Policy and Practice
A Development Education Review

Issue 31:
The Policy Environment for Development Education

ISSN: 1748-135X
Editor: Stephen McCloskey

"The views expressed herein are those of individual authors and can in no way be taken to reflect the official opinion of Irish Aid."

© Centre for Global Education 2020

The Centre for Global Education is accepted as a charity by Inland Revenue under reference number XR73713 and is a Company Limited by Guarantee Number 25290. The Centre is also registered as a charity with the Charity Commission Northern Ireland (number NIC104991).

Contents

Preface *iii*

Foreword

Orla Mc Breen
Director, Civil Society and Development Education Unit, Irish Aid *v*

Editorial

The Policy Environment for Global Education, Development Education and Awareness Raising: Reasons to be Cheerful While the Future is Unwritten
Liam Wegimont *1*

Focus

The Wrong Tool for the Job? The Application of Result-Based Approaches in Development Education Learning
Mags Liddy and Susan Gallwey *12*

A Policy at a Standstill: A Critical Analysis of Global Education in the Polish National Curriculum
Dobrawa Aleksiak and Magdalena Kuleta-Hulboj *32*

The Power of Language and the Language of Power: Exploring Discourses on Development Education in Policies Underpinning Adult and Community Education
Meliosa Bracken *55*

Perspectives

Poverty is a Political Choice: A UN Rapporteur Has Delivered a Withering Critique of the International System
Stephen McCloskey *77*

E-Tick: The Piloting and Development of a New Course in Ethical Communication
Sive Bresnihan *90*

Viewpoint

What are the Challenges for Development Education Arising from the Merger of the UK Department for International Development with the Foreign and Commonwealth Office?
Douglas Bourn *95*

Fighting the Pandemic in the Global South
Phethani Madzivhandila *110*

Resource reviews

War, Suffering and the Struggle for Human Rights
Review by Piaras Mac Éinrí *116*

Important Work in a Time of Volatility: Transnational Perspectives on Democracy, Citizenship, Human Rights and Peace Education
Review by Benjamin Mallon *124*

Less is More: How Degrowth Will Save the World
Review by Stephen McCloskey *130*

Global Justice Education in Critical View
Review by Gerard McCann *139*

The E-TICK Course on Ethical Communication
Review by Aislin Lavin *143*

PREFACE: THE POLICY ENVIRONMENT FOR DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION

Issue 31 of *Policy and Practice: A Development Education* is based on a collaborative call for articles by four European journals focused on development education (DE) and global learning (GL):

- *International Journal of Development Education and Global Learning* – Editor: Clare Bentall (UCL Institute of Education, UK) Issue 12.2, Dec 2020.
- *Policy and Practice: A Development Education Review* – Editor: Stephen McCloskey (Centre for Global Education, Belfast, Ireland) Issue 31, Autumn 2020.
- *Sinergias: Educational Dialogues for Social Change* – Members of the editorial board: La Salete Coelho and Jorge Cardoso (University of Porto and Fundação Gonçalo da Silveira, Portugal) Issue 11, Dec 2020.
- *ZEP: Journal of International Research and Development Education* – Editor: Caroline Rau (University of Bamberg, Germany) Issue 43, No. 4, Dec 2020.

The four journals are publishing articles based on a collaborative call for contributors on the theme of *The Policy Environment for Development Education*. The call aimed to generate articles on how educators respond to both the national and global policy environment for DE. Together the journals aim to provide a collective perspective to contribute to this debate, through research articles, opinion and practitioner pieces.

The global context provides the backdrop for this focus on the policy environment for development education. Currently, we are facing a climate emergency threatening a mass extinction of biodiversity and social upheaval for people on the frontline of global warming. In some contexts, scepticism towards the urgency of climate change is leading to the exploitation rather than

protection of the environment. In contrast, a global mass movement, initiated by school children, is demanding action. The Maastricht Declaration of 2002 on Global Learning places 'greater justice, equity and human rights for all' at its heart. Yet the social component of sustainability threatens to be overlooked in educational policy and practice. More recently, the COVID 19 pandemic and the likelihood of a long term global economic recession present additional challenges, and international progress on reducing global poverty is very far from being achieved, according to the United Nations Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights, Philip Alston.

Globally, the dominant policy paradigm for development education's response to these global issues is found in the 17 Sustainable Development Goals, adopted by United Nations Member States in 2015, to provide 'a shared blueprint for peace and prosperity for people and the planet, now and into the future'. Development educators have seized upon SDG 4.7, with its aim to 'ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development', as a policy impetus for the sector both locally and internationally. However, policy environments for development education and global learning are under strain. For example, within the European Union, funding for Hub 4 on Global Citizenship Education in Concord, the collaborative network of NGOs across Europe, is threatened.

Given these challenges there is a need to examine critically the interrelationship between this policy environment and the work of development education and global learning educators to carry out their mission of achieving global social justice. We hope that the four special issues of the journals will support this debate on policy and enhance development education practice through these challenging times.

FOREWORD: THE POLICY FRAMEWORK FOR DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION

ORLA MC BREEN

Policy and Practice: A Development Education Review is a unique and important resource for the development education community, and the Department of Foreign Affairs, through Irish Aid, has been delighted to support the publication of the journal for the past fifteen years. I congratulate the journal on reaching this important milestone in 2020.

There has been significant progress in the provision of development or global citizenship education (GCE) in Ireland during those years, and changes in international and national policy have contributed greatly to this. When the core values of global citizenship education are reflected in and supported by government policy and by the school curriculum, global citizenship education can be delivered much more effectively.

In 2015, global citizenship education was included as one of the topic areas of Target 4.7 of the Sustainable Development Goal on Education (SDSN, 2020). Indicator 4.7.1 relates to the extent in which global citizenship education and education for sustainable development are mainstreamed at all levels in formal education. Also in 2015, climate change education, training and public awareness (Art 12) was to be enhanced as part of the Paris Agreement on Climate Change (United Nations, 2015). These developments provided an impetus for the world community, including here in Ireland, to pay attention to these areas at policy level.

In the *Irish Aid Development Education Strategy 2017 – 2023* (Irish Aid, 2016), the need for a whole-of-Government approach and interdepartmental cooperation is emphasised, to ensure that our efforts are part of a cohesive overarching government policy of global citizenship education (2017: 19). As we work across Government and with our partners, it is imperative that we build synergies between different forms of 'values education', as all share the same core values of equality and human dignity.

These include education for sustainable development, human rights education, peace education and anti-racism education.

The *Development Education Strategy* builds on the recommendations of the 2015 Global Education Network Europe (GENE) peer review (GENE, 2015) which found clear indications of the success of the previous strategy at all levels (2015: 46). The more recent DAC peer review (OECD, 2020) found that Ireland has a strong approach to development education, relying on 'strong partnerships among the government, non-governmental organisations, education actors and local communities' (Ibid: 18). The upcoming mid-term review of the current *Development Education Strategy*, scheduled for autumn 2020, affords us the opportunity to assess how we are achieving our aim to increase the accessibility, quality and effectiveness of development education in Ireland. That review is also an opportunity for us all to reflect on how we can ensure that our work remains relevant and timely in the rapidly evolving and increasingly interdependent world in which we live. This is evidenced by the impacts and implications of the current COVID-19 pandemic, the climate crisis and the growing challenges to multi-lateralism.

The *National Strategy on Education for Sustainable Development 2014-2020*, launched by the Department of Education and Skills (DES) in 2014, placed sustainability at the heart of education policy and created new opportunities for embedding GCE in formal education. Members of the Department of Foreign Affairs' Development Education Unit have been active members of the ESD Advisory Committee since its inception. Over the coming months we will be working closely with the Department of Education and other government departments to develop a new plan which should bring us closer to meeting our SDG targets as we approach 2030.

Kenny and O'Malley's report for Dóchas back in 2002, found that there were over two hundred and fifty groups working in development education in Ireland, but that there was only 'a tenuous link with mainstream education at primary, second and third level' (Kenny and O'Malley, 2002: 38). Thankfully, global citizenship education content has become more visible in formal education curricula in recent years. Politics and Society, a new Leaving

Certificate subject strong in global citizenship content, was examined for the first time in 2018 (NCCA, 2018). The National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (NCCA) has developed a short course on Civic, Social and Political Education (CSPE) (NCCA, 2016), which includes the strands, rights and responsibilities, global citizenship and exploring democracy.

The Global Island: Ireland's Foreign Policy for a Changing World outlines Ireland's values as ensuring that we contribute to a fairer, just, secure and sustainable world (DFA, 2015: 30). This goal remains the focus of Ireland's Policy for International Development. In the foreword to *A Better World: Ireland's Policy for International Development*, then Taoiseach Leo Varadkar T.D. said:

> "Ireland's approach to international development resonates with our own history and experiences. It is both in our DNA, and in our national interest, to contribute to the building of a better world" (Government of Ireland, 2019: i).

The new policy explicitly values development education and global citizenship as important elements in our evolving approach to reaching the furthest behind first and to build this better world (Ibid: 38).

Due to the implementation of strong policies at both national and international level, a stronger, more stable environment for delivery of development education programmes in Ireland now exists, contributing to the creation of that fairer, just, secure and sustainable world.

References

Department of Education and Skills (DES) (2014) 'Education for Sustainability': The National Strategy on Education for Sustainable Development in Ireland, 2014- 2020, Dublin: DES, available: https://planipolis.iiep.unesco.org/sites/planipolis/files/ressources/ireland_national-strategy-on-education-for-sustainable-development-in-ireland-2014-2020.pdf (accessed 22 September 2020).

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFA) (2015) *The Global Island: Ireland's Foreign Policy for a Changing World,* Dublin: DFA, available:

https://www.dfa.ie/media/dfa/alldfawebsitemedia/ourrolesandpolicies/ourwork/global-island/the-global-island-irelands-foreign-policy.pdf (accessed 22 September 2020).

Global Education Network Europe (GENE) (2015) *Global Education in Ireland: The European Global Education Peer Review Process National Report on Ireland*, Amsterdam and Dublin: GENE, available: https://gene.eu/wp-content/uploads/Gene_NationalReport-Ireland.pdf (accessed 22 September 2020).

Government of Ireland (DFA) (2019) *A Better World: Ireland's Policy for International Development*, Dublin: Government of Ireland, available: https://www.irishaid.ie/media/irishaid/aboutus/abetterworldirelandspolicyforinternationaldevelopment/A-Better-World-Irelands-Policy-for-International-Development.pdf (accessed 22 September 2020).

Irish Aid (2016) *Irish Aid Development Education Strategy 2017 – 2023*, Dublin: Irish Aid, available: https://www.irishaid.ie/media/irishaid/allwebsitemedia/20newsandpublications/publicationpdfsenglish/Development-Education-Strategy-2017-2023.pdf (accessed 22 September 2020).

Kenny, M and O'Malley, S (2002) *Development Education in Ireland: Challenges and Opportunities for the Future*, Dublin: Dóchas.

National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (NCCA) (2018) 'Politics and Society', Dublin: NCCA, available: https://www.curriculumonline.ie/Senior-cycle/Senior-Cycle-Subjects/Politics-and-Society/ (accessed 22 September 2020).

National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (NCCA) (2016) 'Civic, Social and Political Education', Dublin: NCCA, available: https://www.curriculumonline.ie/Junior-cycle/Short-Courses/CSPE/ (accessed 22 September 2020).

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2020) *OECD Development Co-operation Peer Reviews: Ireland 2020*, Paris: OECD, available: https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/development/oecd-development-co-operation-peer-reviews-ireland-2020_c20f6995-en;jsessionid=x9YyFWCVx-ppGH9krPgZ1VYd.ip-10-240-5-23 (accessed 22 September 2020).

United Nations (2015) 'Paris Agreement, available: https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/english_paris_agreement.pdf (accessed 22 September 2020).

Sustainable Development Solutions Network (SDSN) (2020), 'SDG Target 4.7', available: https://indicators.report/targets/4-7/#:~:text=Target%204.7%20by%202030%20ensure,%2Dviolence%2C%20global%20citizenship%2C%20and (accessed 22 September 2020).

Orla Mc Breen is Director, Civil Society and Development Education Unit, Irish Aid.

Editorial

THE POLICY ENVIRONMENT FOR GLOBAL EDUCATION, DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION AND AWARENESS RAISING: REASONS TO BE CHEERFUL WHILE THE FUTURE IS UNWRITTEN

LIAM WEGIMONT

I cite here in passing two singers from the late 1970s. Ian Drury of *The Blockheads* sang of Britain at a time when things were looking very grim socially and politically; nevertheless, he still sang of 'reasons to be cheerful'. Meanwhile, the music, politics and philosophy of Joe Strummer of *The Clash*, were depicted powerfully in Julian Temple's 2007 film 'The Future is Unwritten'. The open-ended nature of possibility is suggested, where working together across cultures and recognising the joys of diversity - while singing - might just help us to enable justice to prevail. In regard to the current policy environment for global education (GE) and development education and awareness-raising (DEAR), without succumbing to naïve optimism, I would like to suggest that this edition of *Policy and Practice* inspires an amalgam of Drury and Strummer. There are indeed reasons to be cheerful; and the future is unwritten.

At the time of writing, the policy environment regarding GE and DEAR is being re-written; the future of this policy landscape, as yet unwritten, is thankfully being written of a little here and now. It is heartening that just as this issue of *Policy and Practice* is focusing on the issue of the policy environment for GE and DEAR, other journals in the field are also focusing on research regarding the policy environment in Europe. From *Sinergias* in Portugal to the German-language ZEP, to the *International Journal on Development Education and Global Learning* in the UK – all may share a similar focus on the issue of the policy environment for GE and DEAR this Autumn and Winter.

The policy landscape for GE and DEAR - reasons to be cheerful?

If we consider the policy environment for GE/DEAR now in Europe and more globally, compared to a decade ago, then there are indeed reasons to be cheerful. I will outline here some of the policy perspectives and recent processes, initiatives or policy documents that give rise to hope for more solid support for GE/ DEAR.

At ***European Union (EU) level*** and at national level in Europe there have been several promising developments during 2020 that suggest a very specific focus on strengthening GE/DEAR within the EU's broader foreign policy:

- The Council of the EU's Working Party on Development (CODEV), meeting in Brussels on the 6 February 2020, reached a strong consensus on the centrality of GE/DEAR to the EUs aspirations regarding the global goals and the Green New Deal. 14 countries spoke strongly in favour of strengthened support and coherence between national and EU policies and initiatives in GE/DEAR (Wegimont, 2020a).

- This consensus was built upon in the Council meetings that led to the adoption of the Council Resolution on Youth in External Actions on 6 June 2020. This put GE/DEAR at the core, calling on the Commission and member states to:

  > "Enhance active global citizenship through strengthened global education, development education and awareness raising (DEAR) with youth including training, youth work activities and awareness-raising in human rights, sustainable development and good governance – and to support young people's active engagement in responding to global challenges and efforts to build democratic, peaceful, inclusive, equitable, tolerant, secure and sustainable societies across the world…" (EU Council, 2020).

Along with this strengthened recognition of the need for support for GE/DEAR at European level, a growing number of European countries also have their own national strategies, policies or coordinating mechanisms for GE/DEAR

(Lee, McAuley and Wegimont, 2020). This includes the strong Irish example cited in the Foreword to this edition by Irish Aid. These national strategic initiatives have consciously learnt from one another through GENE (Ibid.; GENE, 2020). Examples of such learning can be seen in the European Global Education Peer Review process of GENE, now in its Seventieth year, and the annual *State of Global Education in Europe* (GENE, 2019). They provide both country-based and Europe-wide policy, data, narratives, and research on countries across Europe. When read in tandem with the work of the growing Academic Network on Global Education Learning (ANGEL, 2020) and the work of the aforementioned journals we now see a growing body of policy-related research that augers well for the future of the field.

At ***the OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development)***, there have also been developments over time that have influenced the policy environment for GE/DEAR in a number of ways. These are mostly two-fold: in regard to the growing focus on GE/DEAR within the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) Peer Review Process; and in the increasing influence of PISA (Programme of International Student Assessment, 2020) and other large-scale assessments and policy-focused research initiatives of the Education Directorate of the OECD. In regard to the former, it is clear that Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) administrations at national level are exercised by the periodic, comparative and quality enhancement focus of the DAC Peer Reviews. The strength of focus in each Peer Review regarding GE/DEAR has varied (Nygaard, 2020). The DAC has periodically reviewed its guidance for peer reviewers in this regard. This process has strengthened the focus on GE/DEAR over time, and there are some hopeful signs that the guidance manual for reviewers may in future include a stronger and more consistent focus on GE/DEAR. Meanwhile, the OECD Education Directorate has engaged in dialogue regarding the importance of Global Competencies and, since 2018, has included the measurement of global competencies in its PISA assessment (OECD, 2018). While this development is not, and should not be, uncontested; it does provide opportunities for policy dialogue regarding the nature of education, the importance of the global dimension and the necessary defence of centrality of

the struggle for justice, equity and human rights in GE/DEAR (Van Damme, 2020; Connolly, Lehtomäki and Scheunpflug, 2019).

At ***United Nations (UN) level*** the work of UNESCO in ESD (Education for Sustainable Development) (UNESCO, 2020a), GCE (Global Citizenship Education), EPEV (Education for the Prevention of Extremist Violence) (UNESCO, 2020b) and more broadly the focus on SDG 4.7 (SDSN, 2020) have all enhanced the policy environment for GE/DEAR. I might also mention here the strong work of Bridge 47 (2020) – a group of civil society organisations (CSOs), umbrella bodies and individuals that have managed, through a singular focus on SDG 4.7 and a commitment to coalition building, to move the GE/DEAR agenda significantly in unusual ways and with previously untapped partners. Finally, while the scope of this brief outline is predominantly European, there are a number of national, regional and interregional initiatives emerging among and between policymakers and researchers in the global South. These progressive approaches, while not the focus of this edition, do give rise to hope.

So in spite of the dark clouds gathering on the horizon - in the shape of extremism and fascism; challenges to truth, human rights and multilateralism; and in our abject failure as Europeans to change the narrative and to welcome with open arms those fleeing violence and persecution - there is, nonetheless, hope. If one believes in the ability of people, through critical education – particularly through GE/DEAR – to create a world of greater justice and human rights for all; if one believes that the global North must act in solidarity with peoples across the globe, and particularly in the global South and those who are excluded, locally and globally, to overturn things; then there are in the current policy environment for GE/DEAR reasons to be cheerful.

At no time in the past thirty years has there been such congruence of forces within the policy environment aligned in support for strengthened GE/DEAR (Wegimont, 2020b; Hartmeyer and Wegimont, 2016). In my view, this is a result of decades of strategic activist and practitioner engagement; along with growing recognition by policymakers - in development and foreign policy and in education – of the importance of GE and DEAR; combined with

a strong policy focus in the recent, burgeoning field of research in GE/DEAR (Bourn, 2020; ANGEL, 2020) and, more recently, a growing recognition coming from within the recent crises that current challenges require local/global responses. This, to me suggests that there are indeed reasons to be hopeful, maybe even cheerful.

The future policy environment for GE and DEAR is being written

The articles contained in this edition not only give pause for thought and ask deep, profound, and critical questions regarding current policy and practice in GE, but also give hints towards a foreseeable future policy environment for GE/DEAR. Mags Liddy and Susan Gallwey ask timely and necessary questions regarding the predominance of results-based approaches (RBAs) in the evaluation of development education (DE). In a balanced and thoughtful piece, they outline the roots of RBA approaches in public sector management reform and highlight some of the effects of such approaches. While recognising some of the positive dimensions of RBA approaches, they also outline their narrow limitations. The imposition of such approaches, coming as they do from development cooperation practice, tends to straight-jacket the richness of development education. This results in beating square pegs into round holes. The authors argue 'the limitations in the use of results and impact miss the other gains and positives that can be attributed to the DE work'. While recognising the necessity at times of RBAs, the writers also outline a number of adaptations and alternatives, raising very useful questions for a way forward; these questions and accompanying critique have been emerging for some time and are currently reflected among researchers in other European countries and languages (Wegimont, 2008; Scheunpflug, 2020; Bergmuller and Hock, 2020).

In the second Focus article in this issue, Dobrawa Aleksiak and Magdalena Kuleta-Hulboj set out a critical analysis of global education in the Polish formal education system. Informed by models of curriculum analysis of GE that take account of framing and national curriculum, the authors take a critical, post-colonial approach to the analysis. The article provides an extensive exploration of both the historical genesis of GE in Poland and of the

current situation. Following a strong methodological reflection, recognising strong gains in GE over a decade ago, they analyse more recent national curriculum reform and the integration of GE into particular subject areas. The authors argue that GE in the curriculum has been downplayed. The focus on the national at the expense of the global, particularly in the history curriculum analysed, has meant, according to the authors, a regression in global education in Poland. The article provides a critical contribution to the debate about the future of education and GE in Poland.

Meliosa Bracken uses a discourse analysis methodology to examine the possibilities for development education within the policies of Adult and Community Education (ACE) in Ireland. Irish development educators have had a strong tradition of moving from initiatives with individual organisations to more sector-wide, partnership approaches. This contribution to policy analysis comes at a time when policy change in the sector in question, coupled with sector-wide initiatives in DE, combine. Bracken outlines an exposition of the context in a detailed and considered critical discourse analysis of the policy landscape. Further Education policy per se, as well as the National Education for Sustainable Development strategy and Irish Aid DE strategies, are explored. The author highlights the importance of identifying policy gaps, as well as highlighting the usefulness of this methodology for policy analysis more broadly. In GE/DEAR strategising, those involved tend to ask questions about the potential or the opportunities within existing education policies. Bracken provides an analysis that in a way turns that habitual order or direction on its head. Her analysis demonstrates how DE strategy might inspire and address critical questions of the broader policy environment, critiquing existing policy and also asking questions that are of immediate relevance to emerging policies.

Articles in the Perspective and Viewpoint sections of this issue also deal with issues in the broader policy landscape. Stephen McCloskey's review of the final report of the UN Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights, Philip Alston, serves as a potent reminder of the watering down of shared visions for the global eradication of poverty. More broadly and more radically, the article reminds the reader of the necessary, foundational link

between GE/DEAR and the critique of the predominant model of development – including a critique of the SDGs. As McCloskey summarises, if GE/DEAR is about education in the tackling of root causes of local and global injustice, then we must remember that:

> "The 'root causes' of contemporary inequities between North and South include centuries of colonisation, indentured slavery, the extraction of commodities and precious metals and the eradication of indigenous peoples and their cultures, values and lifestyles".

Doug Bourn looks at the challenges arising from the recent merger of the Department for International Development (DfID) with the Foreign and Commonwealth Office in the UK into the Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office. Recognising that there are different models of the relationship between agency and ministry, Bourn provides a useful outline of the location or 'residence' of GE/DEAR responsibilities within different line-ministries and agencies in other European countries. He also outlines the implications for DE in the UK of this recent merger and proposes the need for a coalition of stakeholders.

Sive Bresnihan briefly outlines the rationale, piloting and delivery of a new ethical communication course from Comhlámh being run by European partners, reminding us of the necessary intertwining of emotional and cognitive dimensions of the pedagogical process in GE and DEAR. This edition also includes an article by Phethani Madzivhandila on 'Fighting the Pandemic in the Global South', which highlights the horrifying effects of our current ordering of the world and the unequal impact of the pandemic; the author calls for a 'new imagination' to help build movements for change.

I must conclude by complimenting the authors and the editors of *Policy and Practice*; it was an honour to be invited to guest edit this issue. When read in tandem with forthcoming related editions in sister journals from across Europe, it will be clear from the current edition of *Policy and Practice*, that in spite of the clear and present dangers that beset us in political arenas, nevertheless, the writing in this edition suggests that the policy environment

for GE and DEAR gives rise to some considerable hope. In that vein, I conclude with the words of another band from my era, and from the northside of Dublin:

> *"October /and the trees are stripped bare/ of all they wear/what do I care?*
>
> *October/and kingdoms rise, and kingdoms fall, but you go on, and on…"*

Note on terminology

In this article the use of the term global education (GE) is based on the Maastricht Declaration (2002) definition:

> *Global Education is education that opens people's eyes and minds to the realities of the world, and awakens them to bring about a world of greater justice, equity and human rights for all. Global Education is understood to encompass Development Education, Human Rights Education, Education for Sustainability, Education for Peace and Conflict Prevention and Intercultural Education; and the global dimensions of Education for Citizenship.*

GENE uses the term in its European Peer Review process and other international processes as an umbrella term, in a non-prescriptive way. This enables comparative policy learning, while also respecting the varieties of preferred national terminology – such as development education, global development education, etc. GENE also recognises the prevalent European Community language of Development Education and Awareness-Raising (DEAR). Giving the differing usages across articles in this edition, I use the terms GE and DEAR interchangeably.

References

Academic Network on Global Education and Learning (ANGEL) (forthcoming) *Global Education Digest 2020*, London: Development Education Research Centre, UCL Institute of Education (Multilingual edition).

Academic Network on Global Education Learning (ANGEL, 2020) available: www.angel-network.net (accessed 29 September 2020).

Bergmuller, C and Hock, S (forthcoming) (eds.) *Impact Orientation: A Model of Evaluation in Global Education, Development Education and Awareness Raising,* Munster: Waxmann.

Bourn, D (2020) 'The Emergence of Global Education as a Distinctive Pedagogical Field' in D Bourn (ed.) *The Bloomsbury Handbook on Global Education and Learning*, London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Bridge 47 (2020) available: https://www.bridge47.org/ (accessed 29 September 2020).

Connolly, J, Lehtomäki, E and Scheunpflug, A (2019) *Measuring Global Competencies: A Critical* Assessment, London: ANGEL.

DERC (Development Education Research Centre) (2019) *Global Education Digest 2018*, London: Development Education Research Centre, UCL, available: https://angel-network.net/sites/default/files/Digest%202019%20Final%20Online_0.pdf (accessed 27 September 2020).

EU Council (2020) 'Resolution on Youth in External Affairs', available: https://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-8629-2020-INIT/en/pdf (accessed 27 September 2020).

GENE (Global Education Network Europe) (2020) available: www.gene.eu (accessed 29 September 2020).

GENE (2019) *The State of Global Education in Europe,* Dublin: GENE.

Hartmeyer, H and Wegimont, L (2016) 'Global Education in Europe: European Policy Development', in H Hartmeyer and L Wegimont (eds.) *Global Education in Europe Revisited: Strategies and Structures, Policy, Practice and Challenges*, Munster: Waxmann.

Lee, P, McAuley, J and Wegimont, L (2020) *National Strategies on Global Education in Europe; A Framework for Comparative Analysis,* Dublin: GENE (forthcoming).

Maastricht Declaration (2002) 'Europe-wide Global Education Congress Maastricht', The Netherlands, November 15 – 17, available: https://rm.coe.int/168070e540 (accessed 30 September 2020).

McAuley, J (2020) *The State of Global Education in Europe 2019,* Dublin: GENE.

Nygaard, N (forthcoming) *OECD/DAC Peer Reviews and Global Education: A Comparative Analysis 1997-2020,* Dublin: GENE.

OECD (2018) 'PISA 2018 Global Competence', available: https://www.oecd.org/pisa/pisa-2018-global-competence.htm (accessed 29 September 2020).

PISA (Programme of International Student Assessment) (2020) available: https://www.oecd.org/pisa/ (accessed 29 September 2020).

Scheunpflug, A (2020) 'Evidence and Efficacy: A Compulsion for Global Education' in D Bourn (ed.) (2020) *The Bloomsbury Handbook on Global Education and Learning*, London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Sustainable Network Solutions Network (SDSN) (2020) 'SDG 4.7', available: https://indicators.report/targets/4-7/ (accessed 29 September 2020).

UNESCO (2020a) 'Education for Sustainable Development', available: https://en.unesco.org/themes/education-sustainable-development (accessed 29 September 2020).

UNESCO (2020b) 'Preventing Violent Extremism', available: https://en.unesco.org/preventingviolentextremism (accessed 29 September 2020).

Van Damme, D (2020) 'Why education and global competence will be key for the success of the SDGs', available: http://globaleducation.be/webinar/ (accessed 27 September 2020).

Wegimont, L (2008) 'Issues of Quality and Evaluation in Global Education: Trends and Challenges' in E O'Loughlin and L Wegimont (eds.) *Quality in Global Education: An Overview of Evaluation Policy and Practice*, Amsterdam: GENE.

Wegimont, L (2020a) 'Building Public Support, Citizen engagement and Critical Knowledge Supporting Increased and Improved Global Education and DEAR in Europe'. Briefing Paper to the EU Working Party on Development Cooperation, Brussels, 6th February, Dublin: GENE.

Wegimont, L (2020b) 'Global Education in Europe: From Genesis to Theory and a New Model for Critical Transformation' in D Bourn (ed.) *The Bloomsbury Handbook on Global Education and Learning*, London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Liam Wegimont is the Executive Director of GENE – Global Education Network Europe. He has been involved in development and global education for over 30 years, as teacher, youth worker, policymaker, teacher educator, researcher and networker. He has been the Principal of Mount Temple Comprehensive School, a co-educational public school on the northside of Dublin, the motto of which is 'All Different All Equal'. The co-founder of GENE, the European Peer Review process, and ANGEL; he is a member of the editorial Board of the *International Journal of Development Education and Global Learning* (DERC, UK), and of *Sinergias* (Portugal).

Focus

THE WRONG TOOL FOR THE JOB? THE APPLICATION OF RESULTS-BASED APPROACHES IN DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION LEARNING

MAGS LIDDY AND SUSAN GALLWEY

Abstract: Results-based approaches (RBAs) to evaluation have become central in development cooperation and were applied to development education (DE) evaluation in 2012 by Irish Aid, the primary funder of DE work in Ireland. After almost a decade of using results-based approaches in DE, it is timely to review their use as a measurement and evaluation tool, recognising the evidence provided as valuable, as well as naming many issues of concern over their continued application. While the use of results-based approaches is compulsory for all Irish Aid funded DE work in order to align with Irish Aid's strategic goals, there has been some flexibility in their application. We highlight some innovative practices in measurement of results used by the DE sector in Ireland in this article.

RBAs can be effective at tracking change at institutional or programme level; additionally, this approach can bring a strategic goal-orientated outlook to organisational planning. But overall, we argue that RBAs are not appropriate tools for measuring development education *learning*. Many negatives are highlighted: the results chain view of learning as linear; the assumption that DE can be measured separately from other life events or actors; the failure to take into account the varying capacity of DE practitioners; and the tendency of the format to encourage 'soft' DE learning outcomes. We suggest that the use of RBAs encourages less radical and transformative DE 'results' and misses attitudinal and value changes, as well as the vibrancy, innovation and enthusiasm of the DE sector in Ireland. The richness of DE learning and its effects on participants is lost, especially in assessing the full range of pedagogical effect and learning in the attitudinal and affective

domains. To paraphrase Chambers (1997), DE 'results' become reduced, controlled and simplified.

Key words: Development Education; Learning; Evaluation; Results-Based Approaches; Critical analysis.

Introduction

During the past decade, the monitoring and evaluation environment for development education (DE) in Ireland has been increasingly dominated by the use of results-based approaches (RBAs) to measure their effectiveness. In this article, we review the implementation and use of RBAs in DE work in Ireland; we recall their initial application by the primary source of DE funds in Ireland, highlight some of the innovative strategies employed by DE practitioners to measure and evaluate their work, summarise the primary issues with the use of RBAs in education, and conclude by reflecting on future directions for the monitoring and evaluation of DE work. RBAs are well embedded into all current Irish Aid-funded DE project funding and play a central role in how all grantees report DE 'results'. It is timely to review the events of the past eight years showing how DE practitioners in Ireland have adapted to the imposing of RBAs onto their work. We highlight some examples of where Irish DE organisations and practitioners have adapted to use of RBAs in an innovative manner, but questions and challenges remain about the adoption of this approach to the measurement of DE learning.

What are results-based approaches?

RBAs originated in the international development sector and can be described as a management strategy that focuses on the achievement of measurable results and demonstrating impact. Throughout the 2000s, OECD (organisation for economic co-operation and development) countries agreed to use results-based management strategies to improve aid effectiveness and monitor results. Results-based management (RBM) is defined in development cooperation by the OECD/ Development Assistance Committee (DAC) as a 'management strategy focusing on performance and achievement of outputs, outcomes and impact' (OECD, 2002). This approach measures if policies and programmes

are effectively and efficiently producing the expected results, where improving performance is the central orientation and accountability is its secondary function.

RBAs are most commonly represented in a 'Results Framework', which articulates the result/change that is sought in the target group, details key indicators that demonstrate the desired change is taking place, and displays baseline and target data in order to chart progress towards the programme goal. RBAs are often visualised through a results chain, a linear chain where inputs and activities lead to outputs, outcomes and impact. While it has been applied in aid and international development, the origins of the approach lie in management theory for the corporate world and public administration (Vähämäki, Schmidt and Molander, 2011). These strategies reflect the reforms in public administration termed New Public Management, which emphasises proof, effectiveness, efficiency and accountability (UN Secretariat, 2006). Designed to improve the public sector and government performance, they bring the focus of public spending and policies onto results and outcomes, rather than process or procedures. The reform movement aims to essentially apply entrepreneurship, competition, and market-based mechanisms to public policy.

This reform impact can be seen in how education has become market-led rather than a public service; the emphasis is placed on performance and ranking measured by evaluation outcomes such as grades and graduate employability in a system of increased surveillance and seemingly open choice (Lynch, Grummell and Devine, 2012). New managerialism undermines education as public right and the 'purpose of education is increasingly limited to developing the neo-liberal citizen, the competitive economic actor and cosmopolitan worker built around a calculating, entrepreneurial and detached self' (Lynch, 2014: n.p.). Whilst the impact of new managerialism is seen in recruitment and educational administration, it also influences pedagogy where output is emphasised over process. Teaching becomes an efficient exercise of data input and instruction, where student passivity is encouraged rather than participation, reminiscent of Freire's concept of education as banking (Freire, 1970). The knowledge that is valued is what the 'entrepreneurial and actuarial

self' requires for market performance (Lynch et al., 2012: 22). A culture of carelessness is created diminishing the pastoral aspects to teaching and where moral values such as solidarity and care are diminished (Lynch, 2014) - arguably the global orientated values that DE promotes (Bourn, 2014).

Imposition of results-based approaches in Ireland

The shift to RBAs in Ireland was driven primarily by Irish Aid (IA), the major funder for DE in Ireland. Having successfully embedded RBAs across their international development cooperation work, Irish Aid sought to extend this approach to their DE work. In conjunction with the publication of their new DE strategy in 2016, Irish Aid published their Performance Management Framework (PMF) for DE covering the period 2017-2023 (Irish Aid, 2017). The PMF links DE work to Irish Aid's broader strategic goals. This goal for DE states:

> "People in Ireland are empowered to analyse and challenge the root causes and consequences of global hunger, poverty, injustice and climate change; inspiring and enabling them to become active global citizens in the creation of a fairer and more sustainable future for all through the provision of quality development education" (Irish Aid, 2017: 4).

This overall strategic goal is broad enough to include all DE sectors, formal and non-formal education as well as youth and community work. It is also broad enough to encompass a wide range of DE topics and projects. Arguably, it asks for critical DE addressing the root causes of poverty and injustice (Andreotti, 2006), although the critical and political nature of addressing these causes may conflict or find culpability with government policy.

Since 2012, all DE projects and programmes funded by Irish Aid have been obliged to include a results framework in funding applications and in end-of-project reports. From 2017 onwards, these reporting requirements have included particular forms of data on DE work. Some disaggregated data on participants in DE programmes is also requested in these reports; disaggregated by gender, age, sector, educational level (e.g. early childhood

education, primary, post-primary), third level by discipline, and non-formal education. Specific questions for inclusion in all post course surveys/ evaluations are given to grantees, and learners' answers are to be reported to Irish Aid.

The grantees' results framework is not expected to mirror the Irish Aid performance management framework document, rather flexibility is encouraged and grantees were tasked with writing their own indicators and outcomes, where outcomes are defined as 'changes in skills or abilities that result from the completion of activities within a development education intervention' (Irish Aid, 2017: 3). Whilst flexibility exists in the writing of a grantees' results framework, nevertheless it must be stressed that all funded DE projects are required to contribute to the outcome indicators of Irish Aid's PMF for 2017- 2023. Furthermore, the DE project performance indicators of the project must be in alignment with the language of the Irish Aid PMF (Irish Aid, 2019: 12). This is a requirement for funded projects.

The adoption of RBAs in the evaluation of DE was not a decision of the DE sector in Ireland; the use of these approaches was imposed as an essential element to the funding granted. This imposition from above was initially met with resistance from development education practitioners, who questioned the appropriateness of using RFs in educational contexts (Gallwey, 2013). However, the Irish Development Education Association (IDEA), the national Irish network of development education organisations and individuals, has facilitated constructive dialogue between Irish Aid and the DE sector. The DE sector has accepted the need for DE to deliver measurable results in terms of Irish Aid's strategy. DE practitioners also have recognised that a focus on results can lead to valuable critical reflection about what we do, why we do it, and how we can improve our practice. Indeed, anecdotal evidence suggests that RBAs are effective in measuring impact at institutional or programme level, for example, tracking the extent to which DE has been integrated into Initial Teacher Education (ITE) courses, or tracking progressive stages of engagement by schools enrolled in a global learning programme. Like a Theory of Change, a RBA compels organisations to examine how

change happens in their area of work, and thus enables refinement of inputs to better meet the needs of target groups.

Irish Aid's willingness to be flexible has allowed for some innovation and contextualisation of results frameworks to specific DE settings. For their part, Irish Aid acknowledge the value of qualitative measures of learning and accept that there are difficulties inherent in capturing the complex, long-term attitudinal changes characteristic of DE. This is a primary concern with the use of RBAs as measures of learning in education and is described in the next section.

Results based approaches in education: the 'proof'

There are a number of positives in the use of RBAs for DE. The primary positive feature is that the data gathered provides evidence of the vibrancy and range of work carried out by DE practitioners and organisations in Ireland. This evidence is necessary for accountability of how public funds are utilised effectively and to support the continuation of DE work by making a case for further resourcing and funding. Additionally, the presentation of DE 'results' in a format similar to other Irish Aid work helps to secure the position of DE within the overall IA programme.

In their annual report for 2018, the data collected from the Irish Aid DE annual reports, DE Strategic Partnership Programme, and Programme Grant funding streams is shown in the following infographic:

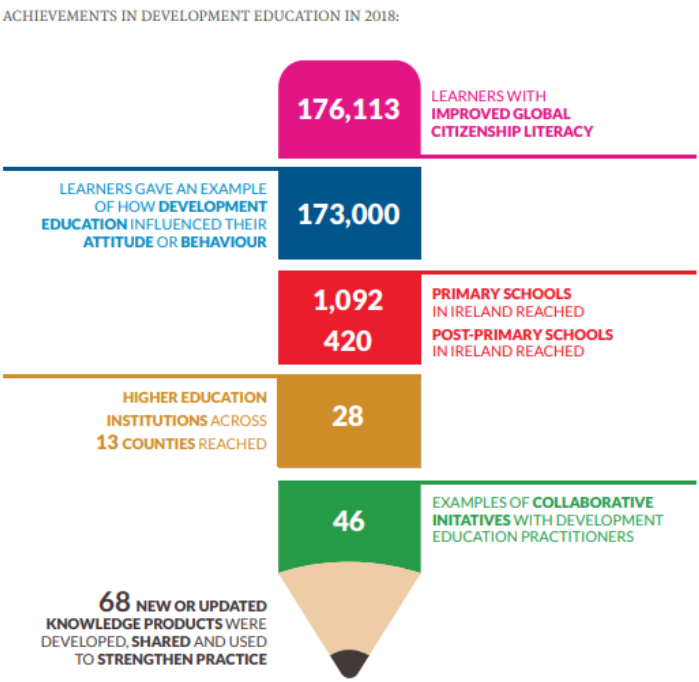


Figure 1. 'Achievements in DE in 2018' (Irish Aid, 2019: 54).

The collective data was shared with the IDEA Quality and Impact Working Group for review on its usability and informativeness. This raw data highlighted the vibrancy of the sector and the range of work carried out, the high volume of participants and learners, and the geographical spread across the island. In the ensuing discussion, the Working Group raised issues of concern, such as General Data Protection Regulation (GPDR) challenges in reporting learners' characteristics. While presenting interesting data, there were large gaps missed in this infographic, which seems to flatten the energy and enthusiasm of the DE sector. The range of activities across formal and non-formal education is absent. Feedback from learners or measures of their gain from DE (beyond stated changes in their behaviour or attitudes) are

absent. However, we recognise that this infographic is the beginning of the reporting on DE 'results' by Irish Aid and hopefully more depth of data will be visualised and included in future reports.

Difficulties with use of RBAs in development education

This section outlines the many negatives on the use of RBAs; firstly, they are clumsy instruments, focused on counting and numerical scores of results which work towards an overall impact, rather than rich accounts of learning on development, the range of topics addressed, and activism for positive social change. The inherent assumption as illustrated in a results chain is a move by learners in a positive, left to right spectrum, as a learner will move from 'little or no' knowledge to more. But this assumes that gaining knowledge is positive while the reality is that more knowledge may lead to more questions, confusion in their values, or indeed lead to rejection of knowledge as it may challenge biases and assumptions about how the world works (Allum et al, 2015). Also designing a pedagogical intervention based on objective development knowledge is straightforward, drawing on development studies and political economy knowledge. However, addressing the subjective responses to global learning is more complex as many factors mediate the affective learning domain including beliefs and morals, efficacy and emotional responses (Liddy, 2020). How are these elements of learning to be measured and counted? Can we measure a transformation? Or more profoundly, should we even attempt to quantify a learner's values, emotions and beliefs? DE should aim to create a pedagogical space for questioning and challenging values and beliefs, even allowing for unknown beliefs and attitudes to emerge during learning activities rather than aiming to measure, quantify and attribute changes.

The influential role of the DE practitioner is an important factor when attempting to evaluate DE resource material. In a study on the use of the *Just Children* resource for young children (Oberman, 2010), Judith Dunkerly-Bean and colleagues (2017) found that learners' understanding of poverty and inequality depended on the 'nexus of practice' established by their teacher. For example, one teacher in Dunkerly-Bean's study unconsciously framed poverty as 'a choice that those who are resilient can potentially overcome', thereby

creating a value-laden framework through which her pupils made meaning from the *Just Children* resource. Therefore, if we are attempting to assess the impact of a resource, we have to ask: are we assessing the impact of the resource as it was produced, or are we assessing the impact of the resource as it is delivered within the nexus of practice of an individual educator? Where are the values and attitudes, even the knowledge of the educator addressed and measured? Are the root causes of poverty and injustice named and challenged, or is poverty framed as a personal choice? The information the practitioner gives in their work, as well as their values and ideological assumptions on the topic must be interrogated, or else it can run the risk of 'indirectly and unintentionally reproducing the systems of belief and practices that harm those they want to support', as Andreotti (2006: 49) argues. This interrogation becomes more necessary in an era of new managerialism with the dominance of economic imperatives over global justice values.

A key element in DE is action; the definition of development education by Irish Aid (2006: 9) says it 'seeks to engage people in analysis, reflection and action for local and global citizenship and participation'. However, actions arising from a DE programme could have a wide variety of results; for example, learning on food miles may encourage one learner to be a more local based consumer while another learner could argue to support farmers in developing world contexts through buying imported fruit and vegetables. Can these two results be reported in a similar manner in a pre-defined results framework? And if we merely count actions arising, then do we encourage questionable activism such as charity and fundraising?

The temporal dimension is a further issue; the results chain is read from left to right following the timeline of the funded project. Many of the projects funded by Irish Aid in recent years have been funded on an annual basis as opposed to the three-year funding offered in the past (the reinstatement of two-year grants in 2019 was a welcome step in the right direction). This short timeframe has two implications. First of all, what 'results' can be expected after a year? Secondly, most of the DE project work lacks a continuity of learners. Only in formal education can you assume a long-term engagement (i.e. post-primary 5-6 years; third level 2-3 years). Furthermore,

many DE programmes target a specific year group (often Transition Year) and thus have a new cohort of students every year. Without this continuity, opportunities for gathering baseline data and tracking DE learners over a period of time is gone.

A further issue is the inherent challenge of attribution versus contribution in evaluation of education interventions. For example, if we are carrying out a DE programme on diversity, using learners' pre- and post-programme work to track how attitudes towards diversity changed, how can we be sure that any changes we observe are a result of the DE programme? And can we even draw a boundary around a 'DE programme'? In reality, learners are exposed to a myriad of influences outside of the DE setting, including family, community, and the media. Inside a classroom or non-formal setting, a DE initiative does not operate in a vacuum either but is integrated into the educator's overall practices. Recently, Trócaire and Centre for Human Rights and Global Citizenship applied a pre- and post-programme approach to research on the impact of the *Just Children* resource for early childhood settings (Gallwey and Mallon, 2019). This included a photo-based activity in which children discussed similarities and differences between themselves and children in the global South (Allum et al., 2015: 23). The researchers noted in the post-programme session an increased ability to describe and discuss nuanced differences in skin tone and hair colour. It is tempting to attribute this change to activities in the *Just Children* resource. However, in an interview, the teacher mentioned her recent classroom work with diversity dolls and role-play about physical similarities and differences. The learning evident in the post-programme activity could not be attributed definitively to *Just Children*, nor to the diversity dolls, nor indeed to other influences. Research and evaluation in this case suggest that *Just Children* contributed to and enhanced the children's learning, which is as far as a 'result' can be attributed to a particular DE activity.

Usually results-based approaches aim to identify and attribute impact but, in educational practice, it is not possible nor is it desirable to demonstrate causal links. If carefully used, pre- and post-programme activities can serve as a window onto learning or as part of a multi-strand evaluation. However,

any toolkit or evaluation methodology based on comparing 'before' and 'after' data runs the danger of appearing to deliver clear evidence of change and there is a need to be vigilant about its limitations. One author of this article remembers vividly arriving late and frazzled at a DE conference, which was reflected in her pre-assessment tool while her post-assessment was calm and reasonable. How is the evaluation of such data to be read, analysed and reported on? It was not the DE event itself that calmed her. Likewise, the role of socially desirable responses and bias (Callegaro, 2008) in evaluation forms must be considered When participants and learners know the funding for the DE programme is related to the evaluation, it is likely they will be less critical and more positive in their assessments.

The impact of DE is what funders want to be able to demonstrate and 'prove'; however, this impact cannot be solely accredited to the DE intervention. Media, family and community, global events, as well as other learning programmes can all play a role in generating the 'result'. Some of these factors can be named, others are unexpected. Who would have known a year ago that we would all become so knowledgeable in global health pandemics and disease transmission?

The limitations in the use of results-based approaches to prove results and impact miss the other gains and positives that can be attributed to the DE work. The right form of evaluation and right questions just need to be asked. Tools for tracking DE at the level of the learner need to be appropriate for the work. Firstly, tools need to be capable of handling the complex attitudinal learning outcomes characteristic of DE. Secondly, tools need to respect the participatory, learner-centred values base of DE (Bourn, 2014). Thirdly, while tools that capture an action taken as a result of learning are very valuable, we also require tools that recognise that not all learning is accompanied by a short-term action or a visible change of behaviour. Reflection on learning and taking time to integrate new knowledge into established beliefs and behaviours can be challenging and long-term (Liddy, 2020).

How has DE in Ireland responded and adapted to use of RBAs

To help balance the need for measurable results with the need to do justice to rich DE learning, IDEA developed a hands-on toolkit for using RBAs in DE settings, and have updated the toolkit annually (IDEA, 2019a). Furthermore, Irish Aid staff have provided detailed feedback to funded organisations and have encouraged applicants to move beyond purely quantitative measures towards more qualitative measures in their RFs (IDEA, 2019b). IDEA's Quality and Impact Working Group also played an important role in engaging with Irish Aid staff on the data collected using RBAs in DE. This dialogue has been very helpful as it takes place outside of the direct funder-funded power dynamic and provided feedback on the PMF data generated by Irish Aid. The use of qualitative indicators and anecdotal reporting (Collins and Pommerening, 2014) of positive learning outcomes were two of the areas of results reporting that Irish Aid now recognise and welcome in the annual reporting process.

However, there are many issues which require further exploration and reflection. Using results frameworks because they are a necessity for funding can lead to a mechanical repetition of what was accepted by the donor in previous years. Furthermore, as organisations understandably are averse to risking an empty results column at the end of the year, they may choose 'safe' indicators that rarely explore diffuse, long-term or cumulative impact. The root causes of poverty and injustice are complex topics; what organisation would claim that 'challenging white privilege' or 'ending global hunger' as their intended result, when 'increasing awareness of racism' or 'learning about food security' is a more realistic statement, especially as the funding is for just one year.

This choice of safe indicators has implications not only for how we measure our DE work, but also for the DE content of our programmes. There is truth to the maxim, 'what gets measured, gets done'; if we choose 'safe' indicators over innovative ones, then creative DE can be squeezed out by more formulaic projects. This process then perpetuates the ongoing deradicalisation and de-clawing of DE (Bryan, 2011).

Responses by DE sector

The DE sector in Ireland has come a long way in creating and refining such tools. One example is the Self-Assessment Tool (SAT) used by WorldWise Global Schools, Ireland's national Global Citizenship Education programme for Post-Primary Schools (2019). The SAT allows students and teachers to self-score across four learning areas: knowledge, skills, attitudes/values, and action. The before and after scores in the four areas can be collated to give a composite picture of learning in the school, and potentially can give an indication of how the WWGS-funded learning programme has contributed to changes in the school. In addition, the SAT contains an activity for students and teachers to record qualitative responses on their key learning in relation to these four learning areas, in the form of four key questions. It is important to note that the SAT is intended primarily as a tool for learning within schools and only secondarily as a way to measure the impact of the WWGS programme. It is also worth noting that the SAT is quite formal in its language and framing, as it was designed for use in a post-primary school setting.

Another example of an innovative approach to generating data for a RF is Trócaire's (2018) *Empathy Scale*. This is a numerical scale designed to track depth of engagement in the complex learning area of empathy. The Empathy Scale is applied to work submitted by learners, such as games submitted into the Trócaire (2019) *Gamechangers* competition, and results are then fed into Trócaire's DE Results Framework. The Empathy Scale is valuable in that it is based on 'showing' rather than 'telling'; it uses evidence gleaned from materials produced by learners, rather than relying on learners' self-reported responses to survey questions. However, it is recognised that the scale is inherently subjective in terms of the assessors' interpretations of learners' materials, and which is also influenced by many external contextual factors, such as teachers, peers and media.

Although it is designed as a tool for the practice of DE and not purely for evaluation, the new IDEA Code of Good Practice for Development Education (IDEA, 2019c) offers an opportunity for the sector to articulate good practice of quality DE and potentially illustrate the impact of DE work. A

strength to this approach is that the identification of good practice is carried out in a way that is compatible with DE ethos, defined in the Code as 'global solidarity, empathy and partnership, and challenging unequal power relations across all issues we work on' (IDEA, 2019c: 14). Through the Code process, members self-assess the quality of their DE practice and identify evidence to illustrate specific good practice indicators. For example, Principle Four encourages critical thinking in exploring global issues and one attendant indicator asks if diverse and challenging perspectives from both local and global contexts are included. In the accompanying handbook, DE practitioners and organisations can describe the evidence they have (such as supporting documentation, policies, meeting details, photos, programme plans), as well as rate themselves on a four-point scale from minimal to full ability to meet this indicator.

The evidence gathered in the Code process could be collated to show how the provision of quality DE is creating a collective impact in target groups across the sector. Practitioners self-assessment through the Code could become one element of a broader evaluation of DE work, including perspectives of the learners, and more objective results can be obtained by just applying the RBA. This evidence could *illustrate*, rather than *prove*, the impact of quality DE on learners, and would be an educationally-appropriate tool for demonstrating the power of DE.

Questions for the way forward

Results-Based Approaches can play an important part in DE at institutional and programme level; these approaches can track successes and highlight areas to refine in further evaluation work. They also work well at individual level when the culmination of a programme involves taking a specific and measurable action. However, this paper highlighted some of the challenges that emerge if we attempt to apply a RBA to an attitudinal learning and values based learning programme (Bourn, 2014). In these cases, tools are problematic, interpretation of data is ambiguous, and attribution of change is next to impossible.

Standardised surveys, such as some of the templates offered in the Annex to the Irish Aid PMF (Irish Aid, 2017) can provide ready-to-use statistics to populate a Results Framework, but do they serve the needs of learners or of DE practitioners? In a one-hour workshop, is it really worth asking participants to spend valuable minutes at the start of the session rating their knowledge or skills, and then spend more time repeating the process at the end of the 60 minutes? Do these ratings contribute to an understanding of the 'impact' of DE? And more significantly, do these duties surrounding these measures occupy the 'monitoring and evaluation space' and thereby distract from creating more meaningful methods? If the sector continued to apply RBAs rigorously to the aspects of DE work to which they *are* suited (e.g. levels of stakeholder engagement or measuring depth of integration) could their use move away from unsuitable contexts? Instead of wasting time and energy on clunky pre- and post-programme measurements of learning at individual level, why not invest time, resources and innovative thinking into other ways of demonstrating that 'DE works'?

In terms of funders who may seek more impact measurement data, the DE community needs to press for an acknowledgement that at best, pre- and post- measurements of learning will yield data about contribution, not about attribution. Funders also need to be more realistic about the level of change that can be expected to take place over the brief timespan of most DE initiatives. Robust longitudinal studies are extremely costly; for example, the ESRI (Economic and Social Research Institute) *Growing Up In Ireland* study has cost the taxpayer approximately €2.5 million per year (Wayman, 2018). Yet we cannot adequately deliver data about the long-term impact of DE learning without longitudinal research. Large-scale research funding could address many of the issues raised earlier and work towards the application of appropriate measurement and evaluation tools for DE learning, and find the right tools for the job.

The opportunity to explore some innovative approaches would be welcomed by the DE sector; however, research funding is key. The Mid-term Review of the Irish Aid DE Strategy has been paused due to the Covid-19 pandemic, but we hope it will resume in Autumn 2020. The IDEA Quality and

Impact Working Group has prepared a submission for this review, outlining many of the difficulties we see in the usage of RBAs in DE and with recommendations to improve its awkward framework. However, this submission strongly suggests and encourages Irish Aid to examine other evaluation and learning tools, particularly for use in their new strategy beyond 2023. Furthermore, this research could link with Ireland's reporting responsibilities under SDG 4.7; 'the essential knowledge and skills' for sustainable development. These knowledge and skills are not yet fully outlined (Gallwey, 2016) and the appropriate measurement tools need to be progressed to meet our reporting commitments.

Conclusion

Since 2012, RBAs have become central to evaluation in DE work in Ireland as a compulsory requirement by Irish Aid as part of the evaluation mechanism established for its development education grants scheme. While the DE sector has adapted to this, the use of RBAs in education is not without question or concerns.

DE practitioners in Ireland acknowledge the need for evidence to support their work, to improve quality, and to argue for ongoing resourcing and funding to continue their work. But quantitative numerical measures of results do not fully embrace the extent and range of DE work and they do not fully engage with learners' responses. They do not measure or describe the full range of pedagogical processes involved in teaching or facilitating learning. There are many varied outcomes from a DE programme, from knowledge gain to attitudinal change to activism for positive social good. Use of a formulaic assessment and evaluation tool can miss the richness of individual case studies of learning and the overall vibrancy of the DE sector in Ireland. Unexpected or unintended positive consequences may be lost. Balancing the need for robust data as a form of accountability in the use of public funds with the richness and energy of the DE sector in Ireland is required by DE practitioners, not just Irish Aid.

As Chambers (1997: 55) argued about measuring poverty, 'it is then the reductionist, controlled, simplified and quantified construction which

becomes reality for the isolated professional, not that other world, out there'… where 'the flat shadows of that reality that they, prisoners of their professionalism, fashion for themselves'. Through negotiation with the funding body and their innovative practices, the DE sector in Ireland can stay out of these flat shadows.

Acknowledgements

The authors of this paper are members of the IDEA Quality and Impact Working Group. We would like to acknowledge all other members of the group as this paper reflects many of the groups' workplans, discussions and thoughts over the past few years. However, the ideas presented here are the opinions and experiences of the authors and are not the official view of IDEA.

References

Allum, L, Dral, P, Galanska, N, Lowe, B, Navojsky, A, Pelimanni, P, Robinson, L, Skalicka, P, and Zemanova, B (2015) *How Do We Know It's Working: Tracking Changes in Pupils' Attitudes,* Reading: Reading International Solidarity Centre.

Andreotti, V (2006) 'Soft versus critical global citizenship education', *Policy and Practice: A Development Education Review*, Vol. 3, Autumn, pp. 40-51.

Bourn, D (2014) *Theory and Practice of Development Education,* Oxford: Routledge.

Bryan, A (2011) 'Another cog in the anti-politics machine? The "de-clawing" of development education', *Policy and Practice: A Development Education Review*, Vol. 12, Spring, pp. 1-14.

Callegaro, M (2008) 'Social Desirability, from the Encyclopaedia of Survey Research Methods', in P J Lavrakas (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Survey Research Methods*, New York: Sage Publications, pp. 826-827.

Chambers, R (1997) *Whose Reality Counts? Putting the First Last,* London: Intermediate Technology Publications.

Collins, A. and Pommerening, D (2014) *Anecdotal Evidence Record*, Oxford: DP Evaluation.

Dunkerly-Bean, J, Bean, T, Sunday, K and Summers, R (2017) 'Poverty is Two Coins: Young children explore social justice through reading and art', *The Reading Teacher*, Vol. 70, Issue 6, pp. 679-688.

Freire, P (1970) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed,* New York, Continuum.

Gallwey, S and Mallon, B (2019) 'Can a story make a difference? Exploring the impact of an early childhood global justice storysack', *Beyond the Single Story Intercultural Education Conference,* 25 January, Dublin: DCU.

Gallwey, S (2016) 'Capturing Transformative Change in Education: The challenge of tracking progress towards SDG Target 4.7', *Policy and Practice: A Development Education Review*, Vol. 23, Autumn, pp. 124-138.

Gallwey, S (2013) 'Using a Ruler to Measure a Change of Heart? Working with Results Frameworks in Development Education', 20 November, *Global Justice through Global Citizenship,* Brussels: DEEEP/Concord.

IDEA (2019a) *Using Results-Based Approaches in Development Education Settings: A Practical Toolkit,* Dublin: IDEA, available: https://www.ideaonline.ie/uploads/files/Impact_Measurement_Toolkit_2020_FINAL.pdf (accessed 15 June 2020).

IDEA (2019b) 'Notes from meeting with Irish Aid DE staff and IDEA Quality & Impact Working Group', 10 June, Dublin: IDEA.

IDEA (2019c) 'Code of Good Practice for Development Education', Dublin: IDEA, available: https://www.ideaonline.ie/uploads/files/A4_Code_Principles_Landscape_web.pdf (accessed 15 June 2020).

Irish Aid (2006) *Irish Aid and Development Education: describing... understanding... challenging: the story of human development in today's world,* Dublin: Irish Aid, available: https://www.developmenteducation.ie/teachers-and-educators/transition-year/DevEd_Explained/Resources/Irish-aid-book.pdf (accessed 15 June 2020).

Irish Aid (2017) *Development Education Strategy Performance Management Framework 2017-2023,* Dublin: Irish Aid, available: https://www.irishaid.ie/media/irishaid/allwebsitemedia/60aboutirishaid/Irish-Aid-DevEd-Strategy-PMF.pdf (accessed 15 June 2020).

Irish Aid (2018) *Annual Report 2018*, Dublin: Irish Aid, available: https://www.irishaid.ie/media/irishaid/DFAT_IrishAid_AR_V14-CC-SCREEN.pdf (accessed 15 June 2020).

Irish Aid (2019) *Development Education Grant 2020 Application Form*, Dublin: Irish Aid, available: https://www.irishaid.ie/what-we-do/who-we-work-with/civil-society/development-education-funding/ (accessed 16 October 2019).

Liddy, M (2020) 'Apprenticeship of Reflexivity', in D Bourn (ed.) *The Bloomsbury Handbook of Global Education and Learning*, London: Bloomsbury.

Lynch K, Grummell B and Devine D (2012) *New Managerialism in Education: Commercialization, Carelessness and Gender*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Lynch, K (2014) '"New managerialism" in education: the organisational form of neoliberalism', *openDemocracy*, 16 September, available: https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/new-managerialism-in-education-organisational-form-of-neoliberalism (accessed 26 August 2020).

Oberman, R (2010) *Just Children: A resource pack for exploring global justice in early childhood education*, Dublin: Trócaire and the Centre for Human Rights and Citizenship Education.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2002) *Glossary of Key Terms in Evaluation and Results-Based Management*, Paris: OECD.

Trócaire (2018) 'Empathy and Understanding Scales for Development Education', Maynooth: Trócaire.

Trócaire (2019) 'Gamechangers Competition', Maynooth: Trócaire, available: https://www.trocaire.org/education/gamechangers (accessed 13 August 2020).

UN Secretariat (2006) *Definition of basic concepts and terminologies in governance and public administration*, New York: UN, available: https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/566603?ln=en (accessed 15 June 2020).

Vähämäki, J, Schmidt, M and Molander, J (2011) *Results Based Management in Development Cooperation*, Stockholm: Riksbankens Jubileumsfond.

Wayman, S (2018) 'Growing Up in Ireland: what we've learned from a decade of research', *Irish Times*, 7 November, available: https://www.irishtimes.com/life-and-

style/health-family/parenting/growing-up-in-ireland-what-we-ve-learned-from-a-decade-of-research-1.3676695 (accessed 15 June 2020).

WorldWise Global Schools (2019) 'Self-Assessment Tool', Dublin: WWGS, available: http://www.worldwiseschools.ie/tools/ (accessed 15 June 2020).

Mags Liddy was recently awarded the Nano Nagle Newman Fellowship in Education at University College Dublin (UCD) to study school leadership in developing world contexts. She is also Convenor of the Irish Development Education Association (IDEA) Quality and Impact Working Group. Contact magslid@gmail.com.

Susan Gallwey has worked in development education for over 20 years, and recently retired from her position as Development Education Officer at Trócaire. She has a long-standing interest in creating appropriate and workable methods for the evaluation of development education. Contact details: susankgallwey@gmail.com.

A Policy at a Standstill: A Critical Analysis of Global Education in the Polish National Curriculum

Dobrawa Aleksiak and Magdalena Kuleta-Hulboj

Abstract: This article contributes to the academic debate on global education (GE) policy in national contexts. Recently, there has been growing attention on GE in educational systems internationally and several scholars have examined national policies and documents for the presence and shape of GE (Swanson and Pashby, 2016; Cox, 2017; Tarozzi and Inguaggiato, 2018). However, there is a lack of analysis of global education in a Polish policy context. To focus on this topic, we begin by introducing the reader to the Polish national context through a discussion of the significant challenges for GE, such as a neo-conservative trend in politics, and an historical outline of GE policy in Poland. We then offer a concise description of the mode of cooperation between Polish ministries and the actors involved in implementing GE in Poland (Tarozzi and Inguaggiato, 2018).

The emphasis of this article is on the Polish national schools' curriculum. We employ qualitative analysis to examine the presence of GE and how it is framed. The study is informed by a theoretical framework rooted in critical and postcolonial perspectives in global education theory (Andreotti, 2011; Jefferess, 2008; Swanson and Pashby, 2016). Drawing on the results of the analysis, we argue that GE is downplayed in Polish educational policy, and the curriculum's current frame serves Polish nationalistic sentiment to the detriment of Polish students.

Key words: Global Education; National Curriculum; Poland; Nationalism; Global Education Policy.

Introduction

GE has recently gained significant popularity in numerous countries and has become an educational policy priority internationally. It has been actively promoted by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural

Organisation (UNESCO), since the introduction of the Global Education First Initiative in 2012 (United Nations, 2012), and was included in the 2030 United Nations (UN) Global Goals agenda (United Nations, 2015). The European Union (EU) reinforces GE through its Development Education and Awareness Raising (DEAR) programme (European Commission, 2017), and the Council of Europe through North-South Centre (Council of Europe, 2017) activities. Many countries have developed national strategies to introduce or strengthen GE in formal school systems. Progressive advancements of GE policies in various states are more forceful than before, but in some countries seem superficial or insufficient (Chou, 2020; Cox, 2017; Günel and Pehlivan, 2015; Sung, Park and Choi, 2013). Poland is one of the few countries where GE has been included in the core curriculum, but in the absence of a GE national strategy.

As in many countries, the national curriculum (Ministerstwo Edukacji Narodowej, Ośrodek Rozwoju Edukacji, 2018) plays a central role in educational policy in Poland. It is a document with a high legal rank, universally binding in all schools. It sets out the criteria of students' educational achievement and assessment including exam requirements. It defines what should be taught, indicates the conditions of implementation, and determines the number of teaching hours allocated to different subjects. Regional Education Authorities, as part of the government's educational administration, evaluate and control its implementation at school level. Therefore, we can conclude that an analysis of the national curriculum can demonstrate the kind of educational framework that the government authorities prioritise (Swanson and Pashby, 2016; Kopińska, 2018).

National curricula and other educational policy documents have been critically reviewed not only for the presence of GE, but also for the way they are framed (Sung, Park, and Choi, 2013; Swanson and Pashby, 2016). In their study of the core curricula of Alberta and Scotland, Swanson and Pashby (2016) showed that when GE curriculum discourses focus on national interest and economic contributions, it weakens the possibilities of transformative and critical learning. Similarly, Sung, Park, and Choi (2013) explained how the

national curriculum standards for global high schools in South Korea subordinate GE to national interests, particularly global competitiveness and national pride.

Since there is a scarcity of research literature pertaining to GE in the national curricula of Central-European countries, this study attempts to address this gap in relation to Poland. Taking into consideration the complex and ambiguous status of Poland in relation to the global South-North dichotomy and postcolonial condition, this analysis contributes to the debate about how national policies interact with GE.

Setting the scene: The Polish context for global education

Few Polish scholars have discussed GE in the Polish context. The lack of colonial legacy has resulted in limited interest in global issues as part of public discourse (Witkowski, 2012) and contributes to a common tendency to ignore the connection between Poland and the global South (Jasikowska, 2015). Despite a few anecdotal historical attempts, Polish colonial aspirations were never fulfilled (Jasikowska, 2018). While in former colonial powers, people from the global South have become an integral part of societies, following the atrocities of the Second World War, Poland became culturally and religiously homogeneous. Poland has only recently experienced an influx of immigrants, primarily from the Ukraine (Polish Immigrant and Migration Services, 2020).

Despite the lack of former colonies and not being formally colonised itself, Poland could be considered as particularly entangled in colonial relations. Reading Poland through a postcolonial lens enables the identification of a triple relationship: as a quasi-Soviet colony and its connection to Russia; as a former coloniser of Eastern European nations (considering the 15th-17th century attempts at colonisation and the cultural remnants of these efforts); and in the current context of the Western alternative 'hegemons' (Mayblin, Piekut and Valentine, 2014).

The colonial aspect leads to Poland's semi-peripheral status. Starnawski (2015), drawing on the World-System Theory of Wallerstein

(2004), argues that Poland is seen as primarily Eastern and later European. On the one hand, Poland, as part of the EU, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), is playing an integral role in international politics, while, on the other, as a post-socialist country it is still playing catch up and is dependent on foreign capital and technology. In Poland, the binary division between East and West is more familiar than North and South. Starnawski calls the global South/North division as 'an imported cognitive-ethical tool that will not be comprehensible in a country without imperial pasts' (Ibid: 51).

Another aspect is the continuous political shift towards the right-wing, neoconservative direction that has echoes in the Polish education system. The increase in populism, xenophobia and ideological polarisation within the nation has pushed GE out of the educational policy discourse (Kuleta-Hulboj, 2020). The neoconservative shape of education, embedded in Catholic tradition and values, enables the Catholic Church to have a strong position in Polish schools, for example through: Catholic religion classes as the only religion taught in schools, alternative ethics classes introduced in the 2014-15 school year, and a religion diploma that is included in grade averages (Balsamska et al. 2012; Rudnicki 2015). The teaching of family life education instead of sexual education classes and the introduction of a recent citizen project introduced to parliament advocating penalties for delivering any sexual education to minors suggests the strength of conservative values in the school system. Neoconservative trends were echoed in particular in the 2017 educational reform process. This reform was critiqued by teachers, academics and parents for a lack of real social participation; and adaptive, regressive changes and the subordination of the curriculum to the ruling party's ideology (Śliwerski, 2019). An adviser to the President, Professor Andrzej Waśko commented:

> "this reform supports primarily long-term national interest. [...] It concerns first of all history education in Polish schools in such range, in such form and content which is in line with Polish educational

tradition and a spirit of Polish culture" (Waśko, 2017, cited in Śliwerski, 2019: 807).

The neoconservative trend in Poland intertwines with the potent influence of neoliberalism on the Polish educational system (Cervinkova and Rudnicki, 2019; Mendel and Szkudlarek, 2019). This tendency is seen in the use of neoliberal economic language with reference to the educational system, or commodification of the learning process through parametrisation and standardisation (Rudnicki, 2015). In line with other scholars, Jasikowska (2018) argues that the neoliberal framing of education shifts the role of the teacher towards clericalism and pushes the students through standardised educational processes to produce workers and consumers for a global market. Together with growing right-wing neo-conservatism this hinders the Polish educational system, limiting it to a Eurocentric or even a nationalistic vision.

A brief history of GE policy in Poland

Since its beginnings, GE in Poland was implemented mainly by non-governmental organisations (NGOs). Their actions were neither structural nor long-term, but NGOs played a vital role in popularising development issues (Witkowski, 2011). In 2004, after Poland entered the EU and GE became an obligatory educational component of development cooperation, NGOs continued to be the leading GE actors. European and Polish funding enabled NGOs to commit to more complex and long-term activities. Government actions and policies regarding GE were responsive, primarily because of the multitude of tasks connected to entering the EU (Jasikowska, 2018). GE was not a priority.

Two milestones in GE policy occurred soon after EU membership. In 2008, the Ministry of Education started preparations for broad curricular reform. GE was named one of the Ministry's educational priorities and NGOs participated in developing the curriculum, which resulted in GE being introduced into the national curriculum. This reform, positively evaluated in the Global Education Peer Review Process (GENE, 2009), was followed by a multi-stakeholder process culminating in the signing of a Memorandum of

Understanding on Strengthening Global Education (Grupa Zagranica, 2011a) and developing a common GE definition. According to the Memorandum, GE is:

> "the part of civic education and upbringing, which broadens their scope through making a person aware of the existence of global phenomena and interdependencies. It's key aim is to prepare the recipients to face the challenges related to all humankind. By interdependencies, we understand the mutual links and penetration of cultural, environmental, economic, social, political and technological systems" (Ibid).

Although increasingly criticised, this definition is still used by the main stakeholders. In 2011, the Polish government passed the Act on Development Cooperation (Strona główna Sejmu Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, 2011), which made the Ministry of Foreign Affairs responsible for coordination of GE. This legislative document, although concentrated on development cooperation, acknowledges GE and establishes the official 'primacy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' (Tarozzi and Inguaggiato, 2018).

Today, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Education are the most relevant governmental actors responsible for GE implementation. However, in the Multiannual Development Cooperation Plan issued periodically by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a GE chapter amounts to one page and the content is repeated with slight changes each time. The national funds for GE are amongst the lowest per capita in Europe (CONCORD, 2018). The Centre of Education Development, a national teacher training institution managed by the Ministry of Education, offers GE teacher professional development courses and training. But this Centre relies on NGO support in terms of knowledge and expertise, otherwise the training offered might 'sustain stereotypes on the Global South' (Ibid: 94).

In a sense, Polish GE implementation fits within the framework proposed by Tarozzi and Inguaggiato (2018): in-service teacher education is

available; multi-stakeholder cooperation is present; and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs provides financing. Yet, upon closer inspection, deficiencies are evident. GE is not a government priority, and the leadership sits with the non-governmental development organisation (NGDO) platform, Grupa Zagranica (Jasikowska, 2018; CONCORD, 2018). There is a need for a vertical and horizontal approach (Tarozzi and Inguaggiato, 2018) that would lead to substantial involvement by the Ministry of Education and local authorities with responsibility for education (Jasikowska, 2018).

Theoretical and methodological framework

This study is informed by a theoretical framework rooted in critical and postcolonial perspectives in GE theory (Andreotti, 2011; Jefferess, 2008; Swanson and Pashby, 2016). Critical global education addresses systemic reasons for inequalities and exclusions. It involves a pedagogical discourse into complex and uncomfortable issues to raise critical consciousness, support discussion and advance the way to global justice (Andreotti, 2011). It engages learners in critical enquiry and equips them with the tools to question the assumptions of perspectives and knowledge systems so that they can take an informed, critical stance and act responsibly and ethically (Ibid.). It should encourage dialogue, self-reflection, personal and social transformation (Bourn, 2015), and imply informed, ethical engagement in action towards global social justice, as opposed to mere charity (Jefferess, 2008; Andreotti, 2011; Swanson and Pashby, 2016).

By employing a critical analysis approach, we investigate the Polish national curriculum for the presence of GE and how it is framed. The method used is a qualitative thematic analysis, using some of the procedures from Critical Discourse Analysis. The research is framed by the question: is GE present in the Polish core curriculum, and if so, how it is framed? The specific research questions are: what content, goals and outcomes refer to GE? What is the distribution between global and national dimensions? And, does the core curriculum present multi-perspectivity reflecting different worldviews, values and ways of understanding? We operationalise the concept of GE using the multi-stakeholder definition (Grupa Zagranica, 2011b) supplemented by

UNESCO's most recent definition (UNESCO, 2015). This approach is justified by the prevalence of these definitions in school practice and policy documents.

We focus on the second stage of primary education (10-15 year olds) and select three curriculum areas for analysis - history (marked as HIS in references), citizenship education (marked as CE) and geography (marked as GEO) - because, as other studies have shown (e.g. Świdrowska and Tragarz, 2017), they accommodate the most content and goals related to GE. The national curriculum is one document divided into different subject areas, and we refer to each subject area as subject curriculum. Each subject in the curriculum is structured in the same way: it is preceded by the same preamble (marked as P), including the rationale and the goals of general education; they include the main core curriculum for individual subjects, containing learning goals and outcomes. Then, a brief description of the conditions for implementation follows. The versions of curriculum we chose for analysis, authored by the Ministry of Education and the Centre of Education Development, additionally contain the authors' commentaries describing the general premises and justification of the changes to previous versions.

In coding the curriculum document, we draw on the studies of Cox (2017) and Kopińska (2017; 2018) and distinguish three domains of learning: cognitive, attitudinal and behavioural. Within the cognitive domain, we distinguish four categories:

- global and international structures, systems, institutions and relations with particular reference to the global South;
- global issues and challenges, including statements referring to: migration and refugees, sustainable development, biodiversity and climate change, global inequalities and poverty, world peace, conflicts and security, global health and diseases; and human rights;
- perception and understanding of global interdependencies, including references to the mutual influence of individual and global processes, and the world as a complex and dynamically changing system;

- multiple perspectives (multi-perspectivity), including all references to non-dominant narratives and perspectives, e.g. from the global South.

Our attitudinal domain consists of three categories:

- dealing with difference and diversity, including references to cultural sensitivity and respect, reducing stereotypes and prejudices, empathy, dialogue and openness;
- multiple dimensions of identity;
- key values for global learning (dignity, justice, solidarity, equality, peace, freedom).

Within the behavioural domain we distinguish three categories:

- willingness to act individually and collectively on global issues;
- willingness to take responsibility for actions and decisions;
- willingness to act ethically on global issues.

Our critical analysis process involved researcher triangulation with both authors conducting separate coding and analysis, then coming together to discuss and reconcile our interpretations (Gibbs, 2011).

Results: downplaying global education

Content and learning goals related to GE

The preamble, duplicated in each subject curriculum, does not explicitly refer to GE. Among thirteen goals of general education, we found only four we can consider as implicitly referring to GE. These include one cognitive domain goal: 'equipping students with knowledge and skills that allow them to understand the world in a more mature and structured way' (P:5); three goals relating to attitudinal domain, e.g. 'developing an openness towards the world and other people' (P:5); and one goal from the behavioural domain stating that general education in primary school aims at 'developing active attitudes in social life and actions towards the community' (P:6). Elsewhere in the preamble, we identify more references to 'acceptance and respect for other people', and one mention of 'disseminating knowledge about sustainable development, motivating to action for environmental protection and

developing interest in ecology' (P:7). Evidence points to the fact that the preamble creates space for GE, but without the desired specificity.

According to the citizenship education curriculum, its primary goal is to develop civic and 'pro-community' attitudes. However, by analysing the text more deeply, we argue that these attitudes are specifically understood. Firstly, the cognitive domain prevails (student describes, enumerates, explains, etc.). Regarding the attitudinal domain, just a few learning goals refer to the categories like dealing with difference and the multiple dimensions of identity. Interestingly, even these goals are described in terms of cognitive abilities and skills: 'student explains the significance of citizenship activity' (CE:10), 'deepens the various dimensions of his [the curriculum language is androcentric, not gender-sensitive] identity' (CE:18). Furthermore, we identified few references to the behavioural domain, like 'taking responsibility for one's own choices and actions' (CE:16). All this indicates the dominance of the cognitive aspect and a curricular imbalance, which allows us to argue, in line with Kopińska (2017), that the Polish citizenship education curriculum is cognitive-oriented.

Second, although there are perfunctory mentions about the world, in references to 'respect for world heritage' or '[being a part of] an international community', the citizenship education curriculum lacks learning goals that refer directly to developing a global outlook. It should be noted that the term 'global' does not appear in the whole document; instead, the term 'international' exists. The core curriculum is structured according to the idea of the layers of students' social environment: from the closest (family) to the most distant (international). The latter enjoys the least attention.

The main thematic areas relating to GE include topics such as human and children's rights, selected international issues, multiple dimensions of identity and 'traditional' citizenship education content (civil society, civic attitudes and activity). However, the way these are framed precludes recognition of these topics as GE. Although broad-ranging human rights content is dominated by knowledge about international and national

documents and institutions, which does not leave much room for exploration of how human rights apply to students' everyday lives. Similarly, a dearth of examples from outside Poland means little opportunity for consideration of human rights in other contexts. Regarding values traditionally associated with citizenship education, the curriculum refers to these extensively, but the focus is on the local or national milieu. This manifests in relating specific content, such as civic participation or migration, to the closest social environment: school, local community or nation. Only outstanding Poles exemplify civic virtues, and any mention of global civic initiatives is missing.

Throughout the document, there are scattered references to dealing with difference, e.g. the need to respect different points of view or to fight xenophobia, racism and antisemitism, but these are vague and - again – cognitive-oriented: 'student recognises manifestations of xenophobia, including racism, chauvinism and anti-semitism, and justifies the need to oppose these phenomena' (CE:14). Cursory attempts to include global issues in the citizenship education curriculum are most noticeable in the last outcome: 'Student forms opinions on selected social issues of today's world; student considers ideas for actions towards improving the life condition of people around the world' (CE:15). Not only is the outcome themed as 'international affairs', where predominantly global North entities are present, but nowhere else in the document is there any other reference to knowledge of global issues. The subject curriculum provides no space for students to learn about the lives of people, why they would need improvement and how students can act in solidarity. We can only wonder how a student can form opinions and propose actions on global issues without greater global understanding.

The geography curriculum contains text suggesting the great potential of including GE in the national curriculum, and some of this text is consistent with the GE multi-stakeholder definition: 'Geography should allow the students to understand today's world, including noticing regional and global connections, explaining dynamic economic and social changes and understanding its causes and effects' (GEO:10). As we can see, much attention is paid to interdependencies, both in regard to goals and outcomes. Different

sections of the document, primarily commentaries, emphasise the need to focus on complex interdependencies in and between the environment and humanity as well as in the economy and socio-cultural life. However, the curriculum formulates learning goals and outcomes in a way that may reduce interdependencies into cause-and-effect relationships. Furthermore, regarding the learning goals, it is difficult to identify direct references to GE. But the geography curriculum has many goals linked to dealing with diversity, respecting others and developing positive attitudes towards the world, such as: 'Shaping positive - emotional and spiritual - ties with the immediate surroundings, the home country, and the entire planet Earth' (GEO:12).

Most GE-related content is evident in the following thematic areas: international affairs, socio-geographical regions of different continents, and environmental destruction and protection. The geography curriculum additionally contains other topics like indigenous populations, natural disasters and military conflicts. Although there is a learning outcome considering 'the features of megalopolis in North America and causes of slum formation using the example of South America' (GEO:20), inequalities and injustices are beyond the scope of the geography curriculum's interest. However, the only opportunity to present the learning content to students is through the local/national lenses. Summing up, GE in the geography curriculum does not adequately address global education due to the limited scope of global issues and the lack of appropriate global dimension of issues such as migration or climate change.

Given the aforementioned criticisms of the 2017 educational reform, it is perhaps not surprising that the history curriculum is the most limited in GE content and learning goals, with Polish national history and interests taking extraordinary precedence over all other issues. The history curriculum includes learning goals that relate to developing critical thinking, interdependencies and multiple perspectives, what we classify as linked to GE, that is 'Explaining cause-and-effect relationships, analyzing historical phenomena and processes' (HIS:11); and 'Recognising the need to learn about the past in order to understand the processes occurring in present' (HIS:11).

Analysis reveals that even these modest goals in no way correspond with the content and learning outcomes in the history document. They are merely declaratory.

To some extent, the curriculum includes content related to international affairs and knowledge of the world's past, such as: ancient civilisations, medieval 'Arab expansion', European explorations during the colonial period; and the 'World after the Second World War'. This content refers to three analytical categories: international structures, systems, institutions and relations; world peace, conflicts and security; and interdependencies. Regarding the first, there are just a few stereotypical references to the global South, limited to colonialism and decolonisation. When it comes to the latter, there are plenty of topics concerning international conflicts, some relating to the non-European world, but the majority concern the Second World War and the Cold War. Content in the third category almost exclusively takes the form of cause-and-effect relationships. Additionally, the non-Western world only appears four times in the document, almost exclusively referencing Europeans' presence outside the West.

What is most striking about the history curriculum content is not so much what is present, as what is missing. It lacks emancipatory movements (feminism, workers or civil rights movements) apart from the Polish national-liberation movements and 'Solidarity'. There is no mention of slavery (!), although one learning outcome refers to the American Civil War. Terms like apartheid, racism, anti-Semitism, migration, and refugees do not appear. Social and economic history, history of any oppressed group (except the Polish nation in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries) or micro-history are almost non-existent. The curriculum privileges geopolitical and military dimensions of historical knowledge.

Global dimension in the subject curricula examined

Having interrogated the content and goals of the primary level citizenship education, geography and history curricula in Poland for GE, we explore the global dimension in these documents. As mentioned earlier, the preamble

contains no explicit reference to GE, nor does it mention the word 'global'. Nor is there any reference to 'global' in the citizenship education curriculum. When talking about the world, the supra-national dimension is understood as 'international'. The introduction to the curriculum emphasises the importance of the international dimension. Nevertheless, later on, the document becomes inconsistent. The global perspective is overlooked in goals referring to structures, systems, institutions and relations with references mostly to global North entities like NATO and the EU. Where themes related to global issues are presented, they lack the requisite global dimension; for instance, references to migration and refugees are framed in a national Polish context only.

The curriculum frequently mentions multiple dimensions of identity. Interestingly, the local or national dimension is always present whereas European or international dimensions are sometimes omitted, for example, in the preamble. However, there seems to be no pattern to usage. A commentary footnote states: 'in today's world different levels interconnect and because of that - where it is essential - the student will become aware of interdependencies of social processes' (CE:17). The importance of multiple dimensions could be a hint for the presence of the global dimension. However, it is not consistent with the citizenship education curriculum goals and outcomes. Nor is there a link to the wider world in the behavioural domain, even though its goals refer to counteracting intolerance towards minorities.

In the geography curriculum, the global dimension is the most observable, but not coherently presented. For the most part, the cognitive domain refers to particular countries using stereotypical framing, for example: 'student identifies from the source text the causes and effects of malnutrition in Africa, using the example of Ethiopia' (GEO:19); 'student explains causes and effects of a massive food waste using the example of USA' (GEO:20). What is striking is the commentary where the curriculum authors argue:

> "It is also extremely important that by showing a given phenomenon or geographical process on a well-selected, illustrative example, not to limit its occurrence to this one place, but make an often so-called

> transfer, that is, searching and pointing to other places where it also occurs. It will also prevent so-called stigmatisation of places and erroneous, stereotypical thinking" (GEO:21).

This comment creates confusion as stereotypically named examples do deepen the potential for stigmatisation of given places. We read it as an attempt to avoid being accountable for perpetuating stereotypical viewpoints in geography, especially in textbooks. Nonetheless, the presence of global issues is either limited to stereotypical framing or at best a European dimension, such as 'student evaluates socio-economic and cultural consequences of migrations in Europe' (GEO:14).

The global dimension is also unusually presented in the attitudinal domain in the curriculum document. When referring to multiple dimensions of identity in geography we found that identity is not considered on international or global levels. Any reference to the world is filtered through the national lens:

> "grounded self-worth, own roots and territorial identity, shaped in the process of knowing the geography of own region and home country is the foundation of understanding different nations and cultures without concern to lose own identity" (GEO:10).

The national focus is also present in the behavioural domain in the geography curriculum. Although more extensive than in other subjects, the behavioural domain also lacks explicit references to the global dimension. Every goal and outcome focuses on local, regional or national levels, for example: 'student is responsible for the state of natural environment of Poland' (GEO:16). Even though the curriculum presents the interdependence of the natural and human world, in the behavioural domain the focus is at the national level alone.

The minimal presence of world history in the history curriculum is consistent with the main principle underpinning the latest reform, that is a strong national focus: 'world history remains an important element, however,

it should be treated as a back story and it should bring out the facts that were influential to Polish history' (HIS:23). The cognitive domain gives prominence to Poland and, to some extent, to a selection of few European countries, while the attitudinal domain explicitly focuses on Poland with an observable emotional emphasis. Patriotic education is at the core of the history taught in primary schools, whose role it is to build strong national identity and sentiment:

> "the new core curriculum, unlike the previous one, presents such a concept of teaching history that awakens love of the homeland and builds historical awareness by developing respect, attachment to tradition, the history of one's nation and its achievements, culture and national language" (HIS:27).

Regarding the behavioural domain, as with other subjects, the history curriculum has no reference to the global dimension. We may justifiably conclude that the history curriculum is primarily Poland-centric, or at best, Eurocentric.

The national dimension

The uneven distribution between global and national dimensions is most evident in the history curriculum. The words 'nation' and 'national' appear 53 times (particularly in the commentary) while 'civic' or 'citizen' only seven, and 'global' not even once. As demonstrated above, each of the subject curricula examined express a national focus. The geography curriculum highlights the significant role of geography in shaping patriotic attitudes, fostering feelings of national pride, identity and belonging. The citizenship education curriculum, although to a lesser extent, does the same. However, it is in the history curriculum that one of the challenges of the most recent Polish curricular reform process manifests itself, that is, a subordination of almost all educational content and goals to the national needs and narrowly defined patriotic education. The identity function of school history diminishes any other function. Of course, a focus on patriotism or national identity are not necessarily always problematic. The issue of the 2017 reform process is that

patriotism and national identity dangerously conflate with chauvinism and exclusionary particularism. The curriculum's nation-centred discourse not only offers limited to no space for a global dimension, but also constructs the national community in a narrow sense. Nation is discursively produced as a homogeneous ethnic, cultural and religious community, existing since the beginning of the Polish state, seemingly 'natural'. Students receive a distorted, biased picture of only Polish history, constructed around the myth of the innocent, oppressed nation.

All this mirrors a traditional, anachronistic, 19th-century approach to teaching history as transmitting factual knowledge of past events, heroes and victims, and struggles for independence. The curriculum designed in such a way makes it difficult or even impossible for students to understand the tensions and complexities of the contemporary world. It also paves the way for a belief that there is no history outside the West and gives students no tools to challenge the argument of historical inevitability. The past events and processes appear as something inevitable, that happened because they just had to.

Conclusions: a tribute to the myth of homogenous nation

In this article, we presented the results of a study exploring the consideration of GE in the Polish national curriculum and its framing. The analysis of learning content and goals of three curriculum subject areas reveals a scarcity of GE elements, present in commentaries, but barely referenced in the goals and outcomes. We also easily noticed divergences between and within the curricula regarding GE content. It should be noted that the geography curriculum exhibits the most potential in terms of the exploration of the concept of interdependence and global issues, but students' identity or engagement are limited to the national level in this subject. Similarly, since a much greater prevalence of GE could be expected in citizenship education, given the purpose of the subject, it proved to be the least satisfactory of all curricula from a GE perspective. By contrast, the history curriculum offers no GE-related content and focuses predominantly on national history. Patriotism conflates to nationalism as the main axis in all documents; however, in history

this feature is intentional and in geography and citizenship education seems incoherent.

Patriotic inclinations mean that these curricula are largely limited to a national dimension. The almost complete absence of a global dimension in identity, global issues or interdependence closes the door on any conceptualisation of GE, even from the technicist-neoliberal perspective (Andreotti, 2011. This approach resulted in criticism by Polish teachers, academics and parents as the students 'cannot be prepared for global free market challenges' (Śliwerski, 2019: 808). These subject curricula are cognitively oriented, leaving little room for adequate skills and action transcending the national dimension, not to mention critical action towards global social justice.

The lack of multi-perspectivity of any kind leads to the conclusion that school education, in particular through history, becomes subservient to policy that silences the multitude of experiences and excludes all subjugated knowledge. The subject curricula create the impression of a homogenous, almost standalone Poland with no room for discussion about the world, shape of community or processes happening globally. To understand their wider world, students, left with no curriculum-centred choice, must turn either to teachers who are willing to go beyond curriculum mandated requirements or to the internet.

The curriculum determines what is taught in schools and its implementation is controlled. The scarcity of GE-related content, lack of global dimension and multi-perspectivity leads to a conclusion, in accordance with a CONCORD report (CONCORD, 2018), that GE in the recent Polish national curriculum is seriously marginalised. Understanding the significance of national curriculum for educational policy we argue that GE policy in Poland is superficial. Additionally, the curriculum's current frame serves Polish nationalistic sentiment to the detriment of Polish students.

References

Andreotti, V (2011) *Actionable Postcolonial Theory in Education*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan (Postcolonial Studies in Education).

Balsamska, J, Beźnic, S, Dziwisz, M, Dziwisz, P, Zając, H and Zawiła, M (2012) *Między tolerancją a dyskryminacją – o występowaniu i przeciwdziałaniu dyskryminacji na tle religijnym w małopolskich szkołach oraz o treściach etycznych, religijnych i antydyskryminacyjnych w systemie oświaty*, Kraków: Fundacja na Rzecz Różnorodności Polisfera.

Bourn, D (2015) *The Theory and Practice of Development Education: A Pedagogy for Global Social Justice*, New York: Routledge.

Cervinkova, H and Rudnicki, P (2019) 'Neoliberalism, Neo-conservatism, Authoritarianism: The Politics of Public Education in Poland', *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies*, Vol. 17, pp. 1-23.

Chou, P (2020) 'The Development of Global Education in Taiwan's Curriculum' in D Bourn (ed.) *The Bloomsbury Handbook of Global Education and Learning*, London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, pp. 121-132.

Concord (2018) *Global Citizenship Education in Europe: How Much Do We Care?*, Brussels: CONCORD Europe, available: https://concordeurope.org/wpcontent/uploads/2018/03/CONCORD_GCE_FundingReport_2018_online.pdf (accessed 21 June 2020).

Council of Europe (2017) *North-South Centre of the Council of Europe*, available: https://www.coe.int/en/web/north-south-centre/reference-documents (accessed 4 August 2020).

Cox, C (2017) *Global Citizenship Concepts in Curriculum Guidelines of 10 Countries: Comparative Analysis*, IBE-UNESCO and APCEIU.

European Commission (2017) *Development Education and Awareness Raising: Supporting Global Change*, available: https://europa.eu/capacity4dev/dear/documents/dear-leaflet-en (accessed 4 August 2020).

Global Education Network Europe (GENE) (2009) *Global Education in Poland. The European Global Education Peer Review Process. National Report on Poland*, available: https://gene.eu/wp-content/uploads/Gene_NationalReport-Poland.pdf (accessed 4 August 2020).

Gibbs, G (2011) *Analizowanie danych jakościowych*, Warszawa: PWN.

Grupa Zagranica (2011a) 'Memorandum of Understanding on Strengthening Global Education', available: https://zagranica.org.pl/sites/zagranica.org.pl/files/attachments/Dokumenty/Ministerialne/porozumienie_eg.jpg (accessed 4 August 2020).

Grupa Zagranica (2011b) *Report on the Multi-Stakeholder Process on Global Education*, Warsaw, available: http://www.zagranica.org.pl/sites/zagranica.org.pl/files/attachments/Dokumenty/Ministerialne/raport_z_ procesu_miedzysektorowego_eg.pdf (accessed 21 June 2020).

Günel, E and Pehlivan, A (2015) 'Examining the Citizenship and Democracy Education Textbook and Curriculum in Terms of Global Education', *Journal of Social Studies Education Research*, Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 123-171.

Jasikowska, K (2018) *Zmieniając świat! Edukacja globalna między zyskiem a zbawieniem*, Kraków: Impuls.

Jasikowska, K (2015) 'Po co nam edukacja globalna?' in M Kuleta-Hulboj and M Gontarska (eds.) *Edukacja globalna. Polskie konteksty i inspiracje*, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Dolnośląskiej Szkoły Wyższej, pp. 16–38.

Jefferess, D (2008) 'Global citizenship and the cultural politics of benevolence', *Critical Literacy: Theories and Practices*, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 27-36.

Kopińska, V (2018) 'Zmiana polskich podstaw programowych kształcenia ogólnego w zakresie kompetencji społecznych i obywatelskich. Analiza krytyczna', *Parezja*, Vol. 9, No. 1, pp. 132-154.

Kopińska, V (2017) ‘Zmiana czy status quo? Krytyczna analiza nowych podstaw programowych do wiedzy o społeczeństwie’, *Przegląd Badań Edukacyjnych*, Vol. 2, No. 25, pp. 201–228.

Kuleta-Hulboj, M (2020) ‘Global education in Poland’ in D Bourn (ed.) *The Bloomsbury Handbook of Global Education and Learning*, London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, pp. 121-132.

Mayblin L, Piekut, A and Valentine, G (2014) “‘Other” Posts in “Other” Places: Poland through a Postcolonial Lens?, *Sociology*, Vol. 50, No. 1, pp. 60 –76.

Mendel, M and Szkudlarek, T (2019) ‘Szkoła publiczna pomiędzy neoliberalizmem i narodowym konserwatyzmem’, *Kultura i Edukacja*, Vol. 123, No. 1, pp. 11-27.

Ministerstwo Edukacji Narodowej, Ośrodek Rozwoju Edukacji (2018) *Podstawa programowa kształcenia ogólnego z komentarzem. Szkoła podstawowa*, available: https://men.gov.pl/wp-content/uploads/podstawa%20progr_kszt_ogolnego_szk_podstawowa.zip (accessed 21 June 2020).

Polish Immigrant and Migration Services (2020) ‘Maps and statistics’, available: https://migracje.gov.pl/ (accessed 30 July 2020).

Rudnicki, P (2015) ‘Edukacja globalna w polskich szkołach, czyli refleksje nad pozaformalną zmianą w oświacie w trzech ujęciach’ in M Kuleta-Hulboj and M Gontarska (eds.) *Edukacja globalna. Polskie konteksty i inspiracje*, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Dolnośląskiej Szkoły Wyższej, pp. 60–90.

Starnawski, M (2015) ‘Edukacja globalna – perspektywa Polski jako europejskiego kraju półperyferyjnego’ in M Kuleta-Hulboj and M Gontarska (eds.) *Edukacja globalna. Polskie konteksty i inspiracje*, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Dolnośląskiej Szkoły Wyższej, pp. 39–59.

Strona główna Sejmu Rzeczpospolitej Polskiej (2011) *Act on Development Cooperation* (in Polish) (2011), available: http://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WDU20112341386 (accessed 4 August 2020).

Sung, Y, Park, M and Choi, I (2013) 'National construction of global education: a critical review of the national curriculum standards for South Korean global high schools', *Asia Pacific Education Review,* Vol. 14, pp. 285–294.

Swanson, D and Pashby, K (2016) 'Towards a Critical Global Citizenship? A Comparative Analysis of Global Citizenship Education Discourses in Scotland and Alberta', *Journal of Research in Curriculum and Instruction*, Vol. 20, No. 3, pp. 184-195.

Śliwerski, B (2019) 'Reformowanie oświaty w Polsce' in Z Kwieciński and B Śliwerski (eds.) *Pedagogika. Podręcznik Akademicki*, Warszawa: PWN, pp. 791-814.

Świdrowska, E and Tragarz, M (2017) *Edukacja globalna w szkole podstawowej: Perspektywa przedmiotowa: język polski, matematyka, geografia, religia i etyka. Raport z badań*, Warszawa: CEO, available: https://globalna.ceo.org.pl/sites/globalna.ceo.org.pl/files/ceo_raport_www.pdf (accessed 21 June 2020).

Tarozzi, M and Inguaggiato, C (2018) 'Implementing global citizenship education in EU primary schools: The role of government ministries', *International Journal of Development Education and Global Learning,* Vol. 10, No 1, pp. 21–38.

UNESCO (2015) *Global Citizenship Education. Topics and Learning Objectives*, Paris: UNESCO.

United Nations (2015) *Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*, available: https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/post2015/transformingourworld/publication (accessed: 4 August 2020).

United Nations (2012) *Global Education First Initiative*, available: http://www.unesco.org/new/en/gefi/home/ (accessed 4 August 2020).

Wallerstein, I (2004) *World-Systems Analysis. An Introduction*, Durham: Duke University Press.

Witkowski, J (2012) 'Strengthened co-operation for improving quality', *ZEP: Zeitschrift für internationale Bildungsforschung und Entwicklungspädagogik*, Vol. 4, pp. 6-21.

Magdalena Kuleta-Hulboj holds a PhD in Pedagogy and is an Assistant Professor in the Faculty of Education at the University of Warsaw, Poland. She has an interest in global, intercultural and citizenship education. Her work draws on critical and postcolonial perspectives. Magda's current research focuses on critical discourse analysis of global education in Poland. Email: m.kuleta-hulboj@uw.edu.pl.

Dobrawa Aleksiak is a PhD candidate at the Doctoral School of Social Sciences at the University of Warsaw, Poland. Her doctoral research focuses on comparative studies of Poland and Portugal's global education. She also has experience in non-formal sector as an educator and a project coordinator. Dobrawa's research interests are focused on global education policies, teachers' experience and intercultural education. Email: d.aleksiak@uw.edu.pl.

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank Mella Cusack and the anonymous reviewer for their valuable comments and suggested edits.

THE POWER OF LANGUAGE AND THE LANGUAGE OF POWER: EXPLORING DISCOURSES ON DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION IN POLICIES UNDERPINNING ADULT AND COMMUNITY EDUCATION

MELIOSA BRACKEN

Abstract: Taking policy as discourse, this article provides a critical discourse analysis of development education in the adult and community education sector. Drawing on key policy documents from Irish Aid, the Department of Education and Skills and SOLAS, I examine how development education for adults is understood, imagined and supported at policy level. Findings show that opportunities for DE with adult learners are severely limited when adult education is viewed primarily through an employability lens and that a more enabling policy environment is needed to ensure effective and high-quality development education opportunities are readily available for adult learners.

Key words: Development Education; Education for Sustainable Development; Adult Education; Community Education; Further Education and Training; Policy; Strategy; Critical Discourse Analysis.

Introduction

This article explores the policy landscape around development education (DE) in relation to the adult and community education (ACE) sector. Drawing on critical discourse analysis as a research methodology, I examine the positioning of the ACE sector within policies supporting DE and how DE is defined, discussed and positioned in policies underpinning adult education and lifelong learning. The focus of this article is on the adult and community education sector that is managed and funded through the twin state structures of SOLAS and Education and Training Boards (ETBs) and I begin with a brief discussion of adult learning spaces and how they have developed in the Republic of Ireland. This section attempts to clarify the range of terms used when describing the various types of provision and programmes in the sector.

Next, I analyse three key policy documents that are particularly influential in adult and community education and/or development education in Ireland:

- Further Education and Training Strategy 2014 – 2019 (SOLAS, 2014);
- National Strategy on Education for Sustainable Development 2014 – 2020 (DES, 2014);
- Irish Aid Development Education Strategy 2017 – 2023 (Irish Aid, 2016).

These texts have been identified as relevant and influential as they set out the goals, targets, and priorities for the vast majority of adult learning provision in Ireland today. Taking policy as discourse, I provide a critical analysis of the rhetoric used to define the 'problem space' – i.e. the specific issues the policy aims to address – and the 'solutions' proposed in order to identify how development education for adults is conceptualised and articulated.

I hope this article is a useful and timely contribution to our understanding of the policy landscape. While new and reviewed policies[1] have emerged, or are due to, it is important to see how policies dating back a number of years have shaped opportunities for collaborative practice between the DE and ACE sectors so that we can apply this learning to future policies and their implementation.

There are a broad range of terms used to describe post-compulsory education for adults, each with its own set of pedagogical and ideological tenets. For the purpose of this article, I use the term 'adult' and 'community education' interchangeably with 'adult learning' to describe all education provision for adults that takes place outside primary and post-primary schooling and third-level education. In recent years, the term 'further

[1] SOLAS launched 'Future FET: Transforming Learning. The National Further Education and Training Strategy' in July 2020. The Department of Education and Skills are due to launch a new Education for Sustainable Development strategy soon, and Irish Aid are currently conducting a mid-term review of their Development Education Strategy.

education and training' (FET) has become popular in policy discourse in Ireland and this will be discussed later in the article. DE will be used throughout this article to describe an educational process that informs and engages people with issues relating to global inequality, international development, interdependence and sustainability. It is closely related, some would say interchangeable, with global citizenship education (GCE) and education for sustainable development (ESD).

Development education, in its broadest form, aims to equip and empower learners with the skills and knowledge needed to meet the challenges of a globalised world (Skinner, Blum and Bourn, 2013). It is often spoken about in transformative terms, in that learners engaging in DE will emerge with transformed perspectives and behaviours, ready and willing to take action to create a more just and sustainable world. It has become a familiar feature of educational policy in the formal education sector and an accepted part of their curricula. However, the presence of DE in adult learning policy and practice is less evident and this inquiry seeks to fill a gap in our understanding of how DE is understood and articulated in the policies and strategies that shape the sector.

Methodology

The research methodology used for this inquiry draws on a critical discourse analysis (CDA) framework. At its heart, CDA is concerned with critically investigating social inequality as it is expressed and legitimised through language (Wodak and Meyer, 2015: 12) and, therefore, seeks to lay bare the way language is used as a form of 'social practice' to legitimise and maintain structures of power (Fairclough, 1989: 20). CDA drills down into the linguistic framing of key concepts and processes to understand how dominant explanations and understandings are created and disseminated. As a methodology, it is particularly useful for examining 'elite texts', i.e. texts produced by powerful institutions to shape interpretations of and responses to societal issues (van Dijk, 1993). CDA of policy documents involves excavating meaning from reading, re-reading, interpreting and re-interpreting texts. It is as much concerned with degrees of absence as degrees of presence

and seeks to identify knowledge and understandings that are privileged, endorsed and emphasised and those that are hidden, invisible or de-emphasised (Fairclough, 2003).

As with any research methodology, CDA is not without its limitations. It is sometimes criticised for lacking an objective standpoint and for being overtly political in nature (Breeze, 2011) and my own analysis is certainly informed and shaped by my ideological position and commitment to critical pedagogy and education as the practice of freedom (Freire, 2018). In addition, analysis of the dominant, counter and absent discourses in policy documents does little to tell us of how these policies are interpreted and implemented in practice. Policies can be resisted, ignored, revised and/or re-interpreted in multiple, unexpected ways and further research is necessary to show the complete picture of how DE and ACE have been affected by the policies analysed in this article.

Adult learning spaces

In Ireland, the diversity of adult learning spaces is both a strength and a challenge for policy and practice. Trying to capture the entirety of the sector brings to mind the parable from India where six blind travellers come across an elephant for the first time and, with each traveller touching a different part, argue all night on what it is they have encountered. Similarly, depending on the angle you are coming from, adult learning spaces can differ radically.

It should be noted that much adult education in Ireland evolved informally in local communities, often led by women's groups, trade unions and community development projects in the 1970s and 80s (Connolly, 2010; Fitzsimons, 2017). Self-managed and locally-based, these initiatives provided, and continue to provide, much-needed educational opportunities for their communities. At the same time, Vocational Education Committees (VECs) began broadening their remit, appointing Adult Education Officers in the early 1970s to oversee and support adult education, often providing funding, resources, and/or tuition hours to the local groups as well as developing in-house educational programmes for adults. Over time, the following terms have emerged to describe this provision:

Adult Education – an umbrella term for all education for adults that takes place outside second level or higher education. Also known as post-compulsory education, it takes place in both formal and non-formal settings. In the Irish context, it is often targeted at people who have had limited formal education experience and/or are more likely to experience social exclusion.

Community Education – a particular approach to adult education that is locally-based or within communities of interest. It is seen 'as a process of communal education towards empowerment, both at an individual and a collective level' and has its own distinct pedagogical practices and principles (Government of Ireland, 2000). Community Education provided and funded through ETBs is generally learner-centred and unaccredited (DES, 2012). A significant amount of DE is carried out in community education spaces and the synergies between both disciplines is discussed later.

Vocational Education and Training – adult education that provides re-skilling and upskilling programmes for employees and those who are unemployed or inactive. It assists individuals to progress into employment or higher education. Most courses are accredited on the National Framework of Qualifications or by relevant professional bodies.

Historically, adult learning provision in Ireland evolved into two distinct but overlapping aspects of post-compulsory education. The training sector provided occupational training, apprenticeships and the upskilling of work-related competencies and came under the remit of FÁS, the former state agency with responsibility for those seeking employment. Vocational education, despite its name, spanned both formal and non-formal spheres and had evolved from its technical roots to provide adult learners with a range of educational programmes, including: 'vocational training', 'adult basic education, 'community education' and 'back to education' initiatives. Managed regionally by 33 Vocational Education Committees (VECs) much of the provision, and in particular, community education, espoused a more learner-centred, empowering and transformative agenda than the employment-focused training sector (Bailey, 2009; 2011; Fitzsimons, 2017).

A sweeping reform of adult education policy and practice took place in 2013, a process that ushered in new legislation, dissolved FÁS and the VECs and replaced them with 16 Education and Training Boards (ETBs) with responsibility for provision in the newly named 'Further Education and Training' (FET) sector. It also established a new state body – SOLAS – to fund, coordinate and monitor the sector. This re-arrangement was met with concern from some quarters who argued that the accompanying legislation, management structures and monitoring and evaluation systems were the culmination of a neoliberal agenda which seeks to tailor public institutions and services to meet ever-changing market imperatives and the needs of the economy (Fleming, 2016). Whilst adult education, and in particular, vocational education, have always been linked with economic concerns, these changes appeared to diminish the idea of education as a public good and a process of conscientization, collective empowerment and social change (see for example: Lynch, Grummell and Devine, 2012; Murray, 2014; Ryan, 2014; Fitzsimons, 2017; O'Grady, 2018; Shannon, 2019).

Synergies between community education and development education

There are clear synergies between community education work and the work of the DE sector. They share core principles, such as equality, justice, empowerment, and active citizenship and they are closely linked in ethos and pedagogy (Bailey, 2009; 2011; IDEA Community Sector Working Group, 2015). Many community education practitioners are influenced by Freirean philosophy and are committed to facilitating adult learners in 'reading the world' as well as reading the word (Freire, 1985). This kind of adult education work supports learners in exploring the social structures that shape their realities and imagine new possibilities (Grummell, 2007; Fitzsimons, 2017).

While not explicitly linked to DE in policy and practice, community education could and did offer plenty of opportunities for DE to engage adults with local-global development challenges (Bailey, 2011). Adult education policy that promotes and supports community education is significant for DE as it protects adult learner spaces that go beyond economic and employment

concerns and allow adults to engage in a critical exploration of social justice issues, imagine new possibilities and take action for transformative change.

Dominant and absent discourses in the FET Strategy 2014 – 2019

Twenty years ago, the White Paper on Adult Education – 'Learning for Life' was launched by the Department of Education and Skills after an extensive consultation process with key stakeholders (Government of Ireland, 2000). A significant milestone in adult education policy in Ireland, the document employs multiple discourses that position adult education as a conduit for a range of purposes, from enhanced employability and economic competitiveness to personal development and social inclusion, all the way across to the more radical aims of conscientisation, transformative action and social justice. As Wodak and Meyer point out, texts are often 'sites of struggle' where differing discourses and ideologies compete against one another for domination (2015: 114) and this is clearly evident in 'Learning for Life' (Shannon, 2019).

Fast forward 14 years to the publication of the FET Strategy 2014 – 2020 and it is clear that there has been a paradigm shift whereby the term 'Adult and Community Education' has been almost entirely replaced with 'Further Education and Training' (FET). ACE is mentioned just twice in the 158-page document – both times listed as a 'strength' of the sector but not referred to again. In contrast, the document is saturated with employability discourse with 572 specific references to work-related terminology. A word count search of the document shows 215 references to un/employment, 134 references to jobs, 115 references to un/employed, 92 references to work and 16 references to employability.

The FET Strategy was launched against a backdrop of high unemployment, a consequence of the fiscal banking crisis in 2008 which plunged Ireland into a deep recession. In 2014, Ireland had weathered five successive austerity budgets which removed billions of euros from the exchequer through spending cuts and tax increases. Unemployment figures remained stubbornly high, with one in eight adults in Ireland unemployed (International Labour Organisation, 2020). Within this context, it is not

surprising that the FET Strategy would prioritise getting people back into employment. However, the resolute determination to view all adult education through an employability lens took many by surprise and ushered in a more challenging environment for adult learning that fell outside labour market priorities (Fitzsimons, 2017; O Grady, 2018). Murray argues that the discursive shift evident in the FET Strategy constitutes an 'astonishing reversal' of the vision and aims of the White Paper and belies a profound ideological swing whereby ACE is redefined and portrayed as an appendage of Further Education, and Further Education is defined in terms of what is 'beneficial to economic activity' (2014: 120).

CDA is as much concerned with absence as presence and it is notable that, in the FET strategy, there is no mention of DE or any of the terms related to it (e.g. education for sustainable development, global citizenship education). This is a striking omission, not least because a National Strategy on Education for Sustainable Development would follow a mere two months after the FET Strategy was launched. Moreover, the government's Development Education strategy had long identified adult and further education as a 'priority area' targeted for 'future expansion' (Irish Aid, 2007: 11).

Given that the FET Strategy offers no explicit support for DE, it is worth looking at how community education is conceptualised within the document. An enabling policy environment for critical forms of community education would also open up opportunities for DE practice with adults. Disappointingly, the employability rhetoric dominates again when the policy document discusses community education. Take for example, the way in which community education is conceptualised here: 'Community education can provide a vital link for unemployed persons who do not have qualifications on the pathway to future work' (SOLAS, 2014: 96). Or how it is re-configured into an 'access point' for adults, suggesting that it is a means to an end rather than a valuable entity in its own right: 'Community education is a critical access point for many adults who left school early and/or who have personal, familial or communal experience of socio-economic exclusion (Ibid.).

Similarly, when 'empowerment' is referenced in the document, a key tenet of adult education, it is folded into employability discourse:

> "The evidence shows that [adult] literacy and numeracy skills have a significant impact on gaining employment while community education empowers people to grow in confidence in their own employability and engage effectively with the labour market" (SOLAS, 2014: 4).

Even when speaking about 'active inclusion', usually shorthand for holistic and learner-centred approaches that mitigate against the effects of socio-economic disadvantage, the document propounds the same employment-related focus: 'Active inclusion means enabling every citizen, notably the most disadvantaged, to fully participate in society, including having a job' (Ibid.: 91). Thus, the 'problem space' of social exclusion is explicitly linked with the absence of a job. To be socially excluded means to be jobless. Of course, unemployment is very much a key driver of social exclusion and that is not disputed here. The point is that the many other drivers of social exclusion, including, *inter alia,* intergenerational poverty, minority status, disability, age, precarious working conditions and low pay, are not singled out for mention or indeed, referred to at all. And it is exactly these social justice issues, linking local and global realities, that DE can support adults to explore, name, identify sustainable solutions and take action.

Discursive framing in the National Strategy on Education for Sustainable Development 2014 – 2020

The National Strategy for Education for Sustainable Development (referred to as the ESD Strategy from here) was published in 2014 by the Department of Education and Skills (DES) after a public consultation process with key stakeholders. It is the first ESD strategy for Ireland and it identifies an overall objective, a set of key principles and eight priority action areas. While the FET Strategy is dominated heavily by an employability discourse, the ESD Strategy adopts a range of discourses to articulate the problem space and the proposed solution(s).

The key principles set out at the beginning of the document on page four convey a much more holistic view of the purpose and goals of ESD. These principles inform the recommendations made in eight priority action areas and commit to focusing on values and active democratic citizenship, empowering the individual and the community, emphasising social justice and equity and balancing environmental, social and economic considerations (DES, 2014: 4). The key principles also explicitly refer to adult learning stating that ESD in Ireland will 'promote lifelong learning' and 'engage all sectors of the education system, as well as the non-formal education sector' (Ibid.).

In a further illustration of the holistic approach taken, the following is an excerpt from Priority Action Area 3 – Curriculum at preschool, primary and post-primary, which is worth quoting in full:

> "A key objective of this strategy is to provide learners with the knowledge, dispositions, skills and values that will motivate and empower them to become active citizens and take measures to live more sustainably. This involves providing ESD related subject matter content (the 'what') but also supporting learners to develop the skills (the 'how') and the values (the 'why') necessary to empower and motivate them to make sustainable choices. It also prepares learners for the fact that they will often have to make difficult choices involving environmental, social and economic issues. It is not always possible to build consensus when challenging trade-offs are required between the various pillars associated with sustainable development" (DES, 2014: 12).

This dovetails neatly with DE work in Ireland, which, at its heart, seeks to show how we in the global North are 'implicated subjects' (Rothberg, 2019; Bryan, 2020) in a wide range of global inequalities, including conflict, resource exploitation, global warming, climate change and environmental degradation, and that solidarity at a local and global level is needed urgently.

Unfortunately, this holistic viewpoint, evident throughout the document in seven of the eight priority action areas, recedes into the

background when it comes to 'Priority Action Area 5 – the Further Education Sector'. In this brief section (half the length of the sections on Formal Education and the Youth Sector), we see a marked return to the economic focus and employability discourse so prominent in the FET Strategy. For example: [The FET] sector has a crucial role to play in developing the green economy which has been prioritised by Government through [policy document] 'Delivering our Green Potential' (DES, 2014: 19). It is also evident in this statement:

> "The Expert Group on Future Skills Needs estimated in 2012 that more than 10,000 additional jobs could be created in six sub-sectors of the green economy by 2015, provided certain conditions are met (Government of Ireland, 2012, 3). One of these conditions is the availability of a workforce with the appropriate skills required to take advantage of future employment opportunities in this area" (Ibid.).

Overall, the two pages devoted to FET in the ESD Strategy show an incomplete understanding of the sector and a lack of knowledge about existing ESD provision in adult learning programmes not directly linked to employability. Tellingly, the section refers to SOLAS as 'formerly FAS' (it is not) and that SOLAS provides training programmes for jobseekers (it does not).

There is a brief sentence on part-time programmes such as adult literacy, the Back to Education Initiative and community education, and a passing reference to the importance of accessing 'back to education' learners in terms of 'complementing the work of the formal education system and reaching out to wider communities of learners' (DES, 2014: 19). Egalitarian adult education is invisible within the policy document. Meanwhile, the role of the FET sector is primarily viewed through its potential to provide a 'green' workforce by upskilling jobseekers and unemployed persons in energy efficiency, renewable energy systems, and the 'green skill' requirements of construction operatives, craftworkers and others (Ibid.).

It is worth noting that recommendation 17 of the ESD Strategy tasks SOLAS with reporting on the extent of current sustainable development

provision in the FET sector – an opportunity to draw attention to ESD provision that falls outside the 'green economy' and 'green skills' agenda. Unfortunately, the report issued to DES focused on full time and part time FET courses that address the green economy, for example citing accredited courses in Eco-Tourism, Conservation and Architectural Design for Green Building (DES, 2018: 21). The recommendations contained in the SOLAS report were targeted at: a) contributing to the advancement of Ireland's commitment to reduce its energy targets by 20 per cent by 2020; and b) maximising employment opportunities by developing a construction workforce ready for the challenge of achieving near zero carbon buildings (Ibid.).

Whilst this work is valuable and important, it is disappointing to see no recognition of the work already being done by DE practitioners in the FET and ACE sectors, or indeed, the many initiatives established by ETB (education and training board) adult education services to engage adults in learning for and about sustainable development. For example, the Changemaker Programme in Donegal ran an accredited level four course in global awareness with local community activists through the Donegal ETB and Inishowen Partnership. One of the participants on that course stated: 'I feel that I have re-found the vigour for global issues that I had in my student days, that somehow got lost to me or I let go to sleep. It all seems relevant and important to my life again and I know how to engage with it and what to do with it' (Irish Development Education Association (IDEA) Community Sector Working Group, 2014: 38).

Further evidence of the extent of existing provision can be seen in the Global Education Network Europe's (GENE) Peer Review on Global Education in Ireland (2015). The review includes a submission by members of Irish Development Education Association (IDEA), a national network for DE in Ireland, setting out significant achievements relating to DE with adult learners:

- *DE is taking place across a wide range of ACE settings,* such as community development projects, community education centres,

further education centres, NGOs, women's groups, family resource centres, community gardens.

- *DE is reaching many target groups,* including second chance learners, unemployed people, disadvantaged young people, adult basic education learners, older people, migrants, Travellers, trade unionists.
- *DE is being integrated into existing ACE programmes,* including literacy, horticulture, cookery, IT, social studies, creative arts, youth and community work training, Back to Education and work-related learning.
- *DE is providing practical support for the adult and community sector,* including accredited (QQI) training, resources, good practice guidelines and on-request workshops.
- (Submission by IDEA Community Sector Working Group, 2015, cited in Global Education Network Europe, 2015: 61).

Alternative discourses in the Irish Aid Development Education Strategy 2017 – 2023

Two years after the publication of the FET and ESD Strategies, Irish Aid launched its third Development Education Strategy for the period 2017 to 2023 (hereafter referred to as the DE Strategy). Similar to the ESD Strategy, the document sets out an ambitious and comprehensive set of strategic priorities in five areas: policy coherence, capacity building for DE practitioners, formal education (spanning primary, post-primary and higher education), non-formal education (spanning the youth and adult learning sector) and public awareness of Ireland's overseas development programme (Irish Aid, 2016: 22). The policy language used throughout the document is distinctly different from the two other strategies and draws heavily on a performance-based discourse. For example, the DE Strategy uses 'outcomes', 'outputs', 'results' and 'performance measurement' to set out proposed steps. In contrast, the ESD and FET strategies use terms such as 'action areas', 'recommendations', 'progress' and 'evaluation'. The disparity in terminology is not surprising given that two of the policy documents come from state bodies responsible for education while the third comes from an overseas aid and international

development background. However, it is worth considering if the different terminology used in the DE Strategy affects its impact on key stakeholders in the education sector who are more accustomed to the terms used by SOLAS and the Department of Education and Skills (and vice versa).

Moreover, some have argued that the results-based focus of the current Development Education Strategy does not align well with the more informal learner-centred aspects of ACE provision, creating tensions for practitioners who feel uncomfortable with top-down, prescribed assessments of learning. Setting pre-determined learning outcomes and applying standardised measurements to prove incremental improvements in learning, behaviour and attitudes goes against many of the pedagogical and philosophical principles of the adult learning spaces that are most likely to invite DE in (Bracken and Bryan, 2010; IDEA Quality and Impact Working Group, 2015).

Of particular interest to this research is how the adult learning sector itself is viewed in the strategy. The DE Strategy again distinguishes itself from the other two documents by viewing the FET and ACE sectors in their entirety, not primarily through a jobs/employability lens. The DE Strategy briefly mentions adult and further education in outputs relating to the formal education sector (Output 3.14), making an explicit commitment to support the further integration of DE in adult and further education curricula across the network of ETBs. It also commits to supporting community organisations work in partnerships with local ETBs (Irish Aid, 2016: 31). However, a more detailed and comprehensive treatment of educational opportunities for adults is contained in Output 4. Here, there is an acknowledgement of the progress to date and a note on the commonalities between DE and Community Education. Moreover, it positions DE for adults as something that:

> "…supports communities to discuss, critically debate and engage in active citizenship on the global social, economic and political policies which shape the lives and livelihoods of local people here and around the world" (Irish Aid, 2016: 32).

Overall, the DE Strategy shows a much clearer and expansive understanding of the diversity and range of adult learning opportunities available in Ireland. It is fair to point out that this strategy was published at a time of greater economic stability and that DE has, perhaps, a narrower agenda than either the FET or ESD Strategy. Nevertheless, it is encouraging to see a policy document speaking about the ACE/FET sector in more holistic terms and without the employability discourse that is dominant elsewhere.

Discussion

Education for adult learners has undergone significant changes since 2008 after the country was severely affected by a crushing recession and successive austerity budgets. Since the 1990s, policies emerging from the European Union (EU) and the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) have promoted employability, competitive economies and skilled workforces as the primary goals of lifelong education and learning. In Ireland, this began to trickle down into adult education policy and practice but rapidly accelerated when austerity budgets made drastic funding cuts to educational provision that fell outside labour market activation (Harvey, 2012; Bracken and Magrath, 2019).

Thus, adult learning policy and practice in Ireland, post-2008, show a marked turn towards a functionalist understanding of adult education, whereby the value of any adult education intervention lies in its capacity to enhance the learners' employability skills (Grummell, 2014; Fitzsimons, 2017; Shannon, 2019). Consequently, 'Adult and Community Education' has been reconstituted into 'Further Education and Training', a development that some have argued has muted transformative and egalitarian aims and amplified the needs of employers and the economy (Murray and Grummell, 2014; Fitzsimons, 2017; Shannon, 2019). It has certainly reduced opportunities for collaborative practice between the DE and the ACE sector, given the funding cuts and the prioritisation of labour market needs.

Lerner (1986: 231) states that the process of redefinition has three stages: 1) re-defining; 2) deconstructing existing theories; and 3) constructing a new paradigm. The process of redefinition in adult learning policy confirms

a deeper paradigm shift which reconstitutes adult education, community education, and lifelong learning into a neoliberal, market-driven, strand of the FET sector. This discursive twist has created a less enabling environment for critical and transformative kinds of education, including DE practice. It is clear that the current FET strategy (SOLAS, 2014) struggles to align DE with its vision of adult education and offers scarce ground for the kind of innovation and expansion that has taken place in the formal education sector. Equally, the ESD Strategy only briefly acknowledges the enormous work being done in non-formal learning spaces and focuses heavily on how the FET sector can maximise employment opportunities within a greener economy.

As things currently stand, explicit support for DE in adult education policy is absent or inadequate in two of the three key policy documents shaping the sector. DE is not mentioned once in the 2014 – 2019 FET Strategy and there are also zero references to 'Global Citizenship Education' and 'Education for Sustainable Development'. Meanwhile, the National Strategy for ESD overlooks the existence (and potential) of adult learning provision that does not link directly to employability and job creation. In contrast, the Development Education Strategy sets out clear objectives and aims for the adult and community education sector and acknowledges the innovative and high-quality work already taking place. However, the DE Strategy also overlooks the very areas that are most prominent in the other two documents: adult training and education for employability. There is enormous potential, for example, to integrate DE as optional modules on accredited 'green economy' courses to give learners a broader understanding of the sustainability agenda. In addition, the Strategy's emphasis on results and performance-based measurement is a significant challenge for educational work that, by its nature, tends to have non-linear impacts that are difficult to capture. The language may also work as a deterrent to decision-makers, practitioners and providers in ACE unfamiliar with these terms.

Conclusion

Policy language is of vital importance – selected discourses can be used to deconstruct structures, narrow or broaden opportunities, introduce alternatives and remove or replace possibilities. As Shannon argues, a policy-as–discourse analysis is useful in showing how discourse constructs both the policy problem and the policy solution (2019: 114).

The purpose of this article was to shed light on an under-researched area of DE practice – educational opportunities for adults to engage in DE. When we talk about education for sustainable development or global citizenship, there is a tendency to think only of young people – we speak of 'preparing students for the 21st century' or 'building future global citizens'. There is a sense that this kind of educational work is for 'not yet citizens' – young people who, in many ways, are the furthest removed from positions of influence, power and decision-making. Adults, as a target audience for DE are somewhat overlooked, even though they are the ones who have significantly more autonomy over behaviours, consumption patterns, and sustainable (or unsustainable) lifestyle choices (Bracken, 2020). Although there are plenty of examples of innovative and effective DE initiatives for adults, it is clear that, at a policy level, support is relatively under-developed when compared to the formal education sectors.

CDA is useful in showing how discursive practices have ideological effects which give rise to important issues of power (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258). If government policy views adult education primarily through the prism of employability and upskilling, there will be few, if any enabling spaces for transformative DE. However, if it conceptualises adult education in all its diverse potential, it opens up multiple pathways whereby DE and ESD can contribute to the transition to a green economy *and* the more far-reaching transformative goals of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. In particular, it would support the government in realising its endorsement of the Agenda and in delivering Goal 4.7:

> "Ensure learners acquire knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including among others through education

> for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship, and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development" (United Nations, 2015).

While development education makes a significant contribution in supporting adults (not just young people) in understanding and addressing the global challenges facing us today, a more enabling policy environment is needed to ensure effective and high-quality development education opportunities are readily available for adult learners. The ESD and FET Strategies are both coming to the end of their lifespan with new strategies emerging. Meanwhile, Irish Aid are carrying out a mid-term review of their strategic plan. These are significant opportunities for policy in this area to incorporate a more nuanced and holistic view of adult learning provision. For this to happen, the DE sector must renew its efforts to engage with policy makers and draw attention to the significant benefits of having a thriving DE component integrated into all aspects of provision.

References

Bailey, N (2009) *Integrating Development Education into Adult Education using Active Citizenship as a focus,* Dublin: AONTAS.

Bailey, N (2011) 'Could Integrating Development Education into Adult and Community Education Create More Space for Critical Adult and Community Education in Ireland?', *Adult Learner: The Irish Journal of Adult Education,* Vol. 75, pp. 75-95.

Bracken, M (2020) 'Supporting Development Education in the Adult and Community Education Sector: A Case Study of a Strategic Partnership Approach in Ireland', Paper presented by Melíosa Bracken at Academic Network on Global Education & Learning (ANGEL) 2020 Online Conference, Oulu University, 11 June 2020.

Bracken, M and Bryan, A (2010) 'The reflective practitioner model as a means of evaluating development education practice: Post-primary teachers' self-reflections on "doing" development education', *Policy and Practice: A Development Education Review,* Vol. 11, Autumn, pp. 22-41.

Bracken, M and Magrath, C (2019) *Community Education Closures: 2008 – 2018,* Unpublished.

Breeze, R (2011) 'Critical Discourse Analysis and its critics', *Pragmatics,* Vol. 21, No. 4, pp. 493-525.

Bryan, A (2020) 'Affective Pedagogies: Foregrounding Emotion in Climate Change Education', *Policy and Practice: A Development Education Review*, Vol. 30, Spring, pp. 8 - 30.

Connolly, B (2010) 'Community Education: Perspectives from the Margins', in P Peterson, G Baker and B McGaw (eds) *International Encyclopaedia of Education, Third Edition,* Elsevier Publications pp. 120-126.

DES (Department of Education and Skills) (2012) *Community Education Programme: Operational Guidelines for Providers,* available: https://www.ncge.ie/sites/default/files/ncge/uploads/Community_Education_Operational_Guidelines_Final_to_VECs_090312.pdf (accessed 12 August 2020).

DES (Department of Education and Skills) (2014) *National Strategy on Education for Sustainable Development 2014–2019*, available: https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Education-Reports/National-Strategy-on-Education-for-Sustainable-Development-in-Ireland-2014-2020.pdf (accessed 11 June 2020).

DES (Department of Education and Skills (2018) *Education for Sustainability: The National Strategy on Education for Sustainable Development. Report of Interim Review and Action Plan for Q4 2018 – Q4 2020,* Dublin: DES, available: https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Education-Reports/esd-interim-review-action-plan-2018-2020.pdf (accessed 23 June 2020).

Fairclough, N (1989) *Language and Power,* London: Routledge.

Fairclough, N (2003) *Analysing discourse: Textual analysis for social research,* London: Routledge.

Fairclough, N and Wodak, R (1997) 'Critical Discourse Analysis', in T van Dijk (ed.) *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction*, Vol. 2, pp. 258-284.

Fitzsimons, C (2017) *Community Education and Neoliberalism: Philosophies, Practice and Policies,* New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Fleming, T (2016) Neoliberalism: The implications for Adult and Higher Education: Position Paper, available: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/293652065_Neoliberalism_The_Implications_for_Adult_and_Higher_Education (accessed 12 August 2020).

Freire, P (1985) 'Reading the world and reading the word: An interview with Paolo Freire', *Language Arts*, Vol. 62, No. 1, pp. 15-21.

Freire, P (2018) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed, 50th Anniversary Edition*, New York: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Global Education Network Europe (GENE) (2015) *Global Education in Ireland: The European Global Education Review Process – National Report on Ireland*, available: https://gene.eu/wp-content/uploads/Gene_NationalReport-Ireland.pdf (accessed 23 May 2020).

Government of Ireland (2000) *Learning for Life: White Paper on Adult Education*, Dublin: Government Publications.

Grummell, B (2007) 'The "Second Chance" Myth: Equality of Opportunity in Irish Adult Education Policies', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, Vol. 55, No. 2, pp. 182-201.

Harvey, B (2012) *Downsizing the Community Sector*, Dublin: Irish Congress of Trade Unions.

IDEA Community Sector Working Group (2014) *Development Education in Adult and Community Settings: Guidelines for Good Practice*, available: https://www.ideaonline.ie/uploads/files/Good_Practice_Guidelines_for_Development_Education_in_Adult_and_Community_Settings.pdf (accessed 2 July 2020).

IDEA Community Sector Working Group (2015) *Submission by the Adult and Community Education Task Group to GENE, June 2015*, available: https://gene.eu/wp-content/uploads/Gene_NationalReport-Ireland.pdf (accessed 23 May 2020).

IDEA Quality and Impact Working Group (2015) '*Evaluation in Development Education: A Submission to GENE and Irish Aid'*, available: https://gene.eu/wp-content/uploads/Gene_NationalReport-Ireland.pdf (accessed 23 May 2020).

International Labour Organization (ILO) (2020) *Global Employment Trends 2014*, available: http://www.ilo.org/global/research/global-reports/global-employment-trends/2014/WCMS_233936/lang--en/index.htm (accessed 29 June 2020).

Irish Aid (2007) *Irish Aid Development Education Strategy Plan 2007 – 2011*, available: https://www.irishaid.ie/newspublications/publications/publicationsarchive/2007/november/irish-aid-dev-education-strategy-plan-2007-2011/ (accessed 11 June 2020).

Irish Aid (2016) *Irish Aid Development Education Strategy 2017 – 2023*, available: https://www.irishaid.ie/media/irishaid/allwebsitemedia/20newsandpublications/publicationpdfsenglish/Development-Education-Strategy-2017-2023.pdf (accessed 11 June 2020).

Lerner, G (1986) *The Creation of Patriarchy*, London: Open University Press.

Lynch, K, Grummell, B and Devine, D (2012) *The New Managerialism in Education: Commercialization, Carelessness and Gender*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Murray, M (2014) 'What's in a name? Terminology, Power and Contestation', in M Murray and B Grummell (eds.) *Further Education and Training: History, Politics and Practice*, Maynooth: MACE Press.

Murray, M and Grummell, B (2014) (eds.) *Further Education and Training: History, Politics and Practice*, Maynooth: MACE Press.

O'Grady, M (2018) 'Existence and Resistance: The Social Model of Community Education in Ireland', *Social Sciences 2018*, Vol. 7, No. 12, p. 270.

Rothberg, M (2019) *The Implicated Subject: Beyond Victims and Perpetrators*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Ryan, A (2014) 'Conclusion: Further Education and Training: The Trojan Horse', in M Murray and B Grummell (eds.) *Further Education and Training: History, Politics and Practice*, Maynooth: MACE Press.

Shannon, D (2019) 'A Tale of a Discursive Shift: Analysing EU Policy Discourses in Irish Adult Education Policy – From the White Paper to the Further Education and Training Strategy', *The Adult Learner 2019*, pp. 98-117.

Skinner, A, Blum, N and Bourn, D (2013) 'Development Education and Education in International Development Policy: Raising Quality through Critical Pedagogy and Global Skills', *Revue internationale de politique de développement*. [Online], available: https://journals.openedition.org/poldev/1515 (accessed 22 June 2020).

SOLAS (2014) *Further Education Strategy 2014-2019,* Dublin: SOLAS.

United Nations (2015) *Transforming the World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development,* Resolution adopted by the General Assembly, available: https://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/70/1&Lang=E (accessed 9 June 2020).

van Dijk, T A (1993) *Elite Discourse and Racism: Sage Series on Race and Ethnic Relations,* Vol. 6, London: SAGE.

Wodak, R and Meyer, M (2015) 'Critical Discourse Studies: History, Agenda, Theory and Methodology', in R Wodak and Meyer, M (eds.) *Methods of Critical Discourse Studies: Third Edition*, London: SAGE, pp. 2 – 22.

Melíosa Bracken is Research Officer for Saolta, a development education strategic partnership programme for the Adult and Community Education sector. She would like to acknowledge the support and assistance she received from Irish Aid and Development Perspectives, the lead partner of Saolta, whilst carrying out this research. The views and opinions expressed in this article are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the official policy or position of Irish Aid, Saolta or Development Perspectives.

Perspectives

POVERTY IS A POLITICAL CHOICE: A UN RAPPORTEUR HAS DELIVERED A WITHERING CRITIQUE OF THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

STEPHEN MCCLOSKEY

Abstract: Philip Alston, the outgoing United Nations Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights, has published his final report, a scathing critique of international efforts to eradicate poverty and inequality. The report critiques the World Bank's International Poverty Line as sitting at too low a level to support a life of dignity consistent with basic human rights. Sleight of hand in the use of the IPL combined with China's 'outsized performance' have masked the full extent of poverty in the global South. The Rapporteur is extremely critical of the Sustainable Development Goals, which five years into delivery are 'failing in relation to key goals such as poverty eradication, economic inequality, gender equality and climate change' (Alston, 2020: 1). 'Poverty is a political choice', argues the Rapporteur, who calls on governments to embrace redistribution and tax justice to rebalance economies and address inequality. The article reflects on the key findings in the Rapporteur's report, particularly in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic. The article concludes by reflecting on how the international development and development education sectors should respond to the report.

Key words: Extreme Poverty; Human Rights; International Poverty Line; Sustainable Development Goals; COVID-19; International Development; Development Education.

Introduction

The United Nations Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights, Philip Alston, has published his final report, a withering critique of international failings to eliminate poverty which he describes as the result of 'longstanding

neglect' by 'many governments, economists, and human rights advocates' (Alston, 2020: 1). This article reflects on the main findings of the Rapporteur's report which include the 'flawed international poverty line' used by the World Bank, which he judges to be at too low a level to support a life of dignity consistent with a rights-based approach to development (Ibid.). The report is also extremely critical of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (UN, 2015), the main global policy framework for international development which the Rapporteur suggests are 'failing in relation to key goals such as poverty eradication, economic equality and climate change' (Alston, 2020: 1). In identifying the factors that are impeding delivery of the SDGs, the Rapporteur highlights the fact that 'economic growth is at the core of the SDGs, the engine relied upon to lift people out of poverty' (Ibid.: 14). This economic orthodoxy premised upon the perpetual drive toward growth and increased Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has been attended by extreme inequality. As the Rapporteur puts it: 'the global economy has doubled since the end of the Cold War, yet half the world lives under $5.50 a day' (Ibid: 15).

'Inequality', as Oxfam suggests, 'is out of control. In 2019, the world's billionaires, only 2,153 people, had more wealth than 4.6 billion people' (Oxfam, 2020: 7). The accumulation of extreme amounts of wealth in so few hands is an indication of a global economy that is broken and needs to be re-balanced to support a more equitable distribution of resources. This was starkly illustrated in July 2020, when Jeff Bezos, the world's richest person, earned $13 billion in just one day owing to a surge in the share price of his company Amazon (Neate, 2020). Just a few months earlier, a record of a different kind was set when 20 million Americans became unemployed in the highest total since the Great Depression (Rushe and Holpuch, 2020). Of course, the wider context to these statistics is the COVID-19 pandemic which threatens to plunge 70 million people into extreme poverty and 'hundreds of millions more into unemployment and poverty' (Alston, 2020: 3).

'Structural responses' to the pandemic, argues the Rapporteur, 'have been sorely lacking' (Alston, 2020: 9). The article concludes by suggesting

some of the ways in which the development education and international development sectors could respond to Alston's report.

International poverty line

Central to the Rapporteur's critique of the international system is the question of how we measure poverty. He is particularly critical of the institutional failings of the World Bank in getting to grips with the scale of global poverty, which it persistently underplays using the flawed measurement tool of an international poverty line, or IPL. The IPL, argues Alston, sets the poverty benchmark at way too low a level to support a life of dignity consistent with basic human rights. Based on an average of national poverty lines adopted by some of the world's poorest countries and calculated using 'purchasing power parity' (or PPP), the poverty line is ridiculously low, amounting, for example, to just $1.90 a day in the United States and €1.41 in Portugal (Ibid.: 4). But even using this 'staggeringly low standard of living' as a barometer of poverty, the report identifies 700 million people living under $1.90 a day (Ibid.: 8).

Criticising a 'self-congratulatory message' among world leaders in which they 'proclaimed progress against poverty' (Ibid.: 3), the Rapporteur argues that: 'Even before Covid-19, we squandered a decade in the fight against poverty, with misplaced triumphalism blocking the very reforms that could have prevented the worst impacts of the pandemic' (Beaumont, 2020). The report accepts that 'huge progress has been made in improving the lives of billions over the past two centuries' (Ibid.), but questions the World Bank's banner headline that extreme poverty dropped from 1.895 billion people in 1990 to 736 billion in 2015 (Ibid.: 4). These figures mask the exceptional performance of China which lifted more than 750 million above the Bank's poverty line in that period (Ibid.). What distinguishes China from most other countries in the global South, argues the economist Jason Hickel (2017), is that it was not subjected to the 'shock therapy' of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund's (IMF) structural adjustment programmes (SAPs). SAPs were neoliberal 'reforms' often attached as conditions to IMF loans to poor countries, including: removing tariffs on imports; prioritising production for export; privatising services and utilities; and removing price controls. 'Instead

of being forced to adopt a one-size-fits-all blueprint for free market capitalism', suggests Hickel, 'China relied on state-led development policies and gradually liberalised its economy on its own terms' (Ibid.: 53).

This is not to suggest that China is a development panacea. The sustainability of China's impressive economic performance has been questioned because it is been driven by a low wage economy and a resource-intensive manufacturing sector which has made it the world's largest emitter of greenhouse gases (World Bank, 2020). China's income inequality remains relatively high with 373 million Chinese living below the upper-middle-income poverty line of US $5.50 a day (Ibid.). This is not a rights-based alternative to the IMF's SAPs, but nonetheless China's approach has lifted hundreds of millions of people out of poverty. Without China's 'outsized contribution', argues Alston, the global poverty headcount would 'barely have changed', thereby questioning all of the 'celebratory accounts' of the achievements of the World Bank's IPL (Alston, 2020: 7). Hickel, too, suggests that 'it is disingenuous … to build an inequality-reduction narrative that rests on gains from China and chalk it up as a win for Washington's approach to free-market globalisation' (2017: 53). He argues that SAPs were designed to stimulate growth and facilitate debt repayments but, instead, have weakened the hand of the state in terms of economic oversight and deepened the debt burden of poor countries (Hickel, 2012). Today, 64 countries in the global South spend more on debt repayments than on healthcare, something which has weakened their capacity to fight the coronavirus pandemic (Jubilee Debt Campaign, 2020). This problem is compounded by the fact that the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) - a UN initiative launched with great fanfare in 2015 to 'end poverty in all its forms everywhere' (UN, 2015) - are also sending out signals of distress.

The SDGs: 'colourful posters and bland reports'

The Special Rapporteur's report says of the SDGs that 'The UN and its member states are sleepwalking towards failure... Five years after their adoption, it is time to acknowledge that the SDGs are simply not going to be

met' (Euronews, 2020). The criticisms levelled at the SDGs by the Rapporteur include the following:

- *Eradicating poverty*: the SDGs, like the Millennium Development Goals before them, use the International Poverty Line as a barometer of poverty. This means that even if their targets are met, billions of people will still face serious deprivation as the IPL represents at best 'a bare subsistence' (Alston, 2020: 10).

- *Human rights:* the SDGs fails to frame their targets in the context of human rights with the Rapporteur suggesting that 'there is not a single reference to any specific civil and political right, and human rights in general remain marginal and often invisible in the overall SDG context' (Ibid.: 11).

- *Finance:* Because of 'backsliding in substantial key areas' among supporters of the Goals there has been a heavy dependence on private sector funding which calls into question their sustainability as a public good.

- *Inequality:* SDG 10 focuses on inequality but the Rapporteur finds evidence of low levels of attention by governments with this issue, particularly in regard to gender. At the current rate of growth, he argues, 'closing the gender pay gap in economic opportunity is projected to take 257 years' (Ibid.: 11).

- *Evaluation:* The Rapporteur finds the annual High-Level Political Forum as a mechanism for monitoring SDG progress as weak and characterised by its 'voluntary nature'. He suggests that 'instead of promoting empowerment … the energy surrounding the SDG process has gone into generating portals, dashboards, stakeholder engagement plans, bland reports and colourful posters' (Ibid: 13).

- *Growth:* The Rapporteur questions the sustainability of the SDGs' commitment to achieving 7 per cent GDP growth in least developed countries as 'likely unattainable' and 'at odds with emerging challenges to the traditional growth paradigm' (Ibid.). The Goals appear to be complicit with the same neoliberal growth agenda which has precipitated the existential crisis of climate change and undermines achievement of the IPCC target of limiting global warming to 1.5°C of the pre-industrial average (IPCC, 2018).

As if to endorse the Special Rapporteur's findings, UN Secretary-General António Guterres has admitted that progress toward the Sustainable Development Goals is 'seriously off-track' just five years into their delivery (UN News, 2019). Alston (2020) stops short of calling for the Goals to be abandoned, but believes they need to be recalibrated and revitalised, with more stringent mechanisms introduced for monitoring and evaluation. The question for supporters of the Goals is whether the SDGs have the agility, flexibility and resolve to change their methodology mid-stream, especially when so many of their multilateral partners and sponsors are wedded to the high-growth imperative that underpins mainstream conceptions of 'development'? Even more challenging, can they do it in the midst of a health pandemic and a climate emergency?

COVID-19

The Rapporteur argues that despite enormous economic challenges presented by COVID-19, which is estimated to push 176 million people into poverty at the higher $3.20 poverty baseline, 'many governments have seen COVID-19 as a passing challenge to be endured' (Ibid.: 9). With the IMF predicting the worst economic recession since the Great Depression as a result of COVID-19 and the cumulative loss to global GDP in 2020-21 at $9tn, there is an understandable concern among workers in low-paid occupations that their livelihoods are under threat (Gopinath, 2020). The International Labour Organisation concurs with this assessment suggesting that more than two billion people working in the informal economy are particularly vulnerable to the economic contraction which almost certainly lies ahead (ILO, 2020).

For those on the frontlines of the pandemic - essential workers, many of whom are poorly remunerated and in precarious occupations - the concern is that governments will double-down on neoliberal responses to COVID-19 as they did to great criticism in the decade following the 2008 financial crisis - by implementing further austerity measures, wage freezes, public service cuts and redundancies (Coppola, 2017). As the Rapporteur suggests: 'COVID-19 is a pandemic of poverty exposing the parlous state of social safety nets for those in lower incomes or in poverty around the world' (Alston, 2020: 9). Subjecting workers on low incomes to more economic pain is likely to deepen the racial, gender and class divisions already created by the lost decade of austerity that followed the 2008 global financial crisis (Toynbee and Walker, 2020).

Alston argues that any poverty elimination strategy needs to bring equitable taxation and redistribution front and centre as a 'symbol of solidarity and burden-sharing' (Alston, 2020: 16) and the proposals in his report would make for a progressive development manifesto. They include the closure of tax havens and forcing transnational corporations to pay their way; dropping the International Poverty Line and adopting a rights-based measurement of poverty in its place; removing the crippling debt burden from poor countries; reducing dependence on private resources for financing public development goals; and acknowledging the 'deep deficit of political motivation' underlying the malaise attached to the SDGs (Ibid.: 19). 'Poverty is a political choice', he says, and eliminating it requires that social justice and human rights are central to the ways in which we implement and measure human development. His report is both a damming indictment of current development policy and practice and an appeal for cogent and urgent action. The question is how should the international development and development education sectors respond to the report?

Development education and the parlous state of poverty eradication

One of the weaknesses of the SDGs not listed in Alston's report but of a great deal of significance to development educators is the absence of any analysis of

the historical origins of current inequalities between the global North and South. As the Irish Development Education Association (IDEA, 2020) suggests: development education 'works to tackle the root causes of injustice and inequality, globally and locally, to create a more just and sustainable future for everyone'. The 'root causes' of contemporary inequities between North and South include centuries of colonisation, indentured slavery, the extraction of commodities and precious metals, and the eradication of indigenous peoples and their cultures, values and lifestyles (Hickel, 2017; Galeano, 1973). As Hickel suggests, 'the colonies developed Europe' (2017: 93) rather the current development narrative propagated by the IMF and World Bank of the global North supporting the 'development' of the global South.

While the post-World War Two period was characterised by decolonisation and an end to direct rule in former colonies, most countries in the global South are now locked into the neoliberal economic model as a result of national debt burdens and the application by the IMF and World Bank of structural adjustment programmes as part of their lending criteria. As Hickel puts it: 'Only two decades after global South countries gained their independence from colonialism, structural adjustment brought about the end of meaningful economic sovereignty' (2017: 156). The SDGs are, therefore, applying policy prescriptions in an historical vacuum that fail to address injustices of the past that continue to manifest themselves in the present. The killing of African American George Floyd in Minneapolis by a white police officer in May 2020 (Evelyn, 2020) has sparked world-wide anti-racist protests and actions by supporters of Black Lives Matter (2020) and other human rights groups which have brought historical injustices back into public consciousness and discourse. This is an important example of how understanding historical injustices must inform contemporary policy.

The Rapporteur's report has so far produced a muted response from the international development and DE sectors despite its far-reaching implications for our practice and advocacy work. It is contingent on all of us working in the sector to address the outstanding questions raised by the report. These include the following:

- How can we assess the performance of the SDGs beyond the High Level Political Forum which the Rapporteur finds to be a weak form of monitoring and evaluation?
- Is the development template at the centre of the SDGs complicit with the same pro-growth model of production and consumption which has precipitated the climate crisis and global inequality?
- Do the SDGs comply with the IPCC recommendations to limit global warming to 1.5°C of the pre-industrial average?
- What are the UN reports published to date telling us about the financing of the Goals and their level of dependence on the private sector?
- To what extent are the Goals equipping development educators with the capacity and resources to understand the root causes of poverty and inequality in the global South?
- Are the Goals framing poverty, income inequality, gender discrimination, and climate change in the context of human rights?
- What impact will COVID-19 have on the successful delivery of the SDGs?
- Are there alternative approaches to development that we need to consider in addressing the questions of poverty and inequality such as de-growth and a Green New Deal?

Debating these questions appears to be a minimum requirement in response to the Rapporteur's report which casts serious doubt on our current trajectory toward development and poverty eradication.

Conclusion

Hickel argues that 'our present economic model of exponential GDP growth is no longer realistic, and we have to face up to this fact' (2017: 291). This message is echoed in the Alston report which argues that:

> "Traditional pro-growth policies, such as lower corporate tax rates, labor 'reform', deregulation, austerity-driven cuts to services and

> privatization can have devastating effects on the well-being of poor people and the state's capacity to reduce poverty' (Alston, 2020: 15).

What this suggests is that the traditional means of 'doing development' are no longer an option. The current neoliberal model of development is not sustainable as we are 'bumping up against our ecological limits' (Hickel, 2017: 291). Our planet cannot support the infinite extraction of carbon and natural resources demanded by a rapacious economic model which we know, in any event, is creating extreme levels of inequality (Oxfam, 2020). As a sector, international development has tended to limit its advocacy work to protecting the overseas development assistance budget and promoting the SDGs. But this is not enough if we want to avert a climate catastrophe and narrow the extreme levels of inequality that have attended the era of neoliberalism. In 2019, the OECD (organisation for economic co-operation and development) countries provided $152.8 billion in ODA to the global South but, in the same year, low and middle-income countries paid $756 billion in debt repayments and an additional $213 billion in interest payments on original loans to donors and banks in the global North (Alston, 2020: 16). Aid is not the answer to the complex array of problems confronted by global South countries and our policy work needs to reflect that fact.

The Rapporteur has highlighted the critical areas that need our attention: closing tax havens that facilitate illicit transfers from the global South to the North; tax justice that increases the tax burden on the broadest shoulders; eradicating the debt burden; ending the growth imperative and restoring powers of economic sovereignty to the state; decarbonising our economy to mitigate global warming and address the climate emergency; and framing development objectives in the context of human rights. We seem stuck at base camp in regard to these critical issues in the international development sector and need to urgently ramp up our ambition for change and capacity for action to meet the challenges ahead.

References

Alston, P (2020) 'The Parlous State of Poverty Eradication: Report of the Special Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights', 2 July, Geneva, Switzerland: Human Rights Council, available: https://chrgj.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Alston-Poverty-Report-FINAL.pdf (accessed 24 August 2020).

Beaumont, P (2020) '"We squandered a decade": world losing fight against poverty, says UN academic', *The Guardian*, 7 July, available: https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2020/jul/07/we-squandered-a-decade-world-losing-fight-against-poverty-says-un-academic (accessed 24 August 2020).

Black Lives Matter (2020) available: https://blacklivesmatter.com/ (accessed 26 August 2020).

Coppola, F (2017) 'Fiscal Austerity After the Great Recession Was A Catastrophic Mistake', *Forbes*, 31 August, available: https://www.forbes.com/sites/francescoppola/2017/08/31/fiscal-austerity-after-the-great-recession-was-a-catastrophic-mistake/ (accessed 24 August 2020).

Euronews (2020) 'Countries "off-track" to end rising global poverty, UN report warns', 6 July, available: https://www.euronews.com/2020/07/06/countries-off-track-to-end-global-poverty-as-it-increases-amid-pandemic-un-report-warns (accessed 24 August 2020).

Evelyn, K (2020) 'FBI investigates death of black man after footage shows officer kneeling on his neck', *The Guardian*, 27 May, available: https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/may/26/george-floyd-killing-police-video-fbi-investigation (accessed 26 August 2020).

Galeano, E (1973) *Open Veins of Latin America*, New York: Monthly Review Press.

Gopinath, G (2020) 'The Great Lockdown: Worst Economic Downturn Since the Great Depression', *IMF Blog*, 14 April, available: https://blogs.imf.org/2020/04/14/the-great-lockdown-worst-economic-downturn-since-the-great-depression/ (accessed 24 August 2020).

Hickel, J (2017) *The Divide: A Brief Guide to Global Inequality and its Solutions*, London: Windmill Books.

Hickel, J (2012) 'The World Bank and the Development Delusion', *Aljazeera*, 27 September, available: https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2012/09/201292673233720461.html (accessed 24 August 2020).

International Labour Organisation (ILO) (2020) 'COVID-19 cruelly highlights inequalities and threatens to deepen them', 30 March, available: http://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/newsroom/news/WCMS_740101/lang--en/index.htm (accessed 24 August 2020).

Irish Development Education Association (IDEA) (2020) 'Development Education', available: https://www.ideaonline.ie/development-education (accessed 26 August 2020).

IPCC (2018) 'Global Warming of 1.5 ºC', available: https://www.ipcc.ch/sr15/ (accessed 24 August 2020).

Jubilee Debt Campaign (2020) 'Sixty-four countries spend more on debt payments than health', London: Jubilee Debt Campaign, available: https://jubileedebt.org.uk/press-release/sixty-four-countries-spend-more-on-debt-payments-than-health (accessed 24 August 2020).

Neate, R (2020) 'Jeff Bezos, the world's richest man, added £10bn to his fortune in just one day', *The Guardian*, 21 July, available: https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2020/jul/21/jeff-bezos-the-worlds-richest-man-added-10bn-to-his-fortune-in-just-one-day (accessed 24 August 2020).

Oxfam (2020) *Time to Care: Unpaid and Underpaid Care Work and the Global Inequality Crisis*, January, Oxford: Oxfam, available: https://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/620928/bp-time-to-care-inequality-200120-summ-en.pdf (accessed 24 August 2020).

Rushe, D and Holpuch, A (2020) '20m Americans lost their jobs in April in worst month since Great Depression', *The Guardian*, 8 May, available:

https://www.theguardian.com/business/2020/may/08/april-jobs-report-us-unemployment-rate (accessed 24 August 2020).

Toynbee, P and Walker, D (2020) 'The lost decade: the hidden story of how austerity broke Britain', *The Guardian*, 3 March, available: https://www.theguardian.com/society/2020/mar/03/lost-decade-hidden-story-how-austerity-broke-britain (accessed 24 August 2020).

United Nations (UN) (2015) 'Sustainable Development Goals', available: https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/sustainable-development-goals/ (accessed 20 August 2020).

UN News (2019) 'Progress toward sustainable development is seriously off-track', 6 November, available: https://news.un.org/en/story/2019/11/1050831 (accessed 24 August 2020).

World Bank (2020) 'The World Bank In China', available: https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/china/overview (accessed 24 August 2020).

Note:
An earlier version of this article was published by *openDemocracy* on 9 July 2020 at https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/transformation/poverty-political-choice/.

Stephen McCloskey is Director of the Centre for Global Education and Editor of *Policy and Practice: A Development Education Review*.

E-TICK: The Piloting and Development of a New Course in Ethical Communication

Sive Bresnihan

Abstract: This article presents and discusses some of the pedagogical insights arising out of the development of E-TICK, a new online course on ethical communication developed by Comhlámh (the Irish Association of Development Workers and Volunteers) together with European partners Zavod Volontariat (Slovenia), Društvo Humanitas (Slovenia), Inex (Czech Republic) and FOCSIV (Italian Federation of Non-Governmental Christian Organisations for International Voluntary Service). In particular, the article discusses the value of the course pilot which led to refinements in terms of sequencing and flow but also, more significantly, enabled us to identify instances of 'push' back among the learners.

Key words: Critical Literacy; Reflexivity; Pedagogy; Difficult Knowledge; Discomfort.

Introduction

bell hooks said of the African American film-maker Arthur Jafa:

> "I always use him as my example of what the decolonised gaze can produce. Who is looking and what do they see? Every work that A J produces poses this question in a radical way. His images come back at us, forcing us to think 'what is it that I am seeing?'" (hooks and Jafa, 2014).

This question of 'what is it that I am seeing?' is at the heart of E-TICK (2020), a new online course on ethical communication. Funded by the ERASMUS + programme of the European Commission and developed by European organisations working in the domain of global citizenship education and volunteering, E-TICK was launched in early May 2020. While the 18-30 age bracket was a key target for the project (18-30 years is a key cohort for the programme partners), the course has garnered interest from a wide range of

actors since its launch including people working in family resource centres, international development organisations, local integration projects as well as policy researchers. With E-TICK, project partners faced the interesting challenge of how to encourage learners through a self-directed online course without compromising on depth and criticality. This article presents and discusses some of the pedagogical insights that arose as part of that process.

E-TICK building blocks

In terms of approach, E-TICK offers an expanded understanding of 'text', weaving a range of films, music videos, art pieces and social media news feeds through the course sessions. From different angles the course expounds on the links between media, society and the reader, inviting learners to reflect on what their readings can tell them about themselves and how their communications (and those of others) are always of consequence. Topics include who gets to communicate what, stereotyping and its entanglements with prejudice and discrimination, the problem with good intentions and digital literacy for the new media age.

With its emphasis on the relationship between media (its power to shape understanding) and audience (active digesters of same), Stuart Hall's decoding/encoding model of communication provided E-TICK with valuable scaffolding. 'Meaning', wrote Hall 'is a social production, a practice. The world has to be made to mean' (Hall, 1982: 67). The notion of the audience's agency and the role of their motivations and interests in meaning making is particularly key to E-TICK since it invites the question what am I (not) willing/ ready to see?

As part of course inception, the kind of 'readings' E-TICK wished to encourage and support was considered (Andreotti 2014; Bryan 2016). Citing Andreotti and the critical literacy framework employed in the Open Spaces for Dialogue and Enquiry (OSDE) project for example, Bryan (2016) describes the distinction between *critical readings* and *critical-literacy readings.* While the starting point for a *critical reading* of a text might be questions like: what is the intention of the author? What is the position of the author (political

agenda)? What is the author trying to say and how are they trying to convince the reader? The starting point for a *critical-literacy reading* would be questions like: what are the assumptions behind the statements? What/whose understanding of reality do they represent? How was this understanding constructed? Who decides (what is real, can be known or needs to be done) in this context? In whose name and for whose benefit? And what are the implications of the claims?

Through E-TICK, we were keen to encourage the latter kind of reading, in other words reflexive readings where the learner is supported to interrogate the context for a given text whilst also problematising the search for 'objective' knowledge or 'real' news and recognising themselves as an active player in the ongoing production of meaning. For the E-TICK team, the value of the reflexive reading is that it implicates the reader and in so doing, carries the potential to surface 'new ways of hearing, seeing and reading the world' (Boler, 1999 cited in Bryan, 2016). At the same time, as pedagogues, we have to take care at this juncture. For a learner, growing in understanding of how they are '*part of*' can bring discomfort and possibly push back. Britzman and others have called this 'difficult knowledge' (Britzman, 1998, 2000, 2013; Britzman and Pitt, 2004; Pitt and Britzman 2003, cited in Bryan, 2016).

The course pilot: a lesson in reflexivity

With E-TICK the challenge was thinking through how to support reflexive readings (Andreotti, 2014) and to work with this possibility of 'difficult knowledge' and discomfort in the context of a self-directed, online course. Central to the effort was a three-month long pilot process with 50 participants from across the partner countries. Over the three months' pilot, learners made their way through the different (draft) sessions, feeding back as they went and providing overall feedback at the end of the course as well. Additionally, face-to-face focus group discussions were held with pilot learners to delve deeper into the feedback and to identify overlaps as well as contrasts in terms of what people were saying. Crucially, this pilot generated plenty of ideas for second phase refinements including how to bolster motivation among learners and

ensure they kept going. Perhaps more significantly the pilot revealed the 'sticky' areas, i.e. the sessions that were, at least for some, generating push back and discomfort.

Indeed, the pilot feedback helped us to tune in to the question of content and potential reception(s) of it and prompted the team to consider the kinds of questions that might come up for participants through the course: 'how could my good intentions or those of others ever be a problem?'; 'surely it is both okay and necessary to speak for others when they are suffering'; 'I agree with the point of that person but it can't be generalised'; 'surely action is better than no action at all'; 'why is it only called cultural appropriation when I do it?' Along with this line of inquiry, we also asked ourselves how *we* might be read (the 'voice' of the platform) and how the voices we included on the platform might be read. The pilot feedback helped us to do this. Might participants tire of these voices after a time? Might they switch off the computer at some point? Can we imagine a point where their motivation to continue with us slowly ebbs away?

On the basis of our reflections, we set about making refinements. We encouraged learners to meet responses (to 'texts') with attentiveness and curiosity and re-formulated the guiding questions for journaling (with the right kinds of questions, journaling can provide learners with space to self-examine without judgement and builds capacity to be reflexive). Through carefully crafted auto-responses to short text answers we also found an additional way to connect with / feedback to participants. As part of this refinement phase, we also re-looked at language, editing instances of 'equivocal' voice or suggestions that there was a 'more complete' way to read something. Finally, we re-worked sequencing and strengthened patterns within and across the sessions to achieve more flow. In short, the pilot process proved invaluable in that it gave us deeper insight into the potential ways in which sessions within the course could be 'read'. The feedback didn't lead us to remove content or create sweeteners but rather it helped us to reflect on how we could otherwise support learners to engage in the challenge before them.

Overall, the process of developing the course (including the pilot) serves as a reminder of the value, pedagogically speaking, of attending to learning as an emotional process as well as a cognitive one (Bryan 2016). For the purposes of E-TICK we were particularly mindful of these two, interrelated tracks since we knew that the course would only work if it sustained the attention and motivation of the online learner. At the same time, understanding (and holding) these two entangled tracks is central to our practice as global educators. It provides a way into and through the difficult knowledge and the discomfort of learning, for ourselves and for the learners we work with.

References

Andreotti, V (2014) 'Critical literacy: Theories and practices in development education', *Policy and Practice: A Development Education Review*, Vol.19, Autumn, pp. 12–32.

Bryan, A (2016) 'The Sociology Classroom as a Pedagogical Site of Discomfort: Difficult Knowledge and the Emotional Dynamics of Teaching and Learning', *Irish Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 24, No. 1, pp. 7-33.

E-TICK (2020) 'E-TICK: Online Course on Ethical Communication', available: https://ethicalcommunication.org/ (accessed 22 July 2020).

Hall, S (1982) 'The Rediscovery of "Ideology": Return of the Repressed in Media Studies' in M Gurevitch, T Bennett, J Curran and J Woollacott (eds.) *Culture, Society and the Media*, London: Routledge, pp. 56-90.

hooks, b and Jafa, A (2014) 'bell hooks and Arthur Jafa Discuss Transgression in public Spaces', New York: The New School Eugene Lang College of Liberal Arts, available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fe-7ILSKSog&t=4138s (accessed 10 July 2020).

Sive Bresnihan is Training and Education Officer with Comhlámh. Email: sive@comhlamh.org.

Viewpoint

WHAT ARE THE CHALLENGES FOR DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION ARISING FROM THE MERGER OF THE UK DEPARTMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT WITH THE FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE?

DOUGLAS BOURN

Abstract: In June 2020, the United Kingdom (UK) government announced the merger of the Department for International Development (DFID) with the Foreign Office. This decision has potential major implications for development education in the UK which has been funded by DFID since 1997. Around Europe, development education whilst primarily funded by Foreign Affairs ministries, has in some countries been closely related to development agencies. To keep governments supportive of development education requires a strong network of civil society organisations. A concern for development education is that a result of the merger of the two UK government departments could mean a move towards projects being directed towards servicing UK government foreign policy objectives rather than international development goals. A future development education strategy should aim to engage all key stakeholders including relevant ministries and civil society organisations plus academic and research bodies.

Key words: Department for International Development; Foreign and Commonwealth Office; Development Education; Global Learning; International Development Policy; Overseas Development Aid.

Introduction

On 16 June 2020, the British prime minister, Boris Johnson, announced the merger of the Department of International Development (DFID) with the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO). This has been a goal of the

government for some time and, whilst coming as no surprise, its announcement in the middle of the world's largest ever global pandemic which is hitting the poorest people hardest, has been regarded by many as rather insensitive. This article reviews the impact of this decision on potential support for development education (DE). It also compares the merger with similar initiatives elsewhere in Europe and makes some recommendation as potential ways forward for individuals and bodies committed to supporting DE and global education (GE).

Development versus foreign affairs policies

The United Kingdom (UK) government claims that the merger of DFID and the FCO will enable Britain to have a greater impact and influence on the world stage and ensure greater coherence over its international policies. According to the merger announcement:

> "the Foreign Secretary will be empowered to make decisions on aid spending in line with the UK's priorities overseas, harnessing the skills, expertise and evidence that have earned our reputation as a leader in the international development community" (UK Government, 2020).

There may be good arguments for closer alignment of foreign policy, multilateral commitment and global engagement – and these arguments play out in different institutional arrangements in different countries. Over the past decades, the distance between Ministries and Agencies might be characterised as a minuet – as the Ministries and Agencies move closer to each other, or farther away, depending on the country and political context. Some European countries have moved to merging their independent development agencies into the work of their ministries of foreign affairs (MFA) (e.g. Danida in Denmark in the 1990s), based on the rationale that the national contribution to global justice international development was a central pillar of (but not subservient to) foreign policy. Others have moved to strengthen and further integrate an existing development co-operation division or unit while giving it higher visibility (e.g. Irish Aid). Some, such as Austria, have moved in the opposite direction – establishing an independent agency, under the auspices of the

Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In Austria, as in Sweden and Norway, there is a strict delineation of roles between the Ministry (policymaking) and the Agency (implementation). Other models (e.g. the French Development Agency) operate under the joint auspices of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Finance.

Throughout these differing models, it is clear that it is the responsibility of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or Development Cooperation, or their Agency, to engage in policy leadership, leadership of inter-ministerial coherence, and funding support for development education. There is no particular or clear evidence that a particular institutional arrangement works best for development education. However, institutional re-arrangements can have a negative effect on the continuity of work such as DE which needs long-term commitments to demonstrate impact. What is clear is this – a government cannot credibly claim commitment to international development without a clear policy and strong commitment to development education. While national situations and contexts differ, what is clear, from the perspective of development education, is that whether it resides in a Ministry of Foreign Affairs or a Development Cooperation Agency, a measure of the usefulness of the institutional arrangement is whether or not it can deliver sound policy and funding support for development education; and thereby enhance critical public knowledge of, understanding of, and engagement with, issues of global concern.

What this announcement ignores is that development and aid programmes are not based on supporting foreign policies, but on internationally agreed goals for combating global poverty and inequality, most recently the Sustainable Development Goals (UN, 2015). It is not the place here to review the work of DFID but there is no doubt that its development policies and programmes have been highly regarded for many years.

Development education under DFID

Prior to the creation of DFID in 1997, development education received minimal support from the then Overseas Development Administration (ODA)

which was part of the Foreign Office. With a new department being established, development education quickly became recognised as an important component of government development policy. The 1997 White Paper from the Department (DFID, 1997) made specific reference to building awareness and understanding of international development issues and to build a public constituency in support of eliminating global poverty. This was certainly helped by having a separate department with a decent budget through a fund primarily aimed at civil society organisations. Development education as a field of practice quickly expanded. Its impact could be seen in the extent to which educational policies in all four nations of the UK made reference to global and development issues and themes within the school curriculum. There was a flowering of activity also in youth, further, higher and adult education (Bourn, 2015). Whilst criticisms could be made of the agendas of DFID's work on development education during the period from 1997 to 2010 (Cameron and Fairbrass, 2004; Biccum, 2010) there is no doubt it led to a range of creative and innovative initiatives whose legacies can still be seen today. This, for example, can be seen in the continued influence of post-colonial perspectives within development education practice as a result of the Open Space for Dialogue and Enquiry (OSDE) project led by Vanessa Andreotti which was part-funded by DFID (Andreotti, 2011; Bourn, 2015).

Although funding was drastically cut after 2010 with the Conservative and Liberal Democrat coalition and later Conservative governments, a commitment remained to support development education through the Global Learning Programme (2014-2018) and more recently the Connecting Classrooms Through Global Learning (2018-2021) programme. There is however a concern that, with the impact of COVID-19 on the UK economy, and as funding for aid and development is linked to gross national product (GNP), all development programmes will come under review. The UK government has already announced a cut of £2.9 billion to the overseas development aid budget (BOND, 2020).

Location of development education within European ministries

In most European countries that have provided support for development education type initiatives, the resourcing for this has come through Ministries of Foreign Affairs. Some countries have development agencies which have a semi-autonomous role but, whatever the institutional configuration; it is through the aid budget that development education has primarily been funded. This is also recognised by the OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development), whose Peer Reviews (OECD/DAC, 2014) of Official Development Assistance (ODA) programmes include detailed and growing emphasis on global public awareness and development education, and whose reporting mechanisms include space for recognising funding for development education at home as a valid budget priority (GENE, 2020a).

While there are examples, such as in Finland and Portugal, where there is a more of an inter-departmental approach with a strategy involving a range of ministries (Lehtomaki and Rajala, 2020; Teotonio-Pereira, 2016); nevertheless the most common approach is through funding programmes led by Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Development Co-operation or their agencies, and aimed at a range of NGOs combined with a number of strategic initiatives (Hartmeyer and Wegimont, 2016; Kuleta-Hulboj, 2020; McAuley, 2018). What has also been evident, however, is that where there is clear cooperation between the ministries and agencies responsible for development cooperation and ministries of education, there is support for raising the profile of development education within the curriculum (Tarozzi, 2020).

Historically, development education across Europe has always been susceptible to the changing political climate. If there are any lessons from these European examples for what now happens in the UK, the main one is the strength of the development education community, the engagement and support of a range of stakeholders and ideally some form of strategy that is clearly resourced. Where development education funding has come through a development agency there is some evidence of a less directive policy, leaving it to the NGOs (non-governmental organisations) and key organisations to deliver programmes. This 'right of initiative' and 'free market of ideas' when

combined with strategic partnership approaches to the funding of development education, has been effective in integrating development education perspectives into education systems, and increasing critical public engagement in a number of countries (Concord, 2016; McAuley, Hartmeyer and Wegimont, 2017).

There is also evidence that in some countries funding for development education has been influenced by broader government agendas including impact of migration and refugee issues and priority given to sustainable development (McAuley, 2018).

Implications of merger for taking forward development education in the UK

The merger of DFID and the FCO in the UK as already noted, has come at a difficult time with the global pandemic and general reduction in government funding for aid which may well have consequences for any development education initiatives. At present with the main CCGL programme being also part funded by the British Council, it is likely this programme or a revised iteration of it will continue in the future. But what is more concerning is that, whilst up to now, the programme has been effectively managed by the Council there is the potential danger that with a greater emphasis on meeting UK foreign policy objectives, there could be a move towards a more restrictive and top-down approach.

What is equally worrying is that the UK development education community is not at present in a strong position to counter potential changes as a result of the merger. Whilst the Centre for Global Education remains strong in Northern Ireland, elsewhere in the UK there has been a noticeable decline in engagement from civil society organisations. Oxfam is making major cuts in its global citizenship education programme and the only international NGO that appears to be continuing its commitment to the sector is CAFOD, the Catholic international development charity. The largest player is now UNICEF (United Nations Children Fund) with its Rights Respecting School Award programme (UNICEF, 2020) which continues to be very

popular. There are examples of practice such as Fairtrade Foundation's Award programme (Fairtrade Foundation, 2020) to *Send My Friend to School* (2020) and *The World's Largest Lesson* (2020) which demonstrate continued interest from schools, teachers and young people about global issues. Several Development Education Centre (DECs) still exist and operate a valuable network in the Consortium of Development Education Centres (CODEC, 2020) but they have been heavily hit by lack of funding and are also likely to suffer from the impact of COVID-19.

The lack of access to funding opportunities through the European Commission for UK organisations following the UK's exit from the European Union has also been a major blow. Brexit has also meant that some of the wider opportunities and initiatives for mutual learning and sharing, such as the Erasmus Programme (2020), are also likely to disappear. On the more positive side, Oxfam before its cuts had been a major supporter of the Our Shared World initiative, which aimed to bring together civil society organisations under the umbrella of SDG 4.7. This had generated a lot of movement in England and engaged organisations from peace, development, human rights, environmental and arts-based groups to develop an advocacy strategy around SDG 4.7. However, the extent to which this network will continue without major resourcing and engagement from Oxfam at the time of writing this article is unclear.

Throughout the UK there is evidence of continued support and interest in global issues from educationalists, particularly teachers. The climate emergency initiatives launched in 2019 have created a legacy of awareness raising, learning and advocacy around sustainability issues by young people (Global Climate Strike, 2020). The global pandemic has demonstrated that we live in an interconnected world and that it is the poorest in the world who are being hardest hit. The need for development education has never been greater and nor has there been such a positive interest in learning about global and sustainability issues. The impact of the Black Lives Matter (2020) initiative around the world has shown a commitment to seeking a more equitable world within many societies. It has shown that discrimination

and racism is ever present. That is why there is a need to learn lessons from such initiatives and to encourage educational programmes that move from a 'multiculturalist' approach which can all too easily ignore power relations to one of anti-oppressive practices.

The challenge is where does this leave UK government and what should be the demands of all those who wish to see a greater recognition of learning about global and sustainability issues?

Building a coalition of stakeholders

There is a need to lobby the UK government to continue to support development education. What I think the Our Shared World initiative has shown is that central to moving forward is the building of broad networks of organisations, educational bodies and individuals who can help to build and sustain a vibrant network to promote global learning and sustainable development throughout the UK.

When the Development Education Association (DEA) was launched in October 1993, over six hundred organisations attended and from this more than two hundred of them joined the organisation. This was at a time when there was minimal support for the field. What I remember as being at the heart of that launch was the breadth of interest there was in development education. Today that interest, although it may use different terms such as global citizenship and sustainability, is even stronger than it was nearly thirty years ago. To move governments to recognise the value of such work comes from evidence, support from a wide range of bodies and an ability to make connections to current societal and educational needs (Bourn, 2016). There is now a wealth of academic publications (see Hartmeyer and Wegimont, 2016; Yemini, 2016; Davies et al, 2018; Ellis, 2016; Gaudelli, 2016; Maguth, 2015; Tarozzi and Torres, 2016; Torres, 2017) as well as reports from the Development Education Research Centre (DERC) (UCL, 2020). There have been over 250 publications addressing the field of development and global education over the past two years. These include academic articles, books and doctoral theses (DERC, 2018). In 2020, the first major international Handbook

on global education was published with contributions from authors from more than 20 countries (Bourn, 2020).

An important body that can advise on how to take these ideas forward is Global Education Network Europe (GENE, 2020b), the network of government ministries across Europe who have worked with policymakers within Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Development and Education to develop nationally appropriate structures for the funding and support of global education, including development education (Hartmeyer and Wegimont, 2016; GENE, 2017).

Focus of development education

Throughout my time as Director of the DEA and since then at DERC, I continually made the case to the UK government that development education could make a contribution to building not only an understanding of development issues, but could demonstrate how civil society and the UK public in general could support initiatives towards a more just and sustainable world. I felt that during the period 1997-2010 this was possible and there has clearly been some evidence (Bourn, Hunt and Ahmed, 2017) that engagement in global and development issues would today have not reached the support it has without the legacy of the previous twenty years. But to what extent should development education organisations be drawn into potential initiatives whose main purpose is to further British foreign policy agendas? If they do, educators will rightly resist. So, I would advise any emerging structure for DE within the FCO to take a broader view and consider the importance of development education within the context of wider international policy objectives including the SDGs.

At present, the CCGL programme appears to have a strong global learning focus and there is little evidence to date of the international partnerships component being seen as furthering government policies around trade for example. This suggests that it is essential over the coming period that organisations who wish to see progress on the Sustainable Development Goals and are supportive of global learning, develop a critical approach that offers

alternatives to those that promote a 'Global Britain'. This means emphasising themes such as global social justice and encouraging learning across all sectors of education and society that demonstrate the value of promoting an ethos of global citizenship that challenges the economic nationalism that is becoming so much part of UK government policies.

There, of course, remains the challenge of funding and resourcing these approaches. The UK has varied and strong traditions of DE, variously understood; traditions that other countries in Europe have drawn upon and learnt from. Any European country that wishes to state that it engages in leadership in this field is characterised by:

- Strong policymaker engagement in and support for GE / development education and awareness raising (DEAR);
- Inter-ministerial coherence and cooperation in the field;
- A strong multi-annual commitment to funding, including funding of civil society, social partner, local authority and 'right of initiative' approaches, along with strategic partnerships in GE/DEAR;
- Commitment, where there is a dearth of such funding, to a staged series of increases, commensurate with ODA commitments so that public understanding, engagement and critical ownership keep apace with development commitments;
- Willingness to engage in review processes by international bodies to assess such commitments.

It may be premature to judge whether or not the merger between DFID and the FCO is about the UK's role as a champion for poverty reduction in a new global international architecture; or whether it is just a fudge, a charlatan's trick, an attempt to downgrade a national commitment to global justice in favour of a narrow self-interest and a return to a dream of past colonial 'glory'. Time will tell. But for development educators, and those committed to a world of greater justice, the bullet points mentioned above provide a means of measuring commitment and support from government.

Civil society organisations, I believe, are still key to the delivery of development education type initiatives. But they need to consider their role and give attention to building alliances with a wider range of bodies including think-tanks, academic institutions and bodies. There also needs to be a commitment from all sectors of society to call on policymakers to demonstrate how they are resourcing and supporting the moves towards a more just and sustainable world as suggested by the Sustainable Development Goals.

References:

Andreotti V (2011) *Actionable Postcolonial Theory in Education: Postcolonial Studies in Education*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Biccum, A (2010) *Global Citizenship and the Legacy of Empire*, Abingdon: Routledge.

Black Lives Matter (2020) available: https://blacklivesmatter.com/ (accessed 20 August 2020).

BOND (2020) 'UK aid cuts: what's being prioritised and what we still need to know', London: BOND, available: https://www.bond.org.uk/news/2020/07/uk-aid-cuts-whats-being-prioritised-and-what-we-still-need-to-know (accessed 23 August 2020).

Bourn, D (ed.) (2020) *The Bloomsbury Handbook of Global Education and Learning*, London: Bloomsbury.

Bourn, D (2016) 'Developing a Research Culture for Global Learning' in H Hartmeyer and L Wegimont (eds.) *Global Education in Europe Revisited*, Munster: Waxmann.

Bourn, D (2015) *The Theory and Practice of Development Education*, Abingdon, Routledge.

Bourn, D, Hunt, F and Ahmed, H (2017) *Childhood development stages and learning on global issues: K4D Helpdesk Report*, Brighton, UK: Institute of Development Studies.

Cameron, J and Fairbrass. S (2004) 'From Development Awareness to Enabling Effective Support: The changing profile of development education in England', *Journal of International Development*, Vol. 16, pp. 729-740.

Concord Europe (2016) 'European Union Funding Delivery Mechanisms', Brussels: Concord, available: https://concordeurope.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/CONCORD_publication_EUfunding_DeliveryMechanisms.pdf (accessed 21 August 2020).

Consortium of Development Education Centres (CODEC) (2020) available: https://www.codec.org.uk/ (accessed 20 August 2020).

Davies, I, Ho, L, Kiwan, D, Peck, CL, Peterson, A, Sant, E and Waghid, Y (eds.) (2018) *The Palgrave Handbook of Global Citizenship and Education*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Development Education Research Centre (2018) 'Global Education Digest 2018', London: DERC, available: https://angel-network.net/sites/default/files/Digest%202019%20Final%20Online_0.pdf (accessed 20 August 2020).

Department for International Development (DFID) (1997) *Eliminating World Poverty: A Challenge for the 21st Century,* London: HMSO.

Ellis, M (2016) *The Critical Global Educator: Global Citizenship Education as Sustainable Development*, London: Routledge.

Erasmus Programme (2020) available: https://www.erasmusprogramme.com/ (accessed 20 August 2020).

Fairtrade Foundation (2020) 'Fairtrade School Awards', available: https://schools.fairtrade.org.uk/fairtrade-schools-awards/ (accessed 20 August 2020).

Gaudelli, W (2016) *Global Citizenship Education: Everyday Transcendence*, London: Routledge.

Global Climate Strike (2020) available: https://globalclimatestrike.net/ (accessed 20 August 2020).

GENE (Global Education Network Europe) (2020a) *An Analysis of Development Communication and Global Education reporting in Recent OECD/DAC Peer Reviews*, Dublin: GENE.

GENE (Global Education Network Europe) (2020b) available: https://gene.eu/ (accessed 20 August 2020).

GENE (Global Education Network Europe) (2017) *The State of Global Education in Europe 2017*, Dublin: GENE.

Hartmeyer, H and Wegimont, L (eds.) (2016) *Global Education in Europe Revisited*, Munster: Waxmann.

Kuleta-Hulboj, M (2020) 'Global Education in Poland' in D Bourn (ed.) *The Bloomsbury Handbook of Global Education and Learning*, London: Bloomsbury, pp. 121-132.

Lehtomaki, E and Rajala, A (2020) 'Global Education Research in Finland' in D Bourn (ed.) *The Bloomsbury Handbook of Global Education and Learning*, London: Bloomsbury, pp. 105-120.

Maguth, B (ed.) (2015) *The State of Global Education: Learning with the World and Its People*, New York: Routledge.

McAuley, J, Hartmeyer, H and Wegimont, L (eds.) (2017) *Global Education in Belgium*, Dublin: GENE.

McAuley, J (ed.) (2018) *The State of Global Education in Europe*, Dublin: Global Education Network Europe.

OECD/DAC (2014) *Good Practices in Development Communication*, Paris OECD/DAC.

Send My Friend to School (2020), available: https://sendmyfriend.org/ (accessed 20 August 2020).

Tarozzi, M and Torres, C A (2016) *Global Citizenship Education and the Crises of Multiculturalism: Comparative Perspectives*, London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Tarozzi, M (2020) 'Role of NGOs in Global Citizenship Education' in D Bourn D (ed.) *The Bloomsbury Handbook of Global Education and Learning*, London: Bloomsbury, pp. 133-148.

Teotonia-Pereira, L (2016) 'A Portuguese Strategy for Development Education: From Recent Experience to New Challenges' in H Hartmeyer and L Wegimont (eds.) *Global Education in Europe Revisited*, Munster: Waxmann, pp. 47-58.

The World's Largest Lesson (2020) available: https://worldslargestlesson.globalgoals.org/ (accessed 20 August 2020).

Torres, C A (2017) *Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of Critical Global Citizenship Education*. London: Routledge.

UCL (2020) Development Education Research Centre, available: https://www.ucl.ac.uk/ioe/departments-and-centres/centres/development-education-research-centre (accessed 23 August 2020).

UK Government (2020) 'Prime Minister Announces Merger of DFID and FCO', available:

https://www.gov.uk/government/news/prime-minister-announces-merger-of-department-for-international-development-and-foreign-office (accessed 20 August 2020).

United Nations (UN) (2015) 'Sustainable Development Goals', available: https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/sustainable-development-goals/ (accessed 20 August 2020).

UNICEF (United Nations Children Fund) (2020) 'Rights Respecting Schools', available: https://www.unicef.org.uk/rights-respecting-schools/ (accessed 20 August 2020).

Yemini, M (2016) *Internationalization and Global Citizenship: Policy and Practice in Education,* Switzerland: Springer.

Note: I would like to thank Liam Wegimont, Director of Global Education Network Europe (GENE), for his help in the drafting of this article.

Douglas Bourn is Professor of Development Education and Director of the Development Education Research Centre (DERC) at University College London (UCL) – Institute of Education. He is the author of *Theory and Practice of Development Education* (2014) and *Understanding Global Skills* (2018) and editor of the *Bloomsbury Handbook of Global Education and Learning* (2020). He was editor of the *International Journal of Development Education and Global Learning* from 2008 to 2016 and, prior to establishing DERC in 2006, was Director of the Development Education Association (DEA) in England. He established the first ever Masters' programme on Development Education at the Institute of Education. He is currently chair of the Advisory Board for the Academic Network of Global Education Researchers (ANGEL).

FIGHTING THE PANDEMIC IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH

PHETHANI MADZIVHANDILA

Global South countries now occupy six spots in the top ten of the world most affected countries by the coronavirus: namely Brazil, South Africa, Mexico, Chile, Peru, and India. And things are about to get worse. It is just a matter of weeks before the whole of the global South is faced with the situation that confronted Italy and Spain in March 2020. Due to a history of colonialism, these experiences will play out differently in these countries especially economically and mortality wise.

The majority of the countries in the global South have limited testing capacity, and so the virus as predicted has been advancing undetected. The economic crisis ripple effect has hit us hard already, and we can no longer afford to enforce hard lockdowns in most of our countries. Most governments in the global South have been forced to ease lockdown restrictions, and are now witnessing a drastic rise in COVID-19 infections on top of testing lags. It becomes imperative to question what are these underlying economic factors that force us to do so and why should we save the economy over people's lives? For instance, after the national lockdowns in South Africa, Bangladesh, and Mexico were significantly relaxed, all three nations reported their highest single-day spikes in COVID-19 cases.

Underdeveloped countries have no freedom of maneuver in relation to world capitalism as scholar Samir Amin (1976: 13) notes: 'So long as the underdeveloped country continues to be integrated in the world market, it remains helpless … the possibilities of local accumulation are nil'. In *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Guyanese historian and pan-Africanist Walter Rodney (1973: 231) remarks that:

> "Colonialism was not merely a system of exploitation, but one whose essential purpose was to repatriate the profits to the so-called mother

> country… It meant the development of Europe as part of the same dialectical process in which Africa was underdeveloped."

Rodney embraced dependency theory's central thought that colonialism condemned poor and colonized countries to stagnation, as he wrote: "Whenever internal forces seemed to push in the direction of African industrialization, they were deliberately blocked by the colonial governments acting on behalf of the metropolitan industrialists" (Ibid. 340). He believed that underdevelopment would continue even after African nations achieved their independence. Rodney, like other dependency theorists, called on intellectuals to break with capitalism and adopt state-directed socialist planned economies. Amin (1976) reasoned that imperialism led to the development /underdevelopment dichotomy, arguing that uneven development or historically evolved exploitative structures, leads to unequal exchange, which leads to continued polarization and increased inequality.

The World Health Organization said in April that there were fewer than 5,000 intensive care beds across 43 of Africa's 55 countries (Maclean and Marks, 2020). This amounts to about five beds per million people, compared with about 4,000 beds per million in Europe (Ibid.). It was not only the lack of intensive care beds that this pandemic has revealed as a shortage in Africa; there were at least ten countries in the continent which did not have ventilators at all. Thanks to the 'generous' donation from Chinese billionaire Jack Ma at least we now have 500 more (Jack, 2020). In south Asia, the situation is no better at all, as there is also a shortage of ventilators in countries like India which had 47,000 ventilators (Changoiwala, 2020) at the beginning of their lockdown.

The UK now has 22,000 ventilators (Brownsell 2020), the vast majority of which are not currently needed as the peak has almost passed. In the global South again, the situation is dire as beds and ventilators are quickly running out. If international solidarity was taken seriously, it only makes logical sense that these resources would be diverted to countries that currently

need them the most. However, under a capitalist society there are no free favors.

So far, Johns Hopkins University has detailed that in over 118 low- and middle-income nations, the increase in child and maternal death will be devasting. Based on a number of possible scenarios carried out by researchers, the least severe scenario over the next six months would result in 2,300,000 additional child deaths and 133,000 additional maternal deaths (Walker et al., 2020) in this first year of the pandemic as a result of unavoidable shocks, health system collapse in various countries, or intentional choices made in responding to the pandemic.

A HIV modelling report, convened by the WHO and UNAIDS, estimated the effect of potential disruptions to HIV prevention and treatment services in sub-Saharan Africa over one- and five-year periods. It found that a six-month long interruption of antiretroviral therapy (ART) supply would lead to excess deaths over a year which are more than the total current annual number of HIV deaths. In sub-Saharan Africa, this amounts to possibly over additional 500,000 HIV-related deaths. Similar disruptions would also lead to a doubling in the number of children born with HIV.

It is evident that this pandemic has exposed the fragility of the capitalist system and has left many people questioning its importance as a means of production in our lives. However, this is not new and has always been the inherent contradiction of capitalism that should it get disturbed, it plunges into turmoil. However, due to the weakness of the left it always finds ways to reinvent and reform itself.

As soon as capitalist institutions started to crumble, Northern governments resorted to socialist policies. The Spanish government, one of the worst affected countries after China, nationalised all private hospitals and healthcare providers to fight against the virus. In doing so the Spanish government had reversed their much unpopular post-2008 privatisation reforms. Not only did Spain nationalise healthcare but they also announced

generous financial aid packages for its citizens, stopped evictions and guaranteed water, electricity, and internet to vulnerable households. Such heightened state spending was also witnessed elsewhere in Europe, with the United Kingdom introducing a £166 billion stimulus package since the beginning of lockdown: the largest in the country's history.

By contrast, in the global South where the purse strings are tight, stimulus packages came in the form of loans from the IMF and World Bank as per usual. The IMF announced in April that it 'stands ready' to use its $1 trillion lending capacity to help countries that are struggling with the economic impact of the coronavirus. If Thomas Sankara, the former Burkina Faso President who was overthrown by the agents of the West, was alive today, he would dismiss this so-called assistance from the IMF as nothing but wolves dressed in sheep skin.

Fanon (1961) once remarked that, 'the biggest threat to Africa's development is not colonialism, but the big appetites of the bourgeoisie and their lack of ideology'. It is the 'comprador bourgeoise' according to law professor Tshepo Madlingozi (2018) that 'steal public money to buy garish belts, stupid pointy shoes, testicle crushing jeans, shirts with silly emblems, gas guzzling cars, alcohol beverages whose names they can't even pronounce'. In South Africa, they already have plundered the COVID-19 relief funds borrowed from the IMF and wasted it among their comrades while they confine us, the poor and the working class, to our shacks and backrooms in the townships.

In Zimbabwe, Minister of Health Obadiah Moyo was fired and arrested for misappropriating funds meant to be fighting the pandemic. He was arrested in mid-June and granted bail on allegations of corruption regarding a US$60-million deal to procure COVID-19 test kits and medical equipment (then the government had the journalist, who broke the story, arrested). Another Health Minister, this time in Kenya, Mutahi Kagwe, was caught submitting a highly inflated report on some of the products needed for the fight against the pandemic.

It is clear that in the global South the COVID-19 pandemic is set to wreak havoc, due to the unconfronted legacy of colonial underdevelopment which has been further aided by the collaboration between the metropolitan bourgeoisies and the comprador bourgeoises in our countries. The state of our healthcare systems are not equipped by far in comparison with Europe's systems to deal with the incoming tornado, and neither are we economically stable enough to deal with the ripple effects. If we are to see the other side of the pandemic, we must emerge with a new imagination of how we are to strengthen and build strong working-class movements that will challenge imperialism because only then we can put an end to neocolonialism.

References

Amin, S (1976) *Unequal Development: An Essay on the Social Formations of Peripheral Capitalism*, New York: Monthly Review Press.

Brownsell, J (2020) 'UK Diplomat in U-Turn over EU Ventilators "Political Decision"', *Aljazeera*, 22 April, available: https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/04/uk-diplomat-turn-eu-ventilators-political-decision-200421202115545.html (accessed 10 September 2020).

Changoiwala, P (2020) 'Why South Asia's COVID-19 Numbers Are So Low (For Now)', *Quanta Magazine*, 23 June, available: https://www.quantamagazine.org/why-south-asias-covid-19-numbers-are-so-low-for-now-20200623/ (accessed 10 September 2020).

Fanon, F (2001) [1961] *The Wretched of the Earth*, London: Penguin Books.

Jack M (2020) 6 April, *Twitter*, available: https://twitter.com/JackMa/status/1247014237303537664 (accessed 10 September 2020).

Maclean, R and Marks, S (2020) '10 African Countries Have No Ventilators. That's Only Part of the Problem', *The New York Times*, 18 April, available: https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/18/world/africa/africa-coronavirus-ventilators.html (accessed 10 September 2020).

Madlingozi, T (2018) 12 October, *Twitter*, available: https://twitter.com/tshepomadlingo1/status/1050798456678359040 (accessed 10 September 2020).

Rodney, W (2018) [1972] *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, London: Verso.

Walker, D, Chi, Y-L, Glassman, A and Chalkidou, K (2020) 'More Harm Than Good? The Net Impact of COVID-19 Policies Is What Matters for Health', *Center For Global Development*, 15 May, available: https://www.cgdev.org/blog/more-harm-good-net-impact-covid-19-policies-what-matters-health (accessed 10 September 2020).

Note:

This article has been previously published in *Africa Is a Country*, www.africasacountry.com, and available at: https://africasacountry.com/2020/08/fighting-the-pandemic-in-the-global-south (accessed 10 September 2020).

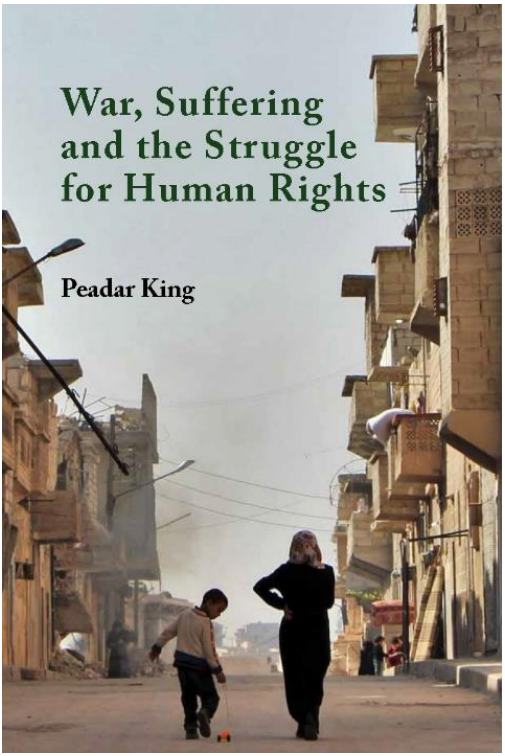
Phethani Madzivhandila is a pan-Africanist historian and activist based in Azania (South Africa).

Resource reviews

WAR, SUFFERING AND THE STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

Piaras Mac Éinrí

King, P (2020) *War, Suffering and the Struggle for Human Rights*, Dublin: Liffey Press.



Lebanese film-maker Nadine Labaki's extraordinary and compelling *Capernaum* (2018) was an unexpected global sensation. Starring a 13-year-old protagonist who was himself a refugee and also starring, even more improbably, a child of three who becomes his sidekick, the film painted an unforgettable portrait of a chaotic, violent city (Beirut) where life is cheap, danger is everywhere, people are routinely sold and trafficked, crime is a way of life and your own family may be the most dangerous place of all. In this world there is no security and no safety net. Described by a *Daily Telegraph* reviewer as a 'social-realist blockbuster – fired by furious compassion and teeming with sorrow, yet strewn

with diamond-shards of beauty, wit and hope' (Collin, 2019), the city portrayed, Beirut (in the news just now for very specific and tragic reasons), could in truth be any city with a legacy of conflict in the global South, from Mogadishu to Kabul.

Labaki's brilliant film showed, in a visceral way, the everyday struggle for survival of tens of millions living on this planet today. If done well, as it was in this case, that is one of the great strengths of the medium of film - a sense of immediacy, visual power, and empathetic identification with the characters. But how does one achieve the necessary distancing required to stand back in a more reflective, analytical fashion and write about such issues, and what might be the purpose of writing about them? This is the challenge addressed by Peadar King in *War, Suffering and the Struggle for Human Rights*. King, long-time producer and presenter of *What in the World?*, Irish national broadcaster RTÉ's global affairs series, has been bringing astonishing stories into Irish homes for almost 20 years. From stories of hope and inspiration to stories of oppression and suppression, the series has examined lives lived amongst serious and persistent poverty, and a wide range of complex social and political situations across the developing world.

It is not an easy task to address such issues on a global scale. Descriptions of injustice, violence and inequality are challenging at the best of times. They are most readily understood through real-life case studies, but when one begins to catalogue the horrors which humankind can inflict on itself, several dilemmas quickly become evident.

For one thing, the sheer repetitive awfulness of any such telling can numb the senses. As King says, in a sentence attributed to Stalin, one death is a tragedy, a million a statistic. There is a danger that the recitation of events will become a case of one damned thing after another, desensitising the reader and ultimately making it difficult to formulate an adequate moral, political or even emotional response. Robert Fisk reminds us of conversations with United States officers in Iraq after the invasion of that country in 2003 when they

'began to talk to us of "compassion fatigue". Outrageously, this meant that the West was in danger of walking away from human suffering' (Fisk, 2020).

The stance to be adopted by any putative writer-as-witness to this apparently never-ending nightmare also poses a challenge. Can injustice, war, violence and suffering be adequately captured and analysed by any observer, especially one who has not been a participant in or direct observer of the events portrayed? How can one combine human empathy with dispassionate analysis and consideration of the underlying political and structural factors giving rise to such evils in the first place? Is it to be an unrelieved portrait of bleakness and savagery and is there a danger that a glint of humanity or hope might dilute this message? How does the writer allow space for readers to formulate their own responses to such recitations?

Of course, these problems and dilemmas are not new. They are part of the journalist's daily calling. If their task is to write the first draft of history, that should include all of the above; disinterested accuracy and informed, dispassionate analysis and commentary. One might also include the academic researcher, who attempts, one hopes equally dispassionately, to analyse the causes and consequences of human, social and political events, whether at a local level or on a global scale, while situating that analysis within a broader comparative perspective.

The French word *vulgarisation* is not easy to translate – 'popularisation' is the usual English language equivalent, although words like 'outreach' and 'dissemination' are also suggested. The meaning is very far from what might be suggested by an overly literal English language reading and actually conveys, with a positive connotation, the notion of the dissemination of a high degree of knowledge and expertise in a form accessible to a wider public audience. This is a key element of King's book. It combines the first-hand observations typical of good journalism, carried out in the field and based on encountering many of those directly affected, with background analysis and factual knowledge based on careful research. While he does not dissemble his own rights-based, left-of-centre political standpoint, that does

not inhibit his ability to call out wrongdoing wherever he sees it. He has a keen eye for human detail, a strong empathy with his subjects and the background expertise to make sense of what he sees in both its specific and broader contexts.

His focus is a global one. In thirteen chapters, he manages to paint a portrait of some of the world's more troubled places, as disparate as Afghanistan, Lebanon, Brazil and South Sudan. Some will be familiar, others, such as Western Sahara and Uruguay, less so (at least to the English language reader). Even in the case of those places and situations we think we know, he conveys a specificity of focus and an analytical depth that goes beyond what one might encounter in standard media reports. Moreover, one of his constant themes is, precisely, that much of what we think we know about such places is itself often derived from a radically inadequate, clichéd and distorted media image which serves to obfuscate and reduce complexity, rather than elucidate and educate. I remember all too well from my own time living in Lebanon in the 1980s that the part of the city where I lived, west Beirut, was almost invariably preceded by the qualifiers 'mainly Muslim' or 'war-torn'. Such shorthand usages offer a superficial picture of a complex place and actually get in the way of a proper understanding, as surely as the constant depiction, familiar but irritating to Irish people, of the troubles on this island as a war between Catholics and Protestants.

King also shows that the lacunae in western media coverage are not limited to the clichés used, but affect the basic choices made in what is considered newsworthy and reportable. After one atrocity in South Sudan involving the massacre of about 2,000 civilians, he contacts a radio station in Ireland.

> "That sounds like an interesting three minutes', I was told. 'Perhaps on Friday'. It didn't happen. Apparently Friday was a busy day in Ireland. And, we are told, black lives matter" (194).

This picture of the Western perspective on the rest of the world may lack the bitter irony of the title of war correspondent Ed Behr's (1978) memoir *Anyone Here Been Raped and Speaks English?* but the point is not dissimilar.

Certain themes recur throughout the book. One is man's inhumanity to women: for example, the mass killing of women in the Mexican border town of Juárez which began around 1993.

> "Many victims were teenage students, poor and working-class young women. According to an Amnesty International (2003), the majority of the victims were less than eighteen years old and almost half of them were subjected to sexual violence beyond the basic act of rape. Many had bite marks, stab wounds, ligature and strangulation marks on their necks. Some had their breasts severely mutilated. Autopsies determined that some of the missing girls were kept alive for a few weeks before being murdered. Investigators believe the girls were held captive and repeatedly raped and tortured before being murdered. Posters plastered on city walls bear testimony to the scale of the killing" (96-97).

This is not the only way in which women are victimised. King's description of the links between militarisation and exploitative sex work around US military bases in South Korea takes us on a tour of the subject, going back to earlier versions of such exploitation in nineteenth century Ireland and drawing on the work of historian Maria Luddy concerning the Contagious Diseases Acts 1864-1886, which provided for the forcible confinement of up to nine months of women (but not men) suffering from venereal diseases in 'subjected districts' including Cork, Queenstown (Cobh) and the Curragh.

In spite of the book's avowed subject matter, it is still a shock to read of the sheer levels of violence and murder portrayed. Latin America stands out – home to just eight per cent of the world's population, but 33 per cent of its homicides.

> "More than 2.5 million Latin Americans have been murdered since the turn of this century. No other continent comes near. Just four countries in the region – Brazil, Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela – account for a quarter of all the murders on Earth" (27).

King does not reach for any simplistic explanations but nor does he subscribe to the idea that there is anything inexplicable about such matters. The world he portrays is rotten with inequality, corrupted by criminal drug gangs (serving, of course, western consumers in more salubrious countries) and controlled by ideologues like Brazilian president, Jair Bolsonaro, sharing, as the book notes, the same white supremacist ideology as his North American neighbour.

Some issues surface repeatedly, including the often calamitous consequences of military intervention by outside powers in places such as Libya. But while every chapter also contains examples of survivors and the courage of those who fight for just causes, one offers a glimpse of the possibility of a genuinely better society. It is the story of José Alberto Mujica Cordano ('Pepe'), former president of Latin America's second smallest country, Uruguay, and a former revolutionary, inspired by Ché Guevara. A modest man known throughout the continent, he was responsible for a number of radical social experiments, including the legalisation of marijuana, and for policies in areas such as health and education which seem to have done much to reduce social inequality and oppression in Uruguay. It is probably no coincidence that a country known for its vibrant participatory democracy, low inequality and expansive social policies also stood out in its response to the recent COVID-19 pandemic.

The prose style is informal, direct and down-to-earth – sometimes perhaps excessively so – rather than academic and references are not provided. It could be argued that a focus on fewer places and in greater depth, rather than a world-wide whistle-stop tour, might have been more productive, but a good case can also be made for the choices King has made here.

I thought this book would be rather daunting, if only because of its endless accounts of human rights abuses and injustice. But King also shows the art that conceals art. Each chapter of about twenty pages is a self-contained account, painting a picture of people and places in a way which leaves the reader informed, interested and anxious to find out more. But each chapter also echoes common themes, in a way which conveys a continuity and an internal unity of purpose. He clearly writes with an Irish readership in mind, but what he has to say should be of interest to a far wider audience as well.

Above all, it is not all unremitting horror. He also shows us that humanity, resilience, tolerance and goodwill are rarely absent from the grimmest of situations. He amply justifies the task he has set himself, to make sense for us, the readers, of the places he depicts, to recover the humanity and agency of those portrayed, including victims, and to encourage us to think about our own moral engagement with the world beyond our shores, while subtly and constantly reminding us, should there be any danger of smugness or complacency, of local parallels.

References

Amnesty International (2003) *Intolerable killings: 10 years of abductions and murder of women in Ciudad Juárez and Chihuahua*, available: https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/amr41/026/2003/en/ (accessed 10 August 2020).

Behr, E (1978) *Anyone Here Been Raped and Speaks English?*, London: New English Library Ltd.

Collin, R (2019) 'Capernaum review: a crazily ambitious, heart-in-mouth neorealist version of Baby's Day Out', *The Telegraph*, 21 February, available: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/films/0/capernaum-review-crazily-ambitious-heart-in-mouth-neorealist/ (accessed 10 August 2020).

Fisk, R (2020) 'Beirut has suffered a catastrophe that will live long in the memory – and the repeated betrayal of its citizens is a travesty', 5 August, *The Independent*.

Labaki, N (2018) *Capernaüm*, available: https://www.capernaum.film/ (accessed 10 August 2020).

Piaras Mac Éinrí lectures in migration and geopolitics in the Department of Geography at University College Cork. He is a former member of the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs, with postings in Brussels, Beirut and Paris.

IMPORTANT WORK IN A TIME OF VOLATILITY: TRANSNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON DEMOCRACY, CITIZENSHIP, HUMAN RIGHTS AND PEACE EDUCATION

Benjamin Mallon

Rizvi, F, Drinkwater, M, and Edge, K (eds.) (2019) *Transnational Perspectives on Democracy, Citizenship, Human Rights and Peace Education*, London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic.

Over the past few months, we have all witnessed and experienced the impact of a global pandemic as well as the global reignition of social movements seeking redress for systemic and longstanding racism. Alongside the ongoing rise of populism, global conflict and the existential threat posed by climate breakdown, we are reminded that our lives are continuously shaped by structures and processes that transcend the globe. This timely publication, edited by Mary Drinkwater, Fazal Rizvi and Karen Edge, provides a valuable reflection on how transnationalism as 'a set of processes relating to social, economic and political connections between people, places and institutions, across national borders, potentially spanning the world', shapes understanding of local and global identities and relationships (Drinkwater, Rizvi and Edge, 2019: 5). Most importantly, the book considers how transnationalism might be employed as a framework to transform democracy, human rights and global citizenship education.

The central concept of this volume, transnationalism, emerged from an ongoing collaboration between the Graduate School of Education at the University of Wisconsin (Madison), the University of Melbourne, the London Institute of Education (now University College London) and, more recently, the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) at the University of Toronto. These relationships culminated in the development of an online graduate course, around which the chapters in this edited volume are developed.

The book begins with an exploration of how educational policy and practice has been shaped by transnational processes, which are not simply constructed by governments and corporations, but are also driven by people. In a chapter of particular importance in light of the rise of populism against the backdrop of climate breakdown, Fazal Rizvi provides a deep consideration of how global mobility, in all its forms, has shaped the economic, political and cultural reconfiguration of the world. Transnationalism in this context presents significant opportunities, but also significant risks, particularly for the most vulnerable, and raises the question of how education can support learners living with such realities. Rizvi considers typical responses to this challenge, before making a compelling argument that the concept of 'everyday cosmopolitanism' (Rizvi, 2019: 45) can support learners to consider and reflect on their sense of place within an interdependent and interconnected world, and to explore their responsibilities in relation to possible global solutions.

The second section of the book explores democracy and democratic education in four different contexts. Stemming from research in Kenya, Mary Drinkwater argues through a critical, decolonial framework, that the 'thinning' of democracy as a result of neo-liberal globalisation, requires a new narrative of robust global democracy. Drawing on Ancient Greek conceptions of participation, African and indigenous knowledge, and Hannah Arendt's ideas around action and pluralism (Arendt, 1958), Drinkwater argues that, to support young people's engagement with active global citizenship, educational practices should be underpinned by a more global narrative of democracy.

For those readers interested in higher and adult education, Tristan McCowan provides a fascinating analysis of alternative higher education (HE) institutions in Brazil. Considering whether it is possible for radical transformative education to exist within the mainstream, McCowan explores institutions on either side of, as well as those straddling the line separating mainstream and non-mainstream education. Through their alternative conceptions of access, curriculum and governance, including those with deep connections to marginalised local groups, pan-Latin American connections and transatlantic connections to African countries, these institutions depart from mainstream HE provision. However, McCowan also identifies the

challenges of resourcing and recognition that are experienced by those seeking to develop radical alternatives from inside and outside the Brazilian education mainstream.

Within a Canadian context scarred by processes of violence, the chapter by Reva Joshee, argues that approaches grounded in a Gandhian inspired 'slow peace' (Joshee, 2019: 97) can support the positive transformation of diversity and social justice policy. This chapter raises important questions as to how the development of policy can be supported by truly inclusive processes. The chapter by Karen Edge highlights the importance of transnational comparative analysis, as research considering educational leadership in England, the United States (US) and Canada, exposes significant learnings. Edge explores how processes of educational decentralisation, whilst holding potential for democratisation of knowledge and expertise, may lead to the reproduction of the very narrowness those from certain perspectives are seeking to overcome.

The third section of the book considers how a focus on transnationalism and transnational perspectives may shape citizenship and global citizenship education. The opening chapter of this section will be of particular interest to those concerned with global citizenship education (GCE) in the formal education system, in which Mark Evans provides a useful overview of early characterisations of GCE's learning goals, practices and orientations. With a specific reference to the development of GCE in Canada, Evans charts the challenges facing a widening and deepening citizenship education, namely barriers to practical implementation, the need for sophisticated pedagogies and the importance of the incorporation of a justice lens. Delving deeper into the historical roots of educational cosmopolitanism, Julie McLeod provides a rigorous overview of what Fuchs (2004: 757, cited in McLeod, 2019: 159) describes as an 'institutionalised internationalisation' of education. Focusing on the interwar years, McLeod considers, with a particular focus on the Australian context, how the League of Nations and the International Bureau of Education (IBE) sought to influence the content and outcomes of educational practices. This chapter provides a meaningful analysis of the processes of internationalisation, alongside important

developments in progressive education, but also highlights how current agendas and debates may be shaped by deep rooted and potentially exclusionary conceptualisations of global citizenship.

In the third chapter of the section, Hugh Starkey provides a strong argument for the employment of a right-based citizenship education approach to achieving the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation's (UNESCO) challenge of 'learning to live together' (Delors, 1996: 91). Starkey draws on ideas of cosmopolitan citizenship, where practice can support young people's action to defend their rights and the rights of others. Starkey considers the evidence supporting the efficacy of the Rights Respecting Schools Award in the United Kingdom, identifying the potential of the Convention of the Rights of the Child to inform school policies and practices, but also noting the shortfalls in addressing broader questions of global injustice. Drawing upon empirical research, Ann Phoenix clearly demonstrates how language brokering represents an important act of citizenship for young people as they support their transnational families to negotiate lives in new countries and contribute to society through their work. The global nature of these actions, Phoenix argues, can provide the basis for future global citizenship.

The fourth and final section of the book utilises transnationalism as a lens to explore peace-building, peace education and human rights education. Stephane Chatelier provides a philosophical negotiation of the space between cultural relativism and cultural imperialism in his chapter exploring humanism and education. Focusing on the contemporary work of UNESCO, Chatelier considers philosophical, ethical and political critiques of humanism, moving from a particular focus on post-colonial theory to consider human rights and globalisation. Chatelier argues that negotiated humanism and human rights may inform education which seeks to address such significant challenges. Considering the challenges and possibilities of peace education in Pakistan, Sarfaroz Niyozov and Munir Lalani provide a particularly interesting historical background to the forms of violence and conflict that have shaped the region. The chapter considers how education has both supported and suffered from violence, with extreme consequences for those young people within the

education system. Niyozov and Lalani then explore the potential of a model of peace education, with reflections on the work taking place in Aga Khan University's Institute for Educational Development.

In the book's final chapter, Kathy Bickmore explores the experiences of young people in Mexico, Bangladesh and Canada to investigate how social conflict is both experienced in day to day life, and as a part of school curricula addressing these issues. Bickmore draws together a wealth of literature on conflict, violence and peace to illustrate a very useful model comprising the direct, cultural and socio-structural dimensions of conflict and peacebuilding education. Qualitative research in the three contexts unearths young people's experiences of direct gender-based violence and conflict and socio-cultural dimensions of gendered conflict, yet reveals that these issues were, for the most part, not addressed within the classroom. This chapter illustrates the significant risks faced by young people, particularly young women, as they negotiate conflict and violence in their lives, and highlights how a transnational perspective can shed light on globally shared experiences which necessitate responses from educators working in very different contexts.

In summary, the book skilfully situates debates within the complex and dynamic landscape of transnationalism. For those working in higher education, the entirety of the book provides a useful insight into the content and development process of a transnational education programme. Those engaged with educational policy will find important critical perspectives on policy development. For those working as educators in the areas of GCE / development education (DE), particularly those focused on human rights, peacebuilding and migration, several chapters provide valuable theoretical perspectives on these issues. For those working with young people, the chapters from Starkey, Phoenix and Bickmore in particular will stimulate important reflection. Ultimately, the publication offers a great deal for those seeking theoretical frameworks and practical insights to support the positive transformation of educational policies and practices.

References

Arendt, H (1958) *The Human Condition*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Delors, J (1996) *Learning: The Treasure Within; Report to UNESCO of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century*, Paris: UNESCO.

Fuchs, E (2004) 'Educational Sciences, Morality and Politics: International Educational Congresses in the Early Twentieth Century', *Paedagogica Historica*, Vol. 40, no. 5-6, pp. 757-784.

Joshee, R (2019) 'Democratic Approaches to Policy and Education: Diversity, Social Justice and Peace' in M Drinkwater, F Rizvi, and K Edge (eds.) *Transnational Perspectives on Democracy, Citizenship, Human Rights and Peace Education*, London and New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, pp. 95-112.

Rizvi, F (2019) 'Global Mobility, Transnationalism and Challenges for Education' in M Drinkwater, F Rizvi, and K Edge (eds.) *Transnational Perspectives on Democracy, Citizenship, Human Rights and Peace Education*, London and New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, pp. 27-50.

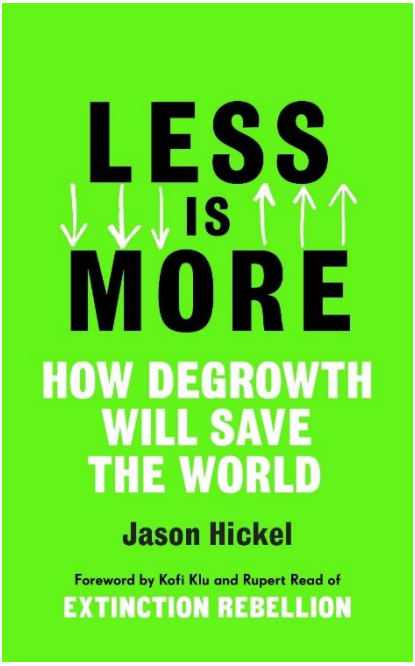
Rizvi, F, Drinkwater, M, and Edge, K (2019) 'Transnational Perspectives' in M Drinkwater, F Rizvi and K Edge (eds.) *Transnational Perspectives on Democracy, Citizenship, Human Rights and Peace Education*, London and New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, pp. 3-25.

Benjamin Mallon is Assistant Professor in Development and Intercultural Education in the School of STEM Education, Innovation and Global Studies in the Institute of Education, Dublin City University. He researches and teaches in the area of Global Citizenship Education, with a particular focus on pedagogical approaches which address conflict, challenge violence and support the development of peaceful societies. Email: benjamin.mallon@dcu.ie.

LESS IS MORE: HOW DEGROWTH WILL SAVE THE WORLD

Stephen McCloskey

Hickel, J (2020) *Less is More: How Degrowth Will Save the World*, London: Penguin.



Jason Hickel is an economic anthropologist who lectures in Goldsmiths University of London. He is one of the most articulate, progressive and imaginative contributors to the question of development and sustainability who regularly and persuasively challenges economic orthodoxy, inequality and the official narrative of poverty in the global South. He is a valuable presence on social media (@jasonhickel) where he shares insights, resources and analysis on the global economic system and its disastrous impact on our relationship with the natural world. His last book, *The Divide: A Brief Guide to Global Inequality and Its Solutions* (2017) is an excellent introduction to, and analysis of, poverty and inequality in the global South, reflecting on a 500-year history that includes colonialism, indigenous genocide, extractivism, indentured slavery and neoliberalism imposed by countries in the global North and their proxies. He traces a history of oppression and expropriation by Northern countries in the global South from the first expeditions of Columbus to today's neo-colonial forms of economic control through debt and structural adjustment programmes which continue to debilitate southern economies. He doesn't hold back when he suggests that the 'development industry has

repeatedly failed on its grand promises to End World Hunger or Make Poverty History – so why give them any more money? Why let them encourage false hope?' (2017: 14-15).

This kind of critical voice is rare in the development sphere where too many academic commentators, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and civil society movements are content to remain within the policy comfort zone of overseas development aid which is unequal to the economic challenges confronted by southern countries. One of the commendable qualities of *The Divide* is that it debunks the traditional narrative attached to the development sector that it is the global North which is developing the South. A recent report by Philip Alston, the United Nations Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights, found that in 2019 thirty OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) countries provided $152 billion in grants or loans to the global South. However, low and middle-income countries paid principal payments and interest of $969 billion to the global North based on a total external debt of $7.8 trillion (2020: 16). As Hickel suggests in *The Divide*: 'the discourse of aid distracts us from seeing the broader picture. It hides the patterns of extraction that are actively causing the impoverishment of the global South today and actively impeding meaningful development' (2017: 29). *The Divide* makes for an insightful starting point for investigations into the history of inequality between the global North and South, and the author's latest book, *Less is More: How Degrowth Will Save the World* (2020) is an excellent companion text.

The Anthropocene

Less is More probes the origins of the relationship between capitalism, inequality and the relentless exploitation of the natural environment for growth 'for its own sake' (2020: 20). It frames the climate emergency in the context of Anthropocene-driven global warming; systemic and unsustainable demands made of the natural environment by human economic activity. The book ultimately aims to provide us with a clear-eyed solution to the climate emergency and the grotesque levels of inequality that have attended the post-Second World War obsession with exponential growth as measured by Gross

Domestic Product (GDP). The book considers and dismisses fanciful, left-field solutions to the climate emergency in the form of new technologies which might save us at the eleventh hour from ecological disaster and allow us to continue operating the same failed economic system. The author embraces technology where it can mitigate global warming and accelerate renewable energy sources but argues that keeping global warming at 1.5 ºC above pre-industrial levels, as recommended by the Inter-Governmental Panel on Climate Change, demands a scaling down of economic growth (IPCC, 2018). Degrowth is defined as 'a planned downscaling of energy and resource use to bring the economy back into balance with the living world in a safe, just and equitable way' (Hickel, 2020: 29). The author adds that:

> "Reducing resource use removes pressure from ecosystems and gives the web of life a chance to knit itself back together, while reducing energy use makes it much easier to accomplish a rapid transition to renewables before dangerous tipping points begin to cascade" (Ibid.).

What makes degrowth necessary is capitalism's addiction to fossil fuels and its fetishisation of growth at all costs. Capitalism demands that GDP grow by 2 or 3 per cent a year, which means doubling the size of the global economy every 23 years (Ibid.: 20). This, in turn, has resulted in an endless cycle of production and consumption, quite often of commodities without any social value, with the 'prime directive' of sustaining growth and profit (Ibid). The ecological breakdown has resulted from where the global economy churns 'through more resources and waste each year, to the point where it is now dramatically overshooting what scientists have defined as safe planetary boundaries' (Ibid.). A chilling introduction to the book starkly conveys the extent of the crisis: a projected rise in sea levels between 30 and 90 cm by the end of the century will cause much of Bangladesh to disappear; the Middle-East will experience 'extreme droughts and desertification' and will be 'inhospitable to agriculture'; 'coral eco-systems are being bleached into dead, colourless skeletons'; bush fires in Australia in 2020 killed 'as many as one billion wild animals' (Ibid: 8-12). In short, 'We are sleepwalking into a mass extinction event – the sixth in our planet's history and the first to be caused by human economic activity' (Ibid.: 8).

From feudalism to capitalism

The book has a simple structure of two sections; the first titled 'More is Less' traces the collapse of feudalism into capitalism but not in the way we expect. The struggle of labour against landed tithes and taxes imposed by nobles and the church eventually led to lower rents and higher wages 'with free access to commons' (Ibid.: 44). The period from 1350 to 1500 is described as 'the golden age of the European proletariat' when they enjoyed greater economic independence, shorter working hours, grassroots democracy and improved living conditions in tandem with nature. This period of relative worker autonomy was brutally eradicated by a gentrified system of enclosure which forced commoners off their land, destroyed rural communities and severed a sustainable relationship with nature. Common land was fenced off and a nascent capitalist system now had the plentiful wage labour supply it needed to sustain new cotton mills. 'The period from 1500 to the 1800s', argues Hickel, 'was among the bloodiest, most tumultuous in world history' (Ibid.: 48) with the colonisation of the global South providing the cotton and other raw materials needed to fuel the industrial revolution. The labour needed to extract resources from the global South mostly took the form of indentured slaves from Africa and the Americas, most of whom perished from a pitiless colonial system. The enclosure system in Europe created what Hickel describes as 'artificial scarcity' whereby a decent standard of living was denied commoners to force them into subsistence labour without security or tenure. In the industrial powerhouse of Manchester, life expectancy collapsed to 25 years as a race to the bottom in wages and appalling living conditions decimated the ranks of new urban workers (Ibid.: 50). Similar conditions were endured across Europe and the imposition of artificial scarcity to advance economic goals in the global South created a famine in India that claimed thirty million lives at the end of the nineteenth century (Ibid.: 59). These appalling injustices are rarely discussed in contemporary development narratives which insist that the global North is developing the South when what underpins Northern economic ascendancy is a colonial history of coerced extraction.

Animism v dualism

One of the consequences of enclosure was the severing of humans' relationship with the living environment and their intimate knowledge of 'plants, insects, animals, rivers, mountains and soils' (Ibid.: 62). This 'spiritual interchangeability' between humans and non-humans is described by anthropologists as animism – 'the idea that all living beings are interconnected and share in the same spirit of essence' (Ibid.: 63). This was a relationship based on reciprocity rather than extraction, ensuring that eco-systems could regenerate. During the Enlightenment, our relationship with nature was fundamentally altered by the concept of dualism which asserted the dominance of humans over nature with the relationship 'sliced into a clear, unbridgeable dichotomy' (Ibid.: 69). Propagated by philosophers, René Descartes and Francis Bacon, and seized upon by the church and capital, dualism became the philosophical grist to the mill of capitalism. For the church, dualism suppressed animism's 'notion that spirit suffused the material world' and for capitalism, the extraction of the earth's resources demanded that they be regarded as separate from, and the property of, humans. Dualism supported the objectification of nature as a commodity to be exploited and converted into growth and profit. The process of colonisation, therefore, went further than the subordination of nature for the accumulation of profit but sought to eradicate animism as a philosophy for our relationship with the living world. To that extent dualism was a vital cog in the 'civilising mission' of colonialism in the global South.

Section one of the book traces the trajectory of capitalism from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries of fossil fuel-based growth in the global North and exploitation in the global South to the post-Second World War obsession with GDP and *growthism.* It explores the absurdity, waste and ecological fallout of endlessly pursuing the 'fix' of growth 'indefinitely, for its own sake' (Ibid.: 93). We are collectively bombarded by ever more sophisticated and insidious forms of advertising to purchase commodities that we don't need and create growth that has no social value. Besides, all of which, 'beyond a certain point, more GDP isn't necessary for improving human welfare at all' (Ibid.: 168). And, this is the critical point about degrowth,

scaling back growth doesn't have to mean a lower quality of life or reduced life expectancy, quite the opposite. Portugal has 65 per cent less income than the United States (US) and has a life expectancy of 81.1 years compared to 78.7 in the US. Or take an even bigger contrast, with Costa Rica having a better life expectancy than the US with 80 per cent less income. There is a similar story with education; Austria, Spain, Italy and Hong Kong perform better on United Nations education rankings than the US on considerably less income (Ibid.: 175). The achievements of countries in the global South, including Cuba, Costa Rica, Sri Lanka and Thailand tell us that universal healthcare and education can be achieved for as little as $9,000 per capita which is less than the world average GDP per capita of $11,000 (Ibid.: 176).

A better world is possible

The problem with our endless obsession with growth is that beyond a certain point it has a negative impact on society. The artificial scarcity created by the enclosure system continues to be imposed today through austerity, wage freezes, welfare 'reform' and cuts to public services. The inequality created by these measures is bad for society. As Hickel suggests:

> "Inequality creates a sense of unfairness: it erodes public trust, cohesion and solidarity. It's also linked to poorer health, higher levels of crime and less social mobility. People who live in unequal societies tend to be more frustrated, anxious, insecure and discontent with their lives" (Ibid.: 179).

Using Portugal as a rule of thumb with its capacity to achieve higher levels of welfare than the US with $38,000 less GDP per capita, suggests Hickel, means that $13 trillion generated by the US economy every year is effectively wasted (Ibid.: 178).

So, what's to be done? Section two – titled 'Less is More' - offers 'pathways to a post-capitalist world' which include the following steps. We should end the 'planned obsolescence' of products which are designed to fail after a short period of use in order to create a market for replacements. We need to end the intrusion of advertising into our public spaces in order to create

a market for products we neither need or want. Neighbourhood workshops could create greater shared public access to services and equipment that would change 'ownership to usership' (Ibid.: 215). Ending food waste (a staggering 50 per cent of all food produced) and scaling down ecologically destructive industries (beef, fossil fuels) are other common-sense measures proposed. There are also sound proposals for reducing inequalities between the global North and South, including debt cancellation, closing down tax havens that support illicit financial flows and democratising multilateral bodies such as the IMF and World Bank. Countries in the global South need to be given an equal voice in the decision-making processes of bodies like the World Trade Organisation, which are dominated by the largest economies rather than the size of the populations of member states.

Sometimes more is better

Less is More is a terrific book, brimful of ideas that are rooted in practice and common sense rather than concepts like 'green growth' which suggest supplanting new technologies into the same economic system with a view to sustaining growth with cleaner forms of production. The problem is that some green technologies are not guaranteed to work – or work fast enough - and, in any event, don't address broader concerns about how wealth is accumulated and distributed. *Less is More* is not a refuge for untested methods of decarbonisation or phoney concepts designed to maintain the existing economic order that is underpinning inequality and the climate emergency. And yet, I thought the book could have offered more, particularly to social movements and activists who have done so much to force climate change into popular consciousness. In September 2019, 7.6 million people participated in more than 6,000 climate strike events in 185 countries in one of the largest popular mobilisations in recent history (Global Climate Strike, 2019) and, yet, the climate strike movement is a throwaway line in *Less is More*. The book's preface is written by two activists from Extinction Rebellion, but the book itself says nothing about how degrowth could and should be hardwired into the campaigning activities of XR and other climate movements.

History is littered with social movements that are unable to translate popular protest into policy change and this is likely to happen to the climate movement unless it puts practical proposals into advocacy and campaigning. 'I am not a political strategist', says Hickel, but since when could we leave political strategy to politicians? (2020: 242). We all need to be political strategists and activists if the commendable ideas in this book are to be put into practice. In a similar fashion, these ideas need to become integrated into mainstream education and a strategy implemented to challenge the popular narrative that growth is progress and a necessity. The growth narrative is a powerful one to challenge given the powerful political and economic forces arraigned behind it and yet it must be done.

I was surprised that *Less is More* didn't confront the weaknesses of the Sustainable Development Goals as a policy antidote to the climate emergency. Hickel has previously highlighted the contradiction at the heart of the Goals between those that call for harmony with nature and those that urge sustained global economic growth (Hickel, 2019). It was important to confront the SDGs in the context of degrowth because many development actors use the Goals as a shield to deflect criticism for a lack of urgent action on global warming. Philip Alston has said that the Goals are 'failing in key respects' and 'patently inadequate to actually end poverty' (2020: 10). They needed attention in the book.

Less is More was clearly written before the COVID-19 pandemic which has caused so much of the global economy to degrow! So we are denied the tantalising prospect of the author suggesting how the post-COVID-19 context is likely to impact on the case for degrowth. The world's leading economies are clearly desperate to restore growth to 'normal' levels and have spent considerable sums of previously withheld public money to prop up the old order. Will the world's enforced lockdown, no matter now temporary, change our attitudes to the public good and our economic priorities? If yes, degrowth offers a valuable template for bringing our economy back into balance with nature and improving our lives and wellbeing at the same time.

References

Alston, P (2020) 'The Parlous State of Poverty Eradication: Report of the Special Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights', 2 July, available: https://chrgj.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Alston-Poverty-Report-FINAL.pdf (accessed 7 September 2020).

Climate Strike Movement (2019) 7.6 million people demand action after week of climate strikes', available: https://globalclimatestrike.net/7-million-people-demand-action-after-week-of-climate-strikes/ (accessed 9 September 2020).

Hickel, J (2019) 'The contradiction of the sustainable development goals: Growth versus ecology on a finite planet', *Sustainable Development*, Vol. 27, Issue 5, Sept/Oct, pp. 873-884.

Hickel, J (2017) *The Divide: A Brief Guide to Global Inequality and Its Solutions*, London: Windmill Books.

Inter-Governmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) (2018) 'Global Warming of 1.5 ºC', available: https://www.ipcc.ch/sr15/ (accessed 7 September 2020).

Stephen McCloskey is Director of the Centre for Global Education and Editor of *Policy and Practice: A Development Education Review*.

GLOBAL JUSTICE EDUCATION IN CRITICAL VIEW

Gerard McCann

O'Toole, B, Ebun, J and Nyaluke, D (2020) *Challenging Perceptions of Africa in Schools: Critical Approaches to Global Justice Education*, London: Routledge.

This book is based on a challenge, the challenge of addressing perceptions of change and our understanding of the complex post-colonial world that people have had to deal with on the continent of Africa. Historically, the global North has had a distinct and patronising view of the people and development of countries in the global South. It is usually framed with a sense of detachment and othering, distancing former colonial powers and their peoples from ongoing highly exploitative policies and activities. The narrative is essentially about shaping mentalities and objective retrospection in analysis, culture and perception. The outcome of this has been systemic and historic stereotyping; discrimination that is so commonplace across the global North that it has generated 'syntagmatic chains' of discourse – a cultural, social and political whisper – leading to much of the racism that exists in society today.

This hegemony has not evolved without resistance. The Black Lives Matter campaign of 2020 brought this residual racism into sharp focus and served, among other things, to highlight an Afrophobia that has been so ingrained across these societies that even the perpetrators of some of the most vexatious crimes against humanity, such as slave traders, have been casually celebrated with historic elevated reputations enhanced. What this book confidently states is that education and, particularly, social justice education, should be focused enough to take on these issues; to take on the whole range of mentalities that has led to a cultural and political perception of Africa and Africans that, in effect, continues to facilitate underdevelopment, racism and the othering of African people.

Transformative learning is about viewing the world differently. A pedagogy of critique is at its core, revealing an understanding of human

development through the lens of social justice. Often education as a subject is so protective of the ideology it emerges from that it foregoes the universal potential of learning and the humanising effects of knowledge sharing. In this, Professor Kehinde Andrews from Birmingham City University, gives a powerful salvo into this philosophy and indeed provides the rational for this book:

> "It is only by stepping out of the ivory tower that we can appreciate and educate ourselves in the wealth of knowledge that exists in the world. The world can only be as equal as the knowledge through which it understands itself" (O'Toole, Ebun, and Nyaluke, 2020: x).

Our view of the world has been shaped by our history and in this regard the history of the global North has been lamentable. Its backstory is one of exploitation and its worldview today remains one of denial. Education has not escaped this ideological amnesia. Racism is a legacy of this, as is the ongoing systemic stripping of the continent of Africa to sustain the consumer binge and privilege the global North has become accustomed to. Within the education establishment, across the spectrum of disciplines and subjects, we need to be honest with ourselves about how we learn and teach about issues pertinent to the people of the global South - the simple truth being that our wealth depends on their poverty.

This collection of articles helps to give substance to transformative learning with specific reference to how the global North views Africa. 'Decolonising education' is maybe a term that could be used to summarise the various contributions, but it is primarily about providing a voice to critical minds on this highly sensitive issue. In this, it demands a change to our understanding of African countries and African people. Contributors from a range of disciplines present a case for an alternative way of viewing Africa, the collective academic weight of the arguments presented being worthy of a university department in its own right. The arguments are concise and pointed and begin a conversation about topics we need to scrutinise as areas of change: 'unlearning', trade justice, critical pedagogies in education, teachers'

experiences, representations of Africa, meaningful action, knowledge justice, race and the future of critical learning. In the opening chapter, Barbara O'Toole, David Nyaluke and Ebun Joseph state clearly what is intended:

> "We make the case here for 'critical' global education, one which involves recognition of historical processes and contemporary inequalities (including economic realities), which encompasses critical and political dimensions of thinking and practice, and which, in the process, impacts on race relations in the local context" (O'Toole, Ebun, and Nyaluke, 2020: 5).

The drive is for process and formation, changing not only the mindset but the context of learning. And the goal is social justice.

In this International Decade of People of African Descent (2015-2024), this text is a fitting and radical interjection. It also premises a wider call to educators and social influencers from Africa to inform and change perceptions and stereotypes and to empower the African sense of self and place without the all too common dismissiveness that permeates educational and cultural reference points around the world. In Xhosa, the saying 'umntu ngumntu ngabantu' (we are human because of our humanity) may give some insight into the wealth of education and learning that is being neglected by not inviting African minds into the education system in the global North. Maybe it is time for Ubuntu, the African philosophy of humanity, to be rolled out across the education system.

Gerard McCann is Senior Lecturer in International Studies and Head of International Programmes at St Mary's University College, A College of Queens University Belfast. He is the Co-Convenor of the Education Study Group of the Development Studies Association Ireland (DSAI). His latest books are the co-edited texts *International Human Rights, Social Policy and Global Development* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2020) and *COVID-19*

in the Global South: Impacts and Responses (Bristol: Bristol University Press, 2020).

THE E-TICK COURSE ON ETHICAL COMMUNICATION

Aislin Lavin

E-TICK is a new Erasmus+ funded online course delivered by the Irish membership organisation, Comhlámh (2020), in partnership with Društvo Humanitas (Slovenia), Zavod Voluntariat (Slovenia), INEX-SDA (Czech Republic), and FOCSIV (Italy). This course on ethical communication introduces a critical approach to unpacking messages we receive from news outlets, social media, advertising, and even send ourselves with varying degrees of consciousness. According to the course's landing page, the creators imagine that their audience might be potential international volunteers, youth workers, global education trainers, and individuals interested in global issues with a view for social change (E-TICK, 2020). This anticipated group of learners will likely have encountered at least some of the ideas and questions discussed in the course and so would be expected to engage with the material independently with relative ease.

However, the course content is relevant to individuals and groups beyond those imagined by its creators. For the course to be accessible to an expanded audience which could include communications officers, fundraising teams, sports coaches, and managers at all levels, additional support from a facilitator could help to encourage learners to get the most out of the course. This review assesses the E-TICK online course as a tool for facilitators to supplement their work and deepen their own practice of ethical communication.

A course that practices what it preaches

The introductory description to the course hints at the conceptual depth that its four 'piers' will explore and the gracious but uncompromising manner in which the learner will be challenged. As an online resource, it makes use of the opportunity to offer interactive and engaging content to learners along with the ability to track progress while moving through material at the learner's own pace.

Interestingly, although the content of the course is in line with a more radical than 'soft' expression of global citizenship education (GCE) (Andreotti, 2006), it does not describe its objectives or content using this terminology. The course's omission of 'global citizenship' branding is unlikely to be an oversight, but rather evidence of a dedication to GCE principles and clarity for its learners about the subtleties of ethical communication. In spite of an upward trend in the use of 'global citizenship' language, E-TICK opts for strong and inclusive content over buzzwords suggested by some academics to be merely 'empty signifier[s]' not dissimilar to hashtags (Akkari and Maleq, 2019).

Demonstrating a high level of care for its own communication, this course operates according to the values it promotes. Such reflexivity makes it a compelling tool; useful for individuals and groups interested in stepping outside of the echo-chamber to observe the messages embedded in it and explore their ethical implications.

Modeling a measured approach to revealing unseen influences

The E-TICK course is structured using modules that allow learners to build their understanding of communication incrementally. This feature of the course makes it an excellent resource for individuals who are already interested in exploring the ethical dimension of communication, as well as for facilitators looking for resources with the flexibility to focus on one or a few sections that are particularly relevant to their needs. Such versatility is particularly useful when considering an audience of learners who are new and potentially sensitive to topics discussed in the course. Each module, and to some extent the sub-sections within it, can stand on their own making it possible for facilitators to include other activities for individuals and groups who might be resistant to the material otherwise.

The deceivingly bite-sized sub-sections challenge assumptions that a communicator could ever be objective or neutral. These challenges are not brought forth as reprimands but as explorations of common experiences. The approach to raising these challenges in the course is itself a skillful facilitation technique and lends itself to easy adoption by any teacher, leader, or discussion

group. Each challenge is offered as a process that begins with a question. For example, in Module One under 'Shifting Perspectives' one of the first sub-sections is entitled: 'In which reality do we live?' This stark and often rhetorical or ironic question opens a very genuine epistemological inquiry. The question is teased out through an activity in which the learner is asked to listen to a guided meditation that takes them on a 'walk through the park', which seems to anticipate a perceived disconnect between the question and ethical communication. At this point in the module, the challenge to the learners' acceptance of an observable objective reality has already taken place. However, the depth of the challenge will not be revealed until the learner is asked a series of questions which beautifully demonstrate the way in which our 'reality' is influenced by the messages we all receive, internalise, and often reproduce.

This technique of subtly challenging assumptions through what appear to be rhetorical questions and then following them up with activities that allow the learner to recognise and dismantle their own biased communication of messages is repeated in each module. This repetition of process utilises different modes of engagement along the way; some passive, some more active, but all contributing to the effectiveness of the course by minimising the feeling that the learner is just doing the same thing over and over.

Ethical communication, ethical living

In addition to providing content and structure for facilitators themselves to deepen their understanding of ethical communication, the E-TICK course offers material for those facilitators to use in existing courses as well as methods for approaching dense and esoteric concepts. Resources such as the E-TICK online course are critically important in light of growing global support for far-right political groups. A UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation) report on global citizenship education notes an increase in the 'expression, visibility, and acceptance of nationalist politics'. 'Manifestations of the increased visibility of exclusionary nationalist politics can be seen through the rise in hate crimes' (UNESCO,

2018: 4-5). The same report cautions against the potentially exclusionary nature of a depoliticised version of global citizenship education in favour of a more critical, politically engaged, and digitally literate one.

The E-TICK course provides a versatile tool for facilitators to critically and sensitively engage individuals and groups with material that invites its learners to consider how communication of all forms is embedded with messages. The course concludes with a poem that serves as a checklist for facilitators and their learners alike against which to measure their intentions. Here we see the final challenge: translating what was learned about the ethical implications of communication to a conscious expression of them that keeps our global social and political ecosystem healthy with curiosity and appreciation.

References

Akkari, A and Maleq, K (2019) 'Global citizenship: Buzzword or new instrument for educational change?', *Europe's Journal of Psychology*, Vol. 15, No. 2, pp.176-182.

Andreotti, V (2006) 'Soft versus critical global citizenship education', *Policy & Practice: A Development Education Review*, Vol. 3, Autumn, pp. 40-51, available: https://www.developmenteducationreview.com/issue/issue-3/soft-versus-critical-global-citizenship-education (accessed 16 June 2020).

Comhlámh (2020) 'Communicating Volunteering', available: https://comhlamh.org/blog/e-tick-a-new-project-on-ethical-communications-for-young-volunteers/ (accessed 16 July 2020).

E-TICK (2020) available: https://ethicalcommunication.org/ (accessed 16 July 2020).

UNESCO (2018) 'Global Citizenship Education and the Rise Of Nationalist Perspectives: Reflections And Possible Ways Forward', Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, available: https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000265414 (accessed 16 June 2020).

Aislin Lavin is the Youth Engagement Officer for GOAL's Global Citizenship Team. She completed the Master of Development Practice programme at Trinity College Dublin with

First Class Honors. Her Thesis explored the damage caused by the omission of host organisation and community voices in the academic community's production of knowledge around international volunteering.