

Is there a place for SDGs in citizenship education that focuses on national identity? Perspectives of social studies teacher candidates in Turkey

Citizenship, Social and

Economics Education

2026, Vol. 25(1) 75–93

© The Author(s) 2025

Article reuse guidelines:

sagepub.com/journals-permissions

DOI: 10.1177/14788047251377011

journals.sagepub.com/home/cse**Zafer Kuş¹** 

Abstract

This research investigates the incorporation of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) into civic education (CE) from the viewpoints of Turkish social studies teacher candidates. The relationship between national identity and global citizenship, in light of concerns like as globalization, migration, and environmental catastrophes, requires a redefining of CE. This research employs Q technique to investigate teacher candidates' objectives and attitudes about the alignment of CE with SDGs, uncovering three diverse perspectives: National Identity, Kemalism, and Ecological-Critical Citizenship. Results underscore the necessity for educational reforms that harmonize national and international frameworks, promote environmental consciousness, and improve teaching methodologies to tackle global issues. Integrating CE with SDGs is crucial for cultivating critical, inclusive, and globally competent educators, which is vital for enhancing Turkey's sustainable development efforts and encouraging global citizenship.

Keywords

citizenship education, global citizenship, social studies, sustainable development goals, Turkey

Received: 17 January 2025; accepted: 25 August 2025

Introduction

The contemporary notion of citizenship was influenced by the French Revolution of 1789, establishing the determination of citizenship status as a primary obligation of the state. In this process, education has served both as a conduit for information transmission and as a tool for social control,

¹Department of Social Studies, Faculty of Education, Ahi Evran University, Kırşehir, Turkey

Corresponding author:

Zafer Kuş, Department of Social Studies, Faculty of Education, Ahi Evran University, Kırşehir, Turkey.

Email: zaferkus@gmail.com

embedding the ideological foundations of the nation in younger generations (Althusser, 1971; Spring, 2018). Citizenship education (CE) has emerged as a potent instrument for instilling the state's prevailing ideology in children's minds, with early curriculum created to foster obedient and loyal citizens in alignment with the nation-state (Heater, 2015). Furthermore, linking CE with national history, geography and religion, has facilitated a more explicit expression of national objectives through education. This method has amplified the significance of CE as a mechanism for socialization that upholds societal order by social integration and cultural transmission (Green, 1990). In the post-Cold War era, conventional approaches to citizenship education (CE) underwent significant transformations under the influence of globalisation. Since the 1990s, CE in democratic societies has increasingly aimed to cultivate individuals committed to democratic values, foster social cohesion, and develop critical thinking skills. In recent decades, the intensification of global challenges—such as climate change, migration, and economic interdependence—together with rapid technological advancements, has further redefined the scope and objectives of CE. Globalization has compelled national education systems to strike a balance between reinforcing national identities and fostering the competencies required for global citizenship. Consequently, many countries have introduced substantial reforms to their citizenship curricula. The contemporary conception of citizenship, which transcends the boundaries of the nation-state, requires individuals to demonstrate awareness of global issues, uphold democratic principles, understand and respect cultural diversity, and assume responsibility for building a sustainable future. This perspective is often framed through concepts such as global citizenship or cosmopolitan citizenship, both of which emphasize that individuals should bear ethical, political, and environmental responsibilities not only at the national level but also in the global arena (Banks, 2008; Osler and Starkey, 2005).

The United Nations' 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development outlines ambitious objectives for addressing pressing global challenges, with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) providing a comprehensive framework that encourages individuals to assume global responsibility. In this context, many countries have revised their educational curricula to equip students with the knowledge, skills, and competences necessary to address environmental issues and promote sustainability. Educators play a pivotal role in this process, possessing the capacity to either foster or limit their students' global citizenship competencies (Kotul'áková et al., 2024). For example, Japan and Indonesia have integrated Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) into teacher training, while Costa Rica has made environmental education mandatory at all educational levels. Brazil promotes locally based sustainability projects, and Finland incorporates sustainability across all subjects through phenomenon-based learning (UNESCO, 2021).

This study investigates the relationship between the emphasis on national identity and global objectives in CE in Turkey, as perceived by teacher candidates. The study looks at how teacher candidates think the SDGs and national identity education fit together. It also looks at the priorities of CE within this framework. Furthermore, it offers strategic ideas on how teacher candidates might reconcile the enhancement of global duty with local and national identities. The research seeks to promote a critical discourse on the integration of CE with global issues, particularly within the socio-political framework of Turkey, where national identity myths are profoundly entrenched in the educational system. The study provides a significant basis for discourse on the interplay between national and global identities, illuminating prospective trajectories in civic education.

Theoretical frameworks concerning CE

CE is a multifaceted domain that equips individuals to engage actively in social, political, and cultural spheres. This educational field encompasses a wide theoretical spectrum, from social

integration to the cultivation of critical citizenship consciousness. Biesta (2009) delineates three fundamental purposes of education: qualification, socialization, and subjectification, highlighting that CE is crucial for both adherence to society norms and the cultivation of autonomous identities. Furthermore, it ought to promote active democratic engagement by improving critical thinking abilities, hence emphasizing education's transformative function in cultivating engaged citizens. Westheimer and Kahne (2004) delineate three kinds of CE: individual responsibility citizenship, participatory citizenship, and justice-oriented citizenship. The initial model emphasizes social cohesion and a sense of obligation, whereas the subsequent model highlights active participation in societal decision-making processes. The justice-oriented model promotes critical engagement with socioeconomic disparities and pushes for structural reforms through proactive measures. This classification demonstrates that CE fosters personal accountability while simultaneously facilitating social change and the quest for justice. Kymlicka (1995) asserts that CE should be seen within the context of diversity. Multicultural citizenship encompasses the entitlement to maintain one's cultural identity while coexisting amicably with other groups, perceiving social diversity as a source of enrichment. This viewpoint emphasizes the capacity of CE to promote coexistence founded on the ideals of equality and cultural pluralism. Crick (1998) delineates three fundamental elements in the UK's CE framework: social and moral responsibility, community engagement, and political literacy. This paradigm encourages active engagement in social processes while upholding the tenets of democracy, equality, and fairness. Osler and Starkey (2005) contend that CE must extend beyond the limited nation-state paradigm, integrating global components such as human rights and sustainability. Hoskins (2006) characterizes active citizenship as engagement in civil society, communities, and political affairs, founded on mutual respect, nonviolence, and democratic ideals. This definition includes conventional citizenship acts such as voting and protesting, along with broader involvements like volunteering. Moreover, it corresponds with global CE, encouraging individuals to address not only local concerns but also international difficulties, thereby assuming responsibility in that framework. By integrating these many methodologies, CE transforms into a dynamic framework that equips individuals to participate effectively in both national and global arenas. This educational method establishes a strong basis for developing a collective cultural identity while cultivating the skills necessary to critically and ethically tackle global challenges.

Democratic values and CE: European approach. Historically, Europe has seen CE as an essential instrument for safeguarding and advancing democratic values. The Eurydice studies (2012, 2017) offer an extensive examination of CE approaches among European nations, emphasizing both the diversity and common goals within this domain. Reports indicate that CE seeks to impart democratic values, cultivate awareness of active citizenship, and empower individuals to undertake social, political, and cultural obligations. The 2012 Eurydice report delineates four major objectives. The first encompasses an understanding of social, political, and civic institutions, human rights, national constitutions, citizens' rights and responsibilities, social issues, historical and cultural heritage, as well as the cultural and linguistic diversity within countries. The second purpose underscores critical thinking, namely the capacity of youth to analyze and assess information about social and political matters. The third emphasizes the ideals and attitudes that students ought to develop through CE, including respect, mutual understanding, and social and moral responsibility. The ultimate goal is to convert the knowledge, abilities, attitudes, and values acquired from the initial three objectives into active societal engagement (Eurydice, 2012). The 2017 Eurydice study highlights the considerable challenges confronting Europe, such as socio-economic issues, violent extremism, and skepticism towards democratic processes, which threaten peace, democracy, freedom, and tolerance. Education is essential in mitigating these risks by fostering mutual respect and

core beliefs. In this framework, CE has a distinct function, with elevated expectations assigned to it throughout Europe.

CE in Turkey

The Republic of Turkey, established by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in 1923 after the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, was founded on the principles of a nation-state framework. In its formative years, educational institutions were pivotal in propagating Kemalism's philosophy to the populace. The goal was to establish a national and secular governmental framework by detaching societal connections from the Ottoman and Islamic past (Keyman, 1998). From 1923 to 1968, the principal objective of CE was to develop citizens who were devoted to the Republic, cognizant of their duties and responsibilities, and prepared to make sacrifices for the nation. The design of education aimed to elevate the national consciousness of the Turkish populace. Following 1968, social studies curricula incorporated CE. Despite being presented under several titles in the curriculum, social studies continued to be the principal subject responsible for fostering citizenship awareness at the basic level, even after the removal of CE from 1985 to 1998 (Kuş, 2020). Substantial transformations transpired in civic education with Turkey's integration with the European Union. European educational standards influenced the renaming of the subject to "Citizenship and Human Rights Education" in 1995. This era witnessed Turkey's EU admission process necessitating the reformation of educational curricula to conform more closely with global principles. In 2002, the AKP government, which ascended to office with the objective of achieving full EU membership, implemented a thorough education reform in 2005. This change replaced the behaviorist approach to education with a constructivist one. It considered both national identity formation and global goals. In subsequent years, school curricula incorporated attributes of the ideal citizen, including global citizenship, gender equality, environmental consciousness, and respect for diverse cultures. From 1998 onward, there was a significant rise in environmental topics in the curriculum, underscoring the increasing relevance of addressing global challenges and promoting environmental awareness in CE. CE in Turkey has developed over time to address changing societal demands and national-political goals, functioning as an essential instrument for shaping national identity (Kuş, 2022). Currently, it has broadened to include worldwide patterns. Throughout this era, the dynamics of Turkey's social and cultural transition have influenced the content and methods of education.

Sustainable development goals and CE

Historically, CE has been linked to political engagement and allegiance to the nation-state. In recent years, civilizations have been impacted by factors such as individualization, globalization, and multicultural diversity. These advancements, mostly influenced by globalization and societal variety, have resulted in the redefinition of the nation-state notion. Historically, nation-states sought to equip individuals for civic duties through education grounded in a uniform conception of citizenship within their territories. Nonetheless, elements like globalization and extensive migration have rendered citizenship a more intricate and multifaceted notion. The rise in social diversity, regional conflicts, climate change, health problems, and various global concerns necessitates the adaptation and expansion of education policies regarding democratic CE. Reimers (2009) asserts that enhanced trade, expedited communication, and higher mobility from migration have rendered nations more interconnected, underscoring the essential need to comprehend global concerns. The shift from the conventional citizenship paradigm of the nation-state to an educational framework that meets the requirements of a globalized world signifies a notable change.

Comprehending global difficulties and addressing them efficiently have emerged as fundamental objectives of modern educational systems. Recent studies emphasize that optimal CE must concentrate on social and political engagement, as well as universal ideals (human dignity, justice, freedom) and competencies (critical thinking, digital literacy, problem-solving) (Kuş, 2024). The United Nations' 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda establishes ambitious objectives to tackle escalating global difficulties, especially environmental challenges, and to foster harmonic cohabitation among the worldwide population (Westheimer, 2020). The Asia Society/OECD (2018) report underscores the significance of global competencies and the necessity for educational institutions to empower individuals to engage effectively in local, national, and global civic affairs. Fostering individuals who are aware of global challenges and prepared to propose answers has emerged as a primary purpose of contemporary educational systems.

Adopted by the United Nations in 2015, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) provide a comprehensive framework aimed at guiding global development efforts. Encompassing core objectives such as the eradication of poverty, the reduction of inequalities, and the protection of the planet, the SDGs address economic, social, and environmental dimensions through a holistic approach. They are defined as a universal development agenda that requires the participation and accountability of all actors, from individuals to governments. Nevertheless, while the SDGs present an inclusive vision at the normative level, the critical literature raises important questions about their genuinely transformative potential. Fukuda-Parr (2019) argues that the SDGs fall short in questioning existing global economic structures and the neoliberal growth paradigm, thereby potentially reproducing environmental degradation and social inequalities. Similarly, Bexell and Jönsson (2016) contend that the concept of "responsibility" in SDG documents is often defined in a state-centric manner with low enforceability; they further note that structural causes of problems are obscured and that the overemphasis on indicators can overshadow broader normative commitments such as human rights. Koehler (2016) suggests that rather than representing a radical transformation centered on social and climate justice, the SDGs perpetuate neoliberal rationality. Langford (2016) characterizes the SDG agenda—comprising 17 goals and 169 targets—as "overloaded," pointing out that many targets are vague, voluntary, and unmeasurable, while monitoring and evaluation mechanisms face significant structural deficiencies in terms of civil society participation, accountability, and indicator selection.

Despite these critiques, the SDGs remain an important starting point for enabling governments to address global issues in a more comprehensive and systematic manner. In this context, educational institutions play a central role in advancing the realization of these goals. International organizations such as the OECD and UNESCO emphasize the capacity of education systems to address global challenges (OECD, 2016a, 2016b, 2016c; UNESCO, 2021). Within this framework, democratic citizenship education has evolved from focusing solely on a national conception of citizenship to embracing universal values and global responsibilities, thereby becoming one of the core components of contemporary education policies.

Global CE can significantly contribute to the attainment of the SDGs. The classic sustainability framework comprises three pillar environmental, social, and economic dimensions—while the 2030 Agenda enhances this model by include peace and partnership, resulting in the "5Ps" (People, Planet, Prosperity, Peace, Partnership) (Brundtland, 1987; UN Development Programme, 2020). The SDGs encompass a wide array of global goals, including poverty reduction, inequality mitigation, climate change action, and the promotion of peace and justice. Realizing these objectives requires the development of knowledgeable, involved, and accountable persons. CE is an essential instrument for empowering individuals to comprehend their rights and obligations at local, national, and global scales, while promoting environmentally and socially

responsible conduct. Global CE seeks to cultivate critical thinking, empathy, environmental consciousness, and a global outlook in students. CE that prioritizes democracy and human rights fosters the attainment of peace, justice, and robust institutions. A curriculum focused on environmental sustainability fosters awareness of topics like social fairness, gender equality, and quality education, so directly advancing the SDGs. CE empowers individuals with the knowledge, values, and abilities required for meaningful engagement with their local and global communities, so transforming them into aware participants who contribute to both their societies and the broader global community.

Current study

Turkey has considerable opportunities and severe hurdles in its endeavor to achieve the SDGs. The strategic geographic position, youthful and active populace, and potential for economic expansion establish a robust basis for contributing to these global objectives. Educational institutions, specifically, are crucial in promoting knowledge of sustainable development and augmenting individual contributions to these objectives. Turkey confronts significant challenges, such as accommodating millions of refugees escaping conflicts in adjacent nations, droughts induced by climate change, and the catastrophic effects of big earthquakes impacting roughly 10 million individuals (Çokçalışkan et al., 2024). Moreover, CE in Turkey, influenced by historical, cultural, and political narratives, emphasizes the construction of national identity, profoundly affecting individuals' perceptions of their society duties and sense of belonging. Notwithstanding these limitations, the SDGs present educators with a distinctive opportunity to amalgamate national agendas with global viewpoints. This study seeks to examine the objectives and perspectives of social studies teacher candidates toward the incorporation of SDGs into CE. Examining teacher candidates' perceptions in a developing country is essential for comprehending future educators' comprehension of the SDGs and their prospective contributions to these objectives. Educators are acknowledged as important contributors to the attainment of the SDGs, with educational processes serving a critical function in this regard (UNESCO, 2021). Although there is existing research on sustainable development and teacher candidates' perceptions (e.g., Baena-Morales et al., 2022; Çokçalışkan et al., 2024; Evans et al., 2012; Karaarslan-Semiz and Isler-Baykal, 2020; Kotul'áková et al., 2024), studies that explicitly connect CE with the SDGs and utilize innovative methodologies such as Q methodology to investigate teacher candidates' priorities are limited. CE can either generate conflict between its function in reinforcing national identity and promoting global citizenship or facilitate a global perspective essential for attaining the SDGs.

This research aims to comprehend how prospective educators balance the conflicting goals of fostering national identity and tackling global concerns. The study seeks to enhance academic and pedagogical discourse by analyzing the congruence of CE in Turkey with modern global paradigms and investigating its prospective functions. It aims to elucidate how CE may concurrently tackle national and global issues while facilitating sustainable development.

Method

This study employed Q technique to ascertain teacher candidates' priorities and perspectives concerning the incorporation of the SDGs into CE. Q technique is a prevalent approach for analyzing the subjective perspectives of distinct groups within specific circumstances (Watts and Stenner, 2012, p. 54). The primary advantage of this method is its capacity to disclose whether participants' perceptions, attitudes, and beliefs align under a unifying theme. Furthermore, it enables the ranking of these shared concepts by priority (Brown, 1996).

Q approach assesses whether a study group shares a consensus on a certain issue and, if so, thoroughly examines its orientation and substance. It also facilitates the prioritization of these collective perspectives. Consequently, Q methodology is regarded as a distinctive technique that integrates the advantages of both qualitative and quantitative methods for comprehensive studies (Hayne, 1998). Its appropriateness for engaging with small participant groups corresponds with the capability of qualitative methods for comprehensive analysis. Simultaneously, it facilitates direct measurement akin to quantitative methods while integrating the interpretive element typical of qualitative approaches (Wilson, 2005). In contrast to conventional survey-based research methodologies, Q methodology emphasizes assessing the relative significance of comments provided to participants. It aids in comprehending not only individual perspectives but also the convergence of different perspectives and the hierarchical rankings they establish (Watts and Stenner, 2005).

Sample

This study selected pre-service social studies teachers—future educators who will be responsible for delivering citizenship education (CE) in Turkey—as the participant group. In Q methodology research, individuals serve as variables (Watts and Stenner, 2012). Unlike conventional quantitative techniques, Q methodology favors a small, purposefully selected cohort of qualified participants (Q-sample) who can provide diverse and distinctive viewpoints, rather than a large sample size (Watts and Stenner, 2012). The study participants consisted of 45 pre-service teachers in their final year of the social studies teaching degree program at a university located in the Central Anatolia region. Although situated in a relatively small city, the university has a long-standing tradition in teacher education. The Social Studies Teaching program integrates multiple social science disciplines—including history, geography, civics, economics, and sociology—through a holistic approach, aiming to prepare teachers who are socially conscious, possess critical thinking skills, and are pedagogically well-equipped.

Participants were recruited based on two main criteria: (1) they were required to be fourth-year (final-year) students in the social studies teaching program, and (2) they had to voluntarily consent to participate in the study. While the program does not include a single compulsory course devoted exclusively to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), several courses overlap substantially with SDG-related themes. In particular, compulsory courses such as Community Service Practices, Geography (physical, human, political, and economic), Human Rights and Democracy, and Civic Education provide students with opportunities to develop awareness of topics such as sustainable development, climate change, human rights, gender equality, migration, and social justice. In addition, elective courses offered within the program—such as Contemporary World Issues, Energy and Environment, Disasters and Disaster Management, Environment and Social Responsibility, Migration and Refugee Issues, and Poverty Studies—present further opportunities to integrate SDG themes into teacher education. However, the extent and depth to which these themes are addressed in practice vary depending on the instructors' pedagogical preferences and the manner in which course content is delivered.

Q sort design

One of the most critical aspects of Q methodology is the selection of statements to be ranked and the determination of dimensions. Initially, a pseudo-concourse was created by gathering a series of representative views and ideas from the literature on SDG teaching and CE (curriculum, textbooks) and consulting CE experts. A total of 52 statements were developed, considering approaches within

Table 1. Eigenvalues and explained variance of factors.

	F1	F2	F3
Eigenvalues	14.8285	4.5288	3.481
% explained variance	34	12	9
Cumulative % explained variance	34	46	55

Table 2. Statements and factor scores.

No	Statements	Q sort value		
		p1	p2	p3
1	Encourage respect for democratic societal structure and participation	1	0	-3
2	Develop communication and discussion skills	-2	-1	1
3	Develop critical thinking skills	-1	1	4
4	Teach the importance and necessity of a modern societal structure	-1	0	3
5	Learn to take responsibility as a member of society	-1	2	1
6	Acquire democratic participation skills	1	1	-4
7	Understand political systems and processes	-3	0	-3
8	Teach citizenship rights and responsibilities	2	1	3
9	Raise individuals with strong national and patriotic feelings	4	2	0
10	Raise individuals with national values (nationalism, patriotism)	4	3	3
11	Teach the importance of national days (May 19, October 29, etc.)	2	0	-2
12	Teach national history—Turkish history	1	3	1
13	Raise individuals committed to Atatürk's principles and reforms	3	4	2
14	Teach respect for other people, different cultures, and religions	0	-2	0
15	Build national identity based on religious values	0	-4	0
16	Impart religious values by providing religious knowledge	0	-4	-1
17	Strengthen students' religious and cultural identities	0	-2	-2
18	Raise moral citizens	3	-1	1
19	Help students understand their cultural and religious heritage	1	-3	0
20	Support the understanding of social solidarity and cooperation	0	-1	2
21	Promote respect for cultural diversity and global solidarity	-2	-2	-3
22	Teach sustainable development goals and global citizenship understanding	-3	2	-1
23	Provide information on environmental protection and the sustainable use of natural resources	-2	0	4
24	Teach global cooperation and solidarity understanding	-3	-1	-2
25	Raise awareness about global climate change and natural disasters	-1	1	-1
26	Teach effective strategies to combat racism and xenophobia	-4	-3	0
27	Teach tolerance towards immigrants and minorities	-4	-3	-4
28	Teach democratic values (justice, equality, respect for human dignity)	2	4	2
29	Raise awareness about social justice and equality	3	3	-1

National Identity, Kemalism, and Ecological-Critical Citizenship Perspective. The statements that best reflected each factor played a critical role in shaping these perspectives (Tables 1 and 2).

Findings

As a result of the analysis, three different perspectives emerged, which explained 52% of the variance. These three perspectives are: (1) National Identity, (2) Kemalism, and (3) Ecological-Critical

Citizenship Perspective. The distinguishing statements for each perspective, as well as the characteristics of the participants who define each perspective, will be highlighted below.

Perspective 1: National identity

The first perspective, “National Identity,” explains 34% of the variance and includes 18 teacher candidates. These teacher candidates argue that the primary goal of CE is to raise individuals with strong national sentiments and values such as nationalism and patriotism. This perspective is distinct from others due to its focus on the importance of national identity construction. Participants in Perspective 1 strongly agree with the following statements: raising individuals with national values (nationalism, patriotism) (s10), raising individuals with strong national and patriotic feelings (s9), and teaching the importance of national days (s11). However, they are uncertain about statements such as constructing national identity based on religious values (s16) and teaching religious values (s17). These teacher candidates emphasize in interviews that the main purpose of CE is the construction of national identity. They argue that national values should be instilled in children from an early age, viewing this process as the most crucial component of CE. Participants in this perspective consider the transmission of national values to future generations as a vital element.

Solidarity and unity. Another common emphasis among teacher candidates is the role of national identity in ensuring unity and solidarity. In this context, national identity is seen as an indispensable tool in fostering a spirit of solidarity within society and preserving national unity. They express that without national identity, societal cohesion would not be achievable, and the society could face the risk of fragmentation. This view highlights national identity as a cornerstone of the social structure rather than merely an individual trait.

Common history and shared future. National identity is also seen as a bridge enabling individuals to learn about their past, recognize their ancestors, and understand historical achievements. Teacher candidates suggest that through national identity, individuals will become aware of historical successes and, by drawing inspiration from the past, will confidently look toward the future. However, they also emphasize that national values have lost their significance in the present day, which poses a serious threat to the future of the nation. It is stressed that individuals and societies that do not know their past cannot survive in the future, thus highlighting the importance of national identity for the continuity of the state and the future of the nation.

Social good. The impact of national identity on individuals is seen as crucial for the general well-being of society. In this context, students who embrace national identity are expected to act with a sense of responsibility, fulfill their societal duties, and thus contribute to creating a peaceful and secure environment within society. Furthermore, it is argued that national identity will encourage individuals to work for the greater good of society, meaning that they will strive not only for themselves but also for the collective benefit of society. This perspective shows that national identity serves as a bridge between individual and societal values.

The teacher candidates with this perspective show the least agreement with statements related to combating racism and xenophobia (s16), global cooperation and solidarity (s24), and environmental protection and sustainable use of natural resources (s24). These teacher candidates argue in interviews that tolerance toward migrants should not be a priority in CE. They mention that the increasing migrant population in Turkey is causing serious issues within society and that this situation has evolved from a temporary issue to a permanent problem. They stress that the presence of

migrants causes significant problems regarding social cohesion and fair distribution of public resources, and thus, migrants should return to their countries. Some teacher candidates have also expressed that the state offers privileges to migrants that it does not provide to its own citizens, which they see as a major injustice. This sense of injustice leads them to reject the idea of fostering tolerance toward migrants. Additionally, it is stated that issues concerning migrants are a matter of state policy, and that individuals or teachers are not obligated to instill tolerance in students on this issue. Overall, these participants believe that the primary goal of CE is the construction of national identity and that expressions related to SDGs are not a priority. The teacher candidates emphasize that without national unity and solidarity, global cooperation and solidarity, as well as environmental and natural resource protection, would not be possible.

Perspective 2: Kemalism

The second perspective, “Kemalism,” accounts for 10% of the variance and includes 19 teacher candidates. Those with this perspective distinguish themselves from others by particularly emphasizing the teaching of Atatürk’s principles to children. Participants in this perspective strongly agree with statements like: “Raising individuals committed to Atatürk’s principles and reforms” (s13), “Teaching national history – Turkish history” (s12), and “Raising individuals with strong national feelings” (s6). They remain neutral regarding the statement on “environmental protection and the sustainable use of natural resources” (s23). In interviews with candidates holding this perspective, Kemalism is defended on two main points: the importance of Atatürk in the construction and continuity of modern Turkey, and the significance of Kemalism in national identity formation. These teacher candidates assert that the teaching of religious knowledge and values is not a goal of CE in Turkey, which sets them apart from the first perspective.

Atatürk and modernism. Teacher candidates with this perspective emphasize the vital role of Kemalism in the establishment and continuity of modern Turkey. They believe that the primary aim of CE in Turkey is to raise modern, patriotic, and active individuals committed to Atatürk, the founder of Turkey. They note that Atatürk’s principles and reforms are the fundamental basis of social studies lessons, and transmitting these values to students is indispensable for both individual and societal development. Some candidates express concern about the growing criticism of Kemalism today, but they believe that individuals who embrace modern principles and reforms will contribute to society as contemporary and responsible citizens. According to this view, Kemalism is not only a historical legacy but also a guiding framework for Turkey’s modernization and progress. Thus, Kemalism provides a framework that shapes both the past and future of modern Turkey.

Atatürk and national identity. According to the teacher candidates holding this perspective, Kemalism is the cornerstone of national identity formation. They argue that learning about Atatürk’s principles and reforms helps individuals understand who established and shaped the lands they live on. Modern Turkey, shaped under Atatürk’s leadership, is seen not just as a state but as part of a nation-building process. This process, based on historical consciousness and national values, allows individuals to act with a sense of shared belonging. Moreover, in this perspective, Kemalism is not just about teaching the past. Teacher candidates believe that Kemalism thought helps individuals better understand their roles as citizens and fosters a consciousness that carries the legacy of the past into the future. This approach strengthens individuals’ connections to national values, reinforcing their sense of citizenship and societal bonds.

Reluctance towards religious education in citizenship. Candidates with this perspective show minimal agreement with statements related to religious values, such as “Teaching religious knowledge and values” (s16), and “Building national identity based on religious values” (s15). They argue that religious education should not be part of CE. The candidates assert that religious values vary across personal, social, and political dimensions and are not directly related to the goals of CE. They believe such topics should be addressed in specific religious or ethics courses or based on personal interest.

In their interviews, these candidates stress that CE should focus on universal values such as tolerance, love, and respect, which are the fundamental principles of contemporary societies. They argue that democratic societies should not impose religious preferences on citizens but rather allow individuals to make their own choices in this regard. CE should be based on reason and science, aiming to cultivate modern citizens who can contribute to society in line with these values. Teacher candidates with this perspective believe that the primary aim of CE should be the nurturing of individuals who embrace national identity, universal values, and contribute positively to society. While acknowledging that religious identity can be important for individuals, they argue that national identity and citizenship awareness should be prioritized in CE.

Perspective 3: Ecological-critical citizenship perspective

The final perspective, Ecological-Critical Citizenship Perspective, accounts for 8% of the variance. Participants who align with this perspective most strongly agree with statements regarding environmental protection and sustainable use of natural resources (s23) and the development of critical thinking skills (s3). They also emphasize the importance of teaching the need for a contemporary societal structure (s4). However, they remain neutral regarding statements about nurturing individuals with strong national and patriotic feelings.

Environment. Teacher candidates with this perspective highlight the importance of environmental awareness in CE. They emphasize that Turkey’s natural resources are limited and need to be preserved for future generations to inherit a livable world. CE plays a critical role in fostering environmental awareness in individuals. These candidates stress that living in a geographically risk-prone country like Turkey, where natural disasters are common, makes it essential for citizens to develop environmental consciousness and a culture of preparedness from an early age. These teacher candidates also note that human beings are constantly interacting with the environment, and as such, protecting the environment should be viewed as part of an individual’s societal responsibility. They argue that failure to achieve environmental sustainability will lead to more significant problems in the future, underscoring the urgent need for both environmental protection and critical thinking in shaping responsible citizens.

Critical thinking and democratic society. Teacher candidates with the Ecological-Critical Citizenship Perspective view critical thinking skills as vital for building an independent country and a just society. They argue that social justice and equality are insufficiently emphasized in society, with powerful groups oppressing the weak, leading to social injustices. These candidates stress that critical thinking is indispensable in advocating for social justice and equality, addressing societal problems, and educating individuals as more conscious citizens. They also highlight that democratic values not only protect individual rights and freedoms but also serve as fundamental principles that enhance the overall well-being of society. According to their perspective,

Table 3. Consensus and disagreements statements for three perspectives.

Consensus statements	P1	P2	P3	Disagreement statements	P1	P2	P3
S10: Raise individuals with national values (nationalism, patriotism)	4	3	3	S23: Provide information on environmental protection and the sustainable use of natural resources	-2	0	4
S13: Raise individuals committed to Atatürk's principles and reforms	2	4	2	S15: Build national identity based on religious values	0	-4	0
S8: Teach citizenship rights and responsibilities	2	1	3	S3: Develop critical thinking skills	-1	1	4
S21: Promote respect for cultural diversity and global solidarity	-2	-2	-3	S9: Raise individuals with strong national and patriotic feelings	4	2	0
S27: Teach tolerance towards immigrants and minoritie	-4	-3	-4	S4: Teach the importance and necessity of a modern social structure	-1	0	3

a society that applies justice and equality will transform into a prosperous and happy country. These teacher candidates assert that CE plays a crucial role in instilling democratic values in students. They suggest that, through activities like debates, students should learn to respect differing perspectives and develop a sense of rights and responsibilities. They believe that democratic values form the foundation of a democratic state, and therefore, these principles should be strongly emphasized in education. Furthermore, they argue that these values not only improve individual quality of life but also strengthen social unity and solidarity, contributing to the establishment of a societal order based on justice and tolerance. They suggest that societal change and development should begin with individuals, emphasizing the need for an inner transformation to achieve this.

Attitudes toward immigrants and minorities. However, unlike the views in Perspective 1, teacher candidates in this perspective do not support teaching tolerance towards immigrants and minorities. They argue, similar to those in Perspective 1, that the presence of immigrants in Turkey poses problems for social integration and equitable distribution of resources. They believe that promoting tolerance toward immigrants should not be a primary goal within CE (Table 3).

The most agreed-upon points across all three perspectives on CE are the emphasis on instilling national values and the importance of Kemalism. Additionally, teacher candidates share a common view that one of the main goals of CE should be to teach a sense of responsibility. Respect for cultural diversity and promoting tolerance towards immigrants and minorities are also key topics that all three perspectives agree on. Interestingly, teacher candidates across all perspectives share a consensus on not rejecting the importance of these issues. However, there are fundamental differences between the perspectives on certain topics. One of the key points of disagreement is environmental protection and the sustainable use of natural resources. Perspective 3 strongly supports this idea, while Perspective 1 rejects it, and Perspective 2 remains neutral. Furthermore, on the issue of building national identity based on religious values, Perspective 2 strongly opposes this, while Perspectives 1 and 3 exhibit a neutral stance. As for the teaching of critical thinking skills, Perspective 3 strongly supports it, while Perspective 1 does not agree with this statement.

Results and discussion

This research investigates the perceptions and perspectives of teacher candidates regarding the SDGs in Turkey. The investigation identifies three major perspectives among the candidates: National Identity, Kemalism, and Ecological-Critical Citizenship.

The research findings reveal confusion in teacher candidates' perspectives of the SDGs, with participants predominantly aligning with a national citizenship perspective. From the national citizenship standpoint, the primary objective of CE is to cultivate persons who embody national values. This viewpoint is informed by themes including nationalism, patriotism, national unity, and solidarity, highlighting the historical significance of CE in the construction of nation-states.

A secondary strategy identified in the study is the Kemalist perspective. This methodology positions the foundational philosophy of contemporary Turkey at the core of civic education, with the objective of safeguarding national values and secularism. The Kemalist viewpoint asserts that CE must be organized apart from religion instruction, differentiating it from the approach centered on national identity. Secularism constitutes a fundamental component of this perspective, and the belief that religious knowledge is confined to the private sphere indicates that teacher candidates embracing the Kemalist approach are in accordance with this position.

Teacher candidates from various perspectives commonly emphasize the significance of establishing national values and promoting national identity in CE. This corresponds with the CE curricula in Turkey, which have persistently emphasized national identity as a pivotal issue in studies from the late Ottoman era to the present (Doğu and Kuş, 2022; Kuş, 2022; Kuş and Mert, 2021; Kuş and Mert, 2023; Ozan and Kus, 2021). These results correspond with the beliefs of scholars like Gellner (1983) and Hobsbawm (1990), who contend that education is a pivotal instrument in the identity formation of contemporary nation-states. Smith (1995) emphasizes the role of civic education in reinforcing national identity and fostering social cohesiveness. Specifically, following the French Revolution, CE had a crucial role in imparting national values and shaping national identity, both in France and across other European nations. Sant et al. (2015) propose that the notion of "good citizenship" is frequently associated with loyalty and affiliation with the nation. Nonetheless, as scholars such as Kymlicka (2007) indicate, this methodology has potential risks about its uniform implementation across many states. Chung and Park (2016) contend that national citizenship is readily assimilated, whereas global citizenship remains mostly rhetorical due to the absence of essential components of structured governance, including the rule of law, democracy, representation, and accountability. Khoo and Jordt (2021) emphasize that, despite apparent similarities, CE and education for sustainable development do not inherently align and cannot be readily combined. In this context, educators have a vital responsibility to improve understanding of CE and sustainable development principles while cultivating awareness among students. Furthermore, it is imperative for educators to recognize the opportunities afforded by the national curriculum and devise effective strategies to address these challenges. The results indicate that although CE retains its historical link to national identity formation, it is crucial to enhance teachers' pedagogical skills for incorporating a global citizenship viewpoint.

Our study revealed that only a limited number of teacher candidates prioritize SDGs in CE. The ecological-critical citizenship paradigm emphasizes the pivotal function of civic education in addressing environmental challenges and corresponds with environmental objectives like SDG 13 (Climate Action) and SDG 15 (Life on Land). Nevertheless, the tendency of teacher candidates to address this perspective primarily within a national context establishes a limited framework that may contradict the global essence of the SDGs. The SDGs seek to tackle environmental conservation and the sustainable utilization of natural resources as a collective global obligation, rather than

a localized concern. In this context, SDG 12 (Responsible Consumption and Production) advocates for an expanded comprehension in CE. The fundamental tenets of global citizenship models assert that individuals' rights, duties, and active engagement should transcend national boundaries (Pike, 2008). This comprehension motivates individuals to assume collective responsibility for the world and humankind at large.

The differing perspectives on environmental protection and sustainable development objectives underscore the necessity to reassess the values of inclusivity and equity in education as outlined in SDG 4 (Quality Education). SDG 4.7 underscores the pivotal function of education in accordance with global citizenship and sustainable development objectives. The disparate levels of environmental consciousness among teacher candidates and the use of this understanding in educational practices raise important discussions regarding the reconciliation of these differing views and the promotion of broader awareness. The incorporation of critical thinking skills into education aligns with SDG 16 (Peace, Justice, and Strong Institutions), functioning as an essential instrument for tackling societal concerns. Perspective 3 advocates for these talents, however the ambivalent or adverse views towards critical thinking in alternative perspectives highlight the necessity for additional research on the effective use of these skills in education.

Recent literature indicates that educators frequently approach sustainable development within a constrained framework, emphasizing particular subjects such as environmental education or health education, while neglecting other significant domains like multicultural education, consumer behavior, and volunteering (Nithlavarnan et al., 2013). Bonnett (2002) assesses the influence of education on sustainable development in two aspects: firstly, fostering positive attitudes that promote environmentally responsible behaviors, and secondly, equipping students with critical thinking skills and knowledge regarding sustainability issues to facilitate informed decision-making. The minimal engagement of educators in connecting civic participation to sustainable development is troubling (Ferguson et al., 2021). This may result in constraints on students' abilities, as future citizens, to devise entrepreneurial initiatives pertaining to the SDGs, impact public decision-making processes, and enhance their communities' voices.

In our study, the majority of teacher candidates, evaluated from all three perspectives, indicated that tolerance towards immigrants is not a priority in CE. This perspective is based on the prevalent belief that the significant influx of immigrants in Turkey results in challenges related to social integration and the allocation of public resources. Tolerance for immigrants is perceived not as a personal virtue but as a duty of governmental policies; thus, it is contended that it should not be a principal objective of CE. Turkey, through its open-door policy, has become the residence of the largest immigrant population globally, accommodating nearly five million individuals (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugee, 2023). Since 2017, the unregulated influx of migrants, along with escalating economic and political challenges, has precipitated a swift surge in public responses to immigration (İçduygu and Demiryontar, 2022). The insufficient emphasis on tolerance for immigrants in CE represents a notable deficiency in relation to the SDGs. Specifically, SDG 4 (Quality Education) and SDG 10 (Reduced Inequality) underscore the need of fostering inclusivity and diversity in education, necessitating a strategy that enhances the social integration of immigrants. Neglecting to incorporate tolerance for immigrants in CE may exacerbate socioeconomic inequities and heighten societal tensions. This scenario also violates SDG 16 (Peace, Justice, and Strong Institutions), as an inclusive and egalitarian education system is essential for fostering peaceful society. In CE, a strategy that integrates tolerance for immigrants, diversity, and inclusivity is strategically significant for fostering social peace and cohesion, as well as for attaining SDGs. It is imperative to synchronize educational policies and teacher training programs with the SDGs.

Conclusions and implications

This study's results reveal significant differences in the practices and attitudes of teacher candidates on civic education in Turkey. This highlights the necessity for the reformation of teacher training programs, educational policies, and curricula to include more inclusive, critical, and global perspectives of citizenship. In Turkey, CE is predominantly influenced by national identity and nationalism. Given the contemporary global and environmental issues, it is imperative to embrace a more expansive viewpoint in education. Teacher candidates must enhance their pedagogical skills to foster environmental awareness and include the notion of global citizenship into teaching. Augmenting instructors' understanding and awareness of global objectives, such as the SDGs, can enable pupils to cultivate sensitivity towards these matters. Enhancing the pedagogical methodologies of teacher candidates in this context is essential for the reform of the education system. Aligning Turkey's current educational curriculum and teacher training processes with the SDGs is crucial. This will allow educators to thoroughly examine global and local concerns, particularly those concerning social justice, equality, and environmental sustainability. Furthermore, prioritizing tolerance towards immigrants and social integration in education is essential for fostering social harmony and equality. In this context, educational policies and curricula must be restructured with both national and global accountability in mind. In conclusion, enhancing teacher candidates' knowledge of CE and sustainable development is essential for Turkey to attain a sustainable future on both national and global scales. This will not only yield enduring impacts on education but also facilitate societal transformation.

ORCID iD

Zafer Kuş  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4371-8114>

Funding

The author received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Declaration of conflicting interests

The author declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Declaration of AI assistance

During the preparation of this work, the author(s) used a grammar check AI tool to enhance readability and language.

References

- Althusser L (1971) *Ideology and ideological state apparatuses*. In: Althusser L (ed) *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*. Monthly Review Press, pp. 127–186.
- Baena-Morales S, García-Taibo O and Merma-Molina G, et al. (2022) Analysing the sustainability competencies of preservice teachers in Spain. *Journal of Applied Research in Higher Education* 15(3): 731–744.
- Banks JA (2008) Diversity, group identity, and citizenship education in a global age. *Educational Researcher* 37(3): 129–139. (Original work published 2008)
- Bexell M and Jönsson K (2016) Responsibility and the united Nations' sustainable development goals. *Forum for Development Studies* 44(1): 13–29.

- Biesta G (2009) Sporadic democracy: Education, democracy, and the question of inclusion. In: Katz MS, Verducci S and Biesta G (eds) *Education, Democracy, and the Moral Life*. Dordrecht: Springer, 139–154. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4020-8626-7_8
- Bonnett M (2002) Education for sustainability as a frame of mind. *Environmental Education Research* 8(1): 9–20.
- Brewer GA, Selden SC and Facer RL II (2000) Individual conceptions of public service motivation. *Public Administration Review* 60: 254–264.
- Brown SR (1996) A primer on Q methodology. *Operant Subjectivity* 16(3/4): 91–138.
- Brundtland Report. (1987) *Our common future: Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. <https://www.are.admin.ch/are/en/home/media/publications/sustainable-development/brundtland-report.html>
- Chung BG and Park I (2016) A review of the differences between ESD and GCED in SDGs: Focusing on the concepts of global CE. *Journal of International Cooperation in Education* 18(2): 17–35.
- Çokçalışkan H, Okulu HZ and Yorulmaz A (2024) Perceptions of sustainable development goals: A Q methodology study with Turkish pre-service teachers. *Environmental Education Research* 30(10): 1729–1747.
- Crick B (1998) *Education for citizenship and the teaching of democracy in schools: Final report of the advisory group on citizenship*. London, UK: QCA.
- Danielson S (2009) Q method and surveys: Three ways to combine Q and R. *Field Methods* 21(3): 219–237.
- Dogu B and Kus Z (2022) Identity construction in social studies curriculums from 1968 to the present. *TAY Journal* 6(2): 462–493.
- Eurydice. (2012) *CE in Europe*. Brussels, Belgium: Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency. http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/education/eurydice/documents/thematic_reports/139EN.pdf.
- Eurydice. (2017) *CE at school in Europe – 2017*. Brussels, Belgium: Publications Office of the European Union. <https://doi.org/10.2797/53642>
- Evans N, Whitehouse H and Hickey R (2012) Pre-service teachers' conceptions of education for sustainability. *Australian Journal of Teacher Education* 37(7): 1–12.
- Ferguson T, Rooft C and Cook LD (2021) Teachers' perspectives on sustainable development: The implications for education for sustainable development. *Environmental Education Research* 27(9): 1–7.
- Fukuda-Parr S (2019) Keeping out extreme inequality from the SDG agenda – the politics of indicators. *Global Policy* 10(1): 61–69.
- Gellner E (1983) *Nations and nationalism*. London: Blackwell.
- Green A (1990) *Education and state formation: The rise of education systems in England, France, and the USA*. Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan.
- Hayne A (1998) *Choose life. Choose a perspective: A Q-methodological analysis of different perceptions of drug education and Trainspotting in small town Scotland* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Manchester).
- Heater D (2015) *A history of education for citizenship*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Hobsbawm EJ (1990) *Nations and nationalism since 1780: Programme, myth, reality*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Hoskins B (2006) *Draft framework on indicators for active citizenship*. Ispra, Italy: CRELL.
- İçduygu A and Demiryontar B (2022) Türkiye'de devlet ve Suriyeli mülteciler: Çelişkili politikalar ve araçsal rasyonellik. *İstanbul Ticaret Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi Türkiye'nin Göç Siyaseti Özel Sayısı* 21(Özel Sayı): 316–334.
- Karaarslan-Semiz G and Isler-Baykal I (2020) Middle school pre-service mathematics teachers' opinions related to mathematics education for sustainability. *Eurasian Journal of Educational Research* 20(89): 111–136. <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ1269768>

- Keyman EF (1998) *Türkiye’de devlet ve toplum: Cumhuriyetin ideolojik temelleri*. İstanbul, Türkiye: Doğuş Yayınları.
- Khoo S and Jordt N (2021) Intersection and collaborative potentials between global CE and education for sustainable development. *Globalisation, Societies and Education* 19(4): 470–481.
- Koehler G (2016) Assessing the SDGs from the standpoint of eco-social policy: Using the SDGs subversively. *Journal of International and Comparative Social Policy* 32(2): 149–164.
- Kotuláková K, Kohutiárová V and Orolinová M, et al. (2024) A Q-methodology study to identify Slovak and Czech secondary school teachers’ prioritised features of the sustainable development goals. *Environmental Education Research* 34(2): 1–23. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13504622.2024.2335632>
- Kuş Z (2020) *Türkiye’de ve Dünyada Vatandaşlık Eğitimi [CE in Turkey and the World]*. Ankara, Türkiye: Pegem Yayıncılık.
- Kuş Z (2022) Sosyal Bilgiler Öğretim Programlarında İdeal Vatandaş ve Toplum [ideal citizen and society in social studies curricula]. In: Bektaş Ö and Turan R (eds) *Sosyal Bilgiler Dersi Öğretim Programları*. Pegem Yayıncılık, pp. 1–20.
- Kuş Z (2024) Teachers’ and parents’ perspectives on citizenship education in Turkey: Consensus and disagreements. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice* 20(2): 301–318. <https://doi.org/10.1177/17461979241240451>
- Kuş Z and Mert H (2021) Geography and identity: An analysis of geography curricula in Turkey. *Romanian Review of Geographical Education* 10(2): 67–87.
- Kuş Z and Mert H (2023) CE Through high school history in Turkey. *Citizenship, Social and Economics Education* 22(2): 85–99.
- Kymlicka W (1995) *Multicultural Citizenship: A liberal theory of minority rights*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Kymlicka W (2007) *Multicultural Odysseys: Navigating the new international politics of diversity*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Langford M (2016) Lost in transformation? The politics of the sustainable development goals. *Ethics & International Affairs* 30(2): 167–176.
- McKeown BB and Thomas D (1988) *Q methodology—Quantitative applications in the social sciences*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Nithlavarnan A, Sinnathamby K and Gunawardana I (2013) Student teachers’ perceptions about education for sustainable development (ESD) in secondary science education. *Journal of Education for Sustainable Development* 7(2): 167–183.
- OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development). (2016a) *Global competency for an inclusive world*. Paris, France: OECD Publishing. www.oecd.org/pisa/aboutpisa/Globalcompetency-for-an-inclusive-world.pdf.
- OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development). (2016b) *PISA 2015 Assessment and Analytical Framework: Science, reading, mathematics and financial literacy*. Paris, France: OECD Publishing.
- OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development). (2016c) *Draft framework of the PISA 2018 global competence assessment*. Paris, France: OECD Publishing.
- Osler A and Starkey H (2005) *Changing citizenship: Democracy and inclusion in education*. Maidenhead, UK: Open University Press.
- Ozan H and Kus Z (2021) Mesrutiyet’ten Cumhuriyet’e Vatandaşlık Öğretim Programlarında Kimlik İnsasi. *Eğitim ve Toplum Araştırmaları Dergisi* 8(2): 237–257.
- Pike G (2008) CE In global context. *Brock Education* 17(1): 38–49.
- Reimers FM (2009) Global competency. *Harvard International Review* 30(4): 24–27.

- Sant E, Davies I and Santisteban A (2015) Citizenship and identity: The self-image of secondary school students in England and Catalonia. *British Journal of Educational Studies* 64(2): 235-260. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00071005.2015.1070789>
- Smith AD (1995) *Nations and nationalism in a global era*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Spring J (2018) *The American school: From the Puritans to the Trump era* (10th ed.) New York, USA: Routledge.
- Stephenson W (1953) *The study of behavior; Q-technique and its methodology*. Chicago, USA: University of Chicago Press.
- UN Development Programme. (2020) *Sustainable development goals*. New York: Sustainable development goals. <https://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/sustainable-development-goals.html>.
- UNESCO (2021) *United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization*. Paris, France <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000374802>.
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (2023) Annual global trends report: Forced displacement in 2023. <https://www.unhcr.org>
- Watts S and Stenner P (2005) Doing Q methodology: Theory, method, and interpretation. *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 2(1): 67–91.
- Watts S and Stenner P (2012) *Doing Q-methodological research: Theory, method and interpretation*. London, UK: Sage.
- Westheimer J (2020) Can education transform the world? *Kappa Delta Pi Record* 56(1): 6–12.
- Westheimer J and Kahne J (2004) What kind of citizen? The politics of educating for democracy. *American Educational Research Journal* 41(2): 237–269.
- Wilson IB (2005) Person–place engagement among recreation visitors: A Q-method inquiry (Doctoral dissertation). Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, OK.