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Editorial

DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION AND CLIMATE CHANGE

GABRIELA MARTÍNEZ SAINZ AND SU-MING KHOO

This special issue on development education and climate change marks the thirtieth issue of *Policy and Practice: A Development Education Review*, and is co-edited by Gaby, who has recently joined the Editorial Board of the journal, bringing her expertise in education, climate change and children's rights - particularly in Latin American contexts - and Su-ming, whose primary interest is in the history and futures of human rights and 'development', and who has been associated with this journal since its beginnings. When we agreed to guest-edit this special issue, we had no idea that the entire world would enter a global pandemic lockdown, but this strange timing only serves to underline, rather than to eclipse, the fact that climate change is the topic that both challenges (Dryzek, Norgaard and Schlosberg 2013) and changes everything (Klein, 2014) in development, in education, in global learning and in global citizenship.

Something had already fundamentally changed in 2019, when 1.6 million people, mainly students, formed the 'Fridays' for Future' global protest movement (Wahlström et al., 2019), to bring attention to the consistently back-benched and minimised climate issue. Arguably, Fridays' for Future was an indicator that both the stakes and the means of education had profoundly changed. Schools and universities might have to re-think and repurpose themselves to become simply a conducive learning environment that enables students to educate themselves. The kids are all right – it's the rest of us – adults, institutions and politics that will have to adapt.

The conceptual timeframe for climate change has shifted, so that future risk has become a salient present reality. Students have acknowledged this by refusing to attend formal education-as-usual, while mobilising and participating in mass social activism, using social media and peer networks to

successfully leverage mainstream media coverage all over the world. Up until this moment, we had been assuming that students are the ones who are to be taught about the world, not the ones who teach the rest of the world. Up until that point, student ‘empowerment’ has been largely conceptualised as a programme for nudging students as consumers, directing each individual into action pathways and constituting sustainable ‘societies’ as aggregations of individual consumers. The other alternative, to shape students as ‘active citizens’, has been more represented in the ‘real’ world and through non-formal advocacy and activism, rather than in the separate spaces of formal education.

The interview with Anna Kernahan, a young climate striker presented in this issue, is an exemplary case of the reasons fuelling children and young people’s participation in mobilisations, disrupting formal education as a way to challenge traditional spaces of participation across the world. The way in which she explains her responses to the climate crisis, her involvement in the Fridays’ for Future movement and her agenda - to influence climate policies and raise awareness among peers and adults - further demonstrates the current change in the conceptualisation of children and young people, not simply as subjects who must be individually ‘empowered’ but more as agents who are already creating change in the wider social reality. Anna’s interview touches on key elements of the different articles that comprise this issue: the emotional responses that result from climate change education, the role of teachers in supporting students’ interest in the environment, young peoples’ agency in climate change education and the possibilities of ‘climate change learning’ from environmental and social action. The interview then, not only serves as a conducting thread for the articles but as a timely reminder that the voice of children and young people is a pivot in two senses - turning the educational agenda towards the urgency of climate change and turning on young people as the central pole for discussing this subject and the problems that it surfaces.

Audrey Bryan looks into affective pedagogies for climate change education for sustainable development and the significant role emotions play in teaching and learning about this complex and challenging issue. By introducing to the field of climate change education the notion of ‘implicated

subjects', originally developed by Rothberg, Bryan successfully acknowledges the psychic and emotional impact the changing climate has on individuals, especially younger generations, while examining the different ways in which we can engage with the climate crises. By embracing rather than glossing over the range of emotions associated with the climate crisis, Bryan not only addresses the multiple pedagogical challenges of climate change, but provides a new framework to engage in discussions of responsibility and action. The proposal is to look at individuals as 'feeling-thinking beings' and explore the different levels of both proximity and responsibility towards climate-related harm and injustices. This proposal is a practical alternative for education looking to acknowledge the issues of social justice in climate change education and change the way in which we relate to the environmental crisis in response.

Whereas Bryan analyses the emotional responses motivated by climate change education - due to the increasing awareness it generates - discussing the challenges this poses for teachers; Liston and Devitt's article helps us to better understand the role teachers can play in supporting climate action. They share their findings of a qualitative study exploring student teachers' attitudes towards climate change as a result of their involvement in a module on development education and the implications it has for their future work towards global justice after their transition. Despite a general interest by student teachers in climate change and willingness to engage in global justice issues, personal orientations are affected by structural and institutional constraints such as the school culture and ethos, lack of support and resources and the level of professional autonomy granted to them. The conclusions pose relevant questions for Initial Teacher Education programmes and the best way in which these can better support student teachers in the implementation of the experiential and transformative pedagogies they learn into their own classrooms, if they are going to promote climate action and sustainable development after their transition as teachers.

Liston and Devitt's article not only emphasises the tensions that exist between individual concerns for the changing climate and the structural challenges constraining the possibilities for action, but also highlights the role

teachers and educators have in shaping climate change education. Youth activists, as Anna's interview shows, are demanding greater climate change education but not only as a tool to raise awareness or to deepen our understanding of the causes and consequences of the current environmental crisis. The proposed climate change education must be action-oriented as well as socially just, that is education that serves as a catalyst for political and civic engagement that is deeply concerned about the social injustices and inequalities that climate change poses, and helps individuals to develop their capacity to foster societal change. These two articles highlight the existing connections between development education and climate change education as both share pedagogical principles and practices and are underpinned by concerns of social justice and inequality.

Knut Hjelset began by researching two interesting questions about climate change education in the oil-dependent region of Stavanger, Norway; the extent to which climate change features as a topic in multi-disciplinary, project based learning and the position adopted by climate-sceptical teachers. This article offers an important contribution, as rather little literature considers the role of students as a political force to educate wider society as well as each other, including school leaders, political leaders and public opinion more widely. Hjelset's research comes to some unanticipated directions. There is substantial dependence on oil in Stavanger, Norway's 'oil capital', and a minority of teachers hold individually climate-sceptical opinions. However, all are influenced by a shift in student preferences, away from a reliance on fossil fuel-based knowledge and skills and towards renewables-based alternatives. Their change mindset is more positive than that of their teachers' generation and they think that positive change is possible. In Stavanger, times changed dramatically when the 2014-15 collapse of oil prices severely impacted employment. Even climate-sceptic teachers are not student-sceptic, and following student preferences, they want their school to change direction and offer pathways to educating for renewable and sustainable technologies. At the university level, demand for teacher education at the University of Stavanger quadrupled because layoffs in the oil sector drove people to seek to reskill and shift from the oil sector to the education sector.

The article by Selby, Kagawa and Oberman highlights what can be learnt from environmental education at the ‘edge’, in small island developing states. These are the areas of the world that have contributed least to climate change and yet are already significantly suffering the most from climate change effects. This article highlights how to learn from efforts to get to grips with already-biting effects of climate change and the necessity to develop disaster resilience for more-affected communities, shifting the focus away from the concerns of what to teach the less-affected and more-privileged, who live far away from the ‘edges’.

Selby, Kagawa and Oberman discuss examples of ‘climate change learning’ that originate from environmental and social action at the global climate ‘frontline’. In small island developing states, curriculum has already been forced to focus on climate change adaptation as a mainstream concern. Climate change education in the global North has not yet reached this stage of necessity and formal curriculum and formal education in general have not yet faced a systematic disruption until the COVID-19 pandemic hit. This extraordinary global moment has forced educational systems to face fundamental issues, such as the separation between formal and non-formal education and may provide an opening for rethinking the relationships between school and community learning and between children or youth and adult learning. Given the dramatically changed circumstances of the pandemic lockdown, this challenge has become more immediately salient, and change may be more possible, change that takes into consideration these postcards from the edge.

Selby, Kagawa and Oberman’s ‘edgy learning’ highlights the importance of interdisciplinarity and transdisciplinarity – the crossing and transcendence of subjects, practices and educations – towards necessary change. Much activist and extra-institutional learning begins with practical needs, in reaction to disasters and risks. The ‘Susgren’ project in St Vincent and St Kitts, however, originated as a medium-term biodiversity conservation project. Most development educators would consider the eight-year conservation project timeline as being incredibly long-term compared to most

educational projects in our ever-accelerating educational world. Biological conservation offers not only a long, transformative timeframe, it also has a strongly defined purpose and orientation which is quite the opposite of the baggy generality of ‘education for the SDGs (Sustainable Development Goals)’. Focusing on the conservation of Marine Managed Areas, the educational objective of working on sustainable livelihoods is focused on the maintenance of a common resource.

This offers an educational scope that centres the wise use of natural resources, while attempting to harmonise the very different fundamental goals of conservation, stewardship, livelihoods, climate adaptation and building civil society. This is such a fundamentally different starting point from where most development education is coming from, that one wonders how this can be applied in schools and universities that are not located in such ‘edgy’ places. Central aspects that might apply anywhere, but are still very radical in the context of conventional education are nature, experience, emotional connection, collaborative and project based learning and not merely trusting the young, but entrusting them with leadership and influence. The development of empathy and emotional connection to nature is not only crucial to environmental stewardship and sustainable resource management, but opens out to a different way of living in the world and engaging with it.

The global pandemic has highlighted the global interconnections and the sense of global responsibility so often evoked in climate change education (Mallon, 2015). As McCloskey discussed in the Viewpoint article, the pandemic has deep implications for how we think about development and its role in the mitigation and adaptation to climate change, but also in the ways in which we act upon the climate crisis. These crises change everything, so now is the time to re-imagine what a sustainable society is, how institutions and spaces need to adapt to better alternatives and shift individual attitudes and behaviours accordingly. It is time to start listening to the children and young people, to move away from content-oriented education that is limited to explaining ‘the science behind climate change’. Now is the time to begin to favour an action-oriented approach, grounded in contextual needs that fosters

civic engagement, political participation and a sense of responsibility towards the world. Now it is the time to make sure that development education is an effective tool for learners to live in uncertain times with full capacity to transform the world.

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Focus

AFFECTIVE PEDAGOGIES: FOREGROUNDING EMOTION IN CLIMATE CHANGE EDUCATION

AUDREY BRYAN

Abstract: This article addresses the psychic and emotional challenges associated with enabling learners to apprehend their role in, and vulnerability to, the evolving climate crisis. Global warming is arguably one of the most cognitively as well as emotionally complex topics for learners or members of the public more generally to engage with. Given the emergent nature of climate change, many educators are unsure about how best to enable citizens to navigate the complex emotions that they experience in response to their proximity to, and responsibility for, a myriad of injustices and environmental catastrophes associated with global warming.

Meanwhile, new emotions, including ecological grief and heightened levels of climate-related anxiety amongst young people have been reported in epidemiological studies, our understanding of which is as of yet underdeveloped. This article argues that a psychosocial approach to climate change education (CCE) which emphasises the mutual interaction between psychic and social processes which affect the climate crisis and how we relate to it should comprise part of a broader and sustained public response to the climate crisis, especially in contexts where climate-related anxiety and grief are becoming more widespread. It introduces a conceptual toolkit to inform the psycho-affective aspects of CCE, with a particular emphasis on the pedagogical complexities of engaging learners located in emissions-intensive societies with their role as ‘implicated subjects’ in the climate crisis (Rothberg, 2019).

Key words: Global Warming; Climate Crisis; Implication; Pedagogy; Affect; Emotion; Psychosocial; Psychoanalysis; Responsibility.

Introduction

The climate crisis arguably represents the biggest existential problem facing the planet (Chomsky, 2019), posing, as it does, a significant risk to planetary sustainability and to human and non-human forms of life. The scale of the environmental crisis is magnified by global warming's interaction with a host of other social, economic and political factors, thereby heightening or 'multiplying' the risk of poverty, disease, food insecurity, political instability, conflict etc. (Peters and Vivekananda, 2014). Whereas some commentators controversially argue that a climate apocalypse is unavoidable (e.g. Franzen, 2019; Wallace-Wells, 2019), others maintain that there is still a small window of opportunity to act to avert total climate chaos and question the usefulness of so-called 'doomsday scenarios' where global warming is concerned (Mann, Hassol and Toles, 2017).

Development education (DE) and other closely aligned adjectival educations such as education for sustainable development (ESD) and human rights education (HRE) have a critical role to play in ensuring that climate change education (CCE) forms part of a broader response to the global effort to reduce greenhouse gas emissions in order to prevent further catastrophic climate scenarios. As Naomi Klein observes, learning about global warming has radicalised a generation of young people whose 'school strike' movement and other forms of protest have significantly increased the level of public and media interest in the climate crisis (Klein, 2019). DE/ESD is ideally positioned to provide learners with a deep understanding of the complexity of the ecological crisis and with the systemic effects of climate change. This article builds on earlier work that presented a rationale for embedding CCE within the context of ESD (See Mochizuki and Bryan, 2015).

In a previous article, Yoko Mochizuki and I (Mochizuki & Bryan, 2015) argued that as a set of processes, pedagogies and practices which seek to ensure that education systems are responsive to, and prepared for, current and emerging global challenges and crises, DE/ESD is ideally positioned to enhance learners' understandings of the causes and consequences of climate change and their readiness to take action to address it. We also identified

socio-affective learning (i.e., learning that involves the sharing of feelings, emotions and sensibilities) as a critical component of effective CCE in an ESD context (CCESD) and argued that educators need to be comfortable addressing the range of emotions that learners may feel, and to engage productively with the feelings of despair, powerlessness, guilt and denial which they may encounter in their classrooms.

This article extends this earlier work by elaborating on the psycho-affective aspects of CCESD, particularly as it relates to the psychic and emotional challenges associated with enabling learners to apprehend their role in, and vulnerability to, the evolving climate crisis. The article makes the case for foregrounding emotion in any pedagogical response to the climate crisis, in recognition of the fact that emotions have been identified as ‘the missing link’ in effective communication about climate change (Salama and Aboukoura, 2018). It introduces a conceptual toolkit to inform the psycho-affective aspects of CCE, with a particular emphasis on the pedagogical complexities of engaging learners located in emissions-intensive societies with their role as ‘implicated subjects’ in the climate crisis (Rothberg, 2019). While space limitations do not permit a fuller engagement with the overall pedagogical framework informing the particular approach to CCE being advanced in this article, the concepts and ideas presented here are informed by a larger project concerned with Affective Pedagogies, Emotion and Social Justice which seeks to broaden our understanding of how emotions are embedded in ‘difficult’ learning encounters and in various social injustices and inequalities (Bryan, forthcoming).

The Affective Pedagogies framework is underpinned by a psychosocial approach which places particular emphasis on the role of affect and unconscious processes in shaping our engagement with the climate crisis but simultaneously attends to the social, structural and cultural contexts within which we are embedded and which shape our thoughts, feelings and behaviours (See Adams, 2016). The framework is further premised on an understanding of learners as ‘feeling-thinking beings’ for whom cognition and emotion are two sides of the same coin, resulting in complex psycho-affective

responses to learning. It stresses the importance of embracing – rather than glossing over – a range of emotions that are associated with the climate crisis, including loss, guilt, shame and despair and of coming to a deeper understanding of the defence mechanisms that are mobilised in order to avoid these difficult feelings (Adams, 2016; Hoggett, 2019; Norgaard, 2011; Weintrobe, 2013).

The article is organised as follows: having presented an overview of the pedagogical complexities of CCE and a rationale for engaging with the affective dimensions of the climate crisis, I map out a conceptual toolkit for CCE which is informed by a psychosocial perspective. Central to this toolkit is the notion of learners’ positioning as ‘implicated subjects’ in the climate crisis – rather than merely victims of, bystanders to, or the actual perpetrators of, the harms associated with global warming (Rothberg, 2019) – as a means of enabling them to look critically and reflexively at themselves in terms of their proximity to, and responsibility for, climate-related harms and injustices.

Feeling the climate crisis

Despite the severity of the risks associated with the climate crisis, both personal and political responses to global warming have been wholly inadequate (Norgaard, 2011; Palsson et al., 2013). Whereas some people are constructively channelling the difficult emotions that the ecological crisis arouses by participating in collective climate action, environmental degradation has met with complacency, apathy, indifference and inertia amongst many others, particularly amongst those who have been shielded from its catastrophic effects. As Hoggett (2019: 3) puts it: ‘our collective equanimity in the face of this unprecedented risk is perhaps the greatest mystery of our age’. Even amongst those who do care deeply about the environment, ecological paralysis can render people unable to act on this care and concern (Lertzman, 2015). Research suggests that promoting climate literacy through CCE and communication is necessary to ensure public support for, and engagement with, climate action (Lee et al., 2015). However, the scientific and affective complexities of CCE render it incredibly challenging, pedagogically speaking, often producing a range of contradictory and

ambivalent effects. While the scientific challenges associated with CCE are well-documented, the emergence of a new emotional landscape involving forms of ecological guilt, grief and anxiety remains under-theorised.

Interactive social spaces – including schools, the family, social media platforms etc. comprise ‘emotional hotspots’ wherein strong affective responses to global warming are evoked (Ojala and Bengtsson, 2019). On social media, for example, aggression, rage and hostility have been levelled against climate activists by conservative white males for whom any perceived threat to their traditional masculine identity, social position and ‘fossil-soaked lifestyles’ triggers a range of defensive behaviours (Daggett, 2018: 29). The ‘tsunami of male rage’ (Gelin, 2019) that climate activist Greta Thunberg has been subjected to since emerging as a leading figure in the global climate movement is illustrative of a larger campaign to intimate, silence and discredit climate scientists and activists who highlight the urgent need for behavioural, institutional and structural level changes in how societies are organised if total climate catastrophe is to be averted (Bryan, 2019).

The expression of a range of different emotional responses to climate change are illustrative of just how emotionally charged our engagement with the climate crisis can be. The question of how to meaningfully engage with this evolving emotional landscape poses a significant pedagogical challenge for climate change educators, not least because the role that emotions play in teaching and learning is largely neglected in mainstream educational discourse. As Lanas (2014: 175) observes: ‘[k]nowledge remains commonly perceived as emotion-free and essentially painless. No structures are in place to recognise, accept and work with difficult emotions or to accept the painfulness of learning’.

The pedagogical complexity of CCE

The pedagogical complexity of CCE stems in part from the temporal and geographical ‘outsourcing’ of global warming to people and places who have contributed least, if at all, to the problem (Nixon, 2011: 22). As a temporal crisis, global warming has taken generations, centuries even, to develop and

will inevitably affect those who haven't been born yet. Because greenhouse gas emissions can have climate effects anywhere on the planet, regardless of where these gases are emitted, global warming is affecting citizens who are located thousands of miles from the emission source. Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo, for example – the countries with the lowest *per capita* CO₂ emissions globally – also happen to be the countries that are *most* at risk of food insecurity due to extreme flooding, droughts, and extreme weather caused by global warming (Ware and Kramer, 2019). The average person in the United States (US) or Australia, for example, generates as much CO₂ as almost 600 Burundians (Ibid.). Because the greenhouse gases emitted in these Western contexts is temporally and geographically deferred, those who produce them are often unaware of their effects. For this reason, global warming has been characterised as a form of 'slow violence' whose effects are often imperceptible (Nixon, 2011) – at least to those who haven't experienced its impacts directly (Davies, 2019). The task of accepting or attributing political responsibility for climate change is complicated by the fact that the risks associated with global warming are often intangible, diffuse, unintended, ongoing, and invisible (Eckersley, 2012).

Another reason why it can be difficult for individuals to apprehend their role in – or to take responsibility for – the suffering of distant others is because it is *aggregate*, as opposed to *individual* use of CO₂ which make a decisive difference in the atmospheric concentration of greenhouse gases (Gonzalez-Gaudiano and Meira-Cardena, 2010). Furthermore, CO₂ emissions are often the result of 'normal' patterns of production and consumption which many – if not most people – in emissions-intensive societies take for granted as a way of life (Phoenix et al., 2017). Moreover, when societies and individuals are faced with more acute challenges, climate change can seem like a far off problem rather than an urgent priority (Ibid.). These complex realities have resulted in a *politics of indifference* about climate-related injustices, at least amongst those least affected by them (Davies, 2019).

While the need to mainstream CCE is increasingly recognised as an important response to the intensifying climate crisis, serious educative efforts

to address the climate crisis are in their infancy (Læssøe and Mochizuki, 2015; Mochizuki and Bryan, 2015). Furthermore, existing educative efforts appear to have had limited impact or ambivalent effects. For example, the potential for information provision and awareness raising campaigns to undermine – rather than enhance – efforts to arrest the climate crisis is evident (Lorenzoni, Nicholson-Cole, and Whitmarsh, 2007). Informing people about the enormity of global warming has, in some instances, been found to promote a sense of powerlessness to effect change and hence inaction on their part. Moreover, the so-called ‘knowledge-behaviour gap’, i.e. the disjunction between individuals’ awareness of the climate crisis and their everyday harmful behaviours is increasingly recognised as one of the great paradoxes of the climate crisis (e.g. Jamieson, 2019; Phoenix et al., 2017; Uzzell, 2000).

Recent research on families’ everyday engagement with climate change in India and the United Kingdom (UK), for example, revealed that many families, despite identifying as environmentally aware and responsible, continue to prioritise more immediate concerns for their children’s wellbeing and comfort and therefore engage in high carbon practices which they perceive to be necessary or convenient for family life (Phoenix et al., 2017). This research also reveals that whereas children are neither ignorant or apathetic about global warming, their ability to engage in climate action is often constrained by existing power structures at familial and societal levels.

Collectively, these findings suggest that a complex set of affective, socio-cultural, economic and perceptual factors, interact to shape people’s engagement (or lack thereof) with the climate crisis. The psychic and emotional dynamics of climate catastrophe and related injustices, as well as the possibilities that affectively-inflected engagement with climate change afford, merit exploration in light of the limitations associated with purely knowledge-based approaches to alleviating the climate crisis. The next section of the article makes the case for CCE that is informed by a psychosocial approach (Adams, 2016). While conscious of the limits of pedagogy – including limits to teaching and to knowing (Ellsworth, 2005) – as well as the need to avoid positioning education as a panacea to social problems (Vavrus,

2003), it suggests that a psychosocially-informed CCE should comprise part of a broader and sustained public response to the climate crisis, especially in contexts where climate-related anxiety and grief are becoming more widespread. Building on Adams (2016), the article suggests that a psychosocial approach to CCE can help us to come to a deeper and more critical understanding of how and why learners respond to climate-related knowledge as they do, and *implicates* us in an ongoing social and political response to it (Ellsworth, 2005).

The climate crisis as a form of difficult knowledge

As outlined above, the climate crisis is ‘difficult’ in the sense that learners are forced to grapple with its scientific complexities and representational and imaginative challenges (Nixon, 2011). But climate-related knowledge is also ‘difficult’ in a psycho-affective sense. The construct of ‘difficult knowledge’ (Britzman, 1998) refers to social and historical content (e.g. genocide, war, rape etc.) that is traumatic or hard to bear as well as learning encounters that are cognitively, psychologically and emotionally destabilising for the learner. In other words, knowledge is difficult not only because of the traumatic content of the knowledge itself, but also because the learner’s interaction and engagement with this content is deeply unsettling (Simon, 2011; Zembylas, 2014).

Critically-oriented approaches to CCE are difficult in a psycho-affective sense, not least because of the ‘unbearable anxiety’ that increasing numbers of people are experiencing as a result of climate crisis (Weintrobe, 2013: 43). Until recently, relatively little attention has been paid to the mental health effects of global warming (Gifford and Gifford, 2016). However, as the climate emergency intensifies, a new emotional landscape involving climate-related guilt, fear, despair, helplessness, loss, mourning, and trauma is evolving (Gillespie, 2020). Some commentators have hypothesised that global warming can cause not only post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), as a result of the trauma of displacement from extreme weather events, for example, but can also generate an immobilising anticipatory anxiety regarding the future known

as ‘pretraumatic stress syndrome’ (PreTSS) (Gifford and Gifford, 2016; Kaplan, 2015).

Although there is currently a dearth of robust epidemiological evidence on the mental health effects of climate change, which makes it impossible to gauge how widespread these symptoms are amongst members of the general population, it seems likely that as the climate emergency intensifies, climate-related forms of anxiety will become more prevalent, particularly amongst younger generations who are more likely to experience inter alia, disrupted livelihoods, risks to food and water supplies, injury, ill-health and death associated with the ecological crisis (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2014). While until recently the mental health aspects of climate change have been relatively neglected, concepts such as ‘climate distress’, ‘climate grief’, ‘climate anxiety’ and ‘eco-anxiety’ are beginning to feature in mainstream media and public consciousness (Pihkala, 2019). Moreover, the need for mental health professionals to understand climate-related anxiety and its manifestation in psychotherapeutic situations is increasingly recognised (Adams, 2016; Ojala, 2016; Weintrobe, 2013).

Recent findings from Growing Up in Ireland (GUI), the national longitudinal study of children in Ireland, found that almost one in three 20 year olds are ‘highly concerned’ about climate change, and that these concerns were more pronounced than their fears about issues such as employment opportunities or terrorism (ESRI, 2019). However, as Weintrobe (2013: 46) suggests, ‘we are, in a realistic sense, not nearly anxious enough [about climate change] given the current news that [global] warming is proceeding faster than had been estimated’. Although critical exploration of the psycho-affective dimensions and impact of the climate crisis is still in its infancy, coming to a deeper understanding of how learners feel about climate change, and how they actively negotiate, contest and interpret the climate crisis, is a necessary starting point for effective CCE (Adams, 2016). Without opportunities to express, and reflect critically on, their emotional responses to global warming, individuals and societies are likely to remain locked in states of emotional

paralysis or denial, thereby preventing engagement, action and responsibility (Hamilton, 2019).

CCE that engages critically with emotional, visceral and experiential, as well as scientific ways of knowing about the climate crisis (Boycoff and Perman, 2019) can cultivate deeper forms of emotional self-awareness or ‘cosmopolitan reflexivity’ amongst learners (Christensen and Jansson, 2015). As Adams (2016: 161) suggests, a psychosocial approach to CC can ‘bring into awareness structures of feeling that encourage inertia, inaction and other responses that prevent or even escalate the social and psychological engagement with anthropogenic ecological crisis’. The shared space that classroom and other learning contexts provides creates opportunities for working through and coming to terms with the complex and difficult emotions associated with the climate crisis.

Having made the case for foregrounding emotion in CCE, the remainder of the article introduces a number of concepts that lend themselves to productive engagement with climate-related emotions, with a particular emphasis on our positioning as ‘implicated subjects’ in the climate crisis (Rothberg, 2019).

Pedagogies of implication

As highlighted above, knowledge about global warming is ‘difficult’, in both an intellectual and a psychic sense. The devastating impact of global warming has already been felt for some time in Small Island Developing States (SIDS), for example, whose ability to adapt to the consequences of rising sea levels, extreme weather conditions etc. is often limited by poverty and resource scarcity. However, climate-related catastrophe is now also being normalised in other geographical contexts, including so-called first world contexts, as evidenced by the record-breaking heat waves and bushfires that swept South-Eastern Australia in 2019-2020, resulting in the issuing of ‘catastrophic’-level fire warnings in Sydney and surrounding areas (Wallace-Wells, 2019). While the impact of the global environmental crisis isn’t uniformly felt, it is increasingly part of the lived experience of those who inhabit the global North

and South. As Rothberg (2013: xvi) puts it: ‘Although distributed unevenly, and disproportionately impacting the poor and the Global South...climate catastrophe implicates us all’. As evidence of our increasing vulnerability to extreme weather-related events becomes more widespread and harder to ignore, climate-related anxiety is likely to intensify.

In addition to the survival-related anxiety that climate change provokes (Weintrobe, 2013), the ecological crisis is traumatic in the sense that the planetary changes that are threatening the survival of human and non-human species are anthropogenic, or human-induced. In other words, global warming is occurring primarily as a result of fossil fuel usage and production and consumption practices that are ‘normal’ features of consumer capitalist societies and lifestyles. These routine practices, which include ‘essential’ activities such as eating, keeping warm or cool, travelling to work etc., are profoundly implicated in the planet’s fate, rendering the climate crisis an economic, societal, political as well as scientific problem of enormous proportion (Adams, 2016). While it may not be easy to accept, those of us who live in carbon-intensive societies are, therefore, complexly entangled or implicated in transnational and transgenerational relations of ecological harm (Rothberg, 2019). As Rothberg (2019: 12) explains: ‘[c]itizens of the Global North are not precisely perpetrators of climate change, yet [they] certainly contribute disproportionately to current and future climate-based catastrophes and benefit in the here and now from the geographically and temporally uneven distribution of their catastrophic effects’. Our active positioning as ‘implicated subjects’— rather than merely victims of, bystanders to, or the actual perpetrators of, the harms associated with global warming (Rothberg, 2019) - forces us to look critically and reflexively at ourselves in terms of our proximity to, and responsibility for, climate-related harms and injustices. Rothberg’s conceptual framework helps us to see our proximity to a myriad of social injustices by enabling us to think more deeply about our own involvement in, and connection to, both past and present social and global inequalities and to derive new ways of seeing, and being in, the world. As Rothberg (2019: 200) elaborates:

“If there is a potential ‘solution’ in positing the existence of an implicated subject and drawing attention to the breadth of implication in a globally connected world, it derives from the impetus to combat and transfigure implication by self-consciously grasping one’s position as an implicated subject and joining with others in collective action”.

Rothberg’s figure of the implicated subject is essential in terms of holding individuals, governments, global corporations and international institutions to account and realising new models of social responsibility in that it prompts social actors to acknowledge the essential role that they play in producing and reproducing violence and inequality and highlights their role as agents for positive social transformation. It is closely aligned with Iris Marian Young’s Social Connections Model of Responsibility (Young, 2008). Young presents an alternative to liability-based understandings of responsibility that are primarily about attributing blame or punishment. Rather, Young focuses on the role that well-intentioned actors, through their everyday practices, play in the perpetuation of systemic injustice. This reimagining of responsibility articulates how structural harms are the result of the participation of thousands or even millions of people and considers the subtle ways that individuals are involved in the perpetuation of systems of injustice that are not of their own making. Young’s framework has the capacity to shift the focus from denying responsibility for systemic injustice or looking to blame others to an emphasis on taking responsibility for contributing to the collective process of trying to transform society. It has particular relevance to global warming because it has a hard to pin-down quality and hasn’t yet managed to produce the same sense of political responsibility that other catastrophic risks have (Eckersley, 2012).

While the figure of the implicated subject is instrumental in forging transgenerational and transnational solidarity and collective climate action, critically engaging learners with their positioning as implicated in the suffering of others is risky from a pedagogical perspective, not least because it threatens their image of themselves as ‘good’ human beings (Boler, 1999; Taylor, 2011). While space limitations do not permit a fuller exploration of these challenges

here, suffice it to say certain pedagogical conditions are necessary in order to successfully combat and transfigure implication by enabling learners to self-consciously grasp their position as implicated subjects (Rothberg, 2019). It is essential that climate change educators have a deep understanding of the psychic and affective dynamics that underpin pedagogical encounters with ‘difficult knowledge’, particularly as it relates to how human beings both affect, and are affected by, global warming. As Rothberg (2019: 200) explains:

“Implication derives from one form of acting in concert: the kind we undertake without being conscious of our actions’ impact or that we perform while engaging in more active forms of disavowal. Socially constituted ignorance and denial are essential components of implication; as such, they are also potential starting points for those who want to transform implication and refigure it as the basis of a differentiated, long-distance solidarity”.

As those approaching the climate crisis from a psychosocial perspective have illuminated, exploitative and harmful practices that contribute to ecological degradation are sustained in part by powerful defences such as denial, distortion, rationalisation and dissociation which are currently under-theorised in CCE (Adams, 2016; Hoggett, 2019; Lertzman, 2015; Norgaard, 2011; Weintrobe, 2013). Norgaard (2011), who studies the climate crisis from a sociological perspective, demonstrates how these psychodynamic processes are, in fact, culturally and socially organised, such that the political economic context shapes our individual and collective response to climate change. Her ethnographic study of ‘Bygdaby’, a small rural community in western Norway, demonstrates people’s capacity to deny the realities of global warming in their own locality, even as they witness climate change in action, such as much higher than average temperatures in winter, delayed snowfall and the consequent inability to engage in ‘normal’ activities such as ice-fishing and skiing. Norgaard’s research provides a useful illustration of ‘implicatory [climate change] denial’ in action (Cohen, 2001), i.e. individuals’ capacity to deny the significance of global warming by minimising the moral and political implications that climate change entails.

Norgaard shows how these psychodynamic defences, which are mobilised in order to avoid emotions of fear, guilt and helplessness, to adhere to cultural norms and to maintain a positive sense of oneself and nation, articulate with broader political-economic interests and are therefore ultimately socially and culturally organised.

Any pedagogical effort that seeks to ameliorate the climate crisis must therefore directly confront these socially sanctioned forms of denial. More specifically, interrogating the complex patterns, rhetorical strategies and defence mechanisms that minimise personal or societal level responsibility for global warming, needs to be at the heart of critically and affectively-informed CCE. The wide range of emotions that the climate crisis evokes, as well as the defensive strategies that are mobilised in order to avoid these feelings, need to be worked through, rather than glossed over, if their productive potential is to be realised. For example, CCE can take inspiration from group work methodologies designed for use within activist and civil society organisations to enable participants to explore and work through a range of complex and often contradictory emotions aroused by the ecological crisis (see Hamilton, 2019).

As part of this working through process, learners can be encouraged to consider the productive capacity of their emotional responses, namely the political agency of knowledge that has the capacity to disorient, unsettle and make one come undone. As highlighted by a range of scholars (e.g. Britzman, 1998; Ellsworth, 1997; Felman, 1982; Lesko and Bloom, 1998; Logue, 2019), psychoanalytic insights are instructive in terms of elucidating the function that ignorance serves in the learning process – not as a lack of knowledge but as a desire to ignore or a desire not to know – and the role that defence mechanisms play in making it difficult for us to admit and confront truths about ourselves and the world (Felman, 1982). In other words, contrary to popular understandings which perceive ignorance as a lack of knowledge, psychoanalytic perspectives on learning view ignorance as ‘an integral part of the very structure of knowledge’ (Felman, 1982: 29). Drawing on the Lacanian notion of a ‘passion for ignorance’, Felman (1982: 30) explains that:

“Teaching, like analysis, has to deal not so much with lack of knowledge as with resistances to knowledge. Ignorance, suggests Lacan, is a ‘passion’. Inasmuch as traditional pedagogy postulated a desire for knowledge, an analytically informed pedagogy has to reckon with ‘the passion for ignorance’. Ignorance, in other words is nothing other than a desire to ignore: its nature is less cognitive than performative. [...] it is not a simple lack of information but the incapacity—or the refusal—to acknowledge one’s own implication in the information” [emphasis in original].

Pedagogically speaking, this demands that we confront socially sanctioned forms of denial and ignorance that are central to the human condition with a view to embedding self-reflexivity and emotional self-awareness within the pedagogical encounter. As Rothberg (2019: 203) remarks, ‘the self-reflexivity of implicated subjects is not sufficient for the construction of durable solidarities, but it remains a necessary component of coalition building’.

Conclusion

CCE is currently underutilised as a means of promoting structural as well as behavioural-level changes and collective climate action to pressurise governments to regulate emissions and to bring about the necessary cultural and political economic changes that are necessary to avert total climate catastrophe (Mochizuki and Bryan, 2015). The foregoing analysis has argued that CCE should comprise part of a broader and sustained public response to the climate crisis. It further suggested that critical engagement with the emotional and psychic dimensions of global warming is a necessary component of any such pedagogical effort. Yet, given the emergent nature of the climate crisis, many educators are unsure about how best to enable social actors to navigate the complex emotions that they experience in response to their proximity to, and responsibility for, a myriad of injustices and environmental catastrophes associated with global warming.

Meanwhile, new emotions, including ‘ecological grief’ and heightened levels of climate-related anxiety amongst young people have been

reported in epidemiological studies. While our understanding of these complex emotions is as of yet underdeveloped, climate-related anxiety has been described as a complicated form of grief (Clayton et al., 2017), and is therefore deserving of our attention. Addressing the emergence of these new emotional landscapes within formal educational contexts is especially challenging, because these environments privilege the rational and cognitive aspects of teaching and learning and perceive emotion to be peripheral or irrelevant to education (Kenway and Youdell, 2011). However, as Ahmed (2014) explains, far from being ‘after-thoughts’, emotions are instrumental in shaping how we are moved by the worlds we inhabit. Indeed, as Moser (2007) argues, we neglect the emotional aspects of the ecological crisis at our peril.

The conceptual toolkit advanced above has attempted to illuminate the circumstances under which social actors can move beyond disabling emotions and psychological states that prevent them from taking climate-related action that is in their own interest and the long-term interest of planetary survival. At the heart of this is a conceptual framework that enables learners to acknowledge their role as ‘implicated subjects’ (Rothberg, 2019) in modes of violence and injustice that are often routine, insidious, or difficult to apprehend and that intersect with, and produce, a host of other global crises. The figure of the implicated subject has the potential to enable learners to better apprehend their role in contributing to, as well as alleviating, the climate crisis by refiguring implication as the basis of solidarity and collective climate action (Rothberg, 2019). While conscious of the limits of pedagogy (Ellsworth, 2005), and the need to avoid positioning education as a panacea to social problems (Vavrus, 2003), a psychosocial inflected CCE that engages productively with climate-related emotions that might otherwise be disabling and that directly confronts socially sanctioned forms of denial and ignorance is vital to the broader public response to the climate crisis.

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ALONG THE CAYS AND BAYS: CLIMATE CHANGE LEARNING IN A SMALL ISLAND DEVELOPING STATE

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Abstract: This article argues that small island developing states (SIDS), while often particularly vulnerable and susceptible to natural disaster and climate change, have, in their smallness, remoteness and localised understandings of sustainability, latitude for innovation that larger, more globally embedded jurisdictions do not enjoy. On that account some of the most path-finding initiatives in climate change learning are happening in SIDS environments. The article focuses on the archipelagic Caribbean nation state of St. Vincent and the Grenadines (SVG), describing and critically reviewing leading-edge initiatives in climate change learning. Those initiatives include the non-governmental organisation Sustainable Grenadines (SusGren); the activist movement, the Union Island Environmental Attackers (UIEA), the students on the Grenadine island of Bequia fulfilling a leadership role in community coastal monitoring and conservation under the Sandwatch initiative; and the SVG government-inspired Climate Change Mitigation and Adaptation/Disaster Risk Reduction (CCMA/DRR) school curriculum initiative. Taken separately and together, these case studies raise important considerations of wider significance for re-conceptualising ‘good practice’ in climate change education. First, we note that each initiative is characterised by a melding of formal and non-formal learning, school and community learning, and child/youth and adult learning. Second, we discern a deep-rooted activist and extra-institutional dimension woven throughout both formal and non-formal learning. Third, we observe that the learning moves beyond the interdisciplinary and is marked by a strong trans-disciplinary dimension. All of these traits, it is argued, carry important lessons for climate change learning that is visionary, practical, contextualised and responsive to the dire global condition.

Key words: Climate Change Learning; Formal and Non-Formal Learning; Youth and Community Participation; Interdisciplinary and Trans-Disciplinary.

Islands as spaces of fragility and innovation

Small-island states and dependencies, including those islands describing themselves as ‘small island developing states’ (SIDS), commonly face challenges of ‘fragility, remoteness, natural resources limitations, vulnerability to external shock, susceptibility to natural disaster and dependence on international trade’ (Sprague, 2016: 52). Exacerbating and multiplying the challenges they face are climate change and associated impacts such as sea-level rise, increasing extremes and volatility in weather patterns, the degradation of coastal environments, the destruction of coral reefs, diminishing availability of freshwater, and an ever present threat to biodiversity as coastal and inland natural habitats are diminished (Ghina, 2003).

These vulnerabilities notwithstanding, small and remote islands are suggestive of latitude for innovation, of ‘being on the edge, being out of sight and so out of mind; situations which both expose and foment the weakness of mainstream ideas, orthodoxies and paradigms’ (Baldacchino, 2006: 6). The insular ‘beckons specificity, greater malleability, less inhibition’, a ‘proneness to novelty’; traits that are compounded by smallness of territory and population (Ibid). They share characteristics in common with remote, landlocked peripheries where, often contrary to expectations, surprising achievements can follow from giving frontline attention to culturally appropriate and place-harmonised processes and outcomes in a context of relatively unhindered pursuance of the innovative (Hall and Donald, 2009; Eder and Trippel, 2019).

As with other small island states in the Caribbean, the archipelagic cays and bays of St. Vincent and the Grenadines (population: 111,000) are at risk from multiple hazards carrying the potential to set back development, aggravate environmental breakdown and jeopardise lives, livelihoods and communities. The country faces both climatological and geo-seismic threats. Climatological hazards, increasing in frequency and intensity as climate change accelerates, include hurricanes and tropical storms causing serious infrastructural and economic damage; storm surges stirred up by deep weather depressions that, in conjunction with rising sea levels, bring coastal erosion

and damage to coastal communities. SVG also faces elongating periods of drought allied with increasing intensity of rainfall in the fewer rain days, the torrential downpours leading to landslides, flooding and contamination of water supplies. Geo-seismic hazards that threaten SVG include: the ever-present prospect of earthquakes; a repeat of the 1979 eruption of La Soufrière, the active volcano dominating the north of the mainland; and an active submarine volcano lying off the Grenadines, known as Kick ‘em Jenny, threatening coastal communities through the entire archipelago with a potentially deadly tsunami event (Caribsave, 2012; Murray, 2014; World Bank Group, 2020).

Against this tapestry of multiple risk, formal and non-formal learning in disaster risk reduction, climate change adaptation and mitigation and environmental conservation take some interesting turns, marked by an innovative intermingling of formal and student and community learning within what are predominantly trans-disciplinary learning frameworks. Four such initiatives are featured here, namely the work of the non-governmental organisation Sustainable Grenadines (SusGren); the activist movement, the Union Island Environmental Attackers (UIEA); the Sandwatch beach and coastal monitoring and conservation initiative on the Grenadine island of Bequia; and the SVG Climate Change Adaptation and Mitigation/Disaster Risk Reduction national school curriculum. Data presented is drawn from documentary sources and from a face-to-face interview with Kristy Shortte, Program Officer, Sustainable Grenadines on 9 November 2019, followed by an exchange of correspondence on 12-13 February 2020, and an interview with Katrina Collins, President, Union Island Environmental Attackers, on 10 November 2019.

Sustainable Grenadines

Union Island is the most southerly island in the St. Vincent and the Grenadines archipelago. It has diverse terrestrial vegetation ranging from savannah, thickets, mangroves, complex forest systems, to secluded palm and coconut-fringed white sand beaches. Due to its mountainous topography, 85 per cent of the population of 3,500 lives on a narrow coastal strip and nearly 80 per cent

of the island population is heavily dependent on the marine and coastal environment, making them vulnerable to the effects of climate change (SusGren, 2018).

Starting life in 2002 as an eight-year funded biodiversity conservation project in the Grenadine islands, Sustainable Grenadines (SusGren) became, in 2010, a trans-boundary NGO (i.e. also covering Grenada and its islands) based on Union Island. As the hub of a network of civil society organisations in the Grenadines, its mission is to ‘empower the people of the Grenadines to make wise use of their natural resources through environmental education and stewardship-building, sustainable livelihoods, biodiversity conservation, climate change adaptation and strengthening of civil society organizations’ (SusGren, 2018).

Its work has focused on six main programme areas: stewardship building (i.e. empowering and mobilising stakeholders to take action to protect the environment); civil society strengthening (i.e. building the capacity of community-based organisations in the Grenadines sharing the SusGren vision through training programmes and networking); biodiversity conservation and Marine-Managed Areas or MMAs (i.e. safeguarding marine ecosystems and the fisheries); sustainable livelihoods (i.e. promoting and supporting a diversity of livelihood opportunities so as to protect bio-diverse natural resources for future generations); climate change adaptation (i.e. educating about and investing in climate-resilient infrastructure and nature-based adaptation measures); capacity building for a strong and effective SusGren (i.e. improving SusGren’s governance, human resources, external communication and partnership building, monitoring and evaluation, and gender integration) (SusGren, undated a).

SusGren’s various initiatives have interwoven formal education and non-formal/community education opportunities. One of the noteworthy examples is the Junior Ranger Program that started as a one-year pilot project in 2014. This Saturday programme was aimed at preparing the younger generation to contribute to long-term improvement in MMAs by providing

environmental education and awareness raising training for a small group of students on Union Island aged between 10 and 13. Working closely with schools and parents, SusGren selected 14 enthusiastic students who wished to learn about the environment. The yearlong programme offered interactive and experiential learning opportunities focusing on various environmental topics ranging from turtle preservation, bird conservation and pollution through to climate change impacts and solutions in the community. Student participants learned by being out in nature, sharing perceptions and working together cooperatively on projects. The student participants periodically shared their learning and experiences with their peers and teachers back at school and with adults in the community.

At the time of writing, five years after the end of the funded project, former programme participants who are now at the higher level of secondary school are still engaged in various initiatives organised by SusGren and Environmental Attackers (see next section). For instance, they have enthusiastically participated in SusGren's annual international coastal cleanups, initiated beach cleanups throughout the year with their schools and been involved in bird monitoring. Kristy Shortte, SusGren Program Officer, explains that after participating in activities such as environmental monitoring and beach cleaning, students encouraged adults to become part of those initiatives and take up advocacy for positive change. This one-year programme has helped create a group of young environmental ambassadors or champions who influence others, including their elders, to take up pro-environmental attitudes and actions. SusGren, Kristy explains, hopes that these young people will continue with their environmental activities, perhaps take a career path relating to the environment and become Union Island community environmental leaders in future. The organisation is seeking funding for a further cycle of the Junior Ranger Program.

SusGren's Connecting Kids with Nature Project in 2016 which involved 31 students aged between 11 and 13 years from Union Island and the neighbouring Grenadine island of Mayreau, is another environmental education initiative which aimed at helping school-age children become

stewards and advocates for the marine environment. Combining indoor education sessions (covering diverse environmental topics including mangrove restoration, coral reef protection, fish, pollutants and climate change) with outdoor practical sessions on swimming, snorkeling and identification of animals and ecosystem exploration, this three-week project provided participating students with opportunities to develop their emotional connection with nature, which SusGren regards as crucial for nurturing committed environmental stewardship. SusGren's intention is to follow up this project in the form of monthly coastal cleanups, community film screenings, a Junior Ranger Program and/or a Community Researcher Program (i.e. developing capacities of selected community members to monitor MMAs) and actions to raise the standard and quality of environmental education within schools (SusGren, undated b).

Another notable initiative has been the restoration of the Ashton Lagoon mangrove swamps, SusGren working with local communities, other local NGOs, government ministries and international partners. A failed marina development in the 1990s on the lagoon, located on the south coast of Union Island and comprising the largest natural bay and mangrove systems in the whole of SVG, caused catastrophic ecological damage. The causeway built across the lagoon by the failed marina project had reduced water flow to destructive effect smothering the seaward coral reefs in mud. The mangrove was in seriously unhealthy condition. Water stagnated and became polluted and habitats were destroyed, severely affecting the lives and livelihoods of the Ashton community. By mobilising stakeholders including, importantly, the local community over a 13-year period by means of an initial participatory community-planning workshop, taking part in the ongoing surveys and monitoring of the reviving ecosystem, and by helping with the planting of 3,000 red mangroves, Ashton Lagoon has again become a thriving marine and coastal environment. Junior Rangers were actively involved in the mangrove propagation and planting processes. Members of the public, school children and teachers now regularly visit the newly created Lagoon Eco Trail and Climate Change Interpretive Centre, both achievements of the restoration

project, to learn about birdlife, the lagoon and climate change adaptation and mitigation.

SusGren's Ashton Lagoon tours arranged for schools are closely linked to specific curriculum topics taught in the local schools (e.g. ecosystems) so that students can deepen and widen their learning. The facilities are also used to raise awareness among visitors of the part mangrove can play in mitigating and adapting to climate change. Mangrove restoration is a prime example of a natural solution to climate change where nature conservation, restoration and reforestation, allied with good land management, can increase carbon storage. It also contributes to climate change adaptation by offering protection against storm surges, coastal flooding from high seas and by ensuring livelihoods for local people through sustainable tourism and the provision of new forms of environmentally harmonious employment such as highly nutritious sea moss cultivation, as developed by SusGren in conjunction with the Ashton Multi-Purpose Cooperative. SusGren's bee keeping training, given to 15 local adults who went on to train other community members has resulted in the launch of a sustainable local industry producing delicious mangrove honey and offering livelihoods to locals (Lewis, 2019; Sorenson, 2008; SusGren, undated c).

Union Island Environmental Attackers

Established in 1999, the community activist group, Union Island Environmental Attackers (UIEA) was the brainchild of a then teenage girl, Katrina Collins, who now serves as the organisation's president. Her idea was to 'talk to the schools, talk to the homes and talk to the businesses' to gather community momentum behind environmental protection and community improvement. 'For me', she says, 'human, nature and the environment (are) connected. We work hand in hand with the environment so we can protect it more and encourage people more to do what's right. Being an environmentalist means to me being a true advocate for your society' (Ensia, 2014). From the outset the idea was to 'work with the children, to start with the young' as a means of catalysing parental and community involvement. In those early days, the attention-grabbing name of the nascent organisation led

to lively debate, some dubious as to how it would be perceived by potential funders, but it came to receive general acceptance. Katrina recalls those debates. ‘Someone said, “Why Attackers?”’ The answer we gave was: ‘because people attack the environment in a negative way, but we can show people that we can create positive change out of the negative. We can attack the problem’.

A series of initiatives followed from the all-volunteer organisation. These began with garbage cleanups of beaches and illegal disposal sites led by young people concerned to maintain the beauty of the natural habitat and to ensure future tourist-based livelihoods. As part of the effort the SVG Central Water and Sewerage and VINLEC, the St. Vincent Electricity Services, were enjoined to provide 140 garbage bins for the island. Over the years such one-off cleanups have been systematised into quarterly events with a major annual cleanup campaign involving all the island schools, members of the community, and local businesses beginning on World Wetlands Day (2 February) and continuing through to Earth Day (22 April). This sometimes takes place through planned ‘Green Walks’ in which the schools are significantly involved. Other initiatives include: regular ‘Adopt a Tree’ planting and monitoring programmes as a contribution to climate change adaptation and mitigation; school and community-led seawater tests to ensure bathing safety and a healthy environment for coastal fauna and flora; periodic campaigns to persuade shops to dispense with plastic bags accompanied by the distribution of canvas shopping bags to each home on the island (slogan: There is a Price. Let's Do It Right to Save Paradise); bird watching events; Leatherback Sea Turtle conservation monitoring during the April to July close season each year when the turtles visit the beaches to lay their eggs (a form of citizen science for young people in which arrivals are recorded, untagged turtles tagged and the number of eggs recorded, with beaches patrolled throughout the close season to guard the turtles) (Off the Grid Caribbean, 2011; OPOE, 2016).

Perhaps most remarkable for a volunteer organisation of 28 regular members has been the response to the challenge of increasingly dry weather occasioned by climate change. Longer and more frequent spells of dry weather

had exposed the lack of surface water sources on Union Island as well as the lack of effective and sufficient water storage facilities on homes and public buildings. ‘We realized’, says Katrina, ‘that climate change is real, and we recognized it in our own community because with the longer dry spells we no longer had the amount of rain’. In response Environmental Attackers embarked upon a water tank project in conjunction with SusGren to increase water storage harvesting capacity (OPOE, 2016; UIEA, 2019). This significant climate change adaptation initiative has advanced over a number of stages. In the first stage 55 low-income homes received 1000-gallon water tanks purchased with a grant from the Canadian International Development Agency and installed by the community. In a second round a grant from the Global Environmental Facility enabled a further 55 homes to receive a water tank. Having doubled the water holding capacity of Union Island (Lighthouse Foundation, undated), Environmental Attackers went on to install water tanks on the sister islands of Mayreau and Canouan, including larger tanks for primary schools. Allied to the provision of water tanks has been the holding of community workshops for adults and youth on wise use of water.

A further significant success of Environmental Attackers has been its partnership with Fauna and Flora International and the SVG Forestry Department to campaign to protect the endangered Union Island Gecko. A desired object in the international reptile trade, this beautiful, multi-coloured lizard, endemic to 50 hectares of forest habitat on Union Island, was under threat from reptile collectors, and so much so that its numbers had plummeted. Protected under SVG law but not under the Convention of International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES), the Gecko was under constant threat. Here Environmental Attackers played a crucial role in patrolling and safeguarding the Gecko in its habitat while also undertaking a community awareness campaign and campaigning for CITES listing. That listing came in 2019. For UIEA campaigner, Roseman Adams, this decision not only protects the iconic Gecko but ‘will spill over into a stronger community bond. Such bonds help communities to grow and become more developed as people’ (Drury, 2019).

Woven through the multi-stranded work of UIEA is an approach to climate change, sustainable and environmental learning that breaks out of the commonly understood mould. Where, we may ask, does the learning begin and where and how does it reverberate? In some cases, such as the Gecko protection initiative, UIEA volunteers periodically visit all schools on Union Island to update students and teachers on what is happening. The visits aim to dovetail with an appropriate moment in the school curriculum so that students can engage post-visit with the new learning stimulus. Sometimes the UIEA volunteers present to a school assembly; sometimes they make a beeline for a particular class that has expressed interest in activist participation in a SusGren project. Says Katrina: ‘We can choose a class which is interested in working in the field or we can speak to everybody so that they can have some knowledge about it. So, everybody has the information’. Particularly through the former approach, a small group of students who are interested in active engagement with a project are identified and subsequently go through a field training process. It is these students in particular who, rather like SusGren’s Junior Rangers, keep their school and class informed about what they have been experiencing out in the field, who attend and speak at stakeholder meetings, who participate in non-formal and informal learning events at the UIEA Learning Resource Centre and who fulfil a broad community role as environmental advocates. Schools also engage their teachers and student community in the UIEA environmental cleanups as a regular part of the school year. They have played a role, too, in bringing the key messages of successive rainwater harvesting initiatives to the student community, messages key to climate change adaptation. Slowly but steadily, an impactful activist community is emerging, finding succour and support from within formal and non-formal island learning contexts. Formal and non-formal learning are, indeed, becoming blurred entities. Appositely, the catchy UIEA theme song carries the refrain ‘Motivation, Communication, Liberation, Education, Transformation’.

Sandwatch

Seven miles long, Bequia is both the closest to the St Vincent mainland and the largest of the Grenadine islands. It is home to a population of about 5,000 people. The island holds a green mountainous interior with largely calciferous soil and no freshwater resources. People's livelihoods are therefore predominantly tied to the coast. Most depend on fishing. Like elsewhere in SVG and the wider Caribbean, climate change generates additional pressures and vulnerabilities for Bequia. Coral bleaching, increased droughts and hurricanes and sea-level rise are some of the consequences to which Bequia is having to adapt. Paget Farm is one of the larger settlements on the island. It is positioned on the south side, where there are fewer tourist facilities. In 1990, Paget Farm saw the construction of Bequia airport on reclaimed land. While increasing the island's accessibility, this construction has impacted greatly on local coastal life. The airport development disrupted the marine currents flowing past the island. It also created an inlet between the reclaimed land and the existing coastline. This channel acts like a funnel, making Paget Farm a collection point for marine debris and pollution from surrounding islands. Beach erosion and water shortage are further concerns with which the area contends (ESPG, undated; Bequia Community High School, 2005).

Initiated in the Caribbean, the Sandwatch project brings together students and wider communities to monitor their local coastal environments, 'critically evaluate' the problems and conflicts they face (UNESCO, 2010: 9) and take action for their improvement. Supported since its inception by UNESCO, the programme grew out of a workshop held in Tobago in 1998 and is now active in over 50 island and coastal areas worldwide. Coordinated by the Sandwatch Foundation, the project has provided workshops, competitions, online support, magazines as well as an open-access manual documenting the Sandwatch methodology of 'monitoring, analysing, sharing and taking action', (UNESCO, 2010: 8). Recognising beaches as an ecosystem particularly vulnerable to the impact of climate change, Sandwatch promotes climate change learning through local observation and engagement.

The activities of the Sandwatch programme in Bequia exemplify the project's objectives and its potential to merge curriculum learning with community action and development to the enhancement of both. In 2005, for example, Bequia Community High School, participating in the Sandwatch project, led a clean-up and rehabilitation of the drain in Paget Farm. The actions involved: water sampling, analysis and recording; direct community action (debris clearance; mud excavation, the installation of debris traps and landscaping); and public awareness raising, in particular using local media sources to encourage local fishermen to stop polluting, engaging community youth in the maintenance of the area and sharing experiences worldwide through the Small Island Voice of Youth Internet-based Forum (Cambers, 2004). Involving and impacting on the local community, the project activities profited from and contributed to wider local knowledge. The project supported students' curriculum learning back at school, requiring them not only to rehearse but also apply scientific method and understanding in their local community contexts. It engaged students in meaningful, authentic and methodologically rigorous local scientific inquiry. Integrated across the curriculum (UNESCO, 2005) and into after-school activities it transgressed traditional disciplinary, school/community and formal/non-formal learning boundaries. In these ways, the project modelled the approaches being found to characterise effective climate change education, i.e. trans-disciplinary, participatory and including aspects that are local and relevant to learners (Anderson, 2012; Monroe et.al., 2019).

The programme also challenges traditional learning hierarchies, with students acting not only as knowledge consumers, but also participants in knowledge creation and sharing. An example of this, again in Bequia, is the involvement in 2009 of the Sandwatch group in the SVG Bureau of Standards water quality analysis project at the Bequia Fisheries Complex in Paget Farm. Here, data on water quality, collected by the group, was used to inform the planning and development of a water filtration and desalination project. In this way, students engaging in the programme contributed necessary data for the development of a whole community initiative.

These learning activities, while rooted in the local and lived experiences of the community, bring to the fore the impact of climate change as well as adaptation and mitigation measures. Rising sea levels, ocean acidification, increased drought and floods and influxes of Sargassum seaweed are amongst the climate change related issues which can be analysed and explored, while initiatives like the installation of a solar-powered desalination project, supplying water to drought-prone homes, provide examples of how Bequia is adapting to and mitigating against a changing climate.

The implementation of the Sandwatch project in Bequia as elsewhere depends on local leadership and, consequently, has waxed and waned. However, the legacy of the achievements of the project are evidenced in the testimonies of those involved. Michelle Williams-Stowe (2017), a Sandwatch coordinator in Bequia, notes how ‘students were more knowledgeable in how to go about keeping not only beaches clean but also their community as a whole. What was more impressive was the fact that this newfound information did not stay with those directly involved in the programme, but was spilled over to family members, friends and community personnel’.

The SVG Climate Change Mitigation and Adaptation/Disaster Risk Reduction curriculum

A Climate Change Mitigation and Adaptation/Disaster Risk Reduction (CCMA/DRR) curriculum is in process of being implemented by the SVG government. It offers a modular curriculum for each of secondary grades 1, 2 and 3, the same ten strands framing each module. Those strands are: hazards and disasters, climate change, climatological hazards, geological hazards, human-made hazards and epidemics, planning for disasters, the marine environment, the land environment, ecosystem and biodiversity threats, and water and solid waste. The curriculum thus recognises the tangled interface between climate change and disaster risk while also underlining the deep interconnectivities with other environmental issues. As such, it aligns with latest thinking on what is being called the Eco-system-based Disaster Risk Reduction approach. Eco-DRR recognises that healthy ecosystems provide livelihood benefits and build resilience against hazard while also maintaining

biodiversity and containing carbon release (IUCN a, undated). The curriculum also anticipates the upcoming UN Decade on Ecosystem Restoration (2021-2030) aimed at ‘reversing the degradation of ecosystems such as landscapes, lakes and oceans to regain their ecological functionality’ (IUCN b, undated). The CCMA/DRR curriculum is cross-curricular, identifying subject and syllabus content with which particular units can be dovetailed and highlighting potential interdisciplinary delivery strategies for teaching teams. Very importantly, too, the curriculum is built around activities that employ a wide and varied range of interactive, participatory and experiential learning modalities. There are 91 activity units in all. In place of a textbook SVG-based case study material is laid out in a teachers’ *Resource Manual* (Government of SVG, in press a).

Of particular note for the purposes of this article is the emphasis laid throughout the curriculum on student learning bridging different learning zones (see Fig.1). Climate change and disaster risk learning happens in – and moves between – classrooms, school and local community with insistent regularity. Let us take, for example, the grade 3 curriculum. Early in the school year, students quietly draw their own images of a climate-changed future before sharing these with each other in a class milling exercise. As a next step, and out of school, they ask community members to draw their own images, going on to interview them on the thinking behind what they have drawn. Adult images and interviews are shared and analysed back in class. In a succession of activities on the increasing incidence of drought on SVG, students go out of school to interview adult community members on their drought experiences and reflections, analyse the data gathered, examine the differentiated impact of drought on different social groups, and explore noteworthy local examples of drought preparedness action. In a further sequence of activities, groups of students use class time to prepare for a community disaster risk mapping exercise before spending time out in the community undertaking a disaster vulnerability and capacity transect survey that also involves interviews with local people on their risk perceptions. The activity builds upon activity sequences in grades 1 and 2 where students

develop and advocate for, respectively, their family disaster preparedness plans and school disaster management plans.

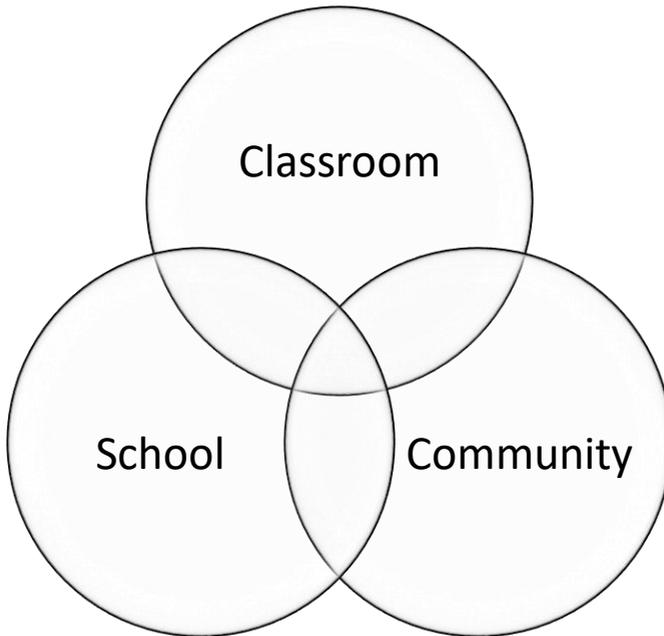


Figure 1 CCMA/DRR Learning Zones.

Back in class they present the transect maps and data they have collected. In a second activity, the class put questions arising from the survey and about community risk in general to a visiting member of the Community Disaster Management Committee (CDMC), having also scrutinised the local Community Disaster Management Plan. Working through the data collected from the transect survey and from the CDMC visitor, the class develops disaster awareness messages they wish to flag to the school and local community. Presentations, involving posters, photo displays, song, dance, dramatic sketches and/or a puppet show follow for the school, local primary schools and the wider community. The sequence ends with class reflection on

community responses. Later in the school year, students engage in designing and implementing a school biodiversity action plan, bringing in local naturalists and re-wilding and biodiversity experts at the planning stage, negotiating permissions with the principal and school staff, and bringing in community members to help with the implementation process. A closing activity for the school year involves a similar process of planning and negotiating, and then implementing a school water conservation plan for the dry season. A further step asks students to advocate with their families for the home implementation of the water conservation measures they have learnt about (Government of SVG, in press b, c).

Another feature of the curriculum is the building in of partnership engagement between schools and governmental and non-governmental climate change, disaster risk and environmental organisations. In grade 3, officers of the SVG National Emergency Management Organisation visit class to engage with students' questions as part of a case study research activity (students subsequently hosting poster exhibits of their work to raise awareness across the school community). Later in the year, they consider epidemic threats facing SVG before drawing up epidemic prevention plans. School and community stakeholders, including the SVG Red Cross Society, are invited into class to give feedback and work on improving the plans. There follows a lesson involving interview research into SusGren and the Union Island Environmental Attackers to find out about their goals, philosophy, projects and their different approaches to effecting change, and then, a session using video material to understand how the SVG Central Water and Sewerage Authority (CWSA) is dealing with the challenges posed by changing climatic conditions (Government of SVG, in press b).

Field trips also figure significantly in the curriculum. At the close of the grade 1 school year, the field trip focus is on examining the biodiversity of the highland tropical rainforests of the SVG mainland. A pre-trip class session is given over to video familiarisation with the forest and explanation of the activities groups and individuals will conduct in the field (such as square metre searches and assembling photographic and sound collages). Back at school the

class prepares a biodiversity exhibition to coincide with the 22 May International Day for Biological Diversity. In grade 2, classes visit an organic farm, typically the Richmond Vale Academy activist training centre (RVA, undated), to learn about sustainable agricultural practices. Returning to school, students prepare and host a sustainable farming display for the school community. In grade 3, students visit the CWSA water facility for an explanation and guided tour of how water is managed and distributed on the SVG mainland and how climate change and increasing weather-related hazard is affecting operations and what adjustments are being made by way of adaptation (Government of SVG in press, b; c; d).

The SVG CCMA/DRR curriculum is thus characterised by learning that spills beyond the classroom and that regularly features enquiry-based and activist elements. Existing borders between classroom, school and community are frequently crossed as, after some learning initiation in class, learners engage with community perspectives and practice before going on to reflect upon and organise their new ideas and insights. That new learning is then presented and advocated for in wider school and/community arenas, responses received perhaps necessitating a further review and reassessment of their conclusions and advocacy agenda. Within such a dynamic, processes of formal and non-formal (and, indeed, informal) learning begin to fuse, with the number of incidental ‘teachers’ with whom the students engage proliferating prodigiously. Such a dynamic integrates schools, local community groups and governmental and non-governmental organisations as partner-animators of the learning process in exciting new ways.

The edginess of the periphery: climate change, disaster risk and environmental education along the cays and bays

Patrick Barkham (2017: 309) writes that:

“The centre needs the periphery as a source of inspiration and renewal, just as the periphery relies on the centre. The centrifugal forces that continue to deposit money and power in global

corporations or global cities such as London seem stronger than ever. We must maintain the edginess of the periphery”.

In its edgy way the periphery is saying that the climate breakdown we imminently face with its insistent procession of disasters and environmental catastrophes cannot be seriously addressed unless we break free of the silos in which we habitually live and learn. In her recent book, *On Fire: The Burning Case for a Green Deal* (2019: 289), Naomi Klein argues that those wanting to confront climate change must tear down the scaffolding that separates egalitarian, justice and environmental movements and form a ‘truly intersectional mass movement’. The case for the tearing down of boundaries applies to our established learning spaces, too. The preponderance of formal learning for children and young people remains abstract, compartmentalised and divorced from the fears of millions (Rousell and Cutter-Mackenzie-Knowles, 2019). It is the yawning gap between climate change realities and the diet of blinkered, fenced-in learning offered in most schools that triggered the school strike movement in 2019 when, on successive Fridays, students across the globe left their schools to demand climate change emergency action (Laville, 2020). What these small island case studies convincingly illustrate, in our view, is the importance to transformative climate change, disaster risk and environmental education of boundary crossing where the acquisition and application of knowledge, skills, perspectives and insights flows and reverberates between classroom and school, school and home and school and community (Grossen, Zittoun and Ros, 2012; Heddy and Sinatra, 2013; Pugh and Girod, 2007). The trans-disciplinary nature of the learning, happening anywhere but in no subject in particular, the formal, non-formal and informal dimensions to the learning, the liquid movement between zones of learning all underline a deft transgression of established learning borders. It is lightness in boundary crossing that has to be achieved if climate learning that is fit for transformative purpose is to happen.

The path-finding learning described here places young people (and adults) in empowering and responsible positions as teachers, researchers, experts and leaders as well as learners. It emerges out of pedagogical practice

that is critical, dialogic, communitarian and of serious transformational endeavour (Freire, 1996). The learning is of self-professedly activist intent. The activist learning we describe is also happening in communities where it is reported by an SVG-based educator/artist that youth are being progressively disoriented and uprooted by globalisation and its attendant consumerism (Roudette, 2011). Handing the activist torch to the youth of the islands thus has an emancipatory and resilience value that works through social pathologies while addressing climate change, disaster risk and environmental degradation. Learning imbued with a decidedly activist ethos is where institutions, organisations and movements need to go if climate change is to be addressed in ways that drill into the roots of the matter.

We have been writing about small islands, edgy places, small in size, and small in population. To conclude we would also underline that the people living along the cays and bays are close to place. For increasing numbers of people today this is not the case; for most of us ‘daily existence is increasingly disconnected from the physical places where we reside’ (Klein, 2019: 124). This presents a huge problem for those pursuing effective climate change, disaster risk and environmental education in that the ‘terrain on which climate changes are taking place is intensely local’ requiring ‘intimate connection to a specific ecosystem’ (Ibid). Inhabitants of the cays and bays note the increasing dry seasons, the changes to beaches, the loss of habitat, and, as we have noted, are rising to the challenges of climate change and eco-destruction. How do those in far-from-periphery places, where place rarely intrudes on daily consciousness, promote the place-based ‘immersive and experiential learning experiences’ and the ‘deeper links with local community initiatives and innovations’ which some development educators (Walsh, 2015) see as the best means of galvanising commitment to transformative change in the context of climate breakdown? We need the periphery to speak to us on this worryingly thorny question.

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POSITIONING DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION AND CLIMATE CHANGE EDUCATION AT THE HEART OF INITIAL TEACHER EDUCATION?

JENNIFER LISTON AND ANN DEVITT

“In the end we will conserve only what we love; we will love only what we understand; and we will understand only what we have been taught”.

— Baba Dioum (1968)

Abstract: This article seeks to consider the place of development education (DE), including climate change education (CCE), in initial teacher education (ITE). The article focuses on a DE elective module for Professional Master of Education (PME) students which enables student teachers to learn and to teach about a variety of global justice topics including climate change. The methodology is based on two qualitative phases. Firstly, three focus groups were conducted, one with students, one with graduates and one with ITE pedagogy lecturers (not involved with the elective module). Secondly, a narrative account from one of the study’s authors captures examples of practice and challenges when engaging with DE (including specifically CCE).

The article provides evaluative reflection on the DE elective as well as insights into the translation of the student teachers learning into school-based practice. Focus group findings suggest that more general issues regarding ITE and school culture surrounding DE integration impact on the approach taken by student teachers to DE teaching in schools. The article goes on to examine the transition between an ITE experience which aims to support student teachers use of experiential and transformative pedagogical approaches to global justice issues - including climate change - and the broader ITE and school culture which may foster or inhibit such practice. Furthermore, the article discusses the need to embed CCE in a theoretical framework of care derived from sustainability literature in order to bring a clearer focus on the

intricate and interconnected knowledges and ways of knowing sustainability and DE. This article concludes by reaffirming the significant contribution of DE but suggests further gain might be made by engaging the broader ITE community and school context to nurture teachers' and pupils' love for the environment and enhance the lifelong journey of learning for global justice and sustainability.

Key words: Development Education; Climate Change Education; Initial Teacher Education; School Culture; Care and Sustainability; Transformative Learning.

Introduction

The need for educational responses to the global issue of climate change is well documented (O'Malley, 2015; Mochizuki and Bryan, 2015). Finding ways of moving beyond supporting individualised action, incentivised financial policies and 'technological fixes' is necessary for the deeper transformation required to address climate change (Mochizuki and Bryan, 2015; Mallon, 2015). The purpose of this article is to contextualise the place of DE in initial teacher education (ITE) in order to reflect on its value as an educational response to climate change. The article sets out the background and context of the study, examines the key concepts and literature underpinning the article in relation to DE, school culture and care, and presents the study methodology and findings. The article concludes with a discussion and reflexive evaluation of the study's key findings in relation to DE in ITE, particularly in relation to climate change education.

The main site of this study is an ITE programme in Ireland where DE is offered to student teachers as an elective module. This module has been provided, in slightly amended formats, since 2015, following the reconceptualisation of ITE from a one-year to two-year Professional Master of Education (PME) programme. It was informed by and adapted from models of ITE in global education elsewhere, including materials developed by the Development Education Research Centre (DERC) at University College London. The provision of the elective and a number of other DE initiatives

across the ITE programme are supported by the Ubuntu Network funded by Irish Aid. The format of the elective is a series of 12 x one hour lectures delivered over one academic semester.

The module is assessed by a group assignment in which students design and present a detailed methodology for teaching an aspect of DE within their curriculum areas. During the course of the elective the student teacher explores the cross-cutting topic of climate change through themes of social justice, equality, cultural and environmental concerns framed within the context of DE. The programme aims to equip student teachers with a critically reflective lens with which to consider DE practice and develop methodological approaches to integrate when teaching their subjects. The module aims and content recognise DE as embracing a number of global justice and sustainability issues, including the question of climate change. The student teachers select a specific focus with reference to the learning needs of their own (second level) students and the requirements of the curriculum for their collaborative assignment work where they take ownership for working with DE concepts in their teaching practice. The article explores to what extent this module translates into DE practices and activities in classrooms and schools. It aims to articulate the possibilities, and highlight the challenges, which may contribute to or hinder the translation of DE in ITE to schools and classrooms.

Development Education and Climate Change Education

DE is defined by Irish Aid's (2017: 6) Development Education strategy (2017-2023) as a 'lifelong educational process which aims to increase public awareness and understanding of the rapidly changing, interdependent and unequal world in which we live'. The research literature and national and international policy distinguish numerous related terms such as global education, global citizenship education (GCE) and education for sustainable development (ESD) which may have distinct theoretical and practical orientations (Andreotti, 2016) but share common pedagogical approaches, ideologies and, often, content (Hogan and Tormey, 2008). Central to all approaches is highlighting the complexity of both the interrelated nature of the world in which we live and of the DE process (Baily, O'Flaherty and Hogan,

2017) which integrate the development of awareness, understanding, agency and action.

The United Nations (UN) Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) clearly specify a global imperative for development education, particularly in relation to SDG 4 ‘quality education’ and SDG 13 ‘climate action’ which identify a need to develop knowledge, skills and cultures which contribute to sustainable development (UNESCO, 2015). The urgency of this imperative is further emphasised by Global Education Network Europe (GENE), an organisation which places global education at the centre of the educational endeavour and includes tackling issues such as climate change (Nygaard and Wegimont, 2019). While DE is an essential tool in relation to climate action (UNICEF, 2012), it is largely underutilised in the education sector (Mochizuki and Bryan, 2015) with DE content often a marginal and non-compulsory part of the broader curriculum both in the school curriculum (Bryan and Bracken, 2011) and in the focus area for this article, Initial Teacher Education (ITE) (Mallon, 2015).

Transformative learning for care and sustainability

In a context where people feel more and more disconnected from the natural world, the relationship between humans and their environment needs support (Berry, 2001; Schultz, 2000). Schultz (2000) suggests that feelings of love and care for the environment can be developed through experiences that give people a chance to feel connected to it, helping develop empathy towards the environment. At the heart of this DE endeavour is the notion of care. Understandings of love and care in education settings are often explicit in referring to the interpersonal relationships, but more often care for the environment, both the natural and human world is omitted or implicit. Noddings suggests that care is at the heart of human life and flourishing and its development should be viewed as ‘the primary aim of every educational effort’ (1984: 172). Freire suggests that education has to exist in the context of a profound love for the world (1990). Martin (2007) presents challenges to using general conceptions of care and suggests drawing on an ethic of care from sustainability and ecological literature is more useful in providing a

conceptual framework, with a clearer focus, in order to construct pedagogy and practical implications in education *for* environmental education and the development of a relational self.

Indigenous epistemologies, for example, are conceptualised by inter-relationships and nature experience (Singleton, 2015). These ways of thinking are considered transformative as they encompass critical reflection, emotional engagement and relational knowing (Taylor, 2007). The theory of transformative learning also goes beyond epistemological worldview change to an ontological process of a change in being in the world. Transformative learning requires reflective, independent, active learners and children have often in the past been considered to be dependent, passive learners (Singleton, 2015).

There are however examples of practice in schools which adopt an ethic of care derived from sustainability. For example, Steiner Waldorf schools have been noted as ‘attentive to the needs of sustainability and the environment since many years before these became issues recognized by mainstream education’ (Ashley, 2005: 14). The holistic, head, hand and heart approach to learning is applied in Steiner Waldorf schools and the approach was introduced by Orr (1992) as a transformative approach to developing eco-literacy. Such schools can be described as having a school culture with a shared vision regarding their purpose and have collective buy-in regarding ‘why it exists and what it must do and who it should serve’ (MacNeil, Prater & Busch, 2009: 74). Opportunities which connect people with the environment are required and transformative pedagogical approaches can support the delivery of responses to the climate crisis which ‘are enhanced by theories of learning which address the cognitive, psychological and affective factors affecting citizens’ motivation to act in relation to climate change’ (Mochizuki and Bryan, 2015: 11).

ITE, school culture and DE integration

The Irish post-primary educational context is challenging in relation to developing a culture of care. Irish educational policies have been criticised for focusing on the purpose of education as serving the economy, being grounded in Cartesian rationalism and Western scientific knowledge and being amplified by the rise of neoliberalism in a context of global capitalism (Lynch 2010; Lynch, Grummell and Devine, 2012). Gleeson (2010: 133) describes the impact of curriculum and practice in schools as ‘the story we tell our children about the good life’. The impact of the examination culture – ‘the points race’ – in Irish education has long been to distort a focus on broad educational objectives to the narrow value of examination outcomes (Tolley, 1989). The message students are often receiving is that the higher the points, the better the job and financial prospects, and therefore the possibilities of achieving the ‘good life’.

Hicks (2003) warns that such an approach is at odds with the need to work towards a more just and sustainable world. McGuinness (1998) emphasises how a culture of caring by teachers in schools increases the chances of creating an ethical teaching environment in order to ‘help students to realise that “the good life” lies within each of us, not outside of us’ (1998: 17). Facilitating emotional discovery is a challenging task for educators, it requires considerable commitment particularly when set alongside an education system focused on economic needs. A lack of emphasis on affective learning has impacts for DE and climate change education. As Lynch, Grummell and Devine (2012: 199) argue, a longstanding culture of ‘carelessness’ exists in education systems driven by economic needs which hinders the development of empathy in the learner, reducing their capacity to deal with complex global problems.

Development education in Initial Teacher Education

Teachers are critical to the enactment of curriculum and the development of school culture and therefore Initial Teacher Education (ITE) is a crucial moment to engage teachers as development educators. A number of studies offer insight into the effectiveness of interventions to embed DE in ITE

Ireland. In a study which explored student teacher engagement with DE interventions implemented within PME programmes across eight Irish Higher Education Institutions (HEI), including the institution concerned with this article, Baily, O’Flaherty and Hogan found that ‘through engaging with DE interventions, the capacity of PME students to engage with development issues and integrate DE into their teaching has strengthened considerably’ (2017: 199). O’Brien and Cotter (2018) conducted research on the ‘Id Est’ project (Integrating Development Education into Student Teacher Practice) in an Irish ITE context which involved a series of scaffolded workshops ‘designed to support research with a strong social and cultural inclusion purpose’ (2018: 74). They concluded from an investigation of how student teachers initially experience new critical research practices and identities that ‘this journey significantly matters for both the student teacher and her/his young learners; but that it remains a journey’ (2018: 73).

Similarly, Baily, O’Flaherty and Hogan note that ‘more must be done with respect to strengthening student teachers’ knowledge of development issues, embedding DE further within PME programmes, enhancing practical engagement with DE on School Placement and prioritising DE-related research and reflection (2017: 99). However, there are challenges to such a suggestion as Mallon (2015) found when introducing climate change education to DE, the overcrowded ITE programme is a constraint and ‘creating opportunities for the action related learning remained an ongoing challenge’ (2015: 143). This study explores the challenges and the opportunities of one such Irish ITE context.

Methodology

This study set out to contextualise the place of DE teaching and learning (including issues of climate change) in ITE and, in doing so, it aimed to capture the perceptions of students, graduates and pedagogy lecturers. It also incorporated a narrative account on the integration of the DE module in ITE. The methodology aimed to include a mixture of constructions from graduates and current students, pedagogy lecturers and a DE lecturer and to map out or ‘explain more fully the richness and complexity of human behaviour by

studying it from more than one stand point' (Cohen et al 2000: 112). In order to do this the authors conducted a qualitative inquiry on the DE elective in two phases. The approach focused on 'building a complex, holistic picture, formed with words, reporting detailed views of informants' (Cresswell, 1994: 1). Phase one captured the student teacher, graduate and teacher educator perspective. Firstly, two focus groups were conducted, one with graduates of the ITE programme who had completed the DE elective (n= 5) and one student teacher focus group with students who had just completed the module but had not yet completed their overall ITE (n=5). In addition, a focus group with ITE pedagogy lecturers not involved with the elective module took place (n=5).

A focus group approach was chosen due to its high face validity (Kreugar, 2014) as well as allowing the exploration of participants' opinions in detail. Informed consent was obtained from all parties involved. Recruitment for the study was voluntary among students and graduates, who completed the DE elective, and ITE pedagogy lecturers. The focus groups were recorded using a digital recorder and later transcribed. The questions for the focus groups explored the participants' understanding and perceptions of DE, how or if completing the DE elective contributed to their understanding and how they integrate DE into teaching in their school. The focus group transcripts were analysed. Following the collection and transcription of the data, the data was coded to arrange it for interpretation into themes. The themes most aligned to the research questions are presented in the findings section.

The second phase of the study involved a narrative account and to delve into the complexity of both school and teacher education culture and its impact on climate change activism. One of the researchers conducted the narrative account phase to capture examples of good practice and challenges when engaging with DE in ITE. The narrative account was subsequently analysed to extract themes. The experience of researching about a programme with which the authors are involved, impacted on the research process in a number of ways. Narrative accounts are considered advantageous as they offer 'insight and understanding to a situation that can be highly complex with

specific cultural structures and conventions’ (McCloskey, 2018: 45). However, this form of practitioner-led research offers challenges of bias when a deep reflective process is omitted. Stenhouse (cited in Hammersley, 1993) describes the role of the teacher as the researcher where theory is gradually built up from the examination of accumulated observations which could lead to mere generalisation. When conducting a narrative account, it is important to hunt assumptions and critically reflect on the content. In this case the narrative process is employed as an opportunity for objectivity and the application of reflexivity supported the task. The researcher’s ability to be reflexive when dealing with the researched can add to the value of the data gained (Roberts, 2002; Elliott, 2005). The narrative account was coded thematically and the presentation of the narrative account themes are merged with the discussion of this article.

Findings

This section presents the key themes which emerged from phase 1 of the research study which included two focus groups with students (one past and one present) and a focus group with ITE pedagogy lecturers (not involved with the elective module).

Perceived importance of DE in ITE

All participants realised the importance of DE as a pedagogical approach towards creating more awareness and openness to new ideas for sustainability, reflective of Bourn’s definition of DE as ‘learning about how we can move toward a more sustainable society for all’ (2005: 236). Integration of DE in school teaching through recent curricular changes focusing on real life relevance and problem-solving approach was also appreciated. For example:

“...Like even you look at the way the whole junior cert curriculum was kind of structured, it was structured into 3 strands which were economic, people and environment. And that’s your 3 pillars of sustainability. You know so there’s a lot of stuff that links over”
(Student graduate).

“...There’s always something going on involving a topic of development education and sustainable development. And like because of how current and relevant it is, there’s always something interesting to bring into the class, whether it be a resource or a topic to look at or something that’s happening on the news recently. And I kind of got into education because I always had the idea that I wanted to do something where I felt I was helping somebody. And sustainable development is this idea of planning for the future. And that’s one thing that always caught me about it is how we can live better, live better together and live better within our environment” (Student graduate).

The group of student teachers currently enrolled on the DE module expressed for the value of working with sustainability to be able to pass it to their students. Being able to connect their subjects to real life issues was perceived as satisfying.

“I think there’s a lot more to being a teacher than conveying more information that needs to be”.

“Development education is ... Being more than just a person who teaches the curriculum but helps students learn about the real world”.

In fact, there is a tendency for participants to articulate a very broad view of what constitutes DE. They include a range of what might be considered issues of inclusion, e.g. lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) rights and anti-bullying, as local manifestations of the social justice questions that are at the heart of DE.

There was also a common consensus among pedagogy lecturers (who do not teach the DE module) that the topics of DE are deeply embedded and occur naturally in students’ thinking which is the reason they do not really highlight these issues separately. They mentioned that these topics feature in

their own thinking as well and, thus, naturally influence their subject-specific lectures.

“I don’t think I overtly touch on these issues, it’s a bit more implicit. Because you think, especially with the younger people, like the community of students, that these issues are naturally part of their thinking. So, you don’t feel you really need to kind of highlight these things. So, I think a lot of these issues would be just naturally integrated in my method of teaching both in the college and second level school teacher” (Pedagogy lecturer).

“I’ve never seen myself as having any specific responsibility for it” (Pedagogy lecturer).

Having said that, they also admitted that they themselves were not completely aware of the collaboration of DE with the teaching of their subject and, thus, expressed a desire to learn more.

“I actually signed up for today as I feel in some ways I have an awful lot to learn about sustainable development and development education. ... Because if I’m working with the next generation of teachers ... well therefore I have a responsibility to that. I would say I’m at the very, very beginning of a journey in relation to this” (Pedagogy lecturer).

One of the participants (Pedagogy lecturer) shared that it was only when he attended a DE information lecture that he recognised how teaching maths can be connected to an awareness of social issues. He commented:

“I would have really failed to see the connection before but there was a couple of just really simple things like telling the story of the world through the powers of one... And all linked to social issues” (Pedagogy lecturer).

While all participants recognised the importance of DE, there were varieties of rationale in evidence for its inclusion in teaching and in ITE; both extrinsic and intrinsic, and related to changing curriculum, to secondary school student need, to the needs of student teachers and to ethical responsibility to the world.

Role of schools in integrating DE for the achievement of SDGs

The important role of schools in embedding DE was unanimously agreed upon by all participants. Especially, for controversial issues where there can be several opinions that may lead to conflicts, schools were considered as the safe place for dialogue and building tolerance for all views.

“...if they’re not addressed in schools then they’re going to be emerging in the playground or in the sports field or in their part time jobs or whatever else that they’re doing” (Pedagogy lecturer).

Many of them discussed the efforts already taken by their schools in relation to broad issues of equality and social justice. For example,

“There’s been a lot of anti-bullying campaigns and equality and things” (Pedagogy lecturer).

“Yeah there’s definitely a heightened awareness” (Pedagogy lecturer).

“I work in a school where there is huge attention paid to social justice issues” (Pedagogy lecturer).

However, not all the schools were reported as equally engaged in the promotion of DE. Factors such as school ethos and culture and lack of resources were attributed to limiting the inclusion of DE at school level. So, it remained a matter of luck for many student teachers to be placed in a school willing to promote DE. A participant shared:

“they’ve [the school] a very good record with development education... I am quite lucky with the school I landed in and one of the schools I was doing a placement” (Student graduate).

Challenges faced in DE integration

School ethos and culture

School ethos and culture, as discussed above, were identified as strong predictors for the inclusion of DE or more specifically for addressing particular social justice issues. For example, one participant mentioned zero involvement of her school in supporting LGBT students as it was considered completely at odds with the school’s ethos. Another participant, on the other hand, discussed how her school had supported such topics by celebrating diversity week. Two teenage post-primary students who identified as LGBT educated teachers about their own experience in the school. She further described:

“And all the other teachers came out with a very different aspect, so that was really interesting. Yeah it was a really open school. It was like non-denominational stuff... And we also had like designated teachers who were there to be like mentors who the students could go to about issues and things like, so it was brilliant” (Student teacher).

Participants shared a common view that it was necessary for schools to be more open to recent developments in society and get more engaged with DE.

Restrictions imposed by position as a student teacher

Being a student teacher was seen as restricting the scope of engagement with DE during school placement. Various reasons emerged which included factors such as the school culture of supporting DE, and a lack of autonomy and awkwardness with raising delicate issues. For example, a student teacher shared the perspective that despite her willingness to take responsibility for DE, she had to leave it as her co-operating teacher did not give her that much

autonomy. Following are some examples of student teachers' responses to the hindrances encountered.

"Then it comes back to your position in the school. When you are just a student teacher there is nothing you can do" (Student teacher).

"It can be hard on the student teacher as well if the school isn't already kind of on board with dev ed to kind of, because you don't want to feel that you're stepping on other teachers' toes" (Student teacher).

"And you can't really do too much in a placement school for example get involved in what's already there... and it's very hard to implement things as a student and have a voice in a school as a student teacher as well" (Student graduate).

Furthermore, student teachers seemed to conceive their role as someone who is expected to know everything about DE topics. Thus, when they receive unpredictable answers from students or something which they themselves might not be aware of, they described how they start doubting their own abilities and become anxious. Fear of dealing with controversies that may arise during strong debates was another reason reported for teachers' anxiety in regard to the teaching of controversial issues.

Concerns over performance grades

A recurrent issue expressed by student teachers was a threat to their performance grades. The group feared a decline in their grades if they experimented with DE topics particularly while on school placement. The perspective of the placement tutor with regard to DE was expressed as a major concern:

"...somebody is coming to see if I can talk about this this week because you don't know your placement tutor, you don't know how

they're going to feel about it, they might take offence to you even talking about it" (Student teacher).

"You just want your grade for that day so it's more important to kind of play the safe card than to, I would definitely change everything about my lesson plan if I wasn't sure about my placement tutor would be happy with. If I didn't know I wouldn't chance it" (Student teacher).

"Do you want to risk your whole grade on that?" (Student teacher).

"You don't want to risk when you're in college, no" (Student teacher).

"Not now when I'm being graded, when you're fully qualified and you have your own students" (Student teacher).

Comments suggest that there is a lack of confidence that DE is valued within the school placement aspect of the PME programme and that it is not clearly integrated in the criteria by which students feel they are assessed.

Narrative account and discussion

This section includes both phase 2 of the data collection, the narrative account from one of the authors, and merges discussion on both phases of the study. The discussion addresses the possibilities, and highlights the challenges, which may contribute to or hinder the implementation of DE (including CCE) from ITE to schools.

DE in schools and ITE

Overall, the phase 1 findings document the perceived importance of DE by students, graduates and pedagogy lecturers but in practice challenges exist. Overall good practice is noted in schools that have committed to DE and phase 1 findings suggest this impact greatly on student teachers' engagement with DE topics. The impact of school culture surrounding DE can equally be a

barrier if DE is not supported explicitly in the school. Similarly, in the ITE setting, the narrative account refers to impact of stepping into a ‘well-established elective’ with support from some staff (narrative account). However, the narrative account draws similarly on the challenges of supporting DE in ITE:

“I’ve always found that support in the area of DE is easily found when you identify the people who believe deeply in the importance of DE teaching and learning. What is difficult however is the support I am requesting is often drawn from a place of goodwill. I would be much more comfortable knowing that DE was both part of a formal and informal initiative more explicitly stated in ITE policy and practice”
(Narrative account).

Possibly the ‘carelessness’ (Lynch, 2010) in the education sector and the marginal position of DE (Bryan and Bracken, 2011) have not helped position DE more centrally. However, it is evident from findings that a clear challenge when positioning DE topics is that there is a tendency to merge sustainability and DE issues with other inclusion issues. Their dynamics and positioning in schools are different and demonstrating a clearer distinction is important. A question raised for the DE elective course providers is why such merging is taking place. Reflecting on how the knowledge base for ITE DE is presented as a distinct topic requires consideration.

Findings from phase 1 shared a common view that schools should be more open to recent developments in society and get more engaged with DE. When reflecting on discussions during the DE module about climate change activity in schools the narrative account captures the various approaches student teachers were experiencing from school placement setting to school placement setting. Thus:

“Often the student teachers mentioned the positive engagement and impact of strikes in raising awareness and getting people talking but on occasion the student teachers described a ‘bandwagon’ effect

which isn't encouraging pupils to learn about the reason for and purpose of the strikes" (Narrative account).

Caring about the environment: a concern at the heart of ITE and school culture

Confidence in addressing DE topics was highlighted as a challenge in phase 1 findings, which corresponds with the study by O'Brien and Cotter (2018: 80) which found that 'most student teachers appeared to hold the view that such work was best met by more advanced/experienced teachers'. What is encouraging, however, are the possibilities of progress that might be made by focusing on affective learning (including for CCE). Evidence suggests student teachers express a genuine care ethic (O'Brien and Cotter, 2018) and similarly, as one extract from this study's findings highlights, teachers do care about 'how we can live better, live better together and live better within our environment' (PME graduate). The dichotomy student teachers face when caring about such DE activities is challenging, with some student teachers wishing to engage fully with a 'broader view of their moral responsibilities as teachers but restricted by constraints' of their programme and their schools (O'Brien and Cotter, 2018). Findings suggest perceptions of assessment in ITE, particularly on school placement, hinders DE engagement and adds to the dilemma of DE integration in practice. Students perceived reluctance to jeopardise school placement with a DE focused lesson indicates a certain ambiguity of what is acceptable or not acceptable knowledge to be assessed.

Baba Dioum (1968) suggests: 'In the end we will conserve only what we love, we will love only what we understand, and we will understand only what we have been taught' (n. p.). So, what should we be teaching in ITE and schools to position DE (including climate change education) as a priority, perceived to be valuable and taught well? Mallon's (2015) study of CCE in ITE highlights the need to address gaps in understanding climate science as the foundation for a deeper analysis of global interconnections. Mochizuki and Bryan (2015: 14) suggest 'specialized traditional knowledge and practices of indigenous peoples' requires inclusion. Learning to care, love and protect the environment from people who have traditionally strived to do this is a valuable

task. From experiential learning in nature, to transformative learning about aboriginal approaches to sustainability of forestry. These tasks must become embedded in DE, curriculum, school culture and society in order for care of the environment to become a lifelong practice. In doing this, the voices and actions which love and care for our environment will begin to become louder and the economic agenda will no longer speak loudest.

Conclusion

This article suggests that the emphasis of affective learning should move towards transformative and nature-based experiential learning to promote love, care and connection in order to ground climate change activism in an authentic lifelong approach. The need to embed CCE in an approach that places care for sustainability and ecology at the heart is necessary for a clearer articulation of how sustainability and DE is positioned in schools and ITE. However, this specific practice suggestion requires both a deeper questioning of the knowledge basis as well as a focus on DE or ITE structures and cultures.

Considering the response within Irish education policy and practice to concerns regarding literacy and numeracy performance there is hope that the appropriate effort and finance can be prioritised in response to the 2019 climate change performance index (CCPI). This independent monitoring tool of countries' climate protection performance highlights that Ireland ranks as 'the worst-performing EU country in the CCPI' (Burck, J, Hagen, U, Marten, F, Höhne, N and Bals, C, 2018, 19). This article reaffirms the contribution of DE but suggests further potential by engaging the ITE community further, particularly in relation to asking questions about what we value in education and addressing the student teacher and graduate perception that DE isn't a valued task while on school placement. Furthermore, school contexts which cultivate teachers' and pupils' love for the environment and value the lifelong journey and necessity of contributing to climate change activism require a greater presence.

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THE KIDS ARE ALL RIGHT: LESSONS FROM RECENT CHANGES IN STUDENT PREFERENCES IN NORWAY'S OIL-DEPENDENT REGIONS

KNUT HJELLESET

Abstract: Climate change education has been conducted in Norway for many years, but recent research indicates that there are regional differences in how schools include climate change in educational approaches. In particular, there are indications that climate change seems to be perceived as more controversial in regions with significant exposure to the Norwegian fossil fuel industry, which is predominantly clustered on the West Coast, and most notably in the city of Stavanger and its surrounding communities. However, school leaders in this region have detected a clear shift in student preferences for study programmes, an observation the author found evidence to support during his MA research project. The reported trend is that today's students orient themselves clearly towards sustainable solutions and renewable energy and request study programmes that fit this preference. Regardless of opinions among teachers on anthropogenic climate change, this was creating a need for the schools to adopt study programmes for sustainable solutions and renewable energy to attract the most and best students in the transition from lower to upper secondary school.

The article suggests that this elucidates a little-acknowledged source of student power: the power students have to choose one school or one study programme over another at transitions in the education ladder. The author argues that the shift in student orientation is probably in part due to successful climate change education, but not only through the formal school sector. There are at least two other channels of climate education: non-formal education through media and environmental organisations, and direct peer interaction. This points to new and interesting challenges for the climate change education practitioner, such as how to include considerations on career options in climate change education and how to utilise the combined force of the various channels

of climate change education. Keeping the message open for a plurality of voices and approaches, and understanding that students are not only ‘responsible consumers’ or ‘active citizens’, but are also in the process of deciding what to do with their lives and starting professional careers, are two important lessons.

Key words: Climate Change Education; Education for Sustainable Development; Student Climate Strike; Upper Secondary Education; Peer Influence.

Introduction

In 2019, students all over the world organised student climate strikes, helping place climate change at the centre of the global agenda (Wahlström, 2019). This represents a recent example of how climate change and formal education overlap, as schools and classes were the recruiting arenas for this mass mobilisation that built on combinations of direct peer networks, social media, and traditional media coverage on an international scale. The importance of including climate change in education, however, has been recognised for a long time, with the establishment of climate change education (CCA) as a natural component of modern formal education (EACEA, 2018; UNESCO, 2010). As climate change education becomes increasingly central to education, so grows the need to understand what impacts it has had on students. Waldron et al. (2019) considered how climate change education tends to follow one of two contrasting perspectives on student empowerment. Either the onus is placed on students as *consumers*, with individual actions as a pathway for sustainable societies, or students are addressed as *citizens*, urged to explore political action as a pathway to meaningful impact on climate change. ‘Conscious consumers’ or ‘active citizens’ represent two broadly recognised pathways to student empowerment on climate change (Waldron et al., 2019)

This article argues that in addition to these two paths, a third source of student power should be recognised. Climate change education, both through formal education and non-formal channels, seems to have had an impact on Norwegian students’ preferences for which *careers* they want to

pursue in higher education, most notably in regions with heavy exposure to the oil industry. Through his MA research project, the author found that school leadership in upper secondary schools in the city of Stavanger, the so-called ‘oil capital’ of Norway, has experienced a clear expectation from students to deliver study programmes on renewable energy and sustainable technology instead of the established programmes aimed at the traditional oil industry. The school leadership reported that students who would have previously been in the target group for advanced studies as engineers and experts in the fossil fuel extraction industry, now had a preference for career pathways associated with renewable energy and sustainable technology, and school leadership felt pressure to deliver accordingly. Thus, this article will lay out the argument that student expectations and choices on study programmes and careers constitute a third pathway for student contributions to solutions on climate change, one that is little acknowledged in existing literature.

Climate change education

There are strong arguments for understanding climate change education as a key factor in all aspects of sustainable development (Guilyardi, 2018: 20) and as a central factor in development education (UNESCO, 2010; Mochizuki and Bryan, 2015). The natural connection between development education, education for sustainable development, and climate change education has furthermore been established by several academic arguments (see, for example, Bourn, 2015: 45-47), who have argued that there are strong symmetries among these ‘adjectival educations’ in regard to methodology, skill set, content and action outcomes. In general, climate change education is regarded as necessary for achieving the changes societies need to address this global challenge (IPCC, 2014: 5). Moreover, recent years have seen a change in the conceptual timeframe for climate change, whereby climate change is no longer a future risk, but a present reality (Allen et al., 2018: 51).

However, as anthropogenic climate change has been given increasing importance and attention, opposition to this narrative has also become more entrenched. In spite of the broad consensus in the scientific community on anthropocentric climate change and the severity of its impacts (Cook et al.,

2016), there is a small but vocal minority who claim the opposite to be true (Dunlap, 2013). These so-called climate change sceptics are a diverse group, whereby some deny anthropogenic climate change altogether, while others simply regard the effects as minor or even positive (Dunlap, 2013; Jylhä, 2017; Uscinski et al., 2017). Concerning schools and education systems, there are few studies into how climate change scepticism impacts climate change education. On the other hand, there is significant literature on specific examples of climate change education projects, like the establishment of sustainable schools (Jackson et al., 2007), or evaluations of particular climate change programmes in schools (Flora et al., 2014). However, this literature tends to focus on ‘best cases’ and not on the general picture, where hostility towards climate change education might be a real challenge in some situations.

The Norwegian climate change context

Norway is among the world’s top exporters of oil and gas and the Norwegian fossil fuel industry is heavily clustered on the West coast around the city of Stavanger. There are considerable indications that this region also has the highest resistance to climate change policies (Opsvik, 2018). Recently, an academic research project on resistance to anthropogenic climate change in education systems has been undertaken at the University of Stavanger by Skarstein, who is among the lecturers at the one-year post-baccalaureate teacher certification programme there (Skarstein, 2020).

The background to Skarstein’s research project is connected to the collapse in the oil price in 2014 from \$115 per barrel to just \$50 and fell further to \$30 by the end of 2015. This sent the fossil fuel industry into a massive downturn. One consequence was that highly educated staff from the oil sector were laid off and had to find routes to new employment (Hvinden and Nordbø, 2016). The government established re-education packages for the entire region of Stavanger, and one option was to enlist on a one-year post-baccalaureate teacher certification programme. The University of Stavanger expanded the capacity at these classes fourfold, from 20 to 80 students a year, whereby the main increase was former employees in the oil industry, typically engineers and technical staff (Andersen, 2015).

This sudden quadrupling of a teacher training programme is in itself an interesting case for further studies, but Skarstein noticed one effect in particular; the attitudes to anthropogenic climate change appeared to have changed in the class. To investigate this further, Skarstein established a research project based on collecting responses and opinions on anthropogenic climate change from all the national post-baccalaureate teacher certification programmes in Norway, in addition to the one in Stavanger. The study is now published, and concludes thus: ‘The finding that association with the petroleum industry appears to reduce a pre-service teacher’s intent to teach about the climate challenge is perhaps the most consequential finding of this study’ (Skarstein, 2020: 15)

Climate change education in Stavanger and Oslo

Skarstein’s preliminary analyses formed the backdrop for the research questions for my MA dissertation, which was completed in September 2019 at the Development Education Research Centre in University College London (UCL). I work with environmental issues and global development topics in my professional job, and have done development education (DE) workshops in various parts of Norway. My experience was that the various areas of Norway have different approaches to how international topics such as the are presented at their schools. By example, the question of how to handle biodiversity and the re-introduction of large predators to Norwegian forests – most notably wolves – is seen very differently in schools in farming and sheep raising areas, compared to more urban schools (Erlien, 2001). The wolf-sheep-conflict is a well-known conundrum in Norway, but it points to how the specific situation for local communities is highly important for understanding how schools approach various topics. I am an advocate for high quality education for sustainable development (ESD) and DE, and I see climate change education as an integral part of this. For this reason, I wanted to investigate how regional contexts in Norway might have had an impact on climate change education. To do this, I established a research project oriented towards the upper secondary level of formal education in Norway. This level was chosen to ensure a high level of academic education among the teachers and respondents. Furthermore, the research project aimed at getting a broader

perspective than that of the individual teacher. For this reason, the research project was oriented at interviewing so-called ‘Heads of Department’. This is the intermediate leadership level at Norwegian schools directly responsible for the practitioner teachers, but is also part of the school leadership under the principal. I narrowed my focus to departments for ‘hard’ science subjects, typically maths, physics, chemistry, and biology. An alternative could have been to focus on social science teachers, but I wanted to investigate how the schools relate to the scientific part of climate change education in particular. ESD has historically been located in science subjects with Sinnes and Straume (2017) highlighting how ESD in Norwegian schools is often dependent on personal engagement in a range of schools:

“As shown in the review of Norwegian curricula, there are opportunities (and also requirements) to work with sustainable development in the school, but the lack of formal expectations contributes to the need for a personal commitment to include it in teaching” (Sinnes and Straume 2017, translation by author).

The research project was constructed as semi-structured interviews followed by a comparative analysis. This methodology was chosen as a compromise of options, to be able to fit the project into an MA programme. Early feedback in the research programme was that these respondents have a very hectic workday, and the research method would need to have a low threshold of participation. This meant that the gathering of data could be carried out through direct interviews at the office of each respondent. A simple questionnaire was considered, but I discarded this approach as not suited for gathering the relevant information. I was most interested in the reflections and the open-ended thoughts about how climate change education is done at the individual schools, and the method of semi-structured interviews seemed a better fit for this than a simple questionnaire.

An option could have been to interview students, something that was briefly considered. However, this would have raised new dilemmas of selection process, and a substantial number of respondents would have been

needed to gain a clear picture for a comparative analysis. Also, the time constraints given in an MA programme had to be taken into consideration, and this element pointed towards interviewing school staff or teachers, as they could be contacted easily through regular email, and could more easily be trusted to provide consent for the interviews. The strength of interviewing the leaders of departments was that I could gain more clarity of the bigger picture of how schools conduct climate change education, and how the leadership group would react to non-conventional opinions on anthropogenic climate change from teachers. This came at the cost of not getting a direct, first-hand account of how classroom sessions are experienced by the practitioner teacher, which was admittedly a significant limitation for the research project. Yet all respondents had been teachers prior to taking the position as leader of the department, and typically continued to teach some education sessions as cover for absent teachers. The respondents highlighted how this allowed them to maintain the direct relationship with the students at the school to some degree. This fact should at least partly compensate for the limitation of not interviewing the teachers who conduct the classroom sessions; the respondents still maintained some direct contact with the students themselves and participated directly in the joint planning sessions for the school year.

I recruited four respondents in the Stavanger area and four in the Oslo area, the latter being comparatively less exposed to the fossil fuel industry. I chose schools with high intake thresholds for students in their area to find schools where one could reasonably expect a high academic level. Stavanger is not a large city, so the number of possible upper secondary schools was limited. The schools in the two areas had relatively comparable backgrounds, locations and student profiles, and the respondents were two men and two women for each area. The selection was based on recruiting four random respondents in the Stavanger area at relevant schools, and then finding schools with a similar profile in the Oslo area. The recruiting was straightforward, with only one case of a request being turned down due to time constraints.

The research questions were twofold: firstly, to investigate how schools include climate change education in science-based education and if

climate change is placed as a central theme in multi-disciplinary projects. Secondly, I wanted to explore how schools handle teachers who are climate change sceptics. On the latter research question, I used an interview guide with several sub-questions. How did the respondent rate him/herself on adherence to anthropogenic climate change, and how would the respondent rate the rest of the teacher collegiate at the school? Were any of the teachers' outspoken sceptics to anthropogenic climate change? Would it be feasible to give a vacant teacher position to a candidate who held sceptical views on climate change, if the person was otherwise suitable for the job? How would the respondent react if a student came forward with a notification of concern about a teacher having taught climate change sceptic content in a classroom session? Although these questions were intended to find differences in handling strategies, they essentially resulted in the same answers from all eight respondents. This was all the more interesting when one of the respondents in the Stavanger area placed herself in absolute defiance to anthropogenic climate change. On a scale from 1 to 5, where 5 was 'totally agree' with current climate change being due to human activities, she placed herself on a 1 – 'totally disagree' with the science of anthropogenic climate change.

The other seven respondents placed themselves at 4 or 5 on this scale. Yet despite this outlier's presence in the sample, all respondents answered much the same on the other questions. All eight estimated their school's teacher collegiate to rate between 4 to 5 on the aforementioned scale. None of the eight would accept blatant denial of anthropogenic climate change in classroom sessions from teachers, but this was uniformly held as highly unlikely to occur. Any notification of concern would be treated seriously and professionally. And if a candidate for a vacant teacher position insisted on flagging strong opposition to human-caused climate change during a job interview, it would not be favourable for the individual's chances of securing the position.

That is not to say that there were no differences at all between the two areas in how climate change education was undertaken, as concerned the first research question. The differences should be seen in light of how the

Norwegian tradition for curriculum management leaves much room for individual teachers to make their own plans for how to address the annual ‘learning targets’ throughout the school year (Mausethagen and Mølstad, 2015: 30-32). Also, the teachers have a week of planning before the students start in August, when they set up plans for the year as a group. Most schools will try to establish a multi-disciplinary project each year, where the concept is largely decided locally at each school. ESD is a frequent over-arching label used for these projects, but they vary strongly on topic and concept.

With this frame of reference, it was interesting to note that as a whole, the respondents from Stavanger were less likely to report that their school had included climate change in multi-disciplinary projects, if at all. Among the respondents from Oslo, however, this was reportedly undertaken at all schools, and at a bolder level. Typical to the Stavanger area, two schools had chosen the theme ‘Water Management’ for a large multi-disciplinary project on sustainable development. One of the respondents highlighted how this was a theme that could unify the school as a whole and underscored that ‘water is important too’. While water’s role in sustainable development is indeed important, the municipality did not have a history of troubles with its water management systems. The thematic choice was all the more conspicuous when the school in question was located some few kilometres from the biggest industrial cluster in Norway for fossil fuel extraction. This stands in contrast to Oslo, where all respondents reported that climate change represented either one important element in multi-disciplinary projects, or that the school had selected climate change as the core topic for such projects. Among the Stavanger respondents, none had undertaken a multi-disciplinary project with climate change as the core topic. At most, it had been one of several elements.

This apparent regional difference in how climate change has been included to different degrees in multi-disciplinary topics is an interesting find in itself. A more thorough research project would have to be established to say something more certain in this regard, but it hardly seems likely that the low prevalence of climate change education in the multi-disciplinary projects was mitigated by a stronger emphasis on climate change education in individual

classroom sessions. Climate change education has also been recommended for multi-disciplinary projects rather than piecemeal inclusion in individual classroom sessions (Gkatzos, 2017: 7-12). If anything, it seems to correlate with the overall trend observed in analysing the respondent interviews; climate change education appears to have been given somewhat less emphasis in the schools of the respondents in the Stavanger area, compared to the respondents in the Oslo area, most notably in extra-curricular pedagogical activities.

This is perhaps not so surprising. Schools are dependent on teamwork between teachers, and if one topic causes friction and heated arguments, it is understandable that colleagues select other topics for collaboration (Fullan, 1993; Farber, 1991). However, this is also illustrative of how the regional context has an impact on the practice of climate change education, something that warrants further academic research in other areas of the world.

An unexpected finding

The respondents shared an unexpected finding on a topic I had not included in my interview guide: student preferences for study programmes. Three of the four respondents in Stavanger reported that their school had experienced a clear shift in student preferences, away from the subjects associated with the fossil fuel industry. Here is a typical sequence where this issue came up:

Respondent: “If you ask me about where this was ten years ago, it was much more an attitude that students would like to enter the oil industry, they live in Stavanger after all. But now, not many students here think this way, they would rather go into the alternatives to oil. The Sustainable Energy and Environment study program at the Norwegian Technical University, and that kind of study programmes, so they can work with wind power or whatever the alternatives are for the oil industry. That’s kind of where the students are now”.

Interviewer: “Is this change away from the oil seen as a positive thing, or is more with regret that they see the need to get out of the oil sector?”

Respondent: “No, it is not something they see as very grim at all. They are probably more positive than my generation. I do not have the impression that they are gloomy about this at all. They want to work with contributions to a positive change. It would be great if we could enhance the focus on this at our school. I would love to see that happen”.

A similar response came from two other respondents in Stavanger (the topic did not arise in the interview with the fourth Stavanger respondent). One respondent was even more clear, as this shift in student preference meant that the school had to consider closing down a tailor-made study programme that prepared students for applying to the most prestigious university programmes for ‘oil engineers’ with a strong focus on geological science. This respondent highlighted the same connection between the fall in employment in the oil sector after 2014, and the general trend in society:

Respondent: “We see much less interest in geosciences from students today. We were big on geosciences before, but the interest has stopped completely now. I think of that as unfortunate, because we need geologists for things other than the oil industry”.

[later in interview the same subject came up again]

Respondent: “Many of the youth of today have this attitude of ‘oil should go away’, and then they are not motivated to the same degree by oil-related things, like when we have excursions out to ConocoPhillips for geoscience classes (...), to motivate for a future profession in geology. And we have stories of students who have become geologists in oil companies, who said that the excursions were a factor in them taking an education as geologists. But (..) it has become more difficult to motivate students with these excursions, as I experience it”.

Interviewer: “Why do you think this has changed?”

Respondent: “Times are changing and the attitude to the oil industry is different now, and among other things, unemployment among parents [implied: after the fall in oil prices in 2014], this also had an effect... Many just assumed they should do the same as their parents. But if your parents are unemployed, then the link stops there completely. Then the students form the opposite opinion... that they want to go in a different direction in choosing studies and jobs”.

What this shows is that the respondents were detecting a shift in the landscape around them, regardless of their personal opinions. This limited research project did not interview students and can therefore draw no definite conclusions about how students themselves view the different options on further academic studies and career choices. But while the respondents could only speculate on the motivation for the perceived changes in student orientation, the respondents in the Stavanger region arrived at the same opinion: the students seemed increasingly interested in the new fields of renewable energy, at the expense of the traditional fossil fuel sector. This trend has also been supported by articles in the media about how study programmes in higher education, aimed at the fossil fuel sector, have fallen sharply in popularity (Christophersen, 2019; Sagmoen, 2017). What my respondents reported was that the same effect was present at the transition from lower secondary school to upper secondary school as well.

Impact of climate change education on transition to upper secondary school

In Norway, the transition from lower to higher secondary education is a major shift in schools, one that sets the student on track for further career options. Most other European countries have a similar education system, where students go from lower to higher secondary education at around 14-16 years and are expected to make a choice between vocational training or preparatory studies for higher education (EACEA, 2018: 9). In this transition, the student typically must choose between study programmes or ‘subject packages’, like advanced mathematics, physics, chemistry and biology (UNESCO, 2012: 38). There can also be packages of subjects that are oriented towards specific types

of university programmes, as is the case in some of the upper secondary schools in the Stavanger area. Whereas primary schools receive students and pupils that live in the school district, for upper secondary schools the opposite is true – *the students choose the schools*, and schools need students to select them in competition with other schools. Student preferences thus create pressure to deliver the study programmes that answer to these preferences, representing a source of real yet arguably underrated ‘student power’.

In short, what my respondents revealed was that the change in student orientation was forcing their hand in how the school should react. As one of them put it: ‘It doesn’t really matter whether I personally believe in climate change or not – the students do, and that decides the direction for us as a school’. The desire to avoid disagreements and move ahead with a strong emphasis on renewable energy was described with clarity by the respondent who had dismissed any major human influence on the climate, the outlier who had placed herself at a ‘1’ on the aforementioned scale:

Respondent: “This with sustainable development and renewable energy is much more than whether or not you believe in man-made global warming. So, a big ‘YES’ to more on [renewable energy in our school]. But exactly this about the ‘question of faith’ on man-made climate change, I do not think this belongs in the school system”.

Interviewer: “So if there had been a possibility for this school to [establish] a big educational project on renewable energy, you would be positive?”

Respondent: “Yes, absolutely”.

Student power

This shift in student preferences could be viewed as just a natural consequence of the energy industry now turning their focus towards renewable energy and sustainable solutions after pressure from civil society, the science community,

and progressive politicians. Such a change, and the likelihood of finding good jobs in the green economy, is likely an influencing factor (Bourn, 2018: 201-219; Mochizuki and Bryan, 2015: 20). In addition, the job market for engineers today is international, and internationally there is a massive demand for renewable energy experts (see, for example, U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2019). But these factors aside, there is surely another important variable influencing these forces of self-interest; normative effects of value-based climate change education in the students' school years. As can be seen in the earlier two sequences from respondents, the students were reportedly proactively pursuing jobs and careers where they could 'work with contributions to a positive change', understood as contributions towards a more sustainable future. This was highlighted by other respondents as well, also in Oslo where the students had reportedly already formed their opinion on anthropogenic climate change and now wanted to work with delivering solutions for a sustainable society.

This unexpected finding from my research triggers several questions of how change of perspectives happens, about student power and interaction with career choices, and how education is necessarily a process in constant change. I suggest three factors of influence as highly important for the change in student orientation, as described by my respondents. Firstly, it seems plausible that climate change education in the formal school system has been key, as there has been a clear emphasis in the Norwegian curriculum on environmental issues and anthropogenic climate change in particular (Wolla, 2015: 19-21; Hansen, 2010). A second factor is the substantial climate change education efforts through non-formal channels in Norway, in particular towards children and youth. There are several nation-wide environmental organisations for children, with the single largest environmental organisation in Norway being a youth organisation for members 13-25 years old, predominantly teenagers. Indeed, several of the respondents mentioned how students at their school were active in local chapters at this organisation.

As a third factor, peer influence from friends and classmates might be a strong amplifying force. Peer influence has been demonstrated to be

significant in how students make their choices for preference in higher education (see, for example, Brooks, 2004: 101), and it seems reasonable to think that this is transferable to the earlier step from lower to upper secondary education. If anything, the peer influence seems likely to be much stronger at this level, as the overwhelming majority of students will typically remain in much the same social groups from lower secondary schools when starting at the upper secondary schools. In the picture of student peer influence and collective norm formation, the recent student climate strike movement seems quite significant.

Student climate strike and peer influence

The degree to which the student climate strikes will influence our world leaders and national politicians remains to be seen, but there can be little doubt that it will influence the attitude of a generation of students. Mobilisation for the large demonstrations was done predominantly through peer networks (Wahlström et al, 2019: 18). My respondents claimed a significant number of students had participated on the first climate strike in Norway on 22 March 2019, and for the schools located in the city centres of both Oslo and Stavanger, it had been an overwhelming majority. At present, little academic research has been published on the student climate strikes, but it is likely that these strikes will increase the peer pressure among today's youth for educations and careers in renewable energy and sustainable solutions, with an adverse effect on fossil fuels. The respondents from the Stavanger area did not dwell on which factors behind the perceived change in student orientation might be the most significant. Rather, they seem to have regarded the various factors as cumulative and mutually enhancing. The student climate strike was seen as amplifying an already ongoing process. In this perspective, climate change education, both through formal schooling and through the non-formal channels of student activism, can be seen as part of the same macro-trend.

For the respondents, this was also a concern for the future of their schools. The upper secondary schools who succeed in establishing student programmes preparing for higher education in the direction of renewable energy and sustainable solutions will stand to gain students and growth in

classes. This ‘market mechanism’ for free choice of upper secondary schools greatly empowers the student, a fact that has been given little emphasis in current academic literature. In general, there seems to be much attention in climate change education and development education towards small, incremental life choices as consumers, such as eating less meat, limiting energy consumption, or mending clothes instead of buying new when possible (Waldron et al., 2019). But perhaps the most significant choice for any school student is which schools and study programmes they will pursue in the jump from lower to upper secondary school, and if/when continuing to advanced studies.

The respondents in Stavanger had one clear message: climate change education has already made an impact on how students choose to engage with the world and on which career pathways they wish to follow. More thorough research into which factors of influence have the biggest impact on student school and study programmes would be interesting, but it seems fair to say that climate change education in Norway has probably contributed to young people wanting to join forces with those who are working to mitigate climate change, as evidenced in their school applications. This is perhaps most salient in higher education, where applications for petroleum-related studies have fallen dramatically (Mortvedt, 2017), but the response from the respondents in the Stavanger area indicates the same effect for upper secondary schools, too.

This points to a need for expanding our understanding of climate change education, and by extension, development education as well. We must understand that pupils and students are at the start of their lives and will make decisions on which direction to go with their life choices. Climate change education, and by extension development education, influence the moral compass that students use in orienting themselves for the future. This resonates clearly with the notion of 21st century skills (Bourn, 2018). Sustainable solutions must not only be seen as necessary; the next generation of professionals are evidently also motivated in delivering them. This is also reflected in the earlier sequence with the respondent, where the students were reportedly not ‘grim and gloomy’ about careers working with solutions for a

sustainable future, but instead actively wanted to find jobs ‘that contribute to a positive change’.

Conscious consumers, active citizens and career choices

At its core, this is to understand that students are not primarily consumers, but active citizens who seek to equip themselves with the tools they see fit for contributing constructively for a better and more sustainable world – for some, also when it comes to professional career choices. These individuals expect the education system to provide accordingly and have the power of free choice to select schools that meet their demands. The respondents in my research project had detected this as a shift in student preference for study programmes directed towards renewable energy. Even though the respondents highlight several factors, from the economic shock after the oil price collapse in 2014, to peer influence from the ongoing student climate strikes, the general trend of a transition towards renewable energy solutions was not to be mistaken, and the school leaders now faced the challenge of delivering a credible response.

For the climate change education practitioner, this opens new pathways of pedagogy as well as new challenges. Not all students will become engineers, let alone enter the renewable energy sector. Yet there are other educations and study programmes that will be needed for a sustainable future, and sustainable solutions are not just black or white. For example, the estimates by the United Nations Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) for limiting global warming to 1.5 °C rest heavily on the technology of carbon capture and storage, which currently only the fossil fuel sector can deliver on an industrial scale (Allen et al, 2018: 14). There is also the tension between the techno-optimist approach, that claims we can save the future by new technology and clever engineering, and the opposite analysis that argues our only path to sustainability is to downscale consumption of raw materials and energy use (Barry, 2016: 6). Students must learn to reflect on these narratives and form their own opinions.

For students and teachers alike, this is difficult and unfamiliar terrain to navigate, but not without positive elements. As long as schools and

educators provide a conducive learning environment that enables the students to educate themselves for the challenges of the future, the students themselves are probably in the best position to find a way forward. The kids are still all right.

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Perspectives

CLIMATE CHANGE AND CORONAVIRUS: A CONFLUENCE OF TWO EMERGENCIES AS LEARNING AND TEACHING CHALLENGE

DAVID SELBY AND FUMIYO KAGAWA

Abstract: This article offers readers a select list of articles on the interface between the coronavirus and climate change emergencies. It is preceded by a commentary that draws out some of the challenges and opportunities the confluence of emergencies raises. The commentary closes with some brief reflections on implications for climate change learning and teaching.

Key words: Climate Change; Coronavirus; COVID-19; Neoliberalism; Planetary Health; Personal, Abrupt, Immoral, Now (PAIN).

Commentary

Twenty nineteen was the year of climate emergency declarations. Hundreds of governments and thousands of municipalities around the world declared states of emergency in response to a rapidly changing and increasingly volatile global climate so that, today, 800 million people, i.e. one in ten people on the planet, live in places covered by emergency decrees (Calma, 2019). Twenty-two has brought us the COVID-19 emergency. First reported from Wuhan, China on 31 December 2019 and declared a pandemic by the World Health Organisation (WHO) on 11 March 2020, COVID-19 has spread rapidly around the world with devastating effect on human life, life patterns, livelihoods, everyday expectations and public health systems. The global economy has been brought to its knees.

In these dark days, we can easily forget that not so long ago WHO described climate change as the ‘greatest threat to global health in the 21st century’ (WHO, 2015). Recalling that pronouncement, the recent editorial in *Lancet Planetary Health* (2020) compares ‘lacklustre and even obstructive’

decision-making over climate policy with the ‘rapid and robust’ COVID-19 response given the ultimately larger and longer-term threat that climate change presents. The disjunction is understandable. The Corona emergency is more devastatingly immediate and horribly concrete in its impact; there has been no room for stretched-out denial, debate and obfuscation; climate change is slower and more stealthy in its onset; while there have been horrifying examples of disasters amplified by climate change such as the recent Australian bush fires, there remain many parts of the world where climate change seems ‘out there’ whereas COVID-19 could come knocking at anyone’s door at any time. ‘The problem,’ writes Nick Clark (2020), ‘is that the dangers presented by the climate crisis seem too distant to matter to most, especially politicians. But if we think COVID-19 is bad, we ain’t seen nothing yet: the effects of the climate emergency will be far worse down the line’ (Ibid).

Renowned United Kingdom (UK) environmental and climate change campaigners David Attenborough and Chris Packham have both warned that the coronavirus pandemic could divert attention from climate change and seriously set back alleviative efforts (Gilliver, 2020a and b). Swedish climate change activist Greta Thunberg, on the other hand, calls for combined action to tackle the ‘two crises at once’ (O’Sullivan, 2020). A strong case for conflating understandings of the two crises is made in a number of the articles surveyed. In the first place both crises are perceived by several writers as outcomes of human violation of the natural world. Encroachment upon the natural world in the name of development is seen as both escalating climate change as well as opening the way to a succession of diseases that threaten to take on pandemic proportions.

Activities such as mining, logging and slash-and-burn agriculture degrade natural habitats and undermine biodiversity while forcing animals to live in evermore crowded, stressed and ecologically unbalanced conditions that are in ever closer proximity to human communities. Channels are thereby created for transmission of new pathogens from wildlife. Those same activities intensify carbon release and reduce carbon sinks while rising global surface

temperatures continue to erode the resilience and health of the natural world. Exacerbating the resultant danger of zoonotic pandemic is the continued international trade in wildlife and the ‘wet market’ trade in wild meat, a factor of poverty and food insecurity but also, in many cases, of long-standing food acculturation. (Carrington, 2020; Clark, 2020; Kolinjivadi, 2020; Price, 2020; Vidal, 2020). It is from a Wuhan wet market that the coronavirus is believed to have emerged.

The two emergencies are also widely identified as inevitable outcroppings of the prevailing global economic growth model. ‘Both COVID-19 and climate change are rooted in the same abusive economic behaviour and both have proven to be deadly for humans’, comments Vijay Kolinjivadi (2020). Continued prioritisation of economic growth means an ever more rapacious culling of natural resources for the production of consumables for the global marketplace, a process propelled primarily by the burning of fossil fuels. The process depletes the innate ability of the environment to balance itself, disrupts ecological cycles, pollutes land and air, and fuels global heating while the intrusion into natural habitats in the name of sustaining growth and turning a profit carries the ever-present potential to release unknown pathogens. (Chang, 2020; Kolinjivadi, 2020).

If the neoliberal growth model has fuelled the two crises, it has also been found wanting as a means of coping with their impacts. Its shrunken-state, market-led paradigm has in the COVID-19 crisis rapidly been supplanted by state interventionism. ‘Neoliberalism is dead. ... The state is back’, declares Neal Ascherson (2020), as he reviews responses to the coronavirus. For Da-ou-oup Chang (2020): “‘Business as usual’ is no longer feasible anywhere on earth. The current crisis has showed that the free market ideology is nonsense’. The coronavirus crisis, he writes, is the continuum of the 2007-08 crisis of global capitalism when capitalism was bailed out by state injections of funding before continuing to expand by wreaking further growth-focussed havoc on the environment (Ibid.). The question is whether, post-coronavirus, there will be any fundamental rethinking of what development entails or, alternatively, a headlong rush to bail out capitalism again and so restore ‘normal’ at whatever

cost to health and the environment. (Ascherson, 2020; Chang, 2020; McKenna, 2020). More on ‘normal’ later...

Pierfilippo Natta and Adam Weinstein (2020) see the COVID-19 experience as a ‘forewarning for how the world might cope with mass migration as a result of climate change’. ‘The world’s failure to effectively react to a rapidly spreading virus’, they add, ‘offers a grim outlook for its ability to collectively prepare for climate migration’. Their call is for a revival of stagnant national security agendas away from military and counterterrorism preoccupations and towards prioritising how best to deal with epidemics and pandemics, irreversible climate change and resultant mass migrations. George Monbiot (2020a) likewise calls for a ‘complete reassessment of what security means’ in the light of the two crises and for a non-adversarial confronting of ‘genuine threats to humanity and the rest of life on Earth’ in which military considerations are but a chapter in a much larger story. As we write (25 April), refugee and asylum camps stand on the threshold of potential coronavirus catastrophe, their contained spaces not allowing for the globally recommended social distancing (Subbaraman, 2020), and we learn (Beaumont, 2020) that the COVID-19 pandemic will exacerbate global hunger even further so that some 265 million people are likely to be pushed into extreme food insecurity during 2020. All this screams for global reconceptualisation of both security and justice that is both radical and holistic in its sweep.

Many of the articles listed below recognise that the confluence of the two emergencies presents the global community with a potentially fecund moment. While authors anticipate that once the coronavirus crisis has somewhat abated there will be tremendous pressure to get life back to ‘normal’, they also discern a window of opportunity for transformative change. The problem with bouncing back to ‘normal’ is that ‘normal’ got us into very hot water in the first place; it is a ‘normal’ that has proved brittle and, on that account, vulnerable. It has failed to meet the needs of people and protect the integrity of the environment in multiple ways. As Sara Pantuliano (2020), echoing a Twittersphere message asserts: ‘we won’t get back to normal because normal was the problem’. Rather, she holds that the COVID-19 crisis

offers the opportunity to seize a different type of ‘normal’, a new order ‘to set the world on a more sustainable and equal path’ (Ibid). ‘What we thought was “normal” before the pandemic,’ writes Vijay Kolinjivadi (2020), ‘was already a crisis and so returning to it cannot be an option.’

The pandemic crisis is clearly giving people glimpses of a different world; glimpses that those calling for fundamental change can work with and advocate from. ‘Right now’, writes Nick Clarke (2020), ‘an unintentional but illuminating, large-scale experiment is under way on global emissions’ with the shutdown of industrial activity, huge declines in flight numbers, significant reductions in road traffic and hence exhaust fumes, slashed air pollution over cities and noticeably bluer skies. ‘Amid tragedy, we have had a sniff of a cleaner, safer future’, he continues (Ibid). ‘Once this pandemic is over, never will there be a better moment to put our shoulder to the renewable energy wheel’ (Ibid). Alternatively, ‘we will sleepwalk into another global crisis more malevolent by far than the coronavirus’ (Ibid). For Jonathan Watts (2020) the reduced human footprint on the earth has given us a ‘glimpse of what the world would look like without fossil fuels’. He cautions: ‘hopes that humanity could emerge from this horror into a healthier, cleaner world will depend not on the short-term impacts of the virus, but on long-term political decisions made about what follows ... it remains to be seen whether home isolation of half the world’s population affects the appetite for consumer goods’ (Ibid).

While offering a glimpse of an alternative future of clean air, easier breathing, quiet lives, community support and, for many, time to appreciate the ‘world in a grain of sand’, the current crisis is also revealing the art of the possible. For a long time, climate change mitigation advocates and activists have been met with a ‘business as usual’ response that their proposals were unrealistic and, at best, only viable in pared-down form. The alacrity with which radical transformation has been effected by government in response to the COVID-19 pandemic gives the lie to such rebuttals. The *Lancet Planetary Health* (2020) editorial puts it this way: ‘Just as climate impacts are far more far reaching than the COVID-19 outbreak, climate policy is also more logistically taxing and requires a degree of collective action that has rarely

been demonstrated. However, this is not the time to bemoan past failures but rather to try to harness the window of opportunity that the COVID-19 response is opening. The strength of response measures is forcing us to question the conventionally unquestionable as we see actions that for climate policy would have been thought politically infeasible. ‘The outbreak has shown that governments can take radical and urgent action to tackle a clear and present danger’, Clarke (2020) observes. It has demonstrated that ‘what was previously deemed impossible seems attainable’, declares Pantuliano (2020). ‘Last year governments around the world declared a “climate emergency” and then did pretty much nothing to act as if it is one’, writes David Powell (2020). ‘Now here’s COVID-19, and *this* is what an emergency response looks like’. Neal Ascherson (2020) urges that when we awake from ‘this shared time of pestilence’, we use the ‘few months of creative confusion’ available to us to reinvent the world. ‘There is plenty to do, but we have to do it fast’. The winding down of the COVID-19 threat will likely present the window of opportunity for turning the largely symbolic governmental and municipal declarations of climate emergency described in the opening paragraph of this commentary into a hard-nosed, bold, hard-driven and coordinated response to the even-more-deadly long-term threat that is climate change.

How can the formal and non-formal education best avail of the window of opportunity? Well, there are themes and topics that have so far garnered less than fulsome curriculum attention. The time has come perhaps in these days of rapidly advancing climate change allied with the pandemic catastrophe for an emerging academic discipline, Planetary Health, to find a place in the curriculum. Planetary Health focuses on the increasingly visible connections between the wellbeing of humans, other-than humans and entire ecosystems (Vidal, 2020). There is a case, too, for giving greater cross-curricular attention to resilience as it relates to both epidemics/pandemics and climate change (Künzel and Schäfer, 2020). A climate justice dimension to the curriculum is also an essential, allied to which should be a new strand of anti-racist education focussing on the stories of climate migrants and questions surrounding the receptivity of host country populations. In their activist role students might campaign for an international convention on climate migration,

a gap in present international law. More broadly, the confluence of the two crises speaks urgently to curricula that nimbly intersect the human/nature divide.

In his article David Powell (2020) works with the concept of entelechy, which he defines as the ‘force that makes a person or a group of people work in the distinct way that it does’. He discerns entelechy in the way the UK population has in the main gone along with the COVID-19 lockdown. Why, he wonders, has this not happened in the case of the climate change emergency? Following psychologist Daniel Gilbert, he suggests that climate change has fallen short of meeting four criteria that lead people to take an emergency seriously. The four criteria fall under the acronym PAIN. The threat has to be perceived as **P**ersonal, i.e. something directly linked to the individual or group. It has to be **A**brupt, i.e. calling for a sudden change away from ‘business as usual’ around which people can rally. It has to address the **I**mmoral, i.e., it is something to which people can respond with moral concern and conviction, even moral indignation and outrage, overlain with a profound sense of social responsibility. It has to be of the **N**ow, i.e. something that connects to their everyday lives as of this moment. The PAIN model offers a helpful but challenging framework for climate change learning and teaching. Bringing a sense of urgency and immediacy, of relevance and ethical concern to formal and non-formal learning spaces where pain, loss and grief are also worked through will leave learners best placed to avail of the climate mitigation action opportunities presented by a receding coronavirus emergency.

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TOWARDS THE SECOND DUALITY OF GLOBAL YOUTH WORK: THE ENVIRONMENT AND DISRUPTIVE ACTION

MOMODOU SALLAH

Abstract: There are five faces of globalisation that global youth work (GYW), as an offshoot of global education, should respond to (economic, political, environmental, cultural and technological), in order to be transformative, both in thought and deed. The vexed issue of climate change (environmental face) and its correlation to sustainable development, as an ameliorative mechanism, speaks to the imagination and contours of GYW, centred on the duality of provoking consciousness and taking action (Sallah, 2008a; 2014).

In positioning the pedagogic approach of GYW, the author establishes his situatedness as a de-colonial scholar-activist, in presenting an analysis of the impact of climate change and its attendant negative consequences, on a Southern country like The Gambia. Using the conceptual framework of GYW, the author presents his work, spanning the last four years, with Global Hands and at De Montfort University, of disruptive attempts to challenge orthodoxy and configured ways of knowing and being, from a Southern perspective. Drawing on GYW projects he has implemented in a 'live lab' in The Gambia which has developed Africa's first solar powered taxi service, the development of a Compressed Earth Brick machine to combat low-cost housing and climate change, and solar dryers to preserve food and encourage food self-sufficiency, all of which have huge carbon footprint savings as well as significant economic advantages.

This article presents a reflective analysis of a scholar-activist's practice of how GYW can be used to combat climate change and enhance sustainable development in a symbiotic approach. It will illustrate the powerful pedagogic prowess of this development approach as well as highlight the challenges and tensions inherent.

Key words: Global Youth Work; Sustainable Development; Global Education; Global Learning; Development Education; Environment; Informal Education; International Development; Global Hands; Gambia.

Introduction

Globalisation, as a site of contestation, especially its environmental dimension, its impact and consequently how it is dislodged through the specific praxis of work with young people, conceptualised as global youth work (GYW), as an offshoot of global education, forms the centrality of this article. As an ongoing open sore, globalisation divides opinion equally between the globophobes and the globophiles, whilst still anchored within a neoliberalist orthodoxy (Scholte, 2005; Oxfam, 2002; Jenkins, 2004; Skosireva and Holaday, 2010) that sees profit as its main driver, regardless of the human cost. Environmental degradation and destruction, on the largest scale possible to date, is the ensuing fiasco, which threatens planet earth and thrusts environmental sustainability, as an urgent prerequisite for continued human survival and existence. Reflecting on this human conundrum and urgent need for environmental action, anchored on the Sustainable Development Goals (United Nations General Assembly, 2015), the article posits GYW as both a conceptual and pedagogic approach to engage young people, to not only gain new consciousness, but also to take action, to redress the environment crisis.

The environmental impact of globalisation

Scholte writes that:

“Analyses of globalisation tend to remain conceptually inexact, empirically thin, historically and culturally illiterate, normatively shallow and politically naïve [and] although globalisation is widely assumed to be crucially important, we generally have scant idea what, more precisely, it entails” (2000: 1).

Scholte highlights the tensions inherent in the search for common understanding in relation to the concept, process and impact of globalisation. These debates have been covered exhaustively in the available literature in this

field; whilst acknowledging this, the intention here is to highlight the complexities that surround the establishment of context and consensus, whilst at the same time maintaining the focus on the environmental impact of globalisation as the central theme of this article.

Beck (2000) identifies the five dimensions to globalisation as: informational, ecological, economic, labour cooperation/production and cultural. In a similar vein, Sallah (2008a; 2014) identifies the five faces of globalisation as political, economic, cultural, technological, and environmental. These faces/dimensions either in isolation or in interaction, illustrate the manifestation of globalisation and its location in the everyday lives of ordinary people. Whilst there is a huge conversation and debate to be had with these individual dimensions, the focus of this article is on the environmental dimension, its destruction and the need to generate sustainable development solutions.

The concept and process of globalisation remains a huge site of contestation, especially its positioning and repositioning as a consequence of capitalist greed, anchored in the exploitation of profit, at all cost (Oxfam, 2002; Sallah, 2014). Its contribution to environmental degradation and threat to the survival of Mother Earth, as we know it, has been well documented (Yan, 2019; Borghesi and Vercelli, 2003; Asongu, Nting and Nnanna, 2019), with devastating consequences. This impact is often magnified in sub-Saharan African countries and has been manifested in soil erosion, deforestation, reliance on dirty energy linked also to disproportionate use of foreign reserves, which maintains the cycle of poverty in low income countries. The article focuses on interventions designed to support sustainable development and ameliorate the effects of climate change in The Gambia. Countries in sub-Saharan Africa continue to be consistently placed in all available deprivation and underdevelopment indexes (UNDP, 2016), manifested in high child mortality rates, unemployment, poverty, malnutrition, underdevelopment and hopelessness (Sallah, 2014). These indicators, it can be argued, are linked to the environmental face of globalisation.

Not global education but GYW – a disruptive methodology

Development education (DE), global education (GE) and GYW are just a few of a myriad of terms that are often conflated or confused, in delineating global learning. It is pivotal that conceptual and pedagogic clarity is established from the onset as this determines the motive of engagement. It is apt at this junction to inject McCollum and Bourn's observation (2001) that:

“A development education programme does not, and in most cases will not, have as its main objective changing attitudes and understanding of global poverty and international development. This is likely to be much more specific, such as improving the capacity of teachers to deliver effective programmes, or giving educators the tools and resources to engage with development issues” (McCollum and Bourn, 2001: 27).

GYW or similar approaches to work with young people (Sallah, 2009; 2014) has been variously labelled by a number of writers who have attributed multiple terminologies to the practice (Cotton, 2009; Dare to Stretch, 2009; North-South-Centre, 2010; Bourn, 2015; 2016). However, as a process, there is broad agreement that it is concerned with how the concept and process of globalisation impacts on young people's realities; is based on the principles of informal education; promotes consciousness and action; challenges oppression and promotes social justice; and is located in young people's realities (DEA, 2004; Bourn and McCollum, 1995; Sallah and Cooper, 2008; Sallah, 2014). This process when configured into a whole arguably emerges as the distinct practice of GYW. The Development Education Association (DEA) further posited that:

“Global youth work is a form of development education. However, what makes global youth work distinct is that it *starts from young people's own perspectives and experiences and develops a negotiated agenda for learning*. Global youth work also focuses primarily on the impact of globalisation in the UK and overseas rather than education about the *development and underdevelopment* of countries.

Although it shares many of the values and principles that underpin good youth work, development education often has its own agenda from the outset, linked to specific campaigns or concerns and has historically taken place in more formal educational settings” (2004: 28).

Terms such as international youth work and development education have been used to label this practice, however the term GYW was coined in 1995 (Bourn and McCollum, 1995) and its prominence has grown in recent times as a distinct way of working with young people, incorporating both the principles of development education and youth work. The DEA (2004: 21) positioned GYW as:

“Informal education with young people that encourages a critical understanding of the links between the personal, local and the global and seeks their active participation in actions that bring about change towards greater equality and justice”.

It is a methodological approach that explores the personal, local, national and global interconnections between the young people and the five faces of globalisation (economic, political, cultural, environmental and technological), interactively to generate a critical understanding (Freire, 1993) which hopefully leads to the second prerogative of promoting action as a result of that consciousness which attempts to change the world (Sallah, 2008a: 7).

Sallah (2008b) has investigated how, and to what extent GYW is conceptualised and operationalised within 43 of the 50 Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) delivering youth and community work qualifications. Whilst the research provided insightful evidence on the state of GYW in British HEIs, it more significantly provided an understanding of how the practice of GYW was conceptualised and labelled in British HEIs, in addition to offering differing pedagogic approaches:

“Development education was identified by research participants as being about global education and awareness, although the INGOs also made reference at the focus group to it being based on similar principles to global youth work. Despite this, four of the HEIs interviewed suggested that development education is about knowledge and awareness, but did not mention action and process as might be expected when talking about global youth work” (Sallah, 2009: 47).

The North-South Centre (2010: 16) argues that global education enables the development of skills, knowledge and attitudes needed for everyone to fulfil their potential and live in a just and sustainable world. This concept proposes the reimagining of the content, form and context of education, with a focus on developing the necessary skills, knowledge, values and attitudes. In presenting his theoretical framework, Woolley (2011) highlights the three interlinked dimensions of global issues, global experiences and global perspectives that must be configured as a whole for the distinct practice of GYW to emerge. The DEA has suggested that GYW supports young people to connect with local-global issues, and then encourages them to challenge their own construction of reality, normalisation of inequality and injustice, starting from their own realities and experiences; and then to bring about change. Following on from this, Sallah (2008a; 2014) has argued that GYW must first attempt to engage with young people’s constructed realities and then support young people to make the links between the personal, local, national and global, and the five faces of globalisation (economic, political, cultural, technological and environmental) to provoke critical consciousness and then support them to take action, whatever the concerned young people deem appropriate in creating a more just world for themselves and the rest of humanity.

GYW is, therefore, a distinct practice of working with young people, not only to promote campaign agendas premised on ‘development pornography’ peddled by the ‘merchants of misery’ (Hilary, 2014), but a disruptive practice deeply rooted in the Freirean tradition of provoking critical

consciousness and then supporting those most affected to take action. The first mandate of provoking consciousness is essential in order to connect with and start from where those most affected are at; the second of the duality must be about how action is taken to effect change; towards the construction of a more socially just world. GYW, unlike other terminologies in circulation, has this as a fundamental aspect of its practice.

GYW as a distinct practice - heretic attempts at disruption

We have seen many attempts (Ipsos Mori, 2008; Lashley, 1998; Joseph, 2005; Dare to Stretch, 2009; Cotton, 2009; Adams, 2010; Bourn and Brown, 2011; Sallah, 2013a; 2013b) to analyse and capture the purpose and impact of GYW; however, the exploration of GYW and the environmental impact has been elusive. Based on an analysis of current literature, we can begin to draw the inference that, whilst there is growing literature in the GYW field, the actual impact of GYW on supporting young people's learning and taking action is limited. Additionally, literature on how GYW specifically supports action in relation to the environmental dimension is even more limited.

The next section will present the work done in a 'live lab' established by the author through his work as a Senior Lecturer/Reader at De Montfort University (DMU) (scholar), and also founding director of Global Hands, which is a charity in The Gambia and a Social Enterprise in the UK (activist). It is also important to note that this author's practice is imbued with colonial and neo-colonial experiences, therefore and accordingly, a response of decolonisation imbues his practice. A practice that negates neoliberal and charity-based notions of development towards Africa is the premise of his work. It is pivotal that, in response to transparency and intellectual objectivity, this author exposes his positionality and situatedness of a decolonial advocate in addition to be a scholar-activist. In line with the philosophical ethos of GYW, this author is interested beyond just the generation of knowledge, but also in the production and enaction of sustainable solutions. This is significant in understanding, situating and positioning the interventions that follow.

Our methodological approach has been to establish a ‘live lab’ at the Manduar Development Hub in collaboration with students from different UK universities, the local communities in and around Manduar village (west coast region, The Gambia), and independent civil and automotive engineers from The Gambia, and social scientists and sustainable energy engineers from De Montfort University (DMU) (UK). The process for the identification of all three interventions (compressed Earth Brick Machine, Solar Dryer, and Solar Taxi) all started mainly with the consultation of communities in and around Manduar, especially young people; mainly in constant dialogue with the author, Dr Rupert Gammon of De Montfort University, and leaders of Global Hands (in The Gambia and UK). From 2011 to 2015, the author has worked with or consulted over a 1,000 young people both in the UK and The Gambia, using participatory methodological and pedagogical approaches. Through these processes and a GYW pedagogical approach, in addition to building the Manduar Development Hub as a social good incubation hub and ‘live lab’, this distilled to three different projects described in the next section.

Compressed earth brick machine

Following critical questions raised through the consultative conversations about the availability of low-cost housing in The Gambia and the significant erosion of some beaches and other associated negative environmental impacts, a project was initiated, based on distinct identified needs, to address the unavailability of low-cost and sustainable housing. The project not only aimed to address the increasing scarcity of sand, but additionally linked to the cutting of trees, and importation of corrugated iron sheets, with a heavy carbon footprint as the majority of these were imported into The Gambia. The first component of the project was to provoke consciousness and then explore practical solutions from their perspectives.

The aim of this project was the development of SMART, locally made, Compressed Earth Brick Fabrication Machines, using a collaborative approach to combat soil erosion and promote cheaper sustainable housing using locally available mud/clay. One of these machines’ costs about \$4,000 to import, which takes it out of the reach of most Gambians, but the project

delivered the aim of producing one for under \$400. The project developed SMART, low-cost Compressed Earth Brick Fabricator that is affordable to local builders which will significantly improve their ability to afford and build houses as well as mitigate soil erosion as there is significant sand mining leading to soil erosion and environmental degradation. The introduction of this low-cost machine will have a significant impact on the availability of housing.

The initial project ended in June 2018 (with the successful testing of a manual Compressed Earth Brick machine). In April 2019, the second version (automated Compressed Earth Brick Machine) was completed. The objective was to build a prototype Hydraulic Compressed Earth Brick Making Machine. One of the other objectives for the project was also to be able to produce this machine locally, using environmentally friendly materials. The work started with the 3D modeling of the machine in solid works which was completed and simulated. As mentioned earlier, in attempting to ‘produce the machine locally’, the materials for this project are not readily available in the hardware shops in The Gambia, so the team had to go around to the scrapyards and second-hand shops for almost all the materials for the project. As this was the first time to venture into this type of project, there were a lot of unanticipated challenges in this regard.

Whilst the first phase of the project (manual version) has been completed successfully, the second version (automated) is incomplete at the time of writing; the team could not access the electric motor to drive the hydraulic pump. Initially, the hydraulic pump that we purchased worked well but was not powerful enough to compress the brick so the team went in for a much more powerful hydraulic pump but again the electric motor purchased could not drive the pump. In fact, the team tried four different types of electric motors to no avail; this was challenging especially given that these had to be sourced individually in scrap yards. Almost all the powerful electric motors in town suitable for the project are 3 phase motors which are not feasible for the project because one of the objectives was for the machine to be portable and 3 phase supply is not available in most of the places. Through a GYW

approach, the focus was not to only understand the environmental issue of lack of housing and debunking unsustainable approaches to housing, but to get the most affected to take action, designing and building a solution by mobilising the best placed to do so.

Solar dryer

It has been estimated that up to 60 per cent of mangoes produced in the short three-month mango season goes to waste in The Gambia. This applies to a significant number of other fruits and vegetables as insufficient technology is available to preserve or store these for any appreciable length of time. These issues were raised by local young people through consultative conversations as issues to do with the environment and also linked to food sufficiency and healthy eating. This project was aimed at developing SMART technologies, starting with solar mango dryers. A team of engineers working with students from UK universities and local Gambian volunteers and carpenters identified the problem and through a GYW pedagogical approach, designed and tested the proof of principle for a solar dryer for mangos which could also be used to dry mangoes and other fruits. Again the key success in not only in mobilising young people to discuss and gain a new understanding of the problem, linked to globalisation, but to respond to the second of the duality of GYW, initiating action, beyond just talking, to act out solutions.

Solar taxi

The ‘Live Lab’ developed in Manduar is completely off grid and in its construction, between 2014-15, the issue of how and where to source its energy came up constantly. Consequently, and through a number of spaces generated within and between DMU experts, UK higher education students, and local Gambians, the issue of environmental sustainability in relation to energy came up with great frequency. Why are we not using solar energy given its abundance in The Gambia, especially given the increasing levels of pollution, as the average car in The Gambia is over ten years old with over 100,000 miles clocked, and not subjected to a compulsory annual vehicle test? Consequently, through a GYW pedagogical exploration, the idea for the use of a solar car was developed to test the principle of its viability, in terms of commerce as well as

the production of clean and non-polluting energy. Again, this was following a period of consultative conversations, to address the first of the duality of GYW.

Using solar panels donated by Sharp Electronics and an electric vehicle (EV), contributed by Nissan Europe, the project has been testing the proof of principle for running a ‘solar taxi’ service in The Gambia (first in Africa) by recharging the vehicle from a solar-powered mini-grid. Preliminary research (Sallah and Gammon, 2017) has shown that 50-60 per cent of daily revenue collected by taxi-drivers goes towards fuel, which can be greatly reduced by using solar energy instead, given the availability of sunlight in the region. Emerging results demonstrate a significant decrease in environmental and noise pollution, as well as financial viability for the use of electric cars.

Conclusion

There is a lot of aid (Kalu, 2018; Buba, 2019) going into developing countries and this is not sustainable as the focus has to a large extent, been on giving people fish instead of teaching them how to fish. Additionally, the Sustainable Development Goals and its predecessor Millennium Development Goals (UN Millennium Project, 2005), largely continue to be aspirational, rather than being entrenched in the daily actions and reactions of those most affected. A GYW approach of not only provoking critical consciousness, but also encouraging action at the personal, local, national or global levels is essential; herein lies the contribution of this article in demonstrating how the second of the duality of GYW is enacted. These three projects conceptualised and implemented from a GYW pedagogical approach focus on giving the most deprived communities the tools to lift themselves out of poverty and equalise inequality; to be architects of their own destiny by developing low-cost buildings, agricultural and food processing/preservation equipment, and optimising the usage of solar energy. All of these have demonstrated mitigation of environmental degradation and addressed the environmental face of globalisation. GYW has been presented as an act of resistance and an attempt to decolonise the economic orthodoxy and looming environmental sword of Damocles that keeps the Southern countries deprived. As a pedagogic approach, GYW goes beyond just the first of the duality, by

demonstrating efficacy and demonstrating action, in fulfilment of the second of the duality.

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CODE OF GOOD PRACTICE FOR DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION

ELAINE MAHON

Abstract: In 2019, the Irish Development Education Association (IDEA) launched a Code of Good Practice for Development Education. The idea of creating a Code of Good Practice was born out of a desire to strengthen good practice in development education (DE) through a self-assessment process which would help educators to articulate their good practice and identify any gaps which needed focus. The Code of Good Practice for Development Education (hereafter ‘the Code’) is the first of its kind in Ireland and an important development in the practice of DE on European and global stages. It was developed collectively by IDEA members over the course of three years and builds on good practice in the DE sector in Ireland over many more years. IDEA members engaged in drafting the content and piloting the Code, developing supporting documents and an implementation framework, leading to its official launch at the end of 2019. DE needs to be responsive to a turbulent and changing global environment. Reflecting on our practice and challenging our approach are central to quality DE.

Key words: Development Education (DE); Code; Good Practice; Community of Practice; Peer Learning; Self-Assessment; Quality Education; Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) target 4.7.

Introduction

IDEA, the Irish Development Education Association, is the national network for development education (DE) in Ireland and a leading voice for the sector. IDEA was established in 2004 and represents over 70 members involved in the practice, promotion and advancement of DE in formal, non-formal and informal settings. Together as a network, IDEA works to strengthen DE in Ireland and to raise awareness of the crucial role it has to play in achieving an equal, just and sustainable future. IDEA members refer to their work under a variety of educational approaches, including DE, Education for Sustainable Development (ESD), Environmental Education (EE) and Global Citizenship

Education (GCE) which all contribute to achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), particularly target 4.7 which aims to:

“By 2030, ensure that all learners acquire the 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: 19).

This article considers the rationale for creating this Code in Ireland and the process involved in developing it. It discusses how the Code will work in practice and how it will benefit IDEA members. It also explores some possible challenges in rolling-out the Code in 2020 and beyond.

Rationale for creating a Code of Good Practice for Development Education

The idea of developing a Code of Good Practice for Development Education initially arose from an IDEA working group on Good Practice in 2009. IDEA working groups are member-led groups that come together to explore an area of relevance to their DE practice. The working group set about developing Good Practice Guidelines over a number of years within IDEA and with partner organisations for various sectors of education including: formal education (IDEA, 2013); adult and community education (IDEA, 2014); volunteering (Comhlámh, n.d.) and developing resources (Dóchas, IDEA and DevelopmentEducation.ie, 2014). The Code is the culmination of work carried out by IDEA members and partners over at least ten years and, arguably, over the several decades during which DE has been practiced in Ireland.

IDEA as a network of educators is fully committed to strengthening good practice and supporting our members to do so. The Code of Good Practice for Development Education facilitates good educational practice as it promotes knowledge and understanding of the root causes of poverty, injustice

and inequality; critical thinking; reflection on our own position in our globalised and interdependent world; and an impetus to act on injustice (IDEA, 2019a). IDEA regards the Code as a key tool for the promotion of quality DE as a right for all learners in Ireland. It supports practitioners by enabling us to create quality educational experiences; use creative, participatory methods; produce quality resources and materials; and evaluate whether what we are doing is making a difference. It encourages us to be open to give and receive feedback, to learn from others and contribute to a community of practice. The cumulative results of quality DE are more important than ever in our increasingly globalised and unequal world. It builds skills for action, encourages learners to imagine solutions for a better world, and brings our ethos and values into our operations through the organisational principles of the Code (Ibid).

The Code was written by IDEA members and represents a collective agreement to both strengthen and articulate quality DE across all of our work. The Code is an expression of what IDEA members have in common; a commitment to protect the integrity of development education through our own good practice.

Development of the Code

In November 2016, IDEA members were invited to a workshop to explore how to strengthen and reinvigorate the various Good Practice Guidelines created, to ensure they are living documents which influence practice in the sector. There was a broad discussion among a variety of IDEA members present at that workshop and a clear consensus to create a common Code of Good Practice for Development Education emerged. That meeting also agreed that any Code should be developed for and driven by the DE sector itself. As part of the workshop and the subsequent report by Éilís Ryan, a consultant facilitating that stage of the process, other voluntary Codes within the non-governmental organisation (NGO) and DE sectors were also presented (CGE, 2015; Comhlámh, 2013; Dóchas, 2006; 2008; National Youth Council of Ireland, 2007; People in Aid, 2003; WorldWise Global Schools, n.d.), in particular the Comhlámh (n.d.) Code for Volunteer-Sending Agencies (VSAs).

Desk-based research was also carried out for any other similar codes for DE internationally in case there were other Codes we could adapt, however nothing similar was found.

In May 2017, IDEA members were invited to join a group tasked with drafting content for a Code. At that stage, there were 13 IDEA members active in the task group over a period of five months with others feeding in remotely. Interestingly, in the early stages, the idea of having more than one Code was raised, in order to complement the already published Good Practice Guidelines at sub-sectoral level (formal education, youth work, adult and community education etc.). IDEA also engaged a consultant, Morina O’Neill, to facilitate the work of the group and support the development of content alongside IDEA staff. A desk review of all available background material was carried out including a further search for other Codes for DE in other parts of the world. Nothing similar to what we wished to create was found.

As a result of the review of background materials, a basis for the Code content was created using the ‘Vision for Development Education’ (IDEA, 2015) and the Good Practice Guidelines (IDEA, 2013; 2014). The ‘Vision’ document (IDEA, 2015) set out the key values and characteristics of DE and aimed to develop a deeper understanding of the approach of DE rather than a single definition. At the first task group meeting in June 2017, the members critically reviewed the framework put forward for the Code content and began to flesh out the areas to be included in terms of good practice. This included topics related to educational practice (knowledge, understanding, critical thinking, sourcing of information, action taking, monitoring and evaluation) as well as organisational practice (organisational policies and strategies, human resources, governance and advocacy). These areas went on to become the ‘Core Principles’ of the Code (IDEA, 2019a). It was also clear, at this stage, that any Code had to be relevant to individual practitioners as well as organisational members of IDEA.

Subsequent meetings of the drafting group focused on indicators linked to each of the Principles and also thinking about the evidence which

could be used to illustrate good practice in each area of the Code. The group also initiated discussions on how the Code could be implemented by IDEA members, and how they might be supported to do so. As the work progressed, the group agreed that a common Code for all IDEA members was most useful, given that many members worked across and between different sectors of education; in schools, in higher education, in community-based projects and with youth groups. By the end of 2017, the draft Code content was agreed, and IDEA members were invited to volunteer to participate in the pilot (IDEA, 2018). At this point, eight organisations came forward to pilot the Code, of which six completed the pilot phase, including the IDEA office staff team. At that stage, the Code had 15 principles. Each pilot organisation completed the self-assessment process for a number of principles which ensured that all principles were covered by dividing them purposefully.

The Code pilot was hugely valuable (Ibid) and was complemented by an extensive review with the pilot organisations by an external consultant, Adrienne Boyle, who interviewed them about their experience of the Code during the pilot. This review focused on what organisations did and their experience of working on the Code. They were also asked about the challenges, and what they would do differently, what advice they would have for other practitioners undertaking the Code and other reflections on how it affected their practice of DE. These are set out under benefits and challenges below.

The final stage in developing the current Code came in 2019, when feedback from the pilot informed the Code content. Fifteen principles were reduced to twelve, nine of which focus on educational practice and three on organisational practice relating to DE (IDEA, 2019a). In addition, IDEA brought together an advisory group to develop structures to roll-out the Code to the DE sector. The advisory group's work included setting out the steps of the Code journey, what self-assessment and Code compliance could look like, and what learning, support and networking opportunities could be offered. The final version of the Code is a result of all of this work, alongside a series of supporting documents, including an information leaflet on the Code which

folds out into a poster to display in the workplace (IDEA, 2019a); a User Guide (IDEA, 2019c) outlining steps on the Code journey and what support you can avail of from IDEA and the membership; a Self-Assessment Workbook (IDEA, 2019b) which is a toolkit to be completed for each principle along with an action plan template; and a Code Commitment form which Code members should sign to join the Code. The Code Commitment Form must be signed by the chief executive officer (CEO) of organisational members (individual members sign their own Code commitment form) and must be renewed annually.

Roll-out and benefits of the Code of Good Practice

This section focuses on the intended and potential benefits of using a Code of Good Practice for Development Education, informed by the results of the pilot process as well as input from the IDEA staff tasked with overseeing Code development. DE is an educational process which enables people to understand the world around them and to act to transform it (IDEA, 2015). It works to tackle the root causes of injustice and inequality, globally and locally, to create a more just and sustainable future for everyone. Quality DE is more important than ever, in Ireland and globally. As DE practitioners, we must be responsive to a turbulent and changing global environment. This requires us to continuously challenge our own thinking, re-examine our focus, and to critically evaluate whether what we are doing makes a difference. Reflecting on our own practice and challenging our approach are central to quality DE.

Strengthening good practice

The Code provides a framework and a rationale to take time to focus and critically reflect on what we are doing as educators. It encourages practitioners to take time to value and acknowledge the work we are already doing well. The self-assessment tool (IDEA, 2019b) is also useful in identifying gaps and where we have more to do. For one organisation involved in the pilot, they found writing down what they were doing important in relation to the Code. ‘For us, after doing it for so long, we do it on autopilot. But the Code has

enabled us to codify what we do and given us the rigour of writing it down’. Another pilot group noted:

“The Code helped us reflect on work we were already doing. It supported us with a lens through which to look at our training provision and now we have a one-pager based on the principles for our pre-departure training. The training has become more about critical engagement”.

The Code as a framework

The Code provides a framework for different types of educational practice, both for those who are relatively new to DE and those who have more experience:

“I felt the Code should be an instrument that would not only guide a seasoned practitioner in our practice but would also help those new to the sector to grasp all the elements they should be considering in developing a DE programme”.

As the self-assessment process is carried out by the individual educator or organisation, it enables us to build on where we are at. There is a risk of being overwhelmed by the Code, with 12 principles and 34 indicators. But the pilot members were very clear that the Code is ‘a journey’, and that each Code member that signs up will be on that journey with other ‘critical friends’. The Code journey begins with our own good practice in DE. Also for organisations who don’t deliver DE regularly, the Code can be utilised to enhance other areas of work: ‘It definitely renewed our awareness that while we aren’t [always] delivering DE directly it is important that the principles of DE are reflected in how we work and what we deliver’.

Community of peer learning

During the Code development, there was a real desire to create a community of practitioners who could come together to learn from each other's practice, being open and honest about areas which were challenging, and celebrating the work that was being done well. For the pilot group, meeting up with peers was very supportive, facilitating learning across organisations:

“It gave us a space for creative reflection, to think more about the qualitative rather than the quantitative side and to deepen our understanding. It was important to feel part of something collective, to get a sense of how others approached it”.

Trying different approaches

The Code is also a useful tool to give a deeper rationale to strengthen our own skills in doing DE as well as time to think about how we can tweak things. There were lots of examples of new approaches from the pilot group, which they felt the Code facilitated, or ‘gave permission to do’:

“In the past we might have been afraid to invite peers into our space, because we weren't confident. But the code has really encouraged us to do this, e.g. our networking with Stop Climate Chaos. We achieved a lot more through this collaboration”.

“[The Code helped] to deepen our linkages with groups working on social/global justice issues for responding to requests for collaboration with other stakeholders that may otherwise have been outside our agreed work programme for the year”.

“As well as using trusted, evidence-based publications we need to ensure we are hearing and promoting ‘thought leaders’ from the global South. Podcasts are brilliant for this”.

“Taking a couple of guilt free hours when at work (rare as that may be) on a weekly basis to research, read and review is rewarding and vital”.

Taking stock of our approach

The Code aims to provide a clear tool for self-assessment without becoming a ‘tick the box’ exercise. It seeks to encourage meaningful reflection on the work we do. It can challenge well-established practices by formalising reflection. This means that practices have moved beyond the comfort zone of ‘that’s the way we do things’. Other learning from the Code pilot include realising ‘We hadn’t been that great at collecting information on “engagement, use and associated learning [of our resources]”’; as the organisation in question had been focusing primarily on distribution of resources, so the indicator enabled them to move their practice forward. The Code also encourages us all to think outside our ‘bubble’ and look at information from different sources and perspectives: ‘Move outside your “echo chamber”’.

Challenges of implementing the Code of Good Practice for Development Education

The learning from the pilot also highlighted a number of challenges for practitioners in using the Code, and in IDEA, our role is also to anticipate areas where our members will need support in rolling-out the Code.

Time and resources

In a sector where many DE practitioners work alone, or in small teams, and in small organisations, finding adequate time to focus on the Code can be a challenge. Code members need to build it into annual work plans in order to allocate sufficient time and resources to it. This is one of the reasons that the CEO/Director of Code member organisations must sign the Code commitment form. Senior management needs to be involved in planning and allocating resources to DE and to the Code self-assessment process. One of the IDEA members involved in the pilot of the Code said that it asks organisations to:

“Make sure the organisation as a whole has buy-in from a senior level. You have to make sure the Code plays out in a day-to-day way in the organisation. Make sure specific time is allocated by senior management to the person implementing the Code. There has to be a perception that the Code is relevant to the organisation as a whole”.

For those working in organisations, it will be vital to include other team members as well. Advice from those who completed the pilot was to set aside more time for the team as a whole to meet more regularly to discuss the Code. This could mean including it as a standing item in team meetings or dedicating specific meetings to it.

The Code needs regular attention

There was a sense during the pilot that practitioners could get overwhelmed by the Code. It is really important that the process is useful and meaningful. As such, educators must take it at their own pace. The self-assessment is designed to include an action plan, and Code members can decide to just focus on a few areas for development. It needs to be seen as a step-by-step journey, and a process. A suggestion was to incorporate other work that you are going to be doing on a regular basis which is relevant to you and your DE practice and apply the Code action plan to this area. As one of the pilot organisations suggested: ‘This is why focusing on the review of the resource packs was so useful for us – we were doing it anyway, but the Code stimulated us to look at it in more depth, and hence develop better practice’.

Interpreting the Code

The development of the Code took place over three years and the content of the Code was shaped by DE practitioners working in many different sectors, across different organisations, as well as freelance workers. All the ideas from the initial drafting process had to be distilled down into a more succinct version. In some cases, the phrasing of the Code was hotly contested and terminology that was used had to fit a wide variety of DE settings and

audiences. The language used is very much from a DE perspective and may be challenging for those operating in other sectors to grasp completely. Even among DE practitioners, there may be differing interpretations of the meaning of some indicators and principles: 'The Principle created a lot of discussion around specific themes. This could be interpreted very differently by different organisations.

Utilising the Code and associated learning for the DE sector

Almost half of IDEA's organisational members have signed up to implement the Code in their practice in 2020. This first year of the Code is very much a learning process for all involved, both the practitioners using the self-assessment process, and for IDEA staff to gauge the work involved and the resources needed. IDEA also has an important role in articulating how the Code process can benefit the DE sector as a whole – in highlighting areas of strength and good practice and identifying shared challenges in DE practice overall. IDEA will also receive a significant amount of evidence of good practice via the self-assessments and it is important for us to consider and plan for how we will make the learning from the self-assessments accessible to all Code members, as well as other stakeholders. We believe the Code will produce important data which could enable us to identify trends in DE, emerging issues as well as 'blind spots', and we have a role to play in communicating these findings from the Code's roll-out. As with the Code members, time and resources will need to be made available to maximise the impact of the Code at sectoral level. The Code network will come together twice a year and these meetings will be an important opportunity to surface this learning and plan to address gaps as well as communicate the successes.

Supporting individual practitioners as well as organisations

Code membership is open to both organisations and individuals delivering DE. Individual practitioners only need to work on the first nine principles of the Code addressing educational practice (the other three focus on organisational practice). How the individuals use the Code may differ from how

organisations use it. Individuals may decide to focus on one particular DE setting they work in, or with one project. They may not have the benefit of collaborating with colleagues in the self-assessment stage and may need further support from IDEA in completing their self-assessment. There has been a lower uptake in 2020 from individual members and this is something we will seek to address in future years.

What's involved in becoming a Code member

All Code materials are freely available on the IDEA website (IDEA, 2019c) for anyone to access and use. Code Membership is open to all members of IDEA, both organisations and individuals, however, it is not a condition of membership. IDEA has undertaken to provide dedicated support to Code members through the journey of implementation. Joining the Code involves a self-assessment process which members carry out and share with IDEA. There are three Compliance Commitments for Code members: sign a Code Commitment form; carry out the self-assessment process including developing an action plan to be shared with IDEA; and attend at least one Code network meeting annually. Feedback on this process is provided to Code members by IDEA as well as access to network meetings, training and events.

Becoming a Code member offers many benefits, including networking, peer learning, support opportunities, the space to share your experiences as DE practitioner, and an opportunity to celebrate and showcase good practice in DE.

Conclusions

The pilot process was hugely valuable and surfaced important learning. Among other things, the participants found that the Code supported their reflective practice, helped them to more effectively promote DE within their organisations and improve their own personal DE practice overall, as well as bringing them back to the values and ethos underpinning DE. We hope these positive effects of the Code are felt more widely as more Code members sign up to implement it in their daily work. It is a very exciting time for the DE

sector in Ireland, with a huge commitment among practitioners to utilise the Code to strengthen their good practice, and we will have ample evidence from this process to continue to learn from.

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HOW CAN MIGRANT ENTREPRENEURSHIP EDUCATION CONTRIBUTE TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS? THE EXPERIENCE OF THE FRESH START PROGRAMME

ROS WADE

Abstract: This article considers the implications of migrant entrepreneurship education (MEEEd) for sustainability and for the work of global adult educators. It will present some insights into the opportunities and challenges created by the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) through the experience of running the Fresh Start (FS) MEEEd programme. This programme, funded by the European Union (EU) in 2017-2019, brought together teams from three countries - the Netherlands, the United Kingdom (UK) and Belgium - and involved three universities: Zuyd University of Applied Sciences (Maastricht), London South Bank University (LSBU); and University College Leuven Limburg (UCLL) in the province of Limburg, Belgium. The team found that there is no 'one size fits all' as each context and each community have differing starting points and needs. Central to this is an approach which is learner-centred, enables participants' voices to be heard, and supports the co-creation of the programme. Education and learning are always a two-way process and migration offers us all an opportunity to learn from each other and to appreciate the rich resource of ideas and skills which migrants have to offer communities.

The first section of the article provides an overview of the implications of migration for sustainability and its relationship to delivery of the SDGs. Section two examines the FS MEEEd programme as a model for working with adult refugees and migrants. It presents some of the opportunities and challenges for educators created by the SDGs. Section three provides illustrations from the work of the FS MEEEd programme and section four considers some implications and ways forward.

Key words: Migration; Refugees; Entrepreneurship Education; Sustainable Development Goals; Social Cohesion; Integration; Intercultural Awareness, Co-creation and Learning.

Introduction

Migration caused by conflicts or natural disasters often poses immediate challenges to sustainability, for the migrants themselves, for the countries they have left and for the countries where they now find themselves. Without addressing these challenges, it is not likely or possible to achieve the global goals for a sustainable world (UN, 2020). At the local level, migrants and refugees have a strong desire to contribute to the host society and to integrate effectively but there are many internal and external barriers to this. Migrant entrepreneurship education (MEEEd) can help migrants contribute to their local communities and to their own well-being by developing their entrepreneurial ideas into businesses or employment. Entrepreneurial education has developed as part of a response to the need to develop a new generation of entrepreneurs as set out in the European Union's Entrepreneurship 2020 Action Plan (European Commission, 2020). In recent years, the EU has extended this out to address the potential for refugees and migrants in order to harness their wide range of skills and talents which they bring and to develop their employment opportunities. The European Commission emphasises that entrepreneurship represents an alternative form of decent and sustainable employment for migrants. Indeed, there is evidence to indicate that migrants, especially first-generation males, can be more successful entrepreneurs than their peers in the host community (Ashourizadeh, et al., 2016).

Host community attitudes are at times driven by the mistaken belief that migrants are unwilling to work so MEEEd programmes also provide opportunities to address negative perceptions and stereotypes, and to build more positive relationships. They can, therefore, contribute to the wider purpose of social cohesion, integration and social sustainability. The EU entrepreneurship competence framework (EntreComp) defines entrepreneurship as a:

“transversal competence, which applies to all spheres of life: from nurturing personal development, to actively participating in society, to (re)entering the job market as an employee or as a self-employed person, and also to starting up ventures (cultural, social or commercial). It builds upon a broad definition of entrepreneurship that hinges on the creation of cultural, social or economic value” (EU, 2016).

However, this fails to situate the framework within the context of environmental sustainability so MEEEd has a responsibility to encourage participants to choose paths which safeguard and care for the natural environment. This illustrates the important role that the Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) can play within entrepreneurial education and in addressing the three pillars of sustainability: economic, social and environmental. Without ESD there is a likelihood that entrepreneurial education will not address the very real imperative of addressing climate change and the need to situate all activities within the carrying capacity of the planet.

Forced migration as a sustainability issue

According to UNHCR (2019), there are unprecedented movements of people across the globe owing to forced migration with 70.8 million forcibly displaced persons worldwide. Moreover, 85 per cent of the world’s displaced people are hosted by the poorest nations, with Turkey hosting approximately 3.7 million refugees; Pakistan 1.4 million; Uganda 1.4 million and Sudan 1.1 million (Ibid). The only high income, western country to come close to these totals is Germany with 1.1 million. Moreover, 57 per cent of refugees come from three resource poor countries, namely Syria, Afghanistan and South Sudan (Ibid). In high-income countries, there were in 2018 on average, 2.7 refugees per 1,000 national population but this figure is more than doubled in middle- and low-income countries, with 5.8 refugees per 1,000. And these figures do not take into account internally displaced persons globally – who are estimated at 41.3m (UNHCR, 2019).

The majority of refugees come from conflict-riven countries but there are many other causes of forced migration including natural disasters, unsustainable livelihoods owing to the effects of climate change, land grabs, pollution, and human rights abuses or persecution as a result of gender, religion, perceived dis-ability, ethnicity or sexuality. Many of the factors that force people to migrate are linked together and a systems' approach is needed to address them. Hence the global partnership for the global goals (SDG 17, 2019) is becoming ever more important in order to address the imbalance of resources and power between and within countries. A number of recent conflicts have been exacerbated by the effects of climate change, for example, in Syria where large numbers of rural communities were forced to move to the cities because they were no longer able to sustain a livelihood on their land (Gleick, 2014). At the Spring 2019 meeting of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), David Attenborough, the renowned naturalist and broadcaster, warned that 'Europe can expect even greater migratory pressure from Africa unless action is taken to prevent global warming' and he warned policymakers that 'time is running out to save the natural world from extinction' (Elliot, 2019).

All these factors are, in effect, sustainability issues and if they are not addressed, the SDGs will fail to be delivered by 2030. Although forced migration receives very little attention within the SDGs, the forced migration of large numbers directly impedes their achievement. For example, one of the key causes of forced migration relates to the effects of climate change, which is causing land degradation, leading in many places to food shortages for local populations. This affects delivery of SDG 2 which aims to 'End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture' (SDG 2, 2019) which cannot be achieved without SDG 13 (2019) which aims to 'Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts'. Thus, a holistic, joined up, systems' approach by policymakers is essential in order to achieve the SDGs.

The effects of climate change alone are going to result in greater numbers of climate refugees and affected livelihoods (Brown, 2008). Indeed,

this predicted that there will be between 50 and 200 million climate refugees by 2050 (Ibid: 11). The resolutions and decisions adopted by the Committee of the Whole of the United Nations Environment Assembly at its fourth session on 11 - 15 March 2019 noted that ‘business as usual’ is not an option and emphasised urgency of action. They recognised that the business and enterprise community have a great deal of potential to move towards a more sustainable economic model, for example, through adoption of a Green New Deal. However, the report focused mainly on international big business and did not acknowledge the immense energy and opportunity provided by small and medium enterprises (SMEs), non-profit and social businesses. And there is little or no attention paid in the report to education of any kind, hence the implication that these changes can be achieved in a top-down, implementation manner which is unlikely to be successful in the long term (Bowe, Ball and Gold., 1992; Binney and Williams, 1997). As Amina Mohammed, Special Advisor to the United Nations Secretary-General on Post-2015 UN Development Planning, stated:

“The greatest transformations will not be achieved by one person alone, rather by committed leadership and communities standing side by side ...only through genuine collaboration will we see real progress in the new global sustainable development goals. Midwives, teachers, politicians, economists and campaigners must find common ground in their quest to achieve ground-breaking and sustainable change” (UNESCO, 2014).

MEEd and ESD – the FS model

ESD was developed after the 1992 Earth summit (UN, 1992) and linked the importance of environmental education (EE) and development education (DE) in order to address the needs of current and future generations. It integrated the concerns of development educators and environmental educators into a wider remit of education for sustainable development for the future of people and the planet. Forced migration is clearly both a development and an environmental issue and the FS programme developed out of discussions at a meeting of the European Regional Centres of Expertise in ESD (RCEs) in

London in June 2016. There was strong agreement that the SDGs could not be achieved without addressing the question of migration and that education had a critical role to play in facilitating community well-being and integration and in harnessing the prior expertise and resources of the migrant community.

In this section, I explore the potential of MEEed as a response by educators to address some of the SDGs, focusing in particular on Goal 4: ‘Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities’ (SDG 4, 2019); Goal 8, ‘Decent work and economic growth’ (SDG 8, 2019); and Goal 16, ‘Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development’ (SDG 16, 2019). Owing to the barriers that migrants face in terms of entering the labour market or enrolling in mainstream courses, entrepreneurship education seemed to offer a route which would enable them to develop their own sense of purpose by setting up their own business. Of course, entrepreneurship does not automatically equate with sustainability goals unless it is built on foundations of sustainability values and, as previously discussed, the EU framework does not mention the need for entrepreneurship to be considered through this lens. This provides both challenges and opportunities to us as educators working within a global capitalist system which has not yet embraced the urgent need to transform itself.

Although there are differing perspectives on what constitutes pedagogy for entrepreneurship there is an increasing consensus that, as Strachan points out: ‘For many, including Gedeon (2014) and McGuigan (2016), entrepreneurship education encompasses a holistic approach to education covering not only an entrepreneurial approach to students’ jobs and careers, but also to their own lives and community. From this perspective entrepreneurial action is seen as transformational for the individual’ (Strachan, 2018: 42). In this sense, it is closely aligned with the pedagogy of ESD which focuses on active learning, problem solving, critical thinking, intercultural learning, interdisciplinarity, and lifelong learning. As Strachan (Ibid) points out: ‘The notion that education can be a transformational process ... is a key

feature of ESD’. This was the pedagogical approach adopted by the FS team, embedding the ESD pedagogy within the MEEEd programme.

Of course, the meaning of entrepreneurship is not the same in all countries and nor is education. Additionally, the experiences of a refugee or asylum seeker can have a deep impact both psychologically and on entrepreneurship skills and attitudes. Migrants have needs for emotional and language support, intercultural understanding, mutual learning and respect. This is not to say that there are no other vulnerable groups in society, but their needs will be different. Mainstream entrepreneurship programmes cannot address all these needs as they are planned for members of the host community and are based around participants who have ready-made social capital and local networks as well as some prior knowledge and understanding of the local business cultures and regulations. This has necessitated a tailor-made programme for migrant entrepreneurs. This is in line with Principle One in working with the SDGs: ‘Localize or domesticate an understanding of interlinkages and interconnections in the unique context of each country, region, gender and population group’ (UN Expert Group, 2018).

There are both challenges and opportunities here for educators in relation to refugees and migration. In host countries they will need to address dominant political narratives of negativity and in some cases hostility. They will need an understanding of the root causes of forced migration and be able to provide positive stories to address negative discourses. There are many opportunities to do this through, for example, challenging myths and negative stereotypes; developing intercultural understanding (ourselves, our communities, our students, fellow colleagues); promoting openness, support, welcome messages and positive induction to new migrants; opportunities for mutual learning - appreciating the skills and knowledge brought by migrants; providing opportunities for migrant and host communities to meet and get to know each other; providing opportunities for positive relationships and tools for new migrants to access the education systems and employment opportunities.

As we have found through the FS programme, the host community has a great deal to gain from developing relationships with local migrant communities and from gaining more understanding of the international and regional context of migration. The FS programme has demonstrated that where there are more opportunities to meet and socialise with different groups, there is an increase of understanding, tolerance and friendship. There are also opportunities to share new skills and expertise, as well as new languages, in addition to economic benefits in terms of employment opportunities and job creation which migrant entrepreneurs can provide. Both migrants and the host community also benefit from greater employability of migrants and contribution to taxes. Educators also have a responsibility to promote respect and appreciation for diversity and to address concepts of ‘the other’ and to challenge intolerant, racist views.

This work directly feeds into and supports the work of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO, 2014) which has highlighted how education is needed to contribute to all the proposed post-2015 goals. They will need to be competent and able to promote and teach the following:

“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” (SDG 4, 2019).

The principle elements and values of Education for Sustainable Development and global citizenship are clearly an essential underpinning for addressing SDG 4. Educators, whether they are in the formal, non-formal or informal sectors will need themselves to be active global citizens who espouse and practice education for sustainability.

Developing the FS programme – the three pathways

FS was a two-year EU funded programme designed to enable 120 participants (40 from each country) to develop their entrepreneurial skills and business ideas. It involved three teams from three countries - the Netherlands, the United Kingdom (UK), and Belgium and involved three universities: Zuyd University of Applied Sciences (Maastricht), London South Bank University (LSBU), and University College Leuven Limburg (UCLL) in the province of Limburg, Belgium. In London and Maastricht, the FS team recruited two cohorts and the course was delivered twice over two years. In Limburg, the course was developed through partners during the first year and then offered to one large cohort during the second year.

The FS team's review of the terrain at the start of the project found that, although there were many common issues for migrants across the three countries, the context for each programme was different in each country and region. In the UK, it is national government which sets the rules, in the Netherlands and Belgium the local municipalities are the main authority. This underlines the importance of subsidiarity and developing pathways which are appropriate to the particular locality. A 2016 study for the European Commission showed that migrant entrepreneurship support services are often fragmented and suggested that synergies and co-operation among different service providers are needed (European Commission, 2016). Hence, while sharing the overall framework of the FS model, each country team designed a pathway which was most effective and relevant. Partners were integral to the development of this programme as they brought in added expertise, experience and contacts. In London, the key partners were a charity, Citizens UK and a social enterprise, London Small and Medium Business Centre, (known as NWES) which brought added business expertise and experience.

In Maastricht and London South Bank University, we built on and developed the in-house expertise within the university and its partners in entrepreneurial education and in working with refugees and migrants. Co-creation was a key principle of all pathways and both partners and participants contributed to the design of each pathway and also in evaluating them. In

London and Maastricht, the participants comprised both settled and recent refugees and migrants with varying qualifications and experience, and they contributed their views in reviewing and framing the programme. In London, this took place at the launch event initially when participants were asked to review the proposed framework of the course and to help to shape it and, then again, at the end of the year. In Maastricht, this took place with participants contributing to problem identification and solving in an ongoing way throughout the course.

The UCLL pathway in Limburg differed from that of Maastricht and London because their main target group was one of highly educated, experienced, recently arrived Turkish refugees who had the confidence and skills to map their own pathways. Additionally, UCLL found that in Limburg there were already a large number of organisations providing skills training in MEEed and access to business leaders but there was very little coordination between them or awareness of what each was doing. Hence, it made sense to develop a map of support in relation to MEEed and to work with participants to choose the route most appropriate to each. Thus, strong networks were built up and links made with local banks and businesses who could offer future opportunities to migrants.

The purpose of the FS programme

The team agreed the shared purpose was as follows: to harness the prior expertise and resources of the migrant community in order to benefit the wider host community; to enhance the integration and well-being of migrants and host community; to add value to the host community and migrant community; to create positive perceptions of refugees in the destination countries; and to create connections with the entrepreneur community and the integration mediators in the destination countries. The methodology used in FS was participatory action research and this enabled us to ensure that all stakeholder voices were heard and able to contribute as well as helping to create trust and mutual respect for the co-learning process. The differing target groups in each region also needed to be taken into account in order to shape the education programmes. FS started with these shared elements and principles which then

followed pathways which could ‘Localize or domesticate an understanding of interlinkages and interconnections in the unique context of each country, region, gender and population group’ (UN Expert Group, 2018).

There are generally considered to be three differing approaches to entrepreneurial education:

“Teaching ‘about’ entrepreneurship means a content-laden and theoretical approach aiming to give a general understanding of the phenomenon; teaching ‘for’ entrepreneurship means an occupationally oriented approach aiming at giving budding entrepreneurs the requisite knowledge and skills. Teaching ‘through’ means a process based and often experiential approach where students go through an actual entrepreneurial learning process” (Lackeus, 2015: 10).

Through discussions with partners, trainers and participants, we developed a model with pathways which incorporated all of these elements. This model of MEEed can be contextualised for different regions and countries. However, the FS model has shared overlapping principles, aims, values, objectives and pedagogy pathways relevant to the region and context. We chose participatory action research as our methodology for the following reasons: project leaders, partners and participants themselves generate the information and then process and analyse it; the knowledge produced is used to promote actions for local change; people are the primary beneficiaries of the knowledge produced; research is a rhythm of action-reflection where knowledge produced supports local action; the knowledge is authentic since people generate it for the purpose of improving their lives.

The reconnaissance stage was essential for defining the issue, exploring the local context and bringing in partners. Partners were then involved in planning, recruitment and trust building when participants also contributed to the shaping of the programme. This led on to implementation

and ongoing evaluation, followed by reflection and, in year two, adapting the programme as needed.

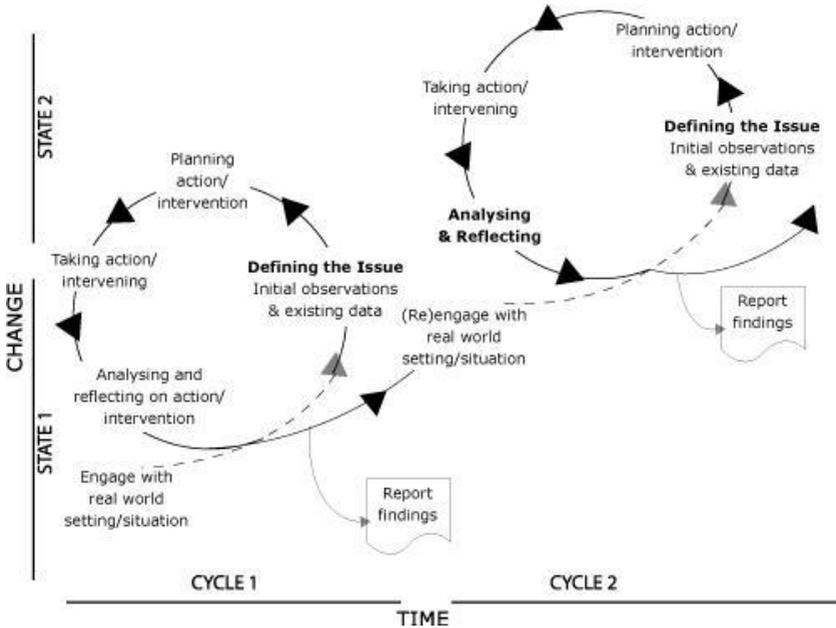


Figure 1. PAR research for sustainable communities: post growth (Velasco, 2013).

The education programme

Using participatory action research methodology, the programme drew from all partners and from the participants in the project, with the aim of developing a co-learning environment which was appropriate and relevant to the context.

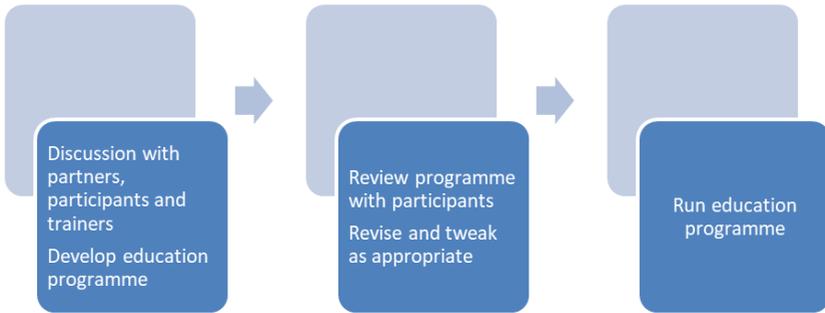


Figure 2. Developing the FS education programme.

Essential elements of the education programme incorporated ESD’s active learning pedagogy and included ongoing enquiry, reflection, co-learning based on mutual respect, shared expertise and mutual learning. The pedagogical approach was participant-centred and based on reflective, active, enquiry based, transformative learning (Mezirow, 2009; O’Sullivan, 1999). As reflective, critical learners, participants were encouraged to help to shape their own learning and give regular feedback, thus enabling participant voices to help shape the programmes according to their needs. The approach also needed to be interculturally aware and sensitive to the experience and background of participants. Access to language support was also appropriate for some participants.

Each pathway built on expertise available in their institutions and drew on regional partners. The London education programme built on expertise in the business school as well as outside knowledge and support from our partner NWES with SME experience. In London, the education programme consisted of a range of elements: the introductory launch and welcome; a series of business education workshop sessions on key areas such

as the regulatory framework, access to finance, developing your business plan, knowing your customer, marketing and branding; a series of masterclasses on more specialist areas, such as digital marketing; one to ones with a business adviser with experience in setting up businesses; and group mentorship sessions which continued after the end of the programme. At the conclusion of the programme an award ceremony was held where participants could pitch their business ideas and meet with partners and migrant support organisations who could offer ongoing advice. Ongoing access to short courses at the university was also offered to participants as a means of continuing development and support where needed.

MEEd and the SDGs - illustrations from FS

Starting points - building trust and developing relationships

One of the key challenges for each FS team was to build up trust with a community which included the most vulnerable and disadvantaged, who did not necessarily feel safe or valued and yet had shown immense resilience. In London, we approached the trust building through one of our key partners, Citizens UK, a non-governmental organisation (NGO) which works as a community organiser and has strong links and relationships with local communities. Through Citizens UK we held a number of listening events in order to establish local context and needs and to ensure that voices of participants contributed to the development of the programme. Following on from this we held a launch event where we shared the plans for the programme with potential participants and stakeholders and gained their feedback which was then fed into programme development.

Evaluations from this event highlighted its importance in building trust and respect and breaking down barriers between academic and local migrant communities. Comments indicated the number of obstacles that had been faced by many in seeking employment and even just in being listened to. Employment agencies had often dismissed their experience and qualifications and funnelled them into the lowest paid jobs. Several participants said that

they felt that this was the first time anyone had listened to their hopes and dreams. They all wanted urgently to contribute more to the society where they now lived and they felt that FS could support them in this, thus contributing to a feeling of inclusion and integration into a more socially sustainable society. FS thus contributed to SDG 16 (2019) which aims to ‘Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development’ as well as Goal 4 which aims to ‘Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities’ (SDG 4, 2019).

Pedagogical approaches

Our experiences in the three contexts varied according to our participant group and the programmes were designed with their needs and with the local context in mind. Some participants in all three countries were new to active transformational learning and critical thinking as their own educational experiences had mainly consisted of didactic approaches. Some participants found active learning more engaging and interesting but there were others who preferred the information giving, lecture approach more useful. The didactic approach was more relevant to key content which needed to be explained through information sharing, for example, with regard to business rules in each country. These varied considerably from many of the migrants’ countries of origin especially with regard to bureaucracy and accountability. An understanding of environmental rules and regulations was also a key element and the final business ideas of many participants illustrated their concern for, and interest in, the natural world.

The FS programme has been a transformatory learning experience for all who were involved. Trainers and mentors, reflecting on what they had learned through the programme stated that they had learned more ‘intercultural awareness, different approaches to business in different parts of the world; aspects of the participants’ cultures and more awareness of their particular skills and backgrounds’ (London South Bank University, 2019). This is in line with the requirements of ESD to draw on indigenous and local knowledge and to recognise and value different cultural contexts. It also supports learning

about further key elements of ESD, by engaging ‘formal, non-formal, and informal education; (and building) civil capacity for community-based decision-making, social tolerance, environmental stewardship, adaptable workforce and quality of life’ (UNESCO, 2007).

Employability

Njaramba Whitehouse and Lee-Ross (2018), citing Poggesi Mari and De Vita (2016), highlight that there is increasing recognition of the relevance and importance of entrepreneurship for migrant women from developing countries who have settled in developed economies and aspire to become successful business owners. Most migrant entrepreneurs are male although many depend on women for unpaid support. Ogbor (2000) argues that the general concept of entrepreneurship emerges as fundamentally more masculine than feminine and this has implications for the type of courses offered. The FS programme actively recruited women and aimed to have at least equal numbers of female and male participants. Many female participants had young children and were unable to take on full-time employment, so they saw opportunities through starting up their own business. For example, one of the London participants started her own creative craft business with other mums. MEEed can thus also contribute to SDG target 4.5 which has the aim to: ‘By 2030, eliminate gender disparities in education and ensure equal access to all levels of education and vocational training for the vulnerable, including persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples and children in vulnerable situations’ (SDG 4, 2019).

FS also provided training not merely for those who wanted to start their own business, but also offered entrepreneurial and other knowledge and skills that are valuable in paid employment. It has thus enabled participants to develop their confidence and self-esteem, and to improve language skills as well as their employability skills, through gaining an understanding of the business and enterprise culture, regulations and processes with the benefit of personal mentors and of mutual support groups. In Maastricht, for example, some started their own business, others went back to school for additional training, and one decided to first work in an enterprise to get acquainted to the

Dutch way of working and Dutch construction materials before opening his own business. Our final evaluation found evidence that FS contributed to improved wellbeing and self-esteem of participants; increased self-confidence and business readiness; new startups and improved business competences and skills; and the development of new innovative ideas. MEED can therefore also contribute to SDG 8 which aims to ensure that:

“The learner is able to develop a vision and plans for their own economic life based on an analysis of their competencies and contexts. The learner understands how innovation, entrepreneurship and new job creation can contribute to decent work and a sustainability-driven economy and to the decoupling of economic growth from the impacts of natural hazards and environmental degradation. The learner is able to develop and evaluate ideas for sustainability-driven innovation and entrepreneurship. The learner is able to plan and implement entrepreneurial projects” (SDG 8, 2019)

FS courses covered legal and regulatory frameworks governing ethical and environmental issues but also facilitated and encouraged participants to embed sustainability within their business ideas. For example, London business plans included a vegan Ethiopian café, a motivation and careers consultancy to share expertise gained on the course, a business for migrants advising on book-keeping and tax returns, a handcrafted organic cosmetics business, a raw food business, and an eco-cleaning company. In Maastricht, one participant had an idea for a vegan, healthy take away (Syrian food); an online platform to match supply and demand of services for Arab speakers; and a Syrian restaurant / cultural centre which offered internships to young Syrian refugees. Many participants also wanted to build on their own experience, by sharing some of their home cultures through businesses involving food or crafts. This in turn contributed to the development of cultural appreciation and understanding. By promoting and empowering social and economic inclusion for refugees and migrants, FS has therefore contributed to SDG target 10.2: ‘By 2030, empower and promote the social,

economic and political inclusion of all, irrespective of age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, origin, religion or economic or other status’ (SDG 10, 2019).

One of the London participants from Colombia credits FS with helping her to refine her business ideas and develop a business plan through to actually setting up her business; in her words ‘jumping into the actions’. She says that FS gave her an opportunity to reflect and plan with the support of her trainers and fellow participants and to finesse her brand. She already has a business partner back in Colombia and is currently in the process of developing a professional website. She is already linked into networks and contacts in Colombia and intends to build from there. The MEEEd programme can also support SDG targets 4.4 and 4.3:

“By 2030, substantially increase the number of youth and adults who have relevant skills, including technical and vocational skills, for employment, decent jobs and entrepreneurship” (SDG 4, 2019).

“By 2030, ensure equal access for all women and men to affordable and quality technical, vocational and tertiary education, including university” (Ibid).

We have seen that refugees and migrants have a great deal of experience and expertise to offer and are keen to contribute to the wider community and they present a valuable resource for the community. In order to maximise this potential, FS identified a number of practical obstacles which policymakers need to address in order to facilitate such programmes. For example, the lack of a cohesive policy for English as an additional language in London meant that language classes are difficult to find at appropriate times, thus holding back language development of new migrants. Additionally, the benefit system required migrants to be available for work during the daytime, thus meaning that classes had to be held in the evening which in turn impinged on childcare needs. This meant that sometimes participants could not get to classes or arrived late.

Building inclusion and integration through mentoring and networking

Strong relationships were built before starting the course and a high level of trust was engendered as a result of this. In London, Citizens UK, also provided ongoing support and encouragement throughout the course and ensured that participants were linked into local social networks. Community engagement was achieved through networking and events in the community, such as the launch events, award ceremonies, meetings with policymakers. In the London context of a very mobile and multicultural society, community engagement is more straightforward, but it can be more of a challenge where there is quite a mono-cultural host community, such as Limburg. More emphasis and time could be allotted to promoting community engagement if funding were to be available for future, more extended courses which would benefit both migrants and the host communities.

In London, NWES offered ongoing access to on-line business courses and LSBU has provided access to enterprise initiatives. At the award ceremony, we invited local business organisations and refugee support groups to attend so that participants could network with them and build on their social networks. A celebratory event took place at the completion of the course where participants were invited to pitch their business ideas and were awarded certificates. This was a very important part of the programme in acknowledging their achievements as well as giving them outside validation and endorsement. Ongoing support in the form of business mentors was made available as well as access to on-line courses in business tools. One of the most important results of the programme was the support networks which participants developed themselves. Through a WhatsApp group, they kept in touch, shared ideas and actively supported each other's business ventures. Participants also acknowledged and built on their own links to advice networks in the home and host countries which also demonstrates the importance of contacts outside the ethnic community, and of advice and expertise from the home country.

Conclusion – taking it forward

Sustainable development is about living peacefully within planetary boundaries in consideration and respect for the natural world and for the needs of future generations. Social justice plays an integral part in this and courses like FS can contribute to the delivery of the SDGs by addressing issues of ‘sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity’ (SDG 4, 2019). At the end of the programme, participants in London were asked to share their views on barriers and opportunities for developing their business ideas and employability skills and to develop some suggestions and advice for policy makers. These were shared with refugee groups and policy makers (local councillors and MPs) at a symposium in the House of Commons in June 2019. Key points included the following: ‘the need for more language support; more accessible child care; more flexibility in the benefit system; robust and fully funded FS type courses; mentorships with local businesses; mechanisms to provide targeted micro finance’ (comments from participant discussion, June 2019).

The SDGs cannot be achieved without attention being given to the challenges of forced migration, both the causes and the effects. In this article, I have outlined the potential of MEEEd to provide some ways forward. The experience of designing and developing the FS programme has produced a replicable, flexible model which can be adapted for migrant entrepreneurship courses in any region. We have learned a lot from this process which has provided benefits to participants, trainers, stakeholders, and members of the host community. The FS model has the potential to add value through enhanced well-being, employability, business skills, integration, social cohesion and thus can contribute to the development of more sustainable communities and the achievement of the SDGs.

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Viewpoint

INTERVIEW WITH ANNA KERNAHAN, CLIMATE STRIKE ACTIVIST

1. Why did you decide to get involved in the climate strikes and why are they important to you?

I decided to get involved in the climate strikes because, as I am under 18, I am not able to have a vote in the decisions that will affect my future and so I feel as though I have a moral duty to try and influence the adults who are voting on mine and my generation's behalf. I have been enlightened to the severity of the climate crisis due to reading about Greta Thunberg and 'Fridays' for Future' and reading documents such as the 'IPCC (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change) special report on climate change' (IPCC, 2018). The best available science is telling us that this is an emergency, but there's no mainstream education on this, so getting involved in the climate strikes is a way of raising awareness of the research from the scientists.

They are important to me because the climate crisis truly terrifies me and, before I joined the climate strikes, I felt completely helpless in this fight. However, this gives children a chance to take the lead where the people in power are failing. I have made my closest friends through the movement from all over the world and they are my second family. Climate activism has become my entire life and so it is very important to me.

2. How supportive has your school been to your participation in the climate strikes?

Not very supportive at all. At first it was a straight 'no', but when they realised I was just going to do it anyway, I was reluctantly allowed. I have to wear a hoodie underneath my blazer to cover up my school tie and I have to come into school on Fridays first and then leave at break-time to go to the strike location. However, individual teachers have been very supportive of it by helping me catch up on missed work and taking an interest in what we have been doing. Those few teachers know who they are and they are the ones that make the

whole thing bearable. I honestly hate striking, but I have no other choice. This sounds strange, but would you like to sit on a cold stone slab for hours in the rain every single week that you only need to do because others aren't doing their jobs properly?

3. How important is the participation of civil society organisations in the climate strikes?

Very. Every single person is welcome and truly needed in this fight for climate action. All organisations and movements alike need to unite behind the science together.

4. What can politicians do about climate change?

A massive amount. We rely quite heavily on politicians to create change as we need system change to stop this crisis. Things like the Paris Agreement (UN Climate Change, 2015) and the Green New Deal (Klein, 2019) need political support to be implemented. We need politicians to hold each other accountable and ensure all new policy has considered the best available climate science alongside it. Political action and creating laws to stop emissions is needed to survive this crisis.

5. What should the climate change campaign do next to build support?

We need to sustain the major pressure we are currently putting on corporations and governments. This awareness raising is essential as people need to be educated on the crisis in order to want to act on it. However, we have run out of time to just educate people and hope they become enlightened and change on their own. Yes, education is vitally important but we need action to come alongside it. We need to put pressure on the world leaders and the people in power to prove to them that we are never going to stop until we see positive action from them. COP26, now postponed to 2021, will be a pivotal moment for us and hopefully a young person from Northern Ireland will be there this time to represent what we need and join the call for action.

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Anna Kernahan is 17 years old, lives in Northern Ireland and is a climate activist with 'Fridays' for Future'.

COVID-19 HAS EXPOSED NEOLIBERAL-DRIVEN 'DEVELOPMENT': HOW CAN DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION RESPOND?

STEPHEN MCCLOSKEY

Abstract: The COVID-19 pandemic has exposed the moral vacuum and economic failings at the heart of the neoliberal-driven 'development' template that has dominated global economic relations since the 1980s (Monbiot, 2016). It is an ideology that 'venerates the market and strips away the things that make us human' (Metcalf, 2017). Rather than placing the economy at the service of citizens, neoliberalism has forced workers to service the needs of the market. At the same time, neoliberalism has rendered public services, particularly healthcare, unequal to the challenges of coronavirus. And, yet, the nature of the pandemic has placed a premium on the kind of public-facing occupations that neoliberalism undervalues and poorly remunerates: nurses, drivers, carers and retail staff. COVID-19 has revealed that the 'tyranny of Gross Domestic Product (GDP)' – the metric of choice for neoliberalism – has failed the frontline workers upon which society now depends to negotiate the crisis. This is, perhaps, the starkest reminder that 'development', as Sachs (2020) suggests, is no longer a signifier of 'progress', but 'survival'. As a more radical sub-sector of international development with a commitment to critical enquiry and action, development education has an opportunity and, perhaps, a responsibility, to debate how the coronavirus crisis should be negotiated over the short and long-term.

Key words: COVID-19; Neoliberalism; Gross Domestic Product; International Development; Development Education; NGOs; Inequality.

Introduction

Five months ago, 9,000 nurses from the Royal College of Nursing (RCN) went on strike in the north of Ireland for the first time in the union's 103-year history (Carroll, 2019). Seeking pay parity with their colleagues in England, Scotland

and Wales, the RCN estimated that nurses' pay in real terms had fallen by 15 per cent over eight years and they had 'had enough' (Ibid). For any nurse, going on strike is a last resort, but staffing shortages and low pay had created 'unsafe' services for patients. Fast forward to the midst of an unprecedented global pandemic, COVID-19, and we see nurses and other frontline health workers feted from their windows and doorsteps by a grateful public in lockdown (Lovett, 2020). The nurses' strike was one local example of a deeply flawed and unequal neoliberal model of 'development' driven by market-based economics rather than the social needs of citizens, particularly healthcare.

The COVID-19 pandemic has exposed the economic shortcomings and moral emptiness of neoliberalism, which, as an ideology driving development, has been in the ascendancy since the 1980s but having deeper historical antecedents (Metcalf, 2017; Slobodian, 2018). This article discusses how neoliberalism's blunt economic metric - Gross Domestic Product (GDP) – under-values the socially cohesive occupations that have been critical to surviving COVID-19. It argues that the concept of 'development' should be revisited in the wake of COVID-19 and the ongoing climate crisis to become detached from neoliberalism and the growth imperative. It will consider how development education should respond to the coronavirus crisis over the short- and long-term.

The 'tyranny of GDP'

The coronavirus pandemic has placed an absolute premium on public facing occupations that the market economy's yardstick of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) under-values and poorly remunerates. As Elliot suggests, the 'tyranny of GDP' results in a moral vacuum which considers 'speculation, pollution and gambling as being good for the economy' because they turn a profit (2017). In 1968, United States (US) presidential candidate Bobby Kennedy said this about GDP in a speech that could have been written for today:

“It measures neither our wit nor our courage, neither our wisdom nor our learning, neither our compassion nor our devotion to our country,

it measures everything in short, except that which makes life worthwhile” (cited in Rogers, 2012).

And so, If GDP dictates what our talent deserves, then what price now should be put on the labour of a nurse, a carer, a driver, a bin man, a supermarket worker or a cleaner, all of whom have been indispensable to our surviving coronavirus? An Oxfam report published earlier this year calculated the monetary value of unpaid care work globally for women aged 15 and over at \$10.8 trillion annually (2020: 6). Using the GDP metric, this labour holds no monetary value and, yet, it is priceless to the elderly, sick and disabled across the world lacking social care.

The COVID-19 pandemic has afforded us a long hard look at the absence of compassion, values, solidarity and inclusiveness in the neoliberal economy, which, of course has been critical to it being so profitable. In describing neoliberalism, the economist Paul Mason said:

“In neoliberal ideology, the market is depicted as an autonomous machine beyond human control which produces the best of all outcomes for human beings. Only when people tinker with it, or try to impose conscious decision-making on it, does it go wrong” (2019: 187).

Moreover, under neoliberalism, the market becomes a validator of truth which means ‘all other values have the status of mere opinions; everything else is relativist hot air’ (Metcalf, 2017). Despite having a human hand guiding their operations, the markets are often discussed in ethereal terms – akin to temperamental gods – leaving us to speculate as how they might ‘react’ to human-made crises. And, yet, ‘neoliberal policies are everywhere beset by market failures’, with the state forced to intercede when the market comes a cropper as it did spectacularly in 2008 (Monbiot, 2016; Chu, 2018). The coronavirus pandemic, therefore, is more evidence that the ‘zombie’ ideology of neoliberalism has to be jettisoned and the shrunken state, much of it hollowed out since the 1980s, restored to full powers of economic governance.

Rethinking ‘development’

The pandemic should represent a line in the sand where we resist and rollback the marketisation of services that have no business in private hands, healthcare, education, utilities, and transportation. At the same time, we need to invest in the jobs that make these services central to our lives and wellbeing. The phoney neoliberal mantra that a rising sea of prosperity raises all ships has been cruelly exposed in the worst possible way as health sectors across the world, reduced in capacity by neoliberalism, have been overwhelmed by the scale of the pandemic (Gutiérrez, 2020). The World Health Organisation (WHO) has described ‘an alarming failure’ in the global supply of Personal Protective Equipment (PPE) and coronavirus tests for nurses operating on the frontline of the virus at great personal risk (UN, 2020).

The concept of development first loomed into view in US President Harry Truman’s inaugural address in 1949 when he coined the phrase ‘undeveloped areas’ (Sachs, 1992) to describe half the world’s population. US post-war economic buoyancy and supremacy represented the template for ‘development’ and American economist and ideologue, Walt Rostow, described the five ‘stages of economic growth’ that developing countries needed to implement to reach the apotheosis of development, ‘high mass consumption’ (1959: 1). The ‘development age’ lasted around forty years and succumbed to rapid globalisation driven by neoliberalism’s recklessly deregulated capitalism in the 1980s which spectacularly unravelled in 2008 (Rogoff, 2020). The post-2008 period of austerity, the gig economy, stagnating incomes and social polarisation has spawned a new era of nation first populism. This was a rejection of globalisation and multilateralism, and an assertion of ‘national neoliberalism’ designed to retain wealth within national elites (Mason, 2019: 23-24).

The populists’ response to COVID-19

It is no accident that states controlled by populists have been found wanting in their response to the COVID pandemic. Their first instinct is to prioritise the needs of the market and reduce the capacity of the state. A public survey carried out in the United Kingdom (UK) by Ipsos Mori found that ‘two-thirds

of the public think the government acted too slowly to control the spread of coronavirus’ and forty per cent regarded the government’s response as ‘confused and inconsistent’ (Hill, 2020). In the US, it was revealed that in 2017 the Pentagon not only anticipated a ‘novel influenza disease’ but warned about a shortage of ventilators, face masks, and hospital beds which the Trump administration did nothing about (Klippenstein, 2020). And, in Brazil, populist president Jair Bolsonaro has dismissed coronavirus as ‘just a little flu’, encouraging Brazilians to ‘get back to normal’ in a reckless and irresponsible prioritisation of profits over people (*The Guardian*, 2020). Meanwhile, in another economic powerhouse in the global South, India, prime-minister Narendra Modi asked the ‘nation’s poor for forgiveness’ when lack of forward planning over a 21-day national COVID lockdown forced millions of migrant labourers to flee the cities to walk home to their native villages without food or shelter (*Aljazeera*, 2020). In all of these countries, the number of confirmed COVID-19 cases and deaths are high, particularly the US which is now the country with the highest number of cases/fatalities (Kommenda, Gutiérrez and Adolphe, 2020). Perhaps, an outcome of the COVID outbreak will be a political reckoning for tardy and irresponsible decision-making during the crisis and under-investment in key public services before it. It might also prompt a re-evaluation of what ‘development’ means in increasingly centralised states that relegate the needs of people behind those of the market.

Survival not progress

‘Development’, argues Wolfgang Sachs, editor of *The Development Dictionary* (2019), is ‘a plastic word, an empty term with no positive meaning’ (2020: 67). It is more ‘about survival now, not progress’ (Ibid: 68). While it still bears the imprimatur of the United Nations (UN) and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), ‘development’ in the post-COVID era will have to mean de-growth if we are to limit global warming to 1.5°C. above pre-industrial levels (IPCC, 2018). It will have to mean job security and decent wages in the low-paid occupations that we have learned we depend on so heavily. It will need to mean investment in public services that were shamefully denuded in the last ten years of austerity to disastrous effect. Should national governments respond to the post-COVID economic crisis with

another belt-tightening decade of austerity and cuts to services it is likely to be met with widespread anger and resistance.

For development educators, the coronavirus lockdown has meant rapidly adapting our activities to online delivery, which is challenging for a sector that supports interactive learning and debate. In addition to the question of pedagogy is how we respond to the coronavirus crisis as a sector in the short and long-term. Some suggestions are proposed below.

1. Campaign for Debt Cancellation:

There is an immediate, practical and hugely beneficial step that development educators can take to support low income countries lacking the capital and health infrastructure to tackle the COVID contagion. More than 200 civil society movements from the global North and South – including twelve from Ireland – have called for the cancellation of external debt payments in 2020 for 69 countries classified by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as Low-Income Economies (JDC, 2020). This would save those countries \$19.5 billion in external debt payments to bilateral and multilateral lenders in 2020 and, if extended to 2021, would save a further \$18.7 billion (Ibid). Cancelling debt payments would free up valuable resources to ‘tackle the urgent health, social and economic crises resulting from the Covid-19 global pandemic’, and potentially benefit tens of millions of people (Ibid).

2. Challenge the myths of coronavirus

One of the great myths of coronavirus is that we’re all in this together. It goes something like this: coronavirus is a great leveller that has plunged rich and poor into turmoil, insecurity and isolation. We are all equally susceptible to contracting the virus which doesn’t distinguish between its victims in terms of class and occupation. The reality is a lot different. The better-off may actually increase their savings during the crisis as spending on forbidden activities falls. But poorer households spend much more of their limited income on necessities, leaving them vulnerable to sudden falls in their incomings (Jones, 2020). So, as development educators, we need to challenge this ‘sickly myth’ that we are all in this together. The poor are more vulnerable to the economic

shocks of coronavirus and more likely to be working in an occupation that puts them at risk of exposure to the virus. At the time of writing, 19 health workers have died in the UK after contracting the virus (Walawalkar, 2020).

3. Let's talk about Neoliberalism

It's striking how much of our work in development education is invested in the SDGs and how limited is the discourse in the sector on neoliberalism. If, as Monbiot (2016) suggests, neoliberalism is 'the ideology at the root of all our problems', shouldn't we at least discuss it? It is challenging as a sector to take aim at an ideology which has so much traction in the Irish society, particularly in the education sector, but, as Mahon and Bergin (2018) suggest: 'We cannot write about social justice without working for its everyday implementation. We cannot critique neoliberalism and return to neoliberal practice behind our office door'.

4. We need to reset development

Sachs suggests that 'shaping our destiny beyond development is the task that lies ahead of us' (2020: 71). With that in mind, civil society groups, governments and international NGOs need to look beyond the short-termism of overseas aid, emergency appeals, public 'clicktivism' and SDGs to focus on the long-term needs of humanity (McCloskey, 2019). Economies, to function properly, need to be put at the service of society's needs, not the needs of the market. The focus of development organisations in the future should be managing to make this possible and being advocates of de-growth to mitigate the climate emergency. That means critically interrogating the concept of 'development' in the light of coronavirus to debate what it means in a future that is likely to be clouded by recession, increased inequality and an ever-looming climate crisis.

5. Climate and COVID-19

Owen Jones (2020b) has posed a prescient question: 'why don't we treat the climate crisis with the same urgency as coronavirus?' The climate emergency has 'killed on a mass scale and threatens to send millions more to early graves. As its effects spread, it could destabilise entire economies and overwhelm

poorer countries lacking resources and infrastructure’ (Ibid). Yes, the coronavirus is amongst us as a terrible and immediate threat but we still, as Jones suggests, tend to present the climate crisis ‘as an abstraction whose consequences are decades away’ (Ibid). Yet, for countries in the global South, particularly, the climate emergency is very real. As Paul and Singh (2019) suggest about countries in the South: ‘those who have done the least to cause the climate crisis are paying the greatest price’. The response to the coronavirus crisis has demonstrated that government resources can be mobilised, and public behaviour can be modified in an emergency. We need to respond to the climate emergency in the same way.

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Resource reviews

SEEING POLITICS: FILM, VISUAL METHOD, AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

PEADAR KING

Harman, Sophie (2019) *Seeing Politics: Film, Visual Method, and International Relations*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Reading this book made me cranky; it was at times infuriating. The book is part theoretical, part practical guide. My problem with this book is the mismatch, actually more gaping gulf, between the theorising and the empirical. As a theoretical exercise, it has much to recommend it. Well written, knowledgably informative. As an academic, Harman knows her stuff. Essentially, Harman argues that 'film as a method...has the capacity for co-production of research and self-representation...that film is a powerful and potentially transformative medium' (24). And, secondly, she argues, it allows the invisible, 'the subaltern' (24), to represent and speak for themselves. A proposition worth examining.

From the outset, Harman acknowledges that she has little empirical knowledge of film; 'up until 2015, I was an academic who knew nothing about film. My background is not in film production, visual politics or visual ethnography' (ix). Nonetheless, Harman decided to make a film. *Pili*, a feature length drama set in Tanzania, that not only focuses on 'the politics of the everyday lives of women living with HIV/AIDS but also made in a way that allows a particular group of women to tell their own story' (xi). Harman goes on to say that the story is based on the lives of eighty women...and then, here's the thing, the first alarm bell, 'triangulated with my existing knowledge' (xi). So, it's not good enough to make a film with and about a group of African women on their own terms, it requires triangulation (whatever that is) by a white western academic. And, all of this in the context of post-colonial, decolonial and feminist theorising.

Evidence of the realisation of film's potential for transformative and equalising capacity is absent from the empirical experience as recounted in this book. To paraphrase former House of Commons speaker John Bercow, 'the I's have it'. Pronouns are hugely problematic particularly in the Preface. This is all about Harman – 'my initial intent...it became increasingly apparent to me...I needed a visual method that would appeal to global audiences. My existing research in Africa, and my networks in Tanzania gave me access to communities affected by HIV/AIDS...to make a film set in a real town with real people'. Are there others?

As Nicholas Shaxson (2007) cautions in his superb book *Poisoned Wells: The Dirty Politics of African Oil*, those of us who tread on African soil ought to tread with care. Harman wanted to make a film in Africa. So do many others. The problem Harman has is that she doesn't have enough money to make the film. Many others share the same problem. She has a budget of £75,000 and, 'producers whom I consulted all thought £75,000 was too small to produce a feature length film' (56). They were right. But Harman ploughs on. Acknowledging that it is best to hire African filmmakers to make an African film' (56), Harman doesn't do so because 'a Tanzanian above-the-line crew would have cost three to four times the price of travel and fees of a British crew' (57). A British crew it is then. A British crew because 'in the United Kingdom, the industry is much larger and diverse, meaning that the labour market is more flexible' (57).

The flexible labour market. The precariat. But hey who cares? 'It was possible to secure talented and experienced filmmakers who were relatively young...' (58). I think this is called exploitation. If $1 + 1 = 2$, then the precariat + exploitation = the exploited precariat. But what the hell. 'Feature films are the gold standard of filmmaking portfolios and give stature within the film industry, the opportunity for young filmmakers to lead on them is rare. *Pili* provided an opportunity for young filmmakers...' (58). And not only were these young people not paid the standard rate, 'a number of the crew engaged in work beyond their standard roles and responsibilities' (58). All of which is framed thus:

“In a feminist praxis that acknowledges genealogies, difference, and positionality but does not use such acknowledgement as a panacea or justification to acknowledge the issues and do it anyway...feminist praxis towards change can be advanced, new forms of knowledge can be created and informal or taboo forms of politics can be seen” (128).

Fine. But in the making of this film who paid for the generation of such knowledge? And who gains?

And it was not just the crew. All the key requirements to make a film were negotiable, Harman tells us. Some deliverables were given for free, and actors reduced their fee. And not just the crew. The cast, Harman sought to represent, had to bargain their way to get what they thought was fair recompense. ‘I proposed the pay rate of TSh5,000 (\$2.5) to the women plus one meal per day...more than the poverty threshold but not so much that it would be a perverse incentive for them to keep going thus keeping the ethics committee happy’ (89). Well, perish the thought that the ethics committee might be unhappy. Unreasonably, it seems, they asked for more, \$2.50 a day more. Some women had to find childcare. Ah, but the basis of such request was, according to Harmon, ‘slightly dubious because I knew that the majority of children were looked after by extended family members for small amounts’ (89). And then, get this, the extras. ‘Extras would not be paid but would have access to water’ (89). In fairness, and for the sake of completeness, Harmon does go on to say that if they worked for over an hour, they would be paid \$2.50 plus lunch and water.

These were African actors in a white western enterprise. Now, where have we seen that before? God-all-mighty. If this were any other industry...If we are talking about sweatshops in Bangladesh? Zero-hour contract workers in Birmingham? Filipino care workers in Bath? And it’s not that universities are immune to such practices. Perhaps, even in Queen Mary University of London where Harman teaches. Perhaps you too, Sophie might have once been that person, been that precariat? The book, Harmon tells us, shows the hidden elements of work and expense involved in a project of this kind and provides a guide for those seeking to use film. Well, maybe not.

Here's a thought Sophie. Have a read of Amalia Illgner's (who couldn't wait to join the magazine, *Monocle*'s, multilingual staff, who – almost without exception – donned statement spectacles and box-fresh trainers teamed with rolled-up jeans) *Guardian* article 'Why I'm suing over my dream internship' (27 March 2018). It makes for disturbing reading. No more than your book does. 'For every nine-hour shift, *Monocle* interns are paid £30', according to Illgner. 'Around the same hourly rate as an illegally exploited UK garment factory worker' (Ibid). What was the hourly rate to work on *Phili*? On her first day, Illgner was given *Monocle*'s intern handbook, an 18-page document that every intern – roughly 30 each year – is given when they start. It covered everything from what to wear ('Important people are often touring our offices and it is necessary for everyone to look put-together and professional'), to where to eat (never at your desk), to where to hang your coat (in the cupboard), Tyler Brûlé (the globe-trotting millionaire), believes 'in a tidy ship. No jackets on the backs of chairs' (Nicoll, 2012). The kind of exploitation that academics and others are quite rightly outraged by.

For all the young people who worked on the *Pili* film, no benefit accrues from the publication of this book. No rewards accrue to them from citations of this book. No promotion – benefits that you, Sophie, are likely to experience. I have no idea if the making of that film brought opportunity to these young people's doors. Perhaps. Perhaps, too, another producer had an idea for a film that she / he could not really afford to make but offered them yet another opportunity to further their career, at a cut-price rate of course.

It's pretty simple. People deserve to be paid. Properly. If you don't have the money to make a film, don't make it. Don't dress it up as something other than it is. And don't pretend that you are doing it for the benefit of others. Otherwise it is exploitative. And all the talk about feminist, post-colonial, decolonial theorising does not disguise that reality.

Reading this book made me cranky. Maybe cranky doesn't come near.

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‘RESTLESS, IMPATIENT, CONTINUING, HOPEFUL INQUIRY’

GERARD MCCANN

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

The instruction from Paulo Freire regarding the urgent need for critical inquiry is tailor made for this publication edited by Douglas Bourn, co-Director of the Development Education Research Centre, University College London. In this thirty-three-chapter tome we have a marker in the research base and formation of global education (GE). The first comprehensive collection highlighting the international and cross-disciplinary nature of the field, the book addresses the spectrum of topics that comprise an educational framework for learning about global and human development in its broadest sense. In a world where we have had the first modern pandemic, with half of humanity under lockdown and the human rights implications therein, the remote digitisation of public and commercial working practices, we have reached a point where the whole process of globalisation has suffered an alarming, yet predictable, shock. In response, we need to look for new answers to these global issues and for a pedagogy of change.

Books dealing with education for mutual understanding and societal integration, focusing on the nature of citizenship, have been in the field for fifty years and more, but this text is one of the first to try and bring together the discourse from various and quite diverse global perspectives. Drawing on GE theory and practice from three continents, it highlights the approach taken to learning and teaching from non-governmental organisations, policymakers and, indeed, ministries of foreign affairs around the world. The aim of the Handbook, as Bourn notes, is:

“to demonstrate the different ways themes such as learning about global issues, being a global citizen and bringing global perspectives into schools, communities and universities can contribute to a distinctive field of GE and learning” (2).

The scale of the project gives a sense of the range of people and places concerned with such innovation in education.

Surveying the way in which academic research profiles GE and how it has evolved substantially since the early 2000s, this textual reaffirmation of the importance of global learning *vis-à-vis* human development, emphasises the significance of knowledge transfer and anticipates further engagement across the range of academic sectors. Interestingly, and naturally, it has a strong voice from the global South, which has historically been a problem with texts on GE. In this, its contribution cannot be understated. It also celebrates the manner in which the sector has evolved since its inception and presents a better understanding of the role of Centres of Global Learning in the design and growth of the field. The growth of the GE sector is registered in a number of ways and is charted by Bourn in chapter two (11-22). What is also noted is the welcome emergence of university departments, academic units and institutes working in a range of subjects pertinent to GE and, indeed, education in development.

The GE research community has expanded to include dedicated researchers in the field, PhDs, international journals, book series and the outworking of a range of activities which have brought together development practitioners, policymakers, theorists and NGO representatives. We have also seen the emergence of a second generation of GE specialists who are generously represented in this text and who confidently carry forward what the book notes as the ‘values base of GE’, notably, ‘social justice, equity and human rights’ (3). It is a comprehensive review of the current debates and issues, but crucially promotes actions that can enhance the values base of the discipline itself. The scope of the book is impressive, with the publication drawing in writers from Latin America, Sub-Saharan Africa, East Asia, the Americas and from across Europe. In this, it registers how GE is reflected in education systems around the world. It provides a platform for academics and builds on the Academic Network on Global Education and Learning (ANGEL), a network of 500 and more researchers globally who work in this discipline. The book is a product of this network and is, in a way, a first

significant statement from the network, with the hope that it will continue to be a formative repository of ideas and leadership.

The book is a testament to the growing interest that is being paid to the subject beyond the development non-governmental organisation (NGO) and GE sectors. There has always been a link between development practice, development studies and GE, emanating from a necessary cross-fertilisation of work as they have evolved parallel paths. This can be seen very clearly in chapters covering topics as diverse as pedagogy, citizenship, Ubuntu, spatial applications, school linking, transformative education and immersive learning, giving some notion of the spectrum of the field and its inter-connectivity. This can also be seen in the collective themes that are engaged and presented as subsections of the book: Challenges for Today and Tomorrow; Theoretical Perspectives; Impact of Policies and Programmes; Global Perspectives in Higher Education; Global Education and Learning within Schools; and Learning and Experience and Being Global Citizens. The strength of the GE message comes out strongly again and again. Malgorzata Pieniazek, in her chapter on Ubuntu, distills the rationale behind GE down to two key principles carried through the lens of African philosophy: empowerment and solidarity, which ‘can result in increasing of motivation for people to become active as responsible global citizens for a sustainable future’ (86). In her chapter on Paulo Freire, Tania Ramalho concludes with a clarion call to arms: ‘Citizens everywhere still have doubts and ingeniousness, and the struggles for social justice and the fight for peace are far from over. Supporting the creation of peace, CGE [GE] backs the search for answers through engagements with practice in the never-ending mission of fostering social – and environmental – justice’ (58).

In these times of exceptional international difficulty, where communities around the world are fighting to deal with the destruction caused by COVID-19, where climate change has had an extreme impact on many of the most vulnerable regions, and where war and human rights abuses are proliferating, education and educators are adapting to new global understandings, new means of doing things and alternative models of societal interaction. Young people, in particular, are searching for education that will

facilitate a philosophy that provides hope and ways through adversity and divergence. People on a global plane are searching to define a common humanity and GE is uniquely placed to give direction to this search and create interdependent responses to complex global issues.

By way of introduction to this text, La Salette Coelho, from the University of Porto, states that: 'Due to the plurality of "voices" presented, this book is a must read for scholars and students interested in ensuring that education and active citizenship play a relevant part in promoting global justice' (n.p.). Much of the debate across the myriad of chapters pose further questions and anticipate further investigative research. In this, the text stands as both a Handbook and an invitation to the GE sector to build on the ideas presented.

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INSPIRING GLOBAL CITIZENS: AN EDUCATOR'S GUIDE

Maeva Ceau

Inspiring Global Citizens: An Educator's Guide (2017) Canada: Aga Khan Foundation.

Inspiring Global Citizens: An Educator's Guide gathers a number of activities that teachers can use in intermediate and secondary levels in order to help students relate key concepts of Global Citizenship Education (GCE) to real world examples across the curriculum (Social Studies, Geography, History, Arts). As all provinces in Canada have included forms of citizenship education in the core curriculum (Evans et al., 2009), such a resource can be particularly useful to teachers. According to the guide, global citizenship is the 'awareness of the world as a global community and recognizing the rights and responsibilities of citizens to take action with a global consciousness' (65). Such a definition strongly relates to notions of global outlook, local and global responsibility, and engagement against inequalities (Oxfam, 2006; Pashby, 2015). However, GCE is also concerned with celebrating diversity, self-reflecting and critically assessing the historical causes of global inequalities and the systems that maintain imbalanced power relations (Andreotti, 2006a). Therefore, this review will assess the extent to which *An Educator's Guide* promotes a global outlook, recognises diversity, understands the importance of historical events, and critically assesses power relations for social justice.

Promoting a global outlook

Under the theme 'One World', great emphasis is put on the notion of a single global community and international cooperation through the video 'Home' (5), statements on global interconnectedness (7) and the United Nations (UN) Global Goals (8-9). Learners are provided with several opportunities to understand how they fit in this globalised world, how interconnected people are and the extent to which everyone's actions impact others across locations. The game Globingo (5) and a Mind Map (6) allow learners to establish connections between them and others by tracking their links to other regions

of the world through tourism, trade, music, family, etc. However, such connections can remain quite superficial and limit the creation of a Third Space where a mixture of various cultural perspectives produce hybrid viewpoints (Bhabha in Martin and Wyness, 2013).

Indeed, a major challenge for Development Education (DE) and Global Citizenship Education is encouraging students to establish interconnections on a social and cultural level and to analyse their own perspectives to question and possibly change their perceptions through self-reflection (Bourn, 2014b). DE and GCE go beyond learning about and coexisting with others in order to get to know others by sharing ‘the burden of the unfamiliar’ and reaching ‘mutual vulnerability’ to achieve ‘reciprocity in community’ (Odora Hoppers, 2015: 99). They bring various sources of knowledge and perspectives together to elaborate new viewpoints (Bourn, 2014a, 2014b). The Fact or Fiction quiz (21-22) is a great attempt at questioning perceptions and addressing misconceptions in order to improve people’s knowledge of each other. However, little emphasis is put on the social, historical and cultural forces that situate the self in the world and construct the image of the ‘other’ (Young, 2010).

Recognising the complexity of diversity

The recognition of global and national economic diversity is relatively successfully expressed in the resource with references to differing socio-economic backgrounds within a single country and varying levels of economic development between countries. However, there is little reference to the similarities that internal economic diversity can cause between similar socio-economic segments across borders. Indeed, although the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) interactive map (21) illustrates various differences and similarities between countries, it does not take the opportunity to point out that elitism and extreme wealth exist in countries of the global North and South, while economically vulnerable social segments share common struggles across borders. It is important to highlight national socio-economic differences while recognising global socio-economic similarities (Spivak, 2004; Caruana, 2014).

Likewise, although various indicators are presented on the map, the categorisation and ranking of countries according to quantitative measures such as the Human Development Index risk emphasising binary understandings of development in an oversimplified ‘successful versus unsuccessful’ manner. Students would benefit from learning about diverse living conditions, lifestyles and practices through numerous channels beyond numerical binaries (Andreotti, 2006a, Andreotti and De Souza, 2008; Pashby, 2011, 2012). This could potentially be achieved by favouring the use of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD’s) interactive map (21) that offers different perceptions of what matters to people across countries according to a variety of factors. Similarly, initiatives like Mystery Skype or the Google Connected Classrooms (12) can encourage students to compare common daily activities like going to school or playing with friends from different perspectives (Scheunflug, 2010).

The idea of shared cultures across borders and the resulting cultural diversity within countries is not clearly referenced. It is necessary to recognise that in 2016 in Canada, 21.9 per cent of the population were foreign-born, 200 languages were spoken, 250 ethnic origins were represented and 37.5 per cent of Canadian children had a foreign background (Statistics Canada, 2017). Highlighting cultural diversity within a country could encourage learners to move away from the homogenisation of cultural practices and knowledge to fully internationalise the global character of increasingly heterogeneous societies.

Understanding the importance of history

Many activities encourage students to reflect on and address the causes of poverty and inequalities as well as understand the interconnections between different global challenges (health, education, food security, climate change, etc.). However, little information is provided about the impact of historical events such as colonisation on inequalities. The most successful attempt at relating global inequalities to history lies in the video ‘Two Hundred Years That Changed the World’ by Hans Rosling (2009) (16) with an extremely quick and implicit reference to colonisation while discussing the global

evolution of life expectancy and income. Along similar lines, the ‘inequality game’ (15) or the video ‘What is privilege?’ successfully illustrate notions of inequality, racism and discrimination but fail to highlight the causes of unequal access to comfortable living conditions and fulfilling life choices.

The examples cited above fail to recognise the economic, social and cultural impacts of events such as colonisation and slavery (Escobar, 1995). A lack of historical context can easily lead to portraying poor countries and vulnerable populations as inherently weak and incapable of achieving what wealthy populations did (Andreotti, 2006b, Kumar, 2008; Biccum, 2010). It risks depicting poverty as a ‘new’ phenomenon that dissociates the harm done during colonisation from the poverty and alienation found in certain locations or within specific social, economic and cultural segments of the population (Odora Hoppers, 2015).

Critically reflecting on power relations for social justice

Besides understanding the impact of historical events, learners should be encouraged to recognise the subjectivity of what is perceived as developed and underdeveloped or successful and unsuccessful. Power is often exercised through dominant and hegemonic knowledge that has been defined and accepted as legitimate by both the dominating and dominated entities (Sharp, 2008). This approach can reduce the importance of ‘real freedoms that people enjoy’ such as freedom of speech, movement or life choices, and social opportunities and safety (Sen, 1999: 36). Indeed, learners should realise that economic growth, the acquisition of technology or other objectives set by international agreements do not necessarily represent the most effective and viable forms of development (Sumner, 2010; Storey, 2015; Odora Hoppers, 2015). Current issues such as climate change can highlight the value of different traditions and practices that adopt a more sustainable approach to living than typically Western and capitalist models.

The Aga Khan Foundation Canada (AKFC) guide makes several references to the importance of recognising different understandings of what quality of life is (17-19, 21) or the limitations of quantitative measurements of development (19). It also warns against potentially harmful stereotypes

derived from rigid representations and simplified categorisations (15, 22-23) and encourages learners to conduct extensive research on other locations and populations to resist hegemonic, inaccurate or incomplete information. However, several activities positively emphasise the current, and often hegemonic, methods used to assess development and progress.

The resource clearly distinguishes charity from cooperation with local populations throughout the themes ‘What is Sustainable Development?’ and ‘Making a Difference’. It emphasises the disadvantages of charitable handouts and the advantages of a contextualised hand-up along with introducing learners to different types of global development initiatives such as Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and foreign aid, and the main actors involved. However, the implicit superiority of Western practices remains on some occasions. Most activities can successfully encourage students to become agents of change and fight the ‘feeling of helplessness’ (Andreotti, 2006b: 48) when the task of addressing poverty seems too overwhelming. However, stories like ‘The Star Thrower’ (47), for example, can also push learners to identify with the child throwing the helpless starfish stranded on the beach back into the water, thereby associating the starfish with powerless poor people dependent on the West. Likewise, they might still perceive the level of development reached in Canada as the ultimate goal that developing countries should strive toward by reproducing the different phases of development of the West (Biccum, 2010).

Conclusion

Producing educational material that suitably fits within the framework of GCE is a challenging task. Successfully teaching students about global issues through a holistic approach remains, until now, difficult to guarantee as the expected transformative process occurs within each individual on a personal level. Despite some weaknesses, I believe the guide produced by the AKFC is a very useful baseline for teachers that wish to add elements of Development Education and Global Learning within the curriculum.

By linking existing theories and concepts of GCE to the activities suggested in the guide, this review has emphasised the ease with which

teachers can unintentionally reproduce harmful beliefs and practices as well as the difficulty of finding suitable ways of teaching about global challenges and issues of inequalities. Keeping in mind that educators need to constantly re-evaluate their own perspectives and beliefs (UNESCO, 2014), this review aims to contribute to improving teaching materials and practices in Development Education and Global Learning.

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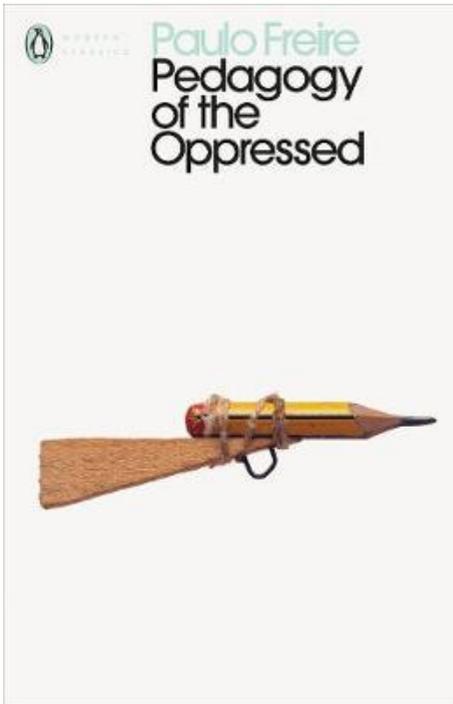
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PEDAGOGY OF THE OPPRESSED

Stephen McCloskey

Freire, P (1996 [1970]) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, London and New York: Penguin Books.

The fiftieth anniversary of the publication in English of Paulo Freire’s seminal text, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1996 [1970]), offers the opportunity for a re-appraisal in the age of climate emergency, populist nationalism and fake news.



Born in 1921 in Recife, Brazil, Freire was a philosopher, educator and activist who worked with illiterate peasants using a revolutionary methodology that elevated education beyond the classroom to wider social and economic transformation. Forced to flee his native Brazil following a military coup in 1964, Freire wrote *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* while in exile in Chile and he remains a touchstone figure for social justice and equality activists in the global North and South.

His influence is still hotly debated in Brazil. Having been posthumously made a

Patron of Education in 2012, an ally of far-right president Bolsonaro, tried (and failed) to have the title stripped from Freire in 2018 (Lima, 2019). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* was banned in apartheid South Africa, parts of Latin America and, in 2010 in Tucson, Arizona by right-wing policymakers who prohibited

texts that ‘promote the overthrow of the US government’ (Rodriquez, 2018). ‘Pedagogy’ was one of the texts used on an ethno-studies programme taught to Native Americans and Chicanos, and the books ‘were seized from classrooms right in front of students’, who learned first-hand about oppression (Bernstein, 2012). So, the book remains a hotbed of debate half a century on from its publication.

Culture of silence

Freire’s direct experience of poverty in the aftermath of the 1929 global economic crisis brought with it a realisation that the ‘ignorance’ and ‘lethargy’ of the poor was in fact a ‘culture of silence’ created by their social, cultural and political domination (Freire, 1996: 12). Moreover, as Richard Schaul argues in his ‘Foreword’ to ‘Pedagogy’, ‘the whole education system was one of the major instruments for the maintenance of this culture of silence’ (Ibid). In response, Freire offered ‘something quite new and creative in educational philosophy’ to support the ‘critical intervention of the people in reality through praxis’ (35). Praxis is a central concept in Freire’s methodology and represents a combination of action and reflection to facilitate analysis of a problem and a remedial action to address it. He explains here why one without the other is an ‘inauthentic’ engagement in reality:

“When a word is deprived of its dimension of action, reflection automatically suffers as well; and the word is changed into idle chatter, into *verbalism*, into an alienated and alienating ‘Blah’... On the other hand, if action is emphasised exclusively to the detriment of reflection, the word is converted into *activism*. The latter – action for action’s sake – negates the true praxis and makes dialogue impossible” (68-69).

A report published nearly a decade ago argued that ‘people in the UK understand and relate to global poverty no differently now than they did in the 1980s’ (Darnton and Kirk, 2011: 5). The report found that in regard to global poverty, ‘the public as a whole remain uninterested and ill-informed’ and pointed the finger at NGO public engagement strategies described as ‘cheap

participation’ (Ibid, 5-6). By reducing public activism to making donations to charities and ‘clicktivism’ - supporting a petition or campaign at the click of a mouse - public engagement had significantly declined. In the context of Freire’s praxis, NGOs had engaged in action without reflection, so the public lacked the knowledge and critical thinking necessary to sustain their activism. A more recent NGO-sponsored ‘UK Study of Public Attitudes to Development’ found that ‘The vast majority of UK adults don’t see global poverty as a pressing problem and want lower government spending on overseas aid’ suggesting that the sector had not altered its approach to public engagement with depressingly familiar results (BOND, 2015: 1). Perhaps the conclusion to draw from this trend is the need for more development education practice to sustain the kind of critical thinking and activism required to achieve meaningful social change.

Banking concept

Another central plank of Freire’s pedagogy is the banking concept which criticised the ‘narrative’ character of education which becomes ‘an act of depositing, in which the students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor’ (53). The banking concept is a negation of joint enquiry involving both the teachers and student, and ‘the scope of action it allows to the students extends only as far as receiving’ (53). ‘Liberating education’, argues Freire, ‘consists in acts of cognition, not transferral of information’ (60). The roles and relationships in the liberation of praxis means that ‘The teacher is no longer the-one-who-teaches, but one who is himself taught in dialogue with the students, who in turn while being taught also teach’ (61). The stifling and conditioning behaviour attached to the banking concept indoctrinates students to the ‘world of oppression’ (59) and regulates the way they ‘enter into’ the world (57).

One suspects that Freire would have relished the role of students in educating the world on the urgent need for climate action. The climate strikes have been a global revelation of awakening and action on the climate emergency with a record 7.6 million people taking to the streets in September 2019 in what was the biggest climate mobilisation in history (McCloskey,

2019). Freire would have admired the problem-posing approach adopted by Swedish activist Greta Thunberg and the ‘Fridays’ for Future’ climate strike movement. ‘Problem-posing education’, argued Freire, ‘bases itself on creativity and stimulates true reflection and action upon reality’ (65). A key propellant of the climate strike movement has been Thunberg’s intervention in reality through her forthright rebuking of world leaders for their lack of action to mitigate climate change. Thunberg’s speaking truth to power has highlighted the critical importance of language and communication in either immersing learners in silence or empowering them through praxis. In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire reflects on ‘communiqués’ between elites and the masses, warning how:

“the dominant elites utilise the banking concept to encourage passivity in the oppressed, corresponding with the latter’s ‘submerged’ state of consciousness and take advantage of that passivity to ‘fill’ that consciousness with slogans which create even more fear of freedom” (76).

Applying this warning to the growing number of nation first populists in power across the world makes one think of slogans such as ‘Make America Great Again’, ‘Let’s Get Brexit Done’, or Nigel Farage’s anti-migrant poster, ‘Breaking Point’, used during the UK referendum debate on membership of the European Union (Stewart and Mason, 2016). They reflect the need for ‘critical consciousness’ and ‘critical reflection’ which move learners from ‘a naïve knowledge of reality to a higher level, one which enables them to perceive the *causes* of reality (112). Development education is, therefore, an antidote to ‘fake news’ and the ‘othering’ and scapegoating of migrants, refugees and asylum-seekers as the cause of economic inertia.

Dispelling myths

What made *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* such an incendiary text is its invocation to revolution and mapping of the role that education can play in the revolutionary process. The book was written in the first decade of the Cuban revolution and draws upon the work of many leading intellectuals from the de-

colonial movement in the global South and the left in Europe. Revolutionary praxis, argues Freire, must stand opposed to ‘manipulation, sloganizing, “despoiting” and prescription’ (107). The existing order – the dominating elites – ‘*mythicize* the world’ showing it as a ‘fixed entity’ designed to increase the ‘alienation and passivity’ of the oppressed (120). This is partly achieved through a process of ‘divide and rule’. ‘It is in the interest of the oppressor to weaken the oppressed still further to isolate them, argued Freire, to create and deepen the rift among them’ (122). This is designed to preserve the established order and is done by favouritism, clamping down on unions and organised labour, and distributing ‘benefits to some and penalties to others’ (125).

Chapter four of ‘Pedagogy’ carries a warning about the populist leader who ‘coincides causally with the emergence of the oppressed’. Freire adds that:

“The populist leader who rises from this process is an ambiguous being, an ‘amphibian’ who lives in two elements. Shuttling back and forth between the people and the dominant oligarchs, he bears the mark of both groups” (131).

Freire finally adds that ‘populist leader simply manipulates instead of fighting for authentic popular organisation’ (31). We don’t have to strain ourselves to find examples of the populist leader today using false communiqués to the masses to gain and retain their support.

Contemporary practice

It would always be a challenge to apply Freire’s ‘revolutionary’ praxis in a neoliberal context given the contracting spaces to debate development issues in formal education and the reduced capacity to deliver DE in the wake of the 2008 global financial crisis. As Su-ming Khoo noted in 2011:

“Economic crisis and budget cuts mean that development education has moved from an expansionary to a contractionary or survivalist mode. Existing tendencies towards managerialism have intensified,

with an overwhelming emphasis on the need to demonstrate ‘impact’ and ‘value-for-money’” (2011: 2).

And, yet, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, has lost none of its power and relevance as an empowering text which has successfully attached the importance of education to the wider transformation of society. As Richard Schaul suggests, Freire’s methodology with illiterate campesinos in Brazil, is not to be imitated in our society. But he does see a parallel in the two scenarios:

“Our advanced technological society is rapidly making objects of most of us and subtly programming us into conformity to the logic of its system. To the degree that this happens, we are becoming submerged in a new ‘culture of silence’” (15).

Wherever the majority of people are disadvantaged, oppressed and submerged by an antagonistic elite, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* will be invoked as a powerful riposte for the dignity and empowerment of the masses. It is already the third most cited book in social sciences (Green, 2016) which suggests that it continues to wield enormous influence on research and educational practice across the world.

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