a general sense without being situated in the Scottish context. In addition, national boundaries are not the focus of the discussion.

8.2.3 Instructional strategies

As is the case with the conduct of national identity education, both formal and informal curricula are relied on in advancing global identity in Phoenix Primary School and St Andrews Primary School. However, the instructional strategies adopted in the two contexts are clearly different.

The differences primarily lie in how the role of formal curriculum learning is perceived in the two contexts. In Phoenix Primary School, a few subjects are assigned the responsibility for cultivating learners' global identity. The majority of teachers expressed uncertainty about their roles in global identity education,

and thus were unlikely to enact corresponding teaching strategies. Only the learning within English, Morality and the Rule of Law was recognised by the students as useful in constructing their understandings of the world. On the other hand, in St Andrews Primary School, the teaching and learning of global identity, as the respondents had experienced and perceived it, was commonly carried out through an interdisciplinary approach. No subject was reported to be especially prominent or irrelevant.

In the two schools, informal curriculum is enacted in different ways. In Phoenix Primary School, study abroad trips that enable learners to experience other countries were commonly recognised by the participants as the most effective approach to global identity education. Also, family was assumed to play an important role, as many learners are able to gain rich international experience through studying or traveling abroad with their parents. However, it cannot be denied that not all families can afford international trips. Relying on trips abroad to cultivate learners' understanding of the world inevitably increases education inequality. Consequently, senses of superiority and inferiority are likely to be invoked among learners. Therefore, it remains an essential task for the school to understand how to bridge the gap between different learners' international experiences and provide them with equal access to the world.

On the other hand, the teachers in St Andrews Primary School expressed sensitivity to the possibility of global identity education potentially deepening inequality and gaps (as in Sassen, 1996). Some students in the school, as the teachers pointed out, come from economically disadvantaged families that cannot afford international travel. Therefore, the teachers described feeling obliged to engage the students in understanding and experiencing the world without having to go abroad. To achieve this objective, a number of activities including Global Storylines, celebrations of other countries and fair-trade weeks are carried out in the school.

Distinct learning models are adopted in the two schools. In Phoenix Primary School, global identity education is conducted through a combination of knowledge-based and skills-based approaches. Students' international experience

is emphasised, with the focus being on enriching their knowledge of other countries and enabling them to acquire foreign language skills. In St Andrews Primary School, an experience-based approach is adopted. Learners are not ordered to develop knowledge of other countries or essential skills to participate in global life. Instead, they are provided with the chances to experience what the world looks like and how it works.

The traditional argument that teachers play a major role in advancing global identity education in classrooms (Goren & Yemini, 2017b) does not apply to either of the two schools for separate reasons. In Phoenix Primary School, the teachers reported that they were not the only knowledge source through which learners could construct an understanding of the world. Compared with their students, the teachers commonly lack international experience, and most of them do not have foreign language skills. Therefore, when conducting global identity education, the teachers do not consider themselves to be the “legitimate authority” that they do when dealing with Chinese identity topics (Macleod et al., 2012, p.499). Their senses of uncertainty and under-confidence are reinforced by unclear government support. On the other hand, in St Andrews Primary School, the situation is helped by the multicultural backgrounds of the students. Teachers rarely need to bring the world to classrooms, as the learners are from different parts of the world. Especially in celebrating the cultures of different countries, learners are often relied on to bring new perspectives. In addition, learners’ families are actively engaged and play an important role in activities related to global identity education.

8.2.4 Assessment

As the teachers pointed out, no scale is available to assess the outcomes of global identity education in Phoenix Primary School or St Andrews Primary School. Generally, all the respondents across different levels of the curriculum expressed satisfaction with the global identity education conducted in the two schools.

In Phoenix Primary School, no inconsistency between expectations and actual practice was identified. This does not imply that global identity education has led

to better outcomes than Chinese identity education. Instead, the participants' apparent satisfaction owes largely to the fact that they pay less attention to global identity than to Chinese identity. No respondent across the different levels of curriculum set high expectations for the others. According to Wen, younger children are unlikely to be aware of the world and understand how it works as adults do. Therefore, global identity education comes with realistic goals. However, the extent to which individuals' understandings of the world could be considered mature and how distributed objectives could be set for global identity education remain unanswered questions. The teachers argued that individuals' global identity is not inborn but constructed through meeting a series of perquisites. With the help of families and other social influences, learners get access to rich information about the world and experience the world by going abroad. However, learners, as the teachers argued, are likely to engage in 'blind' worship of other countries and 'blind' criticism of China, and therefore can only be regarded as potential global citizens. A key point to note is that the teachers did not specify the definitions of 'blind' worship and 'blind' criticism, which makes the concepts extremely versatile, meaning any praise of other countries or criticism of China is likely to be labelled 'blind'. For their part, the students expressed contentment with the global issues discussed on campus. It largely fulfilled their interest in other countries and advanced their understanding of Chinese issues, which was beneficial for strengthening their Chinese identity. Both from the teachers' and the students' responses, the close link between Chinese identity and global identity could be observed.

In St Andrews Primary School, the respondents across different curriculum levels commonly attached high expectations to global identity education. The fulfilment of the expectations in practice resulted in the respondents' satisfaction with global identity education. The policy experts and teachers did not argue that the conduct of global identity education was constrained by learners' age, cognitive ability, international experience or other influences. Instead, they expressed the belief that the multicultural environments in Scotland and the school benefit the conduct of global identity education, allowing learners to experience the world without having to go abroad. The teachers were content with their students' performances and regarded them as global citizens. The students were happy to

learn about the global issues, giving the reason that they enabled them to understand their schoolmates with different backgrounds and the world beyond Scotland.

8.3 National-global interactions in education

Both Phoenix Primary School and St Andrews Primary School are dedicated to multiple citizenship education to advance learners' identifications of different communities. An important and challenging task is to respond to the new call for global citizenship while sustaining the idea of national unity and prosperity (Arnott & Ozga, 2016). In Phoenix Primary School, greater emphasis is placed on Chinese identity education, while in St Andrews Primary School, it is global identity education that receives more attention. Based on the analytical framework exploring the relationship between national identity education and global identity education (as shown in Figure 2.1), Phoenix Primary School is categorised as *Inclusive National*, while St Andrews Primary School is categorised as *Inclusive Global*. National-global interactions manifest differently in each category.



Figure 2.1 Analytical Framework

The differences between the two schools primarily lie in their perceptions of the precedence relationship between national identity education and global identity education. In Phoenix Primary School, Chinese identity is emphasised across different levels of curriculum. Chinese identity education is not only prioritised, but also taken as the foundation for conducting global identity education. In addition, a Chinese perspective is adopted in discussing global issues. That is to say, advancing learners' Chinese identity is treated as an important objective of global identity education. Consequently, the attention given to Chinese identity education is increased.

In St Andrews Primary School, no similar precedence relationship between Scottish identity education and global identity education was observed. Global identity education is not regarded as the precondition for Scottish identity education, or vice versa. In conducting global identity education, a Scottish perspective was proposed by a policy expert, but was not reported by the teachers or students.

The interactions between national identity education and global identity education manifested in the two schools are complex. In Phoenix Primary School, on the one hand, the conduct of global identity education is considered conducive to that of Chinese identity education. Learners' knowledge of the world and skills to participate in global society, which are developed through global identity education, are assumed to be beneficial to constructing their awareness of China's place within the world. Learners are expected to dedicate themselves to a stronger and more prosperous Chinese nation by learning from and about other nations. On the other hand, global identity education is conceptualised as posing a threat to Chinese identity education. Some teachers argued that learning about global issues to a great extent dampens students' interest in Chinese issues, which weakens their affiliation with the Chinese nation. This argument probably explains why global identity education is pushed aside in both the official and enacted curricula. In summary, in the *Inclusive National* framework that Phoenix Primary School can be categorised under, global identity education is simultaneously conducive and threatening to Chinese identity education.

In St Andrews Primary School, Scottish identity education and global identity education are not in competition, and neither is treated as a means of strengthening the other. Scottish identity education and global identity education are treated as compatible. First, Scotland is framed as an important part of the world, and learning about it is therefore seen as beneficial to learners' comprehensive understanding of the world. Especially for learners who have come from other parts of the world, Scotland is presented as a nation that accepts and does not subsume their origins. To a certain degree, this could enrich the students' knowledge of the differences that exist more widely in the world. Second, overlaps and commonalities are identified between Scottish identity education and global identity education, and these are particularly reflected in the appeals for inclusive values. In the conduct of Scottish identity education, Scotland is characterised as an inclusive nation in which everyone is welcome to reside (Bond, 2006; Emejulu, 2013; Mycock, 2012). In the conduct of global identity education, multicultural understanding is widely promoted. The concept of differences is not perceived as merely referring to nationality or ethnicity, but to other aspects as well, such as religion or socioeconomic background. Consequently, the role of nationality in determining global competition and collaboration is downplayed. To a certain extent, this coincides with the politically motivated attempt to make Scotland eligible to engage in global conversations without being confined by the UK political system. In summary, in the *Inclusive Global* category in which St Andrews Primary School is situated, global identity education is not only compatible with, but also conducive to Scottish identity education.

As Sadler (1900) proposes, "What happens outside the school is more important than what happens inside because it shapes and influences what takes place inside" (cited in Higginson, 1979, p.52). This study attempts to not only explore the educational philosophies and practices in Phoenix Primary School and St Andrews Primary School, but also to investigate the similarities and differences between the two schools and their potential influences (Crossley & Watson, 2003). Why do the two schools have different appeals for national identity education and global identity education? How can global identity education be both conducive and threatening to Chinese identity education? How can global identity education be not only compatible with but also conducive to Scottish identity education?

With the above questions in mind, the following sections will critically examine some potential influences.

8.4 The interpretation and construction of national identity

To a certain extent, the national-global interactions reflected in the two school settings are shaped by the respondents' perceptions of the relationship between national identity and global identity. Therefore, it is essential to explore how national identity and global identity are respectively interpreted and constructed. Generally, national identity was found to be of concern to the respondents in Phoenix Primary School and St Andrews Primary School, while a strong emotional appeal was more prevalent in the former context.

8.4.1 What is a nation?

In engaging with the issue of national identity, of particular concern is what 'nation' means. In Phoenix Primary School, it is understood as the Chinese nation, while in St Andrews Primary School, it refers to both the Scottish nation and the British nation.

In the Chinese context, existing studies argue that *Guo* [国, country] in the Chinese language is a "package" (He & Guo, 2000, p.34), as it could be understood as a country, state, nation and government. The interchangeable use of these words has resulted in the impression that the concept of the Chinese nation is identical to the Chinese State, the Chinese government and the CPC. The respondents in this study commonly held this view and few of them raised any distinctions between these concepts. This demonstrates that they can live with the ambiguity or all-encompassing nature of the concept, but to a certain degree it fails to settle the disagreement over what exactly the Chinese nation refers to. A comprehensive examination of the confusing array of terms and definitions is beyond the scope of this study. Instead, I pay attention to the meanings that different groups of respondents brought to the concept of the Chinese nation.

Based on the findings presented in previous chapters, it can be summarised that the Chinese nation is interpreted in three main aspects. First, in terms of cultural

significance, the Chinese nation has a clear and stable centre (Ge, 2017). China is commonly recognised as one of the cradles of civilisation. Although this has been challenged by other civilisations and countries, China has constantly been “enclosed within an ancient civilisation whose continuity exceeds its fragmentation” (Ge, 2017, p.21). Accordingly, the Chinese nation as a culturally unified nation not only distinguishes itself from other nations, but also presents its people with a concrete entity of which they can construct a cultural imagination (Bislev & Li, 2014). It is therefore not surprising to see that Chinese culture was widely recognised by the policy expert, teachers and students, and prevalently discussed in both official and enacted curricula. Second, in a historical sense, the Chinese nation is conceptualised as a dynamic entity with changing borders. According to the respondents’ interpretations, the Chinese nation might refer to different ancient dynasties or to the People’s Republic of China (PRC). Since the geographic areas that different governments have had sovereignty over have shifted, the Chinese nation is perceived as a historical entity without clear-cut borders. This also confirms Ge’s (2018) argument that “While the idea of a limited state was contained within the notion of the empire without borders, this limited state also continued to imagine an empire without borders” (p.60). Third, in terms of political significance, the Chinese nation is conceptualised as a political authority. The respondents tended to treat successive dynasties and emperors, the Chinese government and the CPC as indistinguishable from the Chinese nation. This has largely resulted from the interchangeable use of these terms in the Chinese context, and to a certain degree also reflects the political structure in the PRC, where the CPC has been the only ruling party for over 70 years. The strength and weakness of a single-party regime is not of concern to the present study (Smith, 2005). However, treating government, party and nation as identical concepts does pose a threat to individuals’ interpretations of national identity. Especially in a context in which great importance is attached to the value of patriotism, individuals’ freedom to form and interpret their national identities is likely to be sacrificed for the government’s and party’s interests.

The situation in St Andrews Primary School is more complicated, since ‘nation’ could refer to both Scotland and the UK. The argument that Scotland rather than

the UK is of more concern to Scottish people has conventionally been recognised (Kiely et al., 2005; McCrone et al., 1998), and was also shared by most of the respondents in the school. First, the respondents understood Scotland as a culturally defined entity. The cultural heritage of Scotland has been constructed for a long period of time, long before it entered its political union with England in 1707 (Soule et al., 2012). It is therefore not surprising to see that the policy experts, teachers and students primarily emphasised the cultural heritage of Scotland when defining its uniqueness. Second, the respondents tended to frame Scotland as an inclusive nation. As a receiver region of national and international immigration from the European continent and beyond, Scotland has become increasingly diverse, especially in terms of its population's ethnic backgrounds (Walsh et al., 2019). The percentage of people in Scotland from ethnic minority groups had doubled from 2% in 2001 to 4% in 2011, and the figure in Glasgow City, where St Andrews Primary School is located, is 12%, the highest in Scotland (Scotland's Census, 2011). All the respondents across different levels of curriculum expressed awareness of the diverse society they were living in and recognised the inclusive values that are promoted in Scotland. Third, the respondents less frequently mentioned the UK, which is conceptualised as a political entity constructed in 1707. The adult respondents had a tendency to discuss the UK in a political sense, giving attention to their British citizenship and British political issues like Brexit and the Royal Family. The political structure, as the teachers argued, is likely to change as a result of the contested Brexit process. Therefore, the adult respondents' attachment to the UK was not found to be strong. For the students, especially those originally from other parts of the world, the UK was understood an amorphous place and less accessible than Scotland to experience and understand.

8.4.2 Metaphors of nation

The respondents in the two schools also differed in their preferred metaphors of nation. In Phoenix Primary School, the respondents tended to discuss the Chinese nation by applying the metaphor of family, signifying the close relationship between the nation and individuals as members of it. In St Andrews Primary School, no metaphor of nation was raised. The respondents, especially the

teachers, were wary of any national symbol that may ignite individuals' senses of superiority to other nations.

In Phoenix Primary School, the respondents commonly felt obliged to contribute to the Chinese nation, which is largely influenced by Confucianism (Guo & He, 1999), specifically the family-nation value (Cheung, 2012). As a classic piece of Chinese morality, the idiom “Xiushen, qijia, zhiguo, pingtianxia” [修身, 齐家, 治国, 平天下, Cultivating oneself, regulating one's family, as well as governing one's states, soothing the whole kingdom] is deeply ingrained in Chinese people's thoughts (Liang, 2016). The respondents expressed the belief that the Chinese nation is the extension of individuals' families, and the fates of individuals and the Chinese nation are closely linked. The Chinese nation and individuals as parts of it are understood to reflect one another's growth and development.

It is therefore not surprising that the adult respondents commonly conceptualised the Chinese nation as a child, while the students tended to speak of it as a mother. To a certain degree, the respondents equated patriotic sentiment with a kind of parental love, and they conceptualised being patriotic as an undisputed obligation and a moral value for all Chinese people. From that perspective, an unpatriotic Chinese person is not good. In addition, it signifies a strong emotional appeal. Patriotic Chinese people are expected to have strong affection for the Chinese nation. This also explains why the respondents commonly used emotional words in explaining their feelings about the Chinese nation.

The family-nation value is also reflected in the idea of paternalistic government (Cheung, 2012; Fairbrother, 2013). Under the traditional hierarchy, individuals as subordinates are expected to do the bidding of the government and regard rulers as their parents (Ogden, 2001; Wang, 1980). Because of the interchangeable use of the terms nation, state, government and party, the respondents also expressed their willingness to make contributions and even sacrifice themselves for the collective wellbeing of the Chinese nation, the Chinese government and the CPC.

The respondents were commonly influenced by the family-nation value. However, treating nation as family and equating patriotic sentiment with parental love run

certain risks. First, parental love is unconditional and does not depend on parents' thoughts on their children's merits and excellence. Parents would not defend their love for their children by pointing out their merits, nor would parents refuse to love their children because they are not good-looking, not brave or doing badly at school. Unconditional love may of course lead to some parents having inflated views of their children's abilities and merits, and even cause parents to neglect their children's weakness and faults (Hand, 2011). Constructing patriotic sentiment as parental love may therefore impede individuals' civic judgment, leading to chauvinistic arrogance and a sense of superiority over other nations (Li & Brewer, 2004). When this sense of patriotism is widely shared across a population, it becomes easy for distinctions between nation, government and ruling party to seem unimportant. In such a situation, anyone who criticises any of these aspects of the nation may be criticised for being unpatriotic.

In St Andrews Primary school, no similar family-nation value was reported. The respondents did not invoke any metaphor to explain their understanding or feelings about Scotland. Unlike the respondents in Phoenix Primary School, who tended to use the flag to personify the Chinese nation (as in Bechhofer & McCrone, 2013), the respondents in St Andrews Primary School attached limited importance to national symbols. One teacher even argued that national symbols like the flag might invoke superficial pride in the nation and a sense of superiority to others. However, not using a metaphor of nation and attaching limited importance to national symbols does not imply that the nation was not of concern to the respondents. Instead, it suggests that distinct approaches to showing concern about the nation have been adopted in the two school settings.

Scotland has been a multicultural and multilingual society since it came into existence (Grant, 1984). In the context of globalisation, Scotland is becoming increasingly diverse and mobile (Moskal, 2016). The increasing population of immigrants and immigrants' descendants from the rest of Europe and overseas not only contributes to a diverse society, but also makes the issue of Scottish identity more complex. Nowadays, it is rather difficult to determine a symbol of Scotland or to define the Scottish people in a pure sense. This is evidenced by the fact that the respondents in St Andrews Primary School did not reach a consensus on which

symbol represents Scotland. Many students were, of course, aware of Irn-Bru, shortbread, haggis and thistle as unique elements associated with Scotland, but while this shows their knowledge of Scotland, it does not suggest that any of these elements represents Scotland. The adult respondents commonly argued that the above elements proposed by the students are stereotypical images of Scotland, and thus should not be taken seriously. The adults' point was not that these distinctive attributes of Scotland should be ignored, but that Scotland ought not to be represented by static symbols. To a certain degree, this reflects the respondents' concerns about Scotland and their desire to enable Scotland to be understood in-depth rather than merely being associated with a handful of stereotypical images.

The development of a diverse society depends on the promotion of inclusive values. In Scotland, at its best, inclusiveness is specifically reflected in people's respect for differences and welcoming attitude towards immigrants. In fact, the situation is related to the status of Scotland within the UK. Scotland has been a minority within a larger political unit since it entered the union with England in 1707 (Grant, 1984). As argued by Eriksen (2004), "We are, not only because we have something in common, but perhaps chiefly because we are not them" (p.57). The similarity between Scotland and immigrant communities within Scotland is that neither of them is a majority. Having experienced life as a vulnerable minority group, there is a feeling among the Scottish people that other minority groups should be treated with respect (Grant, 1984; Penrose & Howard, 2008). It is therefore not a surprise that the respondents in St Andrews Primary School attached great importance to respecting others regardless of their backgrounds. The teachers were specifically worried about any practice that could lead to xenophobia. To a certain extent, this attitude contributes to Scotland's success as an inclusive society.

8.4.3 Construction of national identity

The traditional argument that national identity is formed based on the attributes that distinguish a given nation from others (Guibernau, 2007) is insufficient to unpack the complexities of the respondents' interpretations of national identity

in each context. As the participants revealed, intergroup comparison is not the only means by which national identity is sustained in the two schools (as in Hinkle & Brown, 1990). To understand how national identity is constructed in Phoenix Primary School and St Andrews Primary School respectively, the distinctive social environments that have shaped the two schools need to be examined first.

China is a relatively homogenous society. In terms of the population's ethnic backgrounds, the Han people account for nearly 92% of the overall population and 55 ethnic minorities groups constitute the remaining 8% (Emily, 2011). Even in an era of globalisation when the transnational population of immigrants is increasing, international migrants only account for 0.071% of China's population (World Bank, 2015). In contrast, Scotland is a diverse society not only in terms of ethnicity (as the statistics in Section 8.4.1 showed), but also in terms of religion and language (Scotland's Census, 2011).

Generally speaking, national identity serves different functions in the Chinese and Scottish contexts. An inward-looking pattern has more purchase in China. In engaging with the issue of Chinese identity, China focuses on social cohesion and unity. In addition, due to its rapid economic growth and unprecedented social development, China's need for social harmony has become increasingly intense and urgent (Law & Ho, 2011), which is evident in the CPC's call for constructing a harmonious socialist society and disseminating *Core Socialist Values* to accomplish the *Chinese Dream* (Camicia & Zhu, 2011). Scotland, however, is an outward-looking nation. In engaging with the issue of Scottish identity, more attention is attached to adapting to its increasingly heterogeneous community and making Scotland a more inclusive society. A welcoming narrative is specifically reflected in the One Scotland, Many Cultures and the New Scots policies, which convey the information that immigrants are welcome regardless of their backgrounds (Bond, 2006; Botterill & Hancock, 2018; Emejulu, 2013; Soule et al., 2012). The distinct mindsets that prevail in the Chinese and Scottish contexts have inevitably influenced the respondents' construction of national identity.

In Phoenix Primary School, both the strategies of horizontal comparison and vertical comparison were used to construct Chinese identity. First, traditional intergroup comparison was prevalently carried out by different groups of respondents. They commonly constructed Chinese identity based on the attributes that distinguish the Chinese nation from other nations. A key concern amidst the discussion was national symbols such as the national flag, which was cited as inspiring national pride in the respondents. In conducting horizontal comparison with other nations, the respondents tended to focus on the positive attributes of the Chinese nation, particularly its rich culture and ancient civilisation. Strong emotional sentiments, such as love, pride and loyalty, was expressed in connection with these attributes. However, the defects and weaknesses of the Chinese nation were rarely discussed. Some issues like air pollution were raised, but they were understood not to be problems that are unique to China. The respondents rarely criticised the Chinese nation and tended to defend it in the face of criticism.

Second, vertical comparison served as a unique means by which Chinese identity was formed among the respondents (Kung, 2006). National misery, especially the century of national humiliation, was widely discussed. In the conversations, Japan was a subject of particular attention to frame China as a historically victimised nation (Suzuki, 2007). By invoking these feelings, the respondents were not only reminded of national history, but also inspired to dedicate themselves to a strong Chinese nation to protect against future national humiliation or foreign invasion. It is therefore not surprising that the policy expert, teachers and students were commonly concerned about the future of the Chinese nation and were willing to make contributions to its prosperity. The respondents also utilised the vertical comparison strategy to reinforce the economic and social development that had been achieved since 1949, when the PRC was established. The adult respondents particularly tended to attribute the achievements of China to the efforts of the CPC, and they voiced their commitment to its leadership (Kung, 2006).

Overall, Chinese identity involves love for the Chinese nation, a sense of pride in the Chinese nation, concern for the Chinese nation's wellbeing, and the willingness to promote its prosperity (Nathanson, 1993). Both horizontal and

vertical comparisons were carried out by the respondents in constructing Chinese identity, with the latter strategy being of more concern to the adults. However, two potential risks are inherent to the vertical comparison strategy. First, national identity flourishes most during wars and when the nation is suppressed (Adam, 1990; McCrone & Bechhofer, 2008). However, overstating national suffering and humiliation to invoke a strong sense of national identity runs the risk of inciting hostility and prejudice towards others, and may lead to a biased understanding of oneself. Second, history does not move in a straight line, but in a spiral. Problems and achievements are intertwined in the history of a nation. Paying too much attention to national history in terms of grand narratives and great currents may lead to ignorance of a nation's deficiencies and individuals' sacrifices, and consequently is insufficient to unpack the whole picture of a nation's history (Morales, 2015).

Among the respondents in St Andrews Primary School, as discussed in Section 8.4.2, limited attention was attached to static national symbols. In discussing the distinctiveness of Scotland, the respondents tended to focus on more flexible factors that allow for individuals' interpretations. Cultural attributes were raised, such as Robert Burns and his works, landscapes and the kindness of Scottish people. The respondents, different from their counterparts in Phoenix Primary School, did not invoke any strong emotional expressions. Some non-positive attributes of Scotland, such as the harsh weather and the tastelessness of food, were discussed rather than being overlooked. However, it is noteworthy that less superficial aspects, like poverty, homelessness or Scotland's colonial history, were never mentioned in the conversations. This either reflects the respondents' ignorance of Scotland's weaknesses or a choice to critique the country in a selective way, which is similar to the Chinese respondents' intention of defending the Chinese nation by avoiding talk of its more serious issues.

As Triandafyllidou argues, "Belonging to a nation does not only imply knowing who 'we' are but also recognising who are the 'others'" (1998, p.597). The group that poses a challenge to the distinctiveness of the ingroup can be regarded as the "significant other" (Triandafyllidou, 1998, p.594). In discussing the distinctiveness of Scotland, the teachers in particular raised the issue that outsiders know little

about Scotland and even wrongly believe that Scotland is a part of England. However, neither the oppositional relationship between Scotland and England nor the so-called “anti-English sentiment” was raised (Whigham, 2012, p.153). In short, the teachers did not discuss England as the significant other to Scotland. Instead, the teachers spoke of the UK as posing a challenge to the distinctiveness of Scotland, although it should be kept in mind that the UK is sometimes treated as a synonym for England (Crick, 2001; McCrone, 2002). This somewhat reveals the tensions between Scotland and the UK, and more specifically between Scottish identity and British identity. Most of the adult respondents claimed to have British identity, but they did not attach great importance to it. Furthermore, the teachers claimed and were observed not to play an active role in sharing British identity in the school. Consequently, few of the students participating in the focus groups claimed to have British identity. The respondents’ relative indifference towards British identity partly reveals their desire to maintain the distinctiveness of their Scottish identity and to make Scotland understood and recognised by outsiders.

In addition to the cultural distinctiveness of Scotland, the respondents tended to reinforce the inclusiveness of Scotland to construct Scottish identity, which is largely influenced by Scotland’s outward-looking perspective. As was discussed in Section 8.4.2, great emphasis was put on advocating inclusive values in Scotland. The respondents not only conceptualised Scotland as an inclusive nation that is welcoming to everyone, but also argued that Scottish people are nice and friendly. Accepting these claims about the inclusiveness of Scotland requires looking at how the relationship between Scottish identity and the identities of people originally from other parts of the world can be negotiated. The argument that more than one nation can be one’s own was apparently adopted (Callan, 2006). Scottish identity was framed as a non-exclusive identity, which can be developed compatibly with other national identities and the identifications of different communities. Considering that identity “determines how you are treated, what is expected of you, what you expect of yourself” (Zalewski & Enloe, 1995, p.299), national identity not only implies how you define yourself, but how you are understood. Scottish identity was not only proposed as an inclusive identity by the respondents, but also experienced that way. The students who had originally

come from other parts of the world tended to claim that Scotland is an inclusive nation and that they had constructed Scottish identities (as in Bonino, 2015; Hopkins, 2007).

In summary, in constructing Scottish identity, the respondents tended to emphasise the distinctiveness and inclusiveness of Scotland. The UK was conceptualised as the significant other posing a threat to the distinctiveness of Scotland. To maintain distinctive Scottish identity, British identity was pushed aside by the respondents. In advancing inclusive values, the role of nationality in defining individuals and global issues was downplayed. This not only contributed to the respondents' senses of belonging to Scotland regardless of their backgrounds, but also suggested that Scotland could engage on the global stage without having to be confined within the UK. Although the policy experts and most of the teachers claimed to have British identity, the number of students who identified with the UK was relatively small. It might be true that the students did not fully understand the inclusiveness of Scottish identity, as few of them were aware of the relationship between Scotland and the UK. Alternatively, it could be argued that a form of Scottish identity that is compatible with other identities except for British identity can be expected to develop among students in the coming generations.

8.5 The interpretation and construction of global identity

Great importance is attached to global identity in both of the schools. In general, difficulties in constructing global identity were frequently reported in Phoenix Primary School, while most respondents in St Andrews Primary School tended to regard themselves as global citizens.

8.5.1 What is the world?

In engaging with the issue of global identity, the respondents first elaborated on their understandings of the meanings of 'the world'. In Phoenix Primary School, the concept was assigned two meanings. First, the world was understood as being composed of China and other countries, and therefore is much bigger than China in terms of area. The curriculum documents and respondents tended to

conceptualise the world as a big community, but to some extent made the concept of 'world' vague. Unlike countries with borders, the world as a big community lacks a clear boundary. The adult respondents, especially teachers, argued that the global community is too amorphous and distant to imagine (as in Canovan, 2000). As "citizens of nowhere" (MacIntyre, 1988, p.388), some respondents felt that they were unlikely to be motivated to take corresponding responsibilities (Wingo, 2007). Although the policy expert suggested that individuals could construct imaginations of the world through understanding it as the planet on which all creatures coexist, difficulties in constructing an image of the world as a whole was commonly reported by teachers.

Second, nation states remain central even in the era of globalisation since most governance is contained within national boundaries (Deeg, 2006). For most of the respondents, both adults and children, the idea of the world was regarded as being identical to other countries. This perception could be easily found in both official and enacted curricula, where the teaching and learning about the world to a great extent is organised around the characteristics of various countries. By approaching the world in this way, tensions between the Chinese nation and the world are created. Some of the respondents tended not to identify themselves as global citizens, largely because of the fear that their senses of belonging to the Chinese nation might be undermined (as in Myers, 2006; Rapoport, 2010). Either taking the world as a bigger community with ambiguous borders or as a collection of other countries led to respondents', especially teachers', difficulties in identifying as members of the global community. Although most of the students identified as global citizens, the above two thinking patterns remained widespread.

Among the respondents in St Andrews Primary School, the world was not taken as an extension of Scotland, but as the planet. Not only were countries and individuals living in different parts of the world equally respected, but the equal status of all living creatures on the planet also was recognised. By doing so, the respondents no longer understood the world as a distant community with amorphous boundaries. Instead, they could experience the world in their daily lives. The respondents did not rely on imagining global unity, but the mutual

respect between each other to construct senses of belonging to the world. In other words, it was the socio-emotional connections between all living creatures that contributed to the respondents' senses of global community (De Rivera & Carson, 2015). A striking point to note is that the roles of nationality and ethnicity in determining global issues were downplayed. The respondents did not raise the tensions between the nation and the world, and rarely reported difficulties in constructing an image of the world in which their national identities might be threatened.

8.5.2 Construction of global identity

The respondents' interpretations of the world influenced the ways in which they constructed global identity. According to respondents in Phoenix Primary School, global identity was formed and sustained based on meeting a series of prerequisites, while for most of the respondents in St Andrews Primary School, global identity was an inborn identity.

In Phoenix Primary School, the respondents argued that individuals' global identity is constructed upon meeting two prerequisites. First, since the world was conceptualised by the respondents as a big community, individuals who want to develop global identity are expected to have global perspectives and shoulder responsibilities in tackling global concerns. A key concern in the discussion was that a Chinese perspective be widely adopted. The respondents tended to situate global concerns in the Chinese context and discuss how corresponding actions could be taken (as in Goren & Yemini, 2018). Therefore, individuals' global identity and Chinese identity are linked together. According to the respondents, individuals cannot construct a global identity unless they have developed their Chinese identity (as in Appiah, 2005). Second, since the world implies other countries as well, having awareness of foreign countries was treated as another precondition for constructing global identity. Global awareness was particularly framed as individuals' knowledge and experience of other countries, as well as their skills to participate in global lives. All these factors were regarded as prerequisites for developing global identity. It was their lack of global knowledge,

experience and skills that resulted in many teachers having difficulties in constructing their senses of global identity.

In St Andrews Primary School, since the respondents conceptualised the world as the planet on which all living creatures coexist, it was argued that all human beings are born as global citizens. In other words, there was no perceived prerequisite for becoming global citizens. Individuals without global knowledge, experience or skills, and even people with no awareness of the outside world, could still be regarded as global citizens. However, this does not mean that individuals' global identity can be sustained without taking any responsibilities. Rather than global knowledge, experience and skills, it was the sense of connections with others and global engagement that was identified by the respondents as being important for global citizens. In addition, as the respondents believed, an essential task for global citizens living in an era of globalisation is to understand and respect differences, which were framed in multiple senses rather than merely in terms of nationality or ethnicity. There was a consistency among the policy experts, most of the teachers and the students in identifying themselves as global citizens.

Generally, in Phoenix Primary School, the respondents' difficulties in constructing global identity were co-shaped by their perceptions of the world and of the prerequisites for being global citizens. According to them, the world is partly an amorphous community, which is difficult to imagine. In their eyes, the world also refers to other countries, which means global identification may undermine their Chinese identity. In addition, individuals' global identity was not understood to be inborn, but could only be formed once a series of prerequisites has been met. Only individuals with strong identification with the Chinese nation and equipped with global knowledge, experience and skills were regarded as global citizens. On the other hand, in St Andrews Primary School, the respondents conceptualised the world as the planet on which everyone coexists. They could experience the world and develop socio-emotional connections with others around the world in their daily lives. According to them, everyone is born as global citizens without having to be equipped with global knowledge, experience and skills, or develop a strong national identity.

8.6 Interactions between national identity and global identity

Both Phoenix Primary School and St Andrews Primary School are concerned with the idea of multiple identities. The frameworks of *Inclusive National* and *Inclusive Global* that the two schools are respectively categorised under not only reflect how the relationship between national identity education and global identity education is balanced (as shown in Section 8.3), but also reveal the national-global interactions manifested in the two contexts.

In identity claims, two goals may be sought: differentiation or equivalence (Medrano & Gutiérrez, 2001). This can explain the different approaches to identity construction reflected in the two schools and wider contexts. As a unified entity in the cultural, political and historical senses, China makes a strong appeal for social cohesion and unity. As the nation is currently experiencing unprecedented economic growth and social development, the desire to achieve inner harmony is increasingly urgent. Therefore, in Phoenix Primary School, considerable attention is paid to constructing individuals' unified sense of belonging to the Chinese nation as a distinct one. Scotland, on the other hand, is a multicultural and multilingual society. Increasing populations with different ethnic and cultural backgrounds contribute to a more diverse environment. It is thus not a surprise that great emphasis is put on advancing inclusive values and respecting differences in St Andrews Primary School.

Between the *Inclusive National* and *Inclusive Global* frameworks that the two schools are categorised into, the differences primarily lie in the perceptions of which identity is more prominent. In Phoenix Primary School, greater attention is attached to Chinese identity. Shaped by the thoughts of Confucius (Guo & He, 1999), the fates of individuals and the Chinese nation are assumed to be closely linked. The respondents commonly used the metaphor of family to conceptualise the Chinese nation and compared patriotic sentiment to a kind of parental love. Having Chinese identity was regarded not only as an obligation, but also as a moral value to determine whether one can be regarded as a good person.

In St Andrews Primary School, no similar metaphor was used to interpret the nation, nor did the respondents ever argue that constructing Scottish or British identity was an obligation. Instead, global identity was spoken of as the most significant identity. By conceptualising the world as the planet on which all creatures coexist, the respondents did not have difficulties in developing their awareness of the world. Human beings were assumed by the respondents to be naturally born as members of the world. They claimed that anyone can have a global identity without having to develop global knowledge, experience or skills.

The more complex interactions between national identity and global identity manifested in the two schools can be explained by applying the following figures. In each figure, the scale of the circles indicates the importance attached to different identities.

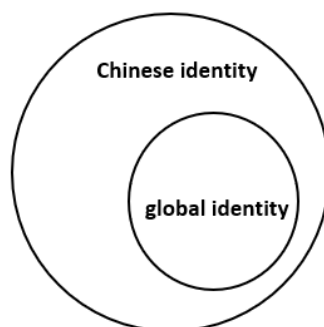


Figure 8.1 *Interactions between Chinese Identity and Global Identity (First Form)*

In Phoenix Primary School, the interactions between Chinese identity and global identity manifest in two forms, in both of which more attention is attached to Chinese identity. An individual's global identity, as was commonly argued by the participants, is a product of nurture, which cannot be formed unless one is equipped with global knowledge, experience and skills. Figure 8.1 represents the situation that both Chinese identity and global identity are taken as salient identities to develop. Global identity is framed as a subgroup identity, which must be constructed based on Chinese identity as a superordinate identity. Only individuals with a strong sense of Chinese identity are assumed to be capable of constructing global identity. In this situation, global identity is assumed to be conducive to Chinese identity. Global knowledge, experience and skills enable individuals to not only develop their awareness of the world, but also understand

the role of China within it, which accordingly could strengthen their identification with the Chinese nation. That may explain why the respondents subscribed to the argument that the more cosmopolitan and globalised we become, the more we should be aware of the distinctive features of our own nations (as in White, 2001).

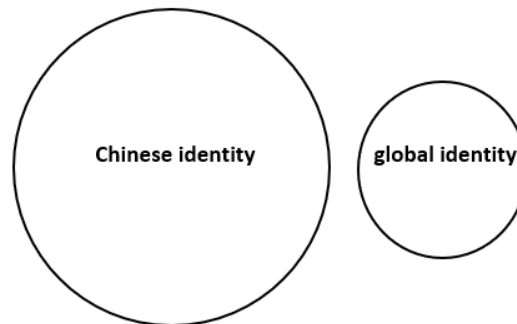


Figure 8.2 *Interactions between Chinese Identity and Global Identity (Second Form)*

However in some circumstances, the idea of the world connotes other countries, and global identity is then interpreted as identification with other countries. Therefore, Chinese identity and global identity, as Figure 8.2 shows, are regarded as independent or incompatible with each other. In this situation, global identity is assumed to pose a threat to Chinese identity. As the teachers argued, paying attention to global issues might decrease individuals' interest in the Chinese nation, consequently weakening their Chinese identity. These two forms of interactions might cause confusion because they contain contradictions, but they function simultaneously and are each partly responsible for shaping individuals' understandings of the relationship between Chinese identity and global identity.

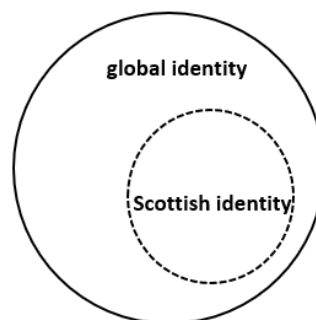


Figure 8.3 *Interactions between Scottish Identity and Global Identity*

In St Andrews Primary School, the interactions manifest in a single form, as shown in Figure 8.3, which recognises both global identity and Scottish identity as salient, while attaching greater attention to global identity. Even though it is framed as a superordinate identity, global identity is not taken as the precondition for national identity as a subordinate identity, or vice versa. It can be argued that global identity and Scottish identity are not only compatible, but also conducive to the construction of each other. In constructing Scottish identity, individuals are equipped with knowledge of the world with Scotland as a part of it, which accordingly could strengthen their identification with the world. Between Scottish identity and global identity exist common points of concern about inclusive values. In constructing global identity, the inclusiveness of Scotland is recognised as well. In addition, the role of nationality is downplayed in the process of forming global identity. It potentially conveys the information that Scotland as a stateless nation is eligible to stand on the global stage independently without having to be confined within the UK. This, consciously or unconsciously, enables Scotland to assert itself. That is the reason that the circle around “Scottish identity” is made of dashes rather than a solid line; this allows for expansion and cross-currents between Scotland and the world.

The differences between the two schools not only lie in one being *Inclusive National* and the other being *Inclusive Global* according to the analytical framework, but also in the forms of interactions between national identity and global identity. It should be noted that the above analysis of Phoenix Primary School and St Andrews Primary School has not been developed from each situation independently; comparing was the most fundamental part of the thought process that allowed me to make sense of the two schools’ practice (Phillips, 1999). Primarily, conducting a comparative study helped me understand what is achievable (National Research Council, 2003). Through observing and characterising different practices in the two schools, I became aware of various approaches to national identity education and global identity education. Therefore, the analysis of the two schools was not only guided by the question why specific approaches have been adopted, but also why other approaches are not preferred. This was specifically reflected in the comparative analysis of why

strong emotional appeals are prevalent in the claims for Chinese identity, but not for Scottish identity. This clearly could not be achieved in a single context study.

Second, comparing the two schools allowed me to identify the issues that had been overlooked and question the assumptions that have been taken for granted (Crossley & Watson, 2003). For instance, as an adult born and raised in Mainland China, I took Chinese identity education for granted and thought every country would advance national identity through school education in the same way. However, a long period of time spent within St Andrews Primary School identifying different approaches to Scottish identity education provided me with the chance to reflect on the necessity of national identity education, and to explore why different choices are made in different circumstances. The same situation occurred in analysing the global identity education in the two schools.

Last but not least, to avoid misconceptions, the political, economic, cultural, social and historical contexts that might have shaped the schools' practices were carefully examined. The comparisons between the two schools were put in their wider national contexts, which enabled me to achieve an in-depth understanding of China and Scotland beyond educational issues (Phillips, 1999). For instance, I became aware that it is Confucianism that has shaped Chinese identity education in Phoenix Primary School. Being patriotic is commonly treated as a moral value and determinant criterion of a good person in China. St Andrews Primary School's passion for global identity education is largely influenced by the Scotland's interest in an inclusive society, in which being nice and respecting differences are expected.

8.7 Summary

The nations' respective political, economic, cultural, social and historical contexts have shaped the development needs that Mainland China and Scotland are trying to address. Generally, an inward-looking pattern is more prevalent in Mainland China, where the need for social cohesion and harmony is increasingly urgent. Scotland is an outward-looking country, in which more attention is paid to inclusive values to adapt to a heterogeneous society. Different social agendas in

the wider contexts have exerted great influences on the approaches to national identity and global identity, as well as corresponding educational practices carried out in Phoenix Primary School and St Andrews Primary School.

In engaging with the issue of Chinese identity, the respondents applied the metaphor of family to conceptualise the Chinese nation. The patriotic sentiment was understood as a kind of unconditional parental love. Being patriotic was regarded as a moral value to determine whether one can be regarded as a good person. The significance of Chinese identity education is also widely acknowledged in official and enacted curricula. Learners are expected to become patriotic Chinese, who are equipped with a wealth of knowledge of the Chinese nation, having strong affection for it and being dedicated to its prosperity. Chinese identity education is conducted based on two themes of content. Horizontal comparison with other nations is relied on to reinforce the distinctive attributes of the Chinese nation, especially its rich culture and ancient civilisation, while vertical comparison emphasises national humiliation and the development that China has achieved in the last 70 years under the CPC's leadership. Chinese identity education is widely advanced in formal, informal and hidden curricula through a knowledge-based approach. Inconsistency between the high expectations attached to Chinese identity education and its actual practice led to the respondents' feedback that further effort is required.

In Scotland, the concept of 'nation' can refer to both Scotland and the UK, but Scotland was of more concern to the respondents. They did not raise any specific metaphor to conceptualise Scotland. The cultural distinctiveness and inclusiveness of Scotland are the two elements that are relied on in constructing Scottish identity and in organising the content of curriculum. Learners are not expected to construct a unified Scottish identity through school education, but to enjoy learning about Scotland. Scottish identity education is conducted in formal and informal curricula through an experience-based approach. Learners and their families are empowered to experience and explore Scotland on their own. All the respondents expressed satisfaction with how Scottish identity education was conducted in the school context. The UK was understood more as a politically defined entity posing a threat to the distinctiveness of Scotland, which

consequently results in tensions between Scottish identity and British identity. UK-specific elements are rarely mentioned in official or enacted curricula. Although the adult respondents claimed to have British identity, the students commonly lacked an understanding of the UK, and few of them identified themselves as belonging to the UK.

In Phoenix Primary School, the respondents understood the world as an ambiguous community without clear-cut boundaries, and they sometimes treated it as identical to other countries. Accordingly, global identity was interpreted as the identification of the world and other countries, which made the interactions between Chinese identity and global identity complex. On the one hand, global identity was understood as subordinate to Chinese identity. Global knowledge, experience and skills, which were cited by the respondents as the preconditions for constructing global identity, enable individuals to understand the world and the role of China within it, and can therefore strengthen their Chinese identity. On the other hand, global identity was assumed to be incompatible with Chinese identity. The awareness of other countries might pose a threat to individuals' interests in the Chinese nation, consequently weakening their Chinese identity. These two seemingly contradictory statements coexisted in the respondents' understanding of the relationship between Chinese identity and global identity, and they also impacted how global identity was treated in the school setting.

Global identity is understood as a good thing but is not emphasised to the same degree as Chinese identity in the official and enacted curricula. Learners are expected to become globally competitive individuals equipped with a wealth of global knowledge, experience and skills. Global identity education is conducted based on two themes of content with a Chinese perspective. Global concerns, represented as natural environment and resource scarcity, are more often localised and discussed with reference to how they are manifested in the Chinese context specifically. Characteristics of other countries are introduced and compared with their Chinese counterparts. Global identity education is conducted in the formal and informal curricula following a mixture of knowledge-based and experience-based approaches. Learners are more actively empowered than they

are when learning about the Chinese nation. All the respondents were happy with the conduct of global identity education.

In St Andrews Primary School, the respondents perceived the world as the planet on which all creatures coexist. Everyone was regarded as a global citizen without having to be equipped with global knowledge, experience or skills. Global identity was conceptualised as a superordinate identity compatible with Scottish identity. When constructing Scottish identity, individuals' knowledge of the world with Scotland as a part of it could be enriched, which accordingly might strengthen their sense of global identity. In forming global identity, great importance was attached to the value of inclusiveness, which benefits individuals' understanding of Scotland as an inclusive nation. In addition, the role of nationality was downplayed, enabling Scotland to stand on the global stage without having to be confined within the UK.

Global identity is taken as a headline issue that ought to be addressed across different levels of curriculum. Learners are expected to be aware of the connections with each other and to live with differences, rather than being equipped with knowledge of other countries or the essential skills to participate in global society. In organising the content of global identity education, the balance between diversity and unity issues is carefully maintained. Different cultures, customs, festivals and food are discussed in the school. Common global concerns are addressed as well. The Scottish perspective is proposed in the official curriculum, but not adopted in the enacted curriculum. Global identity education is widely conducted in formal, informal and hidden curricula through an experience-based approach. Students, especially those from different backgrounds, are empowered. All of the respondents reported that they were satisfied with the practice of global identity education.

In summary, according to the analytical framework, Phoenix Primary School and St Andrews Primary School have been categorised as *Inclusive National* and *Inclusive Global* respectively. This explains not only the relationship between national identity education and global identity education, but also the national-global interactions manifested in the school settings and beyond.

Chapter Nine Conclusion

This study has explored the relationship between national identity education and global identity education in the Chinese and Scottish contexts. Applying a case study methodology, the study has conducted a comparative analysis between two case schools across the intended, implemented and attained curriculum levels. To conclude, this chapter will first summarise the salient aspects of the findings. It goes on to consider the implications and limitations of this study. Finally, my development as a researcher will be discussed.

9.1 Key findings

Education cannot be decontextualised from its local culture (Crossley & Watson, 2003). China is an inward-looking country in which the need for social cohesion and harmony has become increasingly intense. Scotland is an outward-looking country that pays a good deal of attention to sustaining social diversity. These different social agendas have exerted influences on the interactions between national identity education and global identity education manifested in the two case schools. According to the analytical framework, Phoenix Primary School and St Andrews Primary School could be respectively categorised as *Inclusive National* and *Inclusive Global*. The following sections will recapitulate the key findings of the study by revisiting the research questions.

RQ1: How are senses of national identity and global identity promoted through the intended curriculum in primary schools in Mainland China and Scotland?

- How is the rationale underlying national identity education and global identity education perceived by policy experts in Mainland China and Scotland?

The distinctions between the Chinese nation, Chinese government and the CPC were rarely in the Chinese context. Patriotic sentiment was understood as a kind of parental love, and schools were understood to be the places in which Chinese identity ought to be constructed. To reach desirable educational outcomes, considerable attention is paid to enriching teachers' knowledge of pedagogy and

psychology, as well as cultivating students' critical thinking. Global identity serves the function of strengthening individuals' Chinese identity, and is recognised as a desirable identity to form through school education. However, high expectations are not set for younger children to develop global awareness.

Scottish identity was conceptualised as a complex cultural identity open to individuals' interpretations, and it is implicitly promoted in Scottish education. Little importance is attached to British identity and it is rarely discussed in education settings as a result of (and perhaps contributing to) the tensions between Scotland and the UK. The importance of global identity education is recognised, with consideration given to the benefit it might bring to Scotland and its people. Global identity education has enjoyed a long continuity of government support, but the practice depends on schools' autonomous approaches.

- How are senses of national identity and global identity presented in primary school curriculum standards/textbooks in Mainland China and Scotland?

Considerable attention is paid to cultivating students' senses of belonging to the Chinese nation through the teaching across different curriculum areas. The characteristics of the Chinese nation, the century of humiliation and China's subsequent achievements account for the main content themes. Learners are expected to become patriotic Chinese citizens who have a rich knowledge of the Chinese nation, an emotional attachment to it and can contribute to its prosperity. The objective of global identity education is framed as helping learners become globally competitive. A Chinese perspective is adopted in organising the content of global identity education; global issues are discussed in the Chinese context, and the attributes of other countries are introduced and compared with their Chinese counterparts.

Scottish identity education is not attached to an agreed upon objective or strong emotional appeals. Learning within specific curriculum areas serves the function of satisfying the national needs of Scotland. The cultural heritage of Scotland is discussed as well. Limited emphasis is placed on UK-specific elements. Global identity is taken as an important issue to address in Scottish education. Learners

are expected to work collaboratively to tackle global challenges and live harmoniously with differences. The identification of multiple communities is encouraged as well.

RQ2: How are senses of national identity and global identity promoted through the implemented curriculum in primary schools in Mainland China and Scotland?

- How do teachers perceive national identity education and global identity education in primary schools in Mainland China and Scotland?

In Phoenix Primary School, the teachers commonly expressed strong senses of Chinese identity. They used the metaphor of children to conceptualise the Chinese nation. Horizontal comparison between the Chinese nation and other nations and vertical comparison between China's past and present were commonly adopted as strategies to construct Chinese identity. The teachers argued that being patriotic is an ideal characteristic and way of life. Their lack of knowledge and experiences of other countries, as well as the skills to participate in international life, resulted in teachers' difficulty in identifying themselves as global citizens. The fear that Chinese identity may be undermined also contributed to their reluctance to form a sense of global identity.

In St Andrews Primary School, the teachers did not use any metaphor to conceptualise Scotland or the UK. Most of the teachers had both Scottish and British identity, although the former was stronger. They identified with Scottish culture, the inclusiveness of Scotland and Scottish people, and hoped to help outsiders understand Scotland better. Their British identity was reflected in their identification as British citizens. The teachers were cautious about any idea or action that might invoke individuals' strong emotional attachment to Scotland or the UK. Most of the teachers claimed to be global citizens who are able to live with differences.

- How are national identity education and global identity education implemented in primary schools in Mainland China and Scotland?

In Phoenix Primary School, Chinese identity education is explicitly conducted through formal, informal and curricula. A knowledge-based approach is adopted, with teachers playing a particularly important role in passing down Chinese identity. According to the interviews, students are perceived as lacking an in-depth understanding of the Chinese nation and sometimes worshipping other countries; therefore they are assumed to be underperforming. Global identity education receives less attention and is conducted mainly through study abroad trips. Both knowledge-based and skills-based approaches are adopted with the aim of enriching learners' knowledge of other countries and skills to participate in the globalised world. Because of their own backgrounds and perceived shortcomings, the teachers commonly lacked confidence in carrying out related teaching practices, but they regarded the students as potential global citizens.

In St Andrews Primary School, Scottish identity education is implicitly advanced through the interdisciplinary curriculum and Scottish-themed activities. An experience-based approach is adopted, with students empowered to experience and explore Scotland on their own. British identity is not cultivated in the school. Global identity education is widely conducted through formal, informal and hidden curricula. The international environment within the school also benefits this teaching practice, with the students and their parents empowered and engaged. The students could understand and respect differences and were therefore regarded as global citizens.

RQ3: How are senses of national identity and global identity experienced and understood through the attained curriculum in primary schools in Mainland China and Scotland?

- How do students experience national identity education and global identity education in primary schools in Mainland China and Scotland?

In Phoenix Primary School, the students commonly acknowledged the learning of Chinese identity through formal and informal curricula, but were not aware of it as part of the school environment. In terms of the objectives and content of Chinese identity education, there was no inconsistency found between students'

experiences and the evidence gathered from the intended and implemented curricula. However, the students expressed the desire to transform the knowledge-based approach and called for increasing learners' autonomy. Like the teachers, the students recognised study abroad trips as the most important approach to constructing global identity. On one hand, the students' enthusiasm for global identity education resulted from their interest in global issues, and on the other, it was caused by the assumption that the knowledge, experience and skills obtained are useful for constructing their Chinese identity.

In St Andrews Primary School, the students reported that they enjoyed learning about Scotland. They claimed to have developed rich knowledge and experience of Scottish culture and history. The students' experiences also proved that other than Brexit, British issues were rarely discussed in the school. Global identity education is widely experienced through the formal, informal and hidden curricula in the school. Regarding the objectives, content and instructional strategies of global identity education, no incongruence between students' experiences and teachers' descriptions was observed. The students especially enjoyed celebrating different cultures, giving the reason that it allowed them to understand classmates with different backgrounds and the world beyond Scotland.

- How do primary school students understand national identity and global identity in Mainland China and Scotland?

In Phoenix Primary School, students commonly expressed a strong sense of Chinese identity. They used a metaphor of a mother to personify the Chinese nation. They identified with the characteristics of the Chinese nation and the development that China has achieved. Being patriotic Chinese was regarded as a duty. By meeting the prerequisites for global identity - namely having global knowledge, experience and skills - most students were confident in identifying themselves as global citizens. They also argued that by constructing global identity, their identification with the Chinese nation could be strengthened.

In St Andrews Primary School, most students claimed to have Scottish identity and global identity, while few of them claimed British identity. They commonly identified with Scottish culture, and they regarded Scotland as a unique and inclusive country. No strong emotional attachment to Scotland was reported. The students commonly lacked awareness of the UK. However, their knowledge of the British politics, specifically of Brexit, was richer than they thought. According to them, individuals' connections with the world are constructed naturally at birth. Everyone can be regarded as global citizens without having to meet any prerequisites.

9.2 Implications

Drawing on the key findings from the research, some implications can be made for comparative education methodology, for theories on national identity and global identity, and for educational practice.

9.2.1 Implications for methodology

The issue of equivalence is central to comparative education research (Crossley & Watson, 2003). This study is distinctive as it does not compare “like with like” as conventional studies do (Watson, 1994, p.94). Between the units of analysis, namely China and Scotland, exist certain dissimilarities. The differences between them not only lie in one being an independent country and the other being a stateless nation, but also in the scales of their populations and geographic areas, and the levels of diversity they encompass. However, the equivalence between them is not sacrificed. Having experienced a transformation in all spheres of society, China's need for social harmony and national unity is increasingly urgent. In the context of globalisation, China has been vying to claim and maintain a leading role on the global stage, particularly since the 1980s. Similarly, recent decades have witnessed the transformation of the political landscapes in Scotland and the UK. Scotland is trying to sustain its national distinctiveness and to play an important role in the global conversation. Generally, as they both share similar concerns about national consciousness and global status, China and Scotland “have sufficient in common to make analysis of their differences meaningful”

(Bray, 2004, p.248). Therefore, this study somewhat sheds light on the ways in which the equivalence issue could be considered in comparative education.

Traditionally, a distinctive assumption of comparative education research is that of the nation-state as the prime unit of analysis (Welch, 2003). However, as was indicated in Section 3.1, the idea that every nation constitutes a state is an ideal. The reality is that some states are constituted of more than one nation, while other nations are not recognised as states. The regional variations in education within nation-states are often as great as those between nation-states (Manzon, 2014). Acknowledging the limitations of the notion of “one country, one system” (Bray & Jiang, 2014, p.44), this study chose to focus on two case schools to reduce the dangers of overgeneralisation. By applying a comparative case study methodology, the study has been able to achieve comparisons on multiple levels. First, a vertical comparison was conducted within the case schools. Through exploring different stakeholders’ experiences and perceptions of national identity education and global identity education, this study contributes to the understanding of the similarities and differences among intended, implemented and attained curricula. Second, although contemporary education phenomenon is of more concern to the study, the knowledge of previous education policies and practices is achieved through literature review, which benefits the understanding of how national identity education and global identity education have changed over time. Based on vertical and transversal analyses, a horizontal comparison between the two case schools and an in-depth understanding of China and Scotland were finally achieved.

9.2.2 Implications for theory

As was discussed in Chapter Two, the concept of ‘other’ has conventionally been deployed to draw a line of inclusion and exclusion in forming individuals’ knowledge of nations (Ma & Fung, 2007). Many studies have conceptualised national identity as a way of relating to one’s own nation through casting other nations as outsiders (Durrani & Dunne, 2010; Guibernau, 2007). National identity to a great extent is formed based on the attributes that distinguish a given nation from others. This study enriches these bodies of knowledge by offering

illustrations of how the role of others can be defined and how different influences may be relied on to form national identity. It first reveals that, in addition to migrants, national minorities and majorities, the groups that threaten the distinctiveness of a nation can be regarded as its significant others (Triandafyllidou, 1998). Supporting evidence found in the study is that the UK (rather than England) is assumed to pose a threat to the distinctiveness of Scotland. The study also argues that international comparison is not the only means by which national identity is sustained (Hinkle & Brown, 1990; Mummendey et al., 2001). In constructing Chinese identity, both horizontal comparison with other nations and vertical comparison with the Chinese nation's past are commonly used as key strategies. In addition to cultural distinctiveness, the inclusiveness of Scotland is emphasised in constructing Scottish identity. The strategies of forming national identity found in this study might not necessarily be applicable to other places or times. However, it cannot be denied that this study offers an insight into the variations in dealing with national identity between different settings, and the importance of taking national contexts into account.

In addition, a growing body of theoretical work has discussed cosmopolitanism and education for cosmopolitan citizenship (Appiah, 2006, 2008; Bates, 2012; Myers, 2010; Osler & Starkey, 2003), indicating that individuals should be enabled to form multiple identities in educational settings. However, the negotiation between different identities remains unexplored. By applying an analytical framework, this study enriches the knowledge of national identity education and global identity education, as well as of the relationship between them in the Chinese and Scottish contexts. It also contributes to the understanding of how interactions between national identity education and global identity education can manifest in different settings.

9.2.3 Implications for practice

Although the discourse of the amelioration of policy and practice are usually prominent in comparative education studies, the present study has no intention to "offer models to be imitated or rejected" (García Garrido, 1996, p.111, as cited

in Manzon, 2011). However, this study has potential implications for the practice of national identity education and global identity education in a general sense.

First, this study brings attention to students' autonomy in carrying out related practices. Although some studies conceptualise identity as a stable concept (Hébert, 2001), the argument that identity is a product of social interaction dominates the discussion (Grosvenor, 1999; Jamieson, 2002). This study supports the position that the formation of identity is a flexible and open-ended process. In advancing identity education, either related to national identity or global identity, learners should not be expected to construct fixed or unified identities that are imposed on them. Instead, they should be enabled to construct and interpret their identities in various ways.

Second, global identity education should be dedicated to providing learners with a more just and equitable world (Oxfam, 2006). In the era of globalisation, individuals are exposed to a world in which national boundaries are increasingly eroding. The benefits for children who are able to travel or study abroad are immense. However, there are still large numbers of children who stay in their local communities, never visiting other places due to financial or other considerations. They may have a narrower perspective for understanding the world and a sense of inferiority to the children who are equipped with international experiences. This is a specific manifestation of inequality that schools should be dedicated to reducing. Instead of reinforcing the importance of international experience, schools should open up more possibilities of access to the world for all students (Cho & Mosselson, 2018), allowing them to understand global issues without having to go abroad or feel disadvantaged.

9.3 Limitations and directions for future research

Having addressed its key findings and implications, I would like to discuss the limitations of this study and recommend directions for future research. In terms of theoretical limitations, this study is not able to capture the influences of respondents' ethnic backgrounds on their experience and perceptions. Phoenix Primary School is located in a province where the Han culture is adopted. The

majority of the respondents, including the policy expert, teachers and students, were Han, which is the largest ethnic group in China. The voices that were heard were the voices of the ethnic majority. However, I am aware that individuals with different ethnic backgrounds are likely to construct and interpret national identity in distinct ways (Lesser, 1999), and accordingly have different understandings of the relationship between national identity and global identity. Despite the fact that St Andrews Primary School is an ethnically diverse community, the opinions of respondents have been analysed in this study without specifying their ethnic backgrounds, as ethnicity is not a focus of this study. To ensure that various voices are heard, schools located in ethnic minorities regions could be targeted. To enrich the knowledge of national identity, future research should also be conducted to explore the relationship between individuals' national identity and ethnic identity.

This study is not able to address the respondents' perceptions of supranational identity either. In St Andrews Primary School, issues of European identity were addressed in the conversations with different groups of respondents. The topic came to my attention at the early stages of reviewing the literature, and therefore did not come as a surprise to me during the fieldwork. I had been fully aware of how complex the identity issue would be for individuals living in Europe. However, no equivalent supranational identity (such as Asian identity) has been constructed by Chinese people (Ge, 2018), nor was it mentioned in Phoenix Primary School. To assure comparability, I did not take European identity as a research focus when designing and implementing the study. Nevertheless, I must acknowledge the presence of supranational identity and its impact on negotiating the relationship between national identity and global identity (Smith, 1992). Therefore, it would be worthwhile to investigate how supranational identity is perceived and constructed in educational settings.

This study has certain methodological limitations. First, certain problems of bias stem from the ways in which some data were presented and collected. In the two case schools, the participants for the interviews and focus groups were chosen by the (deputy) head teachers, who stated that that would make things more convenient and efficient for both sides. The observations in St Andrews Primary

School were conducted under the head teacher's arrangement when she thought something would be related to my study. In doing this, the information may have been manipulated in a favourable way, consequently posing a threat to the validity of the findings (Crossley & Watson, 2003). Due to the constraints of time and scheduling problems, the data generated from observations in Phoenix Primary School was not rich, serving the limited function of a reality check. To mitigate the bias and enrich the data, more teachers, students and activities should be engaged in future research.

Second, because this is a small-scale study, the limited number of voices heard in the two case schools constrains the richness of the findings. Especially in St Andrews Primary School, six interviews with teachers are insufficient to unpack practitioners' voices. Certainly, this study does not aim to achieve statistical generalisability, but to deepen the understanding of national identity education and global identity education as practices and social phenomena in Mainland China and Scotland (as in National Research Council, 2003). However, it cannot be denied that regional variations exist in the two national contexts. The two case schools, which are located in urban areas in the northeast part of China and Glasgow respectively, are unable to reveal the whole stories of China and Scotland. To reach a fuller understanding of national identity education and global identity education in the two national contexts, future studies need to be conducted in school settings in different regions.

Last but not least, primary schools were selected as the case schools for their significant influences on individuals' construction of identity. However, it has to be admitted that some complex issues of national identity and global identity, national history for instance, may not be discussed in depth in primary schools considering younger children's ways of understanding nations and the world. To understand teenagers' and adults' experience and perceptions of national identity education and global identity education, it would be worthwhile to conduct corresponding studies in secondary schools and higher education institutions.

9.4 My development as a researcher

Whenever I felt confused or struggled while conducting the research, and even at the early stages of my PhD application, I dreamed of how wonderful the moment of writing the self-reflection part of my thesis would be. However, after finishing the body of the thesis, I am not as excited as I had imagined. Instead, I feel calm, and lost to some extent. At the moment, I suddenly understand how Pi, the protagonist of *Life of Pi*, who survives 227 days after a shipwreck living with a Bengal tiger on a lifeboat in the Pacific Ocean, feels when he finally sees the tiger disappear into the jungle without looking back. This study, which I have been working on for the last three and a half years, is the ‘tiger’ that accompanies me in my PhD journey. This thesis, although it has certain limitations, inspires me as an independent researcher and individual.

Looking back on the two conversations that motivated me to conduct this research, my initial confusions have gradually resolved. I finally understand the importance that was attached to patriotism by my friend, who was treating it as a general criterion for judging one’s behaviour. As a down-to-earth sentiment, patriotism places many requirements on anyone who would like to become a good person in the Chinese context. I also realise that by referring to her Scottish identity, the lady I met might have wanted to reinforce the distinctiveness of Scotland within the UK. I believe the initial curiosity that motivated me to conduct this research is generalisable to other contexts. Guided by my curiosity, future studies can be conducted.

As has been discussed, this study has no intention of calling for the imitation or rejection of either of the two schools’ models, but only to understand how national identity education and global identity education are conducted in the two contexts. Through looking at the similarities and differences between Phoenix Primary School and St Andrews Primary School, as well as the potential influences, I have become increasingly aware of how citizenship education and social contexts are inextricably linked with each other. Shaped by various factors, national identity education and global identity education can manifest in multiple forms. Being aware of the various practices in different circumstances, my

judgmental stances and bias when conducting comparative education studies can now be better managed.

Through making the familiar strange and the strange familiar (Kluckhohn, 1944), my in-depth understanding of China and Scotland has been achieved as well. I previously thought that I fully understood China, as it is the country of my origin. However, just like a person who cannot see the forest for the trees, my identity as an insider had reduced my capacity to critically reflect on issues that are specific to China. Fortunately, this study has offered me the chance to reflect on the assumptions that I have taken for granted and the issues I have overlooked, which has accordingly enriched my knowledge. Prior to starting this study, I was an outsider to Scotland. Robert Burns, Sir William Wallace and Loch Ness were all the attributes that constituted my vague and limited knowledge of the country. Pursuing a PhD degree in Scotland focusing on its education system offered me the perspective of an insider, allowing me to experience the country in an interactive way. If I were now asked what Scotland is like, I am confident that I could offer rich information beyond mere stereotypical images.

I have consistently believed that there is a clear resemblance between conducting research and living life. The abilities developed through conducting research can guide one's life. Curiosity about the world, awareness of multiple possibilities, as well as an appreciation for both my home and other cultures can certainly guide my career and life.

Appendices

Appendix A Semi-structured Interviews Guides

Interview with policy makers/experts

1. How do you understand the role of school education in shaping individuals' national identity?
2. Are there any policies aiming at promoting individuals' national identity through school education? What is the process of making these policies?
3. How do you understand the role of school education in shaping individuals' global identity?
4. Are there any policies aiming at promoting individuals' global identity through school education? What is the process of making these policies?
5. How do you think the actual practice of national identity education and global identity education in primary schools?

Interview with teachers

1. Do you identify yourself as a member of China/Scotland/UK? Do you identify yourself as a member of the world? How do you understand the relationship between China/Scotland/UK and the world?
2. What kind of understanding of China/Scotland/UK and the world does the school want to promote among students?
3. In order to achieve the goals, what practices are carried out in the school? How do you define your role in presenting these? What are the constraints and facilitators?
4. How do you respond to students' ideas or feelings of national identity and global identity?
5. What's the effect of national identity education and global identity education on students' identity development?

Appendix B Focus Group Guide

1. Show students the word cards, then ask them to select or put cards in order to define their senses of belonging (Cards presented to students in Phoenix Primary School are “Chinese Nation” and “World”. Cards presented to students in St Andrews Primary School are “Scotland”, “UK”, “Other Countries” and “World”).
2. For students who select “Chinese Nation”/ “Scotland”/ “UK”: If you are asked to introduce Chinese nation/Scotland/UK to others, what would you say?
3. For students who select “World”: Why do you identify yourself as a member of the world? Are there any specific reasons making you feel that?
4. In the school, through which way do you construct the understanding of Chinese nation/Scotland/UK/and the world? How do you like that?
5. Have you ever expressed your idea or feeling of Chinese nation/Scotland/UK/and the world in the school? How do teachers respond to you?
6. If you are a teacher, what kind of curriculum or activity would you arrange to promote students’ understanding of Chinese nation/Scotland/ UK/ and the world?
7. How do you experience your sense of belonging to Chinese nation/Scotland/UK/ and the world outside the school? Are there any significant events?

Appendix C Observation Protocol Form

File No:

Purpose of the observation:

School:

Place:

Date:

Time:

When	When does it happen? How long does the activity last? How often does the activity happen?	
Where	Where does the activity happen? What are the characteristics of the place?	
Who	How many people are involved and who are they? What are their roles and responsibilities?	
What	What happens in the activity? What are contents of the activity? What are the rules or regulations of the activity?	
How	How does the activity happen? How do people involved act and interact with each other?	

Further remarks:

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Appendix D Plain Language Statement

(For policy experts)

Understanding national identity education: A comparative case study of two schools in Mainland China and Scotland

You are invited to participate in a research study led by Miss Shuqi Rao, who is a PhD candidate in the School of Education, University of Glasgow.

The study wants to investigate how a sense of national identity is cultivated in balance with global identity through primary school education in Mainland China and Scotland.

You will be asked to participate in a face-to-face individual interview for no more than one hour, with the aim of getting deep insight into the underlying philosophy of the education policies regarding national identity and global identity, as well as the thought processes that happen during the policy-making undertaking. The interview will not intrude on your normal work. If you have any business, the researcher will cut the interview short.

You have the right to withdraw at any time without giving any reason. Refusing to participate or withdrawing from the study will have no adverse effect on you. A pseudonym will be allocated to you. Any identifiable information about you will be removed.

This study has been considered and approved by the College Research Ethics Committee. If you need any further information about the study, please contact the researcher through email: s.rao.1@research.gla.ac.uk

Thank you for your interest in participating in this research.

Researcher

Shuqi Rao

College of Social
Sciences

Appendix D Plain Language Statement

(For teachers)

Understanding national identity education: A comparative case study of two schools in Mainland China and Scotland

You are invited to participate in a research study led by Miss Shuqi Rao, who is a PhD candidate in the School of Education, University of Glasgow.

The study wants to explore how a sense of national identity is cultivated in balance with global identity through primary school education in Mainland China and Scotland.

You will be asked to participate in a face-to-face individual interview for no more than one hour, with the aim of exploring how national identity and global identity are currently taught in the school. The interview will not intrude on your normal work. If you have any business, the researcher will cut the interview short. Besides, the researcher plans to conduct non-participant observations of the school, and the activities related to national identity and global identity. Please don't feel stressed, as the researcher will observe the whole group of people involved in the activities without judging or assessing you.

You have the right to withdraw at any time without giving any reason. Refusing to participate or withdrawing from the study will have no adverse effect on you. A pseudonym will be allocated to you. Any identifiable information about you will be removed.

This study has been considered and approved by the College Research Ethics Committee. If you need any further information about the study, please contact the researcher through email: s.rao.1@research.gla.ac.uk

Thank you for your interest in participating in this research.

Researcher

Shuqi Rao

College of Social
Sciences

Appendix D Plain Language Statement

(For parents/carers)

Understanding national identity education: A comparative case study of two schools in Mainland China and Scotland

Your child is invited to participate in a research study led by Miss Shuqi Rao, who is a PhD candidate in the School of Education, University of Glasgow.

The study wants to explore how a sense of national identity is cultivated in balance with global identity through primary school education in Mainland China and Scotland.

Your child will be asked to participate a focus group (group discussion with five other school children) for no more than one hour with a teacher or school auxiliary staff present, in order to explore his/her experience and understanding of national identity and global identity. The focus group will be scheduled to minimise any disruption to your child's normal classes and activities. Besides, the researcher plans to conduct non-participant observations of the school, and the activities related to national identity and global identity. Please don't feel stressed, as the researcher will observe the whole group of people involved in the activities without judging or assessing your child.

Your child has the right to withdraw at any time without giving any reason. Refusing to participate or withdrawing from the study will have no adverse effect on your child. A pseudonym will be allocated to your child. Any identifiable information about your child will be removed.

This study has been considered and approved by the College Research Ethics Committee. If you need any further information about the study, please contact the researcher through email: s.rao.1@research.gla.ac.uk

Thank you for your interest in participating in this research.

Researcher

Shuqi Rao

College of Social
Sciences

Appendix D Plain Language Statement

(For students)



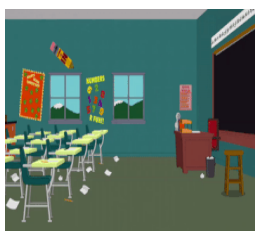
My name is Shuqi Rao and I am a researcher in the University of Glasgow.



I would like to hear what you think about China/Scotland/UK and the world.



I would like to meet you in a small group of six students to have a chat about this.



We can meet in your classrooms.



I would like to record our chat so I can remember what we all said.



You do not need to answer any questions that you do not want to.



This will help me to find out how your school presents and promotes your sense of belonging to the China/Scotland/UK and the world.



If you would like to talk to me about this project you can email me at s.rao.1@research.gla.ac.uk



If you have any questions about this project, you should also talk to your parents.

Thank you.

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Appendix E Consent to Participate in Research

(For policy experts/teachers)

Understanding national identity education: A comparative case study of two schools in Mainland China and Scotland

- I confirm that I have read and understood the Plain Language Statement for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
- I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.
- I acknowledge that there will be no effect on my employment arising from my participation or non-participation in this research.
- I consent to interviews being audio-recorded.
- I agree to be contacted via email by the researcher after interview for further information.
- I acknowledge that copies of transcripts will be returned to me for verification if I request.
- I acknowledge that all information likely to identify myself will be anonymised and confidential.
- I understand that other authenticated researchers may use my words in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs, only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form.

I agree to take part in this research study ☐

I do not agree to take part in this research study ☐

Name of ParticipantE-mail

Signature.....Date

Name of ResearcherSignature.....

Date

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Appendix E Consent to Participate in Research

(For parents/carers)

Understanding national identity education: A comparative case study of two schools in Mainland China and Scotland

- I confirm that I have read and understood the Plain Language Statement for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
- I understand that my child's participation is voluntary and that he/she is free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.
- I acknowledge that there will be no effect on my child's grades arising from his/her participation or non-participation in this research.
- I consent to focus groups being audio-recorded.
- I acknowledge that copies of transcripts will be returned to me for verification if I request.
- I acknowledge that all information likely to identify my child will be anonymised and confidential.
- I understand that other authenticated researchers may use my child's words in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs, only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form.

I agree my child to take part in this research study ☐

I do not agree my child to take part in this research study ☐

Name of ParticipantName of Parent/carer

Signature.....Date

Name of ResearcherSignature.....

Date

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Appendix E Consent to Participate in Research

(For students)

I would like to hear what you think about China/Scotland/UK and the world.

- You do not have to answer any questions you do not like.
 - You can stop talking to me at any time.
1. Do you want to share with me your understanding of China/Scotland/UK and the world?



2. Can I record our chat?



3. Can I tell other people what you think? I will not tell them your name.



Please write your name in the box below.

Appendix F Documents Collected in the Fieldwork

Table AF.1 *Documents Collected in Phoenix Primary School*

Document type	No.	Subject /Content	Grade	Published by	Published year
Curriculum standards	CS1	Chinese		Beijing Normal University Press	2011
	CS2	English			
	CS3	Morality and Life			
	CS4	Morality and Society			
	CS5	Music			
	CS6	Art			
	CS7	Comprehensive Practice			
Textbooks	TC1-12 ³	Chinese	1-6	Changchun Press	2017
	TE1-8	English	3-6	Shanghai Education Press	2013
	TL1-4	Morality and Life	1-2	Beijing Normal University Press	2006
	TS1-8	Morality and Society	3-6	Beijing Normal University Press	2002
	TR1-2	Morality and the Rule of Law ⁴	1	People's Education Press	2016
	TR3-4	Morality and the Rule of Law	2	Beijing Normal University Press	2017
	TM1-12	Music	1-6	People's Music Press	2014
School profiles	SP1	Students' reflections on study abroad trips			
	SP2	Collection of reports on the Young Pioneer activities			

³ Two textbooks are designed for students in each grade. TC1 represents the Chinese textbook used by students in the first semester of Grade One. TC12 represents the Chinese textbook used by students in the second semester of Grade Six.

⁴ In 2017, the subjects Morality and Life, Morality and Society were combined as a new subject Morality and the Rule of Law.

Table AF.2 Documents Collected in St Andrews Primary School

Document type	No.	Curriculum area	Published by	Published year
Principles and practice	PP1	Expressive Arts	Education Scotland	2016
	PP2	Health and Wellbeing		
	PP3	Literacy and English		
	PP4	Modern Languages		
	PP5	Religious and Moral Education		
	PP6	Sciences		
	PP7	Social Studies		
	PP8	Technologies		

Appendix G Information about the Respondents

Table AG.1 *Information about Policy Experts Participating in the Interviews*

Setting	No.	Pseudonym and gender	Role	Organization
Mainland China	1	Wen (M ⁵)	Researcher on citizenship education	A university
Scotland	1	James (M)	Policy maker responsible for sustainability and citizenship	Education Scotland
	2	Grace (F)	Expert in global citizenship education	A not-for-profit educational institution

Table AG.2 *Information about Teachers Participating in the Interviews*

Setting	No.	Pseudonym and gender	Role	Working experience
Phoenix Primary School	1	Yongshan (F)	Deputy head teacher	10 years
	2	Li (F)	Assistant head teacher	29 years
	3	Liang (F)	Teaching Chinese	24 years
	4	Dantong (F)	Teaching Chinese	20 years
	5	Chuying (F)	Teaching Chinese	18 years
	6	Linxi (F)	Teaching Chinese	20 years
	7	Yu (F)	Teaching Chinese	18 years
	8	Manjun (F)	Teaching Chinese	20 years
	9	Mei (F)	Teaching Chinese	26 years
	10	Huiting (F)	Teaching Chinese	19 years
	11	Siyue (F)	Teaching Music	17 years
	12	Cheny i(M)	Teaching Art	26 years
	13	Shilin (M)	Teaching English	20 years
	14	Miao (F)	Teaching English	24 years
	15	Xia (F)	Teaching English	24 years
	16	An (F)	Teaching Morality and the Rule of Law	22 years
	17	Danni (F)	Teaching Morality and the Rule of Law	12 years
	18	Cheng (F)	Teaching Morality and the Rule of Law	13 years
	19	Xiaoxin (F)	Teaching Morality and the Rule of Law	10 years
	20	Yan (F)	Teaching Comprehensive Practice	6 years

⁵ “M” is short for “Male” & “F” is short for “Female”.

St Andrews Primary School	1	Ailsa (F)	Head teacher	12 years
	2	Emily (F)	Principal teacher	10 years
	3	Sophie (F)	Class teacher of Grade Seven	31 years
	4	Joyce (F)	Nurture teacher	5 years
	5	Susan (F)	Class teacher of Grade Two/Three	8 years
	6	Paul (M)	Support for learning worker	17 years

Table AG.3 *Information about Students Participating in the Focus Groups*

Setting	No.	No. of students	Pseudonym and gender
Phoenix Primary School	1	6	Xiaoyue (F), Tangyuan (F), Youyou (F), Dongshu (M), Pangpang (M), Zhehan (M)
	2	7	Dabai (F), Tongyue (F), Momo (F), Jiyayi (F), Jiangbing (M), Yiran (M), Mingjin (M)
	3	5	Yushu (F), Xinxin (F), Ruijia (M), Chenyu (M), Hanxi (M)
	4	6	Wenzi (F), Yueran (F), Ziyi (F), Minghao (M), Linlin (M), Xiaohao (M)
	5	6	Qingzi (F), Shuozhi (F), Zhuyu (F), Zheming (M), Hanying (M), Xiwen (M)
	6	6	Jiajia (F), Zihan (F), Hengsi (F), Hengyuan (M), Ranran (M), Gaoyang (M)
St Andrews Primary School	1	8	Natalie (F), Iris (F), Doris (F), Kate (F), Sara (F), Jacob (M), Lucas (M), Ethan (M)
	2	6	Jessica (F), Lily (F), Jack (M), Evan (M), Jayden (M), Luke (M)
	3	6	Bella (F), Alex (F), Daisy (F), Phoebe (F), Hannah (F), Ellie (F)

Appendix H Information about the School Observations

Setting	No.	Theme	Location
Phoenix Primary School	1	Campus observation	School building A
	2	Campus observation	School building E
	3	Campus observation	School building D
	4	Campus observation	School building C
	5	Campus observation	School building B
	6	Flag Rising Ceremony	Playground
	7	Class on current affairs	Classroom of Grade Three
St Andrews Primary School	1	Class on Global Storylines	Classroom of Grade Two
	2	Halloween Assembly	Inner playground
	3	Class on Nelson Mandela	Classroom of Grade Seven
	4	Burns Supper	Classroom of Grade Seven and inner playground
	5	Scottish themed Assembly	Classroom of Grade Five and inner playground
	6	Cooking class	Classroom of Grade Three
	7	Fair Trade Assembly and World Cafe	Inner playground

Appendix I Codebook

Table AI.1 *Codebook-Chinese Part*

Curriculum level	Detailed typology	Theme	Code
Intended curriculum	Ideal curriculum	Perceptions of NI ⁶	Political entity
			Parental love
		Ideal NIE ⁷	An absolute necessity
			Respecting students' autonomy
			Cultivating students' critical thinking
		Perceptions of GI ⁸	Planet
			Global unity
			Respecting differences
		Ideal GIE ⁹	An important issue
			Respecting students' autonomy
			Realistic goals
	Written curriculum	Status of NIE	An absolute necessity
			Shared responsibility
		Content of NIE	Characteristics of China
			Achievement of China
		Status of GIE	A Chinese perspective
Implemented curriculum	Perceived curriculum	Perceptions of the Chinese nation	Instinct
			Government and party
			Children
		Content of NI	Characteristics of China
			Achievement of China
		Traits of patriotic Chinese	Self-improvement
			Awareness of Chinese issues
			Positive attitudes towards China
		Perceptions of GI	Impact of globalisation
			An unfamiliar concept
		Prerequisites for being global citizens	Awareness of the world
			Knowledge of international relations
			Foreign language skills
			International experience
	Operational	Status of NIE	Government's demand

⁶ NI is short for national identity.

⁷ NIE is short for national identity education.

⁸ GI is short for global identity.

⁹ GIE is short for global identity education.

	curriculum		Shared responsibility
		Approaches to NIE	Formal curriculum
			Activities
			School environment
		Students' performance in NIE	Insufficient knowledge
			Limited interests
		Status of GIE	Limited government support
			Ambiguous responsibilities
		Approaches to GIE	Characteristics of other countries
			International trips
Attained curriculum	Experiential curriculum	Content of NIE	Characteristics of China
			Achievement of China
		Approaches to NIE	Formal curriculum
			Activities
		Attitudes towards NIE	Debates on flag raising ceremony
			Lack of interaction
		Content of GIE	Characteristics' of other countries
			International experience
		Objectives of GIE	Meeting individuals' needs
			Satisfying national interests
	Learned curriculum	Perceptions of the Chinese nation	Place of birth and of living
			Chinese nationality
			Mother
		Content of NI	Characteristics of China
			Achievement of China
		Traits of patriotic Chinese	Cultivating oneself
			Following Chinese approaches
			Devoting to China
		Perceptions of the world	A bigger place than China
			Other countries
		Prerequisites for being global citizens	Having international experience
			Identifying with the Chinese nation
			Taking global responsibilities

Table A1.2 Codebook-Scottish Part

Curriculum level	Detailed typology	Theme	Code
Intended curriculum	Ideal curriculum	Perceptions of NI	Tension between Scotland and the UK
			Complexities of Scottish identity
		Status of NIE	Less important than gie
			Implicitly promoted Scottish identity
			Partly mentioned British identity
		Perceptions of GI	An abstract concept
			Senses of connections with others
		Importance of GIE	Benefits to students
			Benefits to Scotland
		Practice of GIE	Global Storylines
			Government support
			Schools' autonomy
	Written curriculum	Status of NIE	Implicitly discussed Scottish identity
			Rarely mentioned British identity
		Objectives of NIE	Satisfying national needs of Scotland
			Appreciating national heritage of Scotland
		Status of GIE	An important issue
		Content of GIE	Information of other countries
			Natural environment and resources
Implemented curriculum	Perceived curriculum	Perceptions of Scotland	Scottish culture
			Scottish people
		Perceptions of the UK	British politics
			British citizenship
		Perceptions of GI	An inclusive identity
			Awareness of difference
	Operational curriculum	Status of NIE	Less important than gie
			More Scottish than British
		Objectives of NIE	Avoiding extreme nationalism
			Enjoying living in Scotland
		Content of NIE	Scottish culture
			Limited information about the UK
		Status of GIE	An essential part of school life

Attained curriculum		Objectives of GIE	Understanding oneself
			Respecting differences
		Approaches to GIE	Global Storylines
			Celebrations of different cultures
	Experiential curriculum		School environment
		Content of NIE	Scottish culture
			British politics
		Approaches to GIE	Global Storylines
			Celebrations of different cultures
			Daily conversations with schoolmates
	Learned curriculum	Perceptions of Scotland	Place of birth or of living
			A unique country
			A welcoming country
		Perceptions of the UK	Confusions about the UK
			Discussions on Brexit
		Perceptions of the world	Planet
		Responsibilities of global citizens	Being environmentally friendly
			Contributing to world peace
			Respecting others

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