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Editorial

DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION AND TRANSNATIONALISM

LA SALETE COELHO

In the course of writing the editorial for Issue 32 of *Policy and Practice: A Development Education Review*, I recalled the title of an opinion piece written by a Portuguese historian and politician titled ‘What have we learned from the year that felt like a century?’ (Tavares, 2021). I am certain this (poetic) phrase finds resonance in each one of us and could be an adequate frontispiece of this current issue of the journal. As Issue 32 of the journal suggests, the world has never before been so interconnected and so interdependent. To the countless challenges that humanity has been facing together in recent years - from economic crises to climate change, to gender inequality and the migrant crisis in the Mediterranean - 2020 added others such as spikes in racism and the global response of the Black Lives Matter movement, the toppling of memorials linked to colonialism, and, of course, the COVID-19 pandemic and its consequences, worsening pre-existing inequalities and creating new ones.

As citizens, researchers and/or activists in the development education (DE) field (or other adjacent fields like global citizenship education, global education, intercultural education, peace education, among others), we feel the urge to engage in deep dialogue aiming to find ‘reasons to be cheerful while the future is unwritten’ (Wegimont, 2020: 1), which drive us to participate in its writing. The articles published in Issue 32 are valuable contributions to this dialogue.

Chris O’Connell, Benjamin Mallon, Caitríona Ní Cassaithe and Maria Barry, in their article titled ‘Addressing the complexity of contemporary slavery: towards a critical framework for educators’, highlight the importance of critical DE (Andreotti, 2006) in the processes of understanding and calling for action on slavery. Starting from a discussion on key concepts of ‘modern slavery’ and ‘unfree labour’, the contexts of their use and institutionalisation,

and main limitations and critiques, the authors focus on the challenges of addressing the complexity of slavery in educational processes, as it is a ‘troubling global phenomenon’ and a historical continuity, even with different contours over time. Therefore, from a critical DE perspective and the lenses of transnational and *trans-chronological* historical enquiry, the researchers propose a pedagogical framework to the problem at hand. From a conceptual and a didactical point of view, some interesting connections emerge between past and present forms of slavery; between the analysis of singularities to the analysis of the global structures sustaining it; and between the global and local scales (a very dear methodology to transnational and global historians). These connections allow a deeper reflection within the educational process on the roots of slavery. They similarly support an analysis of current effects of colonialism in the contemporary world, such as ethnocentric discourses, power relations, racialisation, inequalities, and the establishment of interconnections between several subjects (e.g. slavery, global economy, work legislation, climate change, etc.). Finally, the authors propose an affective and active engagement with the problem, moving from a single content-based approach to a competence and value-based one by developing a critical but empathic positioning based on a more conscious and well-founded perspective.

Son Gyoh’s article, titled ‘NGO Representations Versus Mediation: A Learner Centred Approach to Public Understanding about Global Development’, analyses communication strategies of two types of non-governmental organisation (NGO); international and small, youth-led campaign organisations. The objective is to identify which modes are more adjusted to promote public deliberation, understanding, learning and, eventually, action about complex development issues. Departing from some theories of knowledge, the author argues that campaigners engaged by the above organisations can be knowledge actors, participating with different levels of involvement in the different phases of the ‘knowledge cycle’, in processes that can be ‘thick’ (‘deep’) or ‘shallow’ (‘surface’). Consequently, there will be different results between ‘heightening public awareness’ and ‘increasing public understanding’. Debating these two different levels, the author argues that whereas the international NGOs tend to implement a

‘representation’ top-down approach, focused on influencing policy-makers, creating sound-bites to increase awareness in a superficial way, and mobilising people to prescribed actions (and consequently to a more passive role), the small youth-led organisations are oriented to play the role of ‘mediators’ between their campaigners and diverse sources of knowledge, aiming for a deeper learning process that impels citizens to find individual and collective ways to intervene and build a group identity. Also, the role played by international organisations’ *agendas* presented conflicted outlines navigating from a charity approach and a social justice one (e.g. using images to inspire compassion), while the small youth-led organisations tend to employ a message based on social justice and the pursuit of change (e.g. using protest images). The author advocates for a single-issue approach since it allows for more ‘clarity and density’ in the public engagement process.

The third Focus article by Romina De Angelis, titled ‘Global Education and Migration in a Changing European Union’, discusses the concept and meaning of global education (GE) and its contribution to building an intercultural world (overcoming ‘the dichotomy between *we* and the *other*’). The author also debates ‘migration’ definitions, according to different approaches and different institutions. The article assumes that ‘the movement of different types of migrants with different backgrounds and reasons to migrate’ brought many challenges to the educational systems of host countries. These challenges demand educational responses, not only of more intercultural curricula but also ‘ensuring access to education for all as a fundamental human right’. With this drive, global education can be an educational and pedagogical approach to these challenges, based on global social justice (Bourn, 2020), the principle of equity and the appreciation of diversity. Through GE, it is possible to move the dialogue from assimilation and multiculturalism to a real interculturalism, grounded in human rights, democracy, and pluralism. The main research findings call our attention to the challenge of the predominance of negative perceptions related to migrants in a wide range of European countries and in certain sociodemographic groups. On the other hand, the article concludes that better results exist in countries where there is a joint effort involving several stakeholders, especially within the context of national

strategies or specific educational policies. The persistence of challenges related to the shrinking of public funds, the political agenda and lack of a multi-stakeholder policy in several European countries are discussed, as is the lack of adequate teacher education to build real spaces of inclusion. Based on these findings achievable recommendations are proposed.

The fourth Focus piece reflects on ‘Using the Collective Memory Work in Development Education’, based on the personal experiences of the authors, Nita Mishra, Jenny Onyx and Trees McCormick, by sharing their experiences of the pandemic in lockdown. In this simple yet evocative tale, one is summoned to glance at the authors’ process of self-reflection, as protagonists in their research, not only as *subjects* but also as *objects*. Within this methodology ‘which offers the possibility of reinterpretation on an individual case basis’, space is created for the design of different forms of knowledge and new ways for a more meaningful learning. A cornerstone of the process is critical thinking about settled definitions of knowledge, how it is produced, and where and when it happens. Recognising their implication in the research, the authors reflect about their own backgrounds, in line with what is named ‘positionality/situatedness’ by Momodou Sallah (2020) – in this case status, sex, age, labour conditions, and colour.

Revisiting their memories of confinement during COVID-19, they identified some categories of analysis – solidarity; awareness; racism; homes and homelessness; fear, anxiety and risk; losing control versus alienation; having control; and human agency and the new normal. The reflections that struck me most were: a focus on solidarity from an optimistic view of the emergence of small daily gestures of kindness (‘solidarity is an essential condition for humanity’); the acknowledgement, made more visible by the pandemic situation, of the inequalities around us – as it was disseminated by some posts in social media, ‘despite being all in the same storm we are in extremely different boats’; the presence of ‘contradictions or different truths’ of different participants in the process; the exposure of racism by the fear of the unknown (‘people who do not mirror you become a threat’); the recognition that a confinement requires a home and that is, *per se*, a privilege; the intimacy and invasion of privacy brought by the circumstance of working from home;

the appreciation that a situation we take for granted can change very quickly; the balance between a *momentary lack of reason* and alienation and moments of regaining control through personal processes or collective moments; the ‘new normal’, provoked by disruption, anxiety and reflection can and should also be the ignition for new, fairer, models of society.

Having read and reflected upon the four Focus articles in Issue 32, some key questions emerged.

Context

All of the articles reflected on *Transnationalism*, as ‘a set of processes relating to social, economic and political connections between people, places and institutions, across national borders, potentially spanning the world’ (Drinkwater, Rizvi and Edge, 2019). Therefore, globalisation is considered not only by its advantages but also by its negative externalities – the global economic model that opens doors to the ‘modern slavery’; the increasing commodification of everything driven by the market economy; the rising levels of xenophobic and populist attitudes; the resistance to the free flow of migrants across the world; the pandemic situations of racism, of COVID-19 and other dangers that risk our lives but above all our diversity, dignity, and social cohesion. Are we, in line with Thomas Friedman’s work, considering that the ‘world is flat’ (2007), and the result of a hegemonic process led by the dominant ‘monocultures’ (Santos, 2007: 9)? Or do we want to propose a world of ‘ecologies’ (Ibid.: 32), opening up spaces to make visible what is invisible? Could we relate the increasing levels of xenophobic, racism, ultra-nationalism and populist attitudes to the perception of this hegemonic globalisation of the powerful that is being imposed?

Terms and Concepts

Due to the proliferation of terms used in DE, our field is often considered in need of more conceptual clarity. The articles presented in Issue 32 prove this point: development education, global education, global learning, global citizenship education, are all used in the various articles. Moreover, the use of these terms is not always linear. One could point out some movements criticising the concept of *development* – see, for instance, the new designation

of the European Commission's Directorate-General that encompasses these fields, formerly called *International Cooperation and Development* and recently baptised as *International Partnerships*. The same with the concept *global*, 'especially amongst certain central European countries as the North-South Centre reported' because it 'may carry a meaning of absorption into a larger entity with a sense of uniformisation (as a process of globalisation) that is disliked, especially in countries where national discourses are rising' (Destree and Čajková, 2021: 8), which may be related to what was said earlier about perceptions of globalisation.

Besides the importance of the discussion about the terms used in different contexts, usually related to historical and institutional national processes and traditions (Global Schools, 2016), it is fundamental that we define what we mean by them. The articles point out the existence of conceptual clashes: i) between a 'soft' and a 'critical' approach, as proposed by Andreotti (2006), that can be seen also in the distinction made between charity/compassion and social justice approaches; ii) and between a vision based on 'learning aimed at influencing change' (Gyoh, 2021) or 'challenge unjust structures of interdependence' (Bourn, 2015: 19-20, cited in Gyoh 2021) and the 'learning aimed at acquiring skills and attitudes to live in a global society' (Ibid.). This warning has been already addressed by Coelho and Franch (2020) and De Vries (2020), in their reviews of *The Bloomsbury Handbook of Global Education and Learning*:

"Another point of friction is the aim of GE: some contributors affirm that GE should focus on civic virtues to foster responsible citizens, while others refer to the improved employability of students as a result of GE. Consequently, as the handbook wants to include a multitude of perspectives, it allows for contradicting interpretations to coexist, which may lead to prevailing criticism" (De Vries, 2020: 201).

Can GE/DE/GCE be used as a means to increase competitiveness in the global market? Could it, or should it, accommodate the national or international policies regarding the international interests and economic relations? Can the

concept *global*, possibly be perceived as linked to a de-characterising globalisation, by making anti-bodies grow around our field of research and action? A further reflection about concepts is urgently needed.

Methodologies

The Focus articles in this issue reinforced the idea of critical DE/GE/GCE as a long-term learning process to address the complexities of the contemporary world, facing against superficial approaches, ‘soundbites’ or a ‘quick-fix for urgent situations’. It is needed as a tool to challenge Eurocentric perspectives, to better understand interdependences and interconnections, between past and present, global and local, and individual and collective. DE is also required to question the traditional process of creation, validation and dissemination of knowledge, valuing the integration of different actors, tools and methodologies of collecting and analysing data, erasing the subject and object artificial barrier, in order to achieve great personal and collective meaningful transformation. As Mishra, Onyx and McCormick suggest:

“As co-producers of knowledge we have shown that the production of knowledge is a combination of serious reflection and action between equals, a horizontal dialogue guided by love, humility, faith and mutual trust”.

Arundhati Roy invites us to think about the opportunities brought by moments of crisis. She calls this pandemic a ‘portal, a gateway between one world and the next’. What the future may hold is up to us:

“We can choose to walk through it, dragging the carcasses of our prejudice and hatred, our avarice, our data banks and dead ideas, our dead rivers and smoky skies behind us. Or we can walk through lightly, with little luggage, ready to imagine another world. And ready to fight for it” (Roy, 2020).

Are we capable of believing enough to take advantage of these difficult times to commit ourselves to the social change we really want?

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Focus

ADDRESSING THE COMPLEXITY OF CONTEMPORARY SLAVERY: TOWARDS A CRITICAL FRAMEWORK FOR EDUCATORS

CHRIS O'CONNELL, BENJAMIN MALLON, CAITRÍONA NÍ
CASSAITHE AND MARIA BARRY

Abstract: Many significant global challenges are embedded within social, economic and political systems that transcend national borders (Drinkwater, Rizvi and Edge, 2019: 5). One issue that sits at the intersection of these transnational processes is slavery. Mainstream analyses tend to present slavery in two distinct phases: 'historical' slavery as a legal institution abolished in the nineteenth century; and 'new' (Bales, 2004) or 'modern' slavery (Kara, 2017) as a separate phenomenon, which is primarily associated in the policy literature with criminality in the global South. In these ways slavery is frequently decoupled from the transnational systems that have shaped and continue to shape it. Recent global events involving the removal of statues have renewed focus not only on the historical legacies and contemporary manifestations of slavery, but their connections to transnational systems. While there is a need for education to explore historical slavery there is a pressing need to consider the contemporary slavery, and the relationships between these forms (Quirk, 2009). This article proposes a framework of critical development education and history education, across conceptual, didactic, affective and active domains to support educational practices that challenge dominant Eurocentric discourses to address the complexities of contemporary forms of slavery.

Keywords: Contemporary Slavery; History Education; Critical Development Education; Historical Enquiry; Historical Consciousness; Transnationalism.

Introduction

Transnationalism is described as the ‘social, economic and political connections between people, places and institutions’ (Drinkwater, Rizvi and Edge, 2019: 5), and is also recognised as global interconnectedness. Whilst global movements of people and ideas offer potential for the positive transformation of societies, there is recognition that transnational processes are often historically connected to violence and inequity. Slavery, in both in its historical and contemporary forms, is a transnational issue (Quirk, 2009; Kotiswaran, 2019) that interconnects in complex ways with a range of socio-economic, institutional, political and environmental processes (Van den Anker, 2004). Keogh, Ruane and Waldron correctly assert that ‘one of the most effective weapons for modern day abolitionists is education’ (2006: 13). Nevertheless, the complex and politically charged relationship between slavery and issues like neoliberal globalisation, development, racialisation and migration make it a daunting subject for educators.

This article identifies three particular challenges for educators in addressing this significant global development issue. First, due to the dual emergence of a transnational global governance regime around human trafficking and renewed intellectual output regarding ‘modern slavery’, the issue was framed through the lens of criminal justice and security, associated mainly with the global South. Second, contemporary slavery was presented in individualised terms, decoupled from the structural and societal issues with which it interconnects. Finally, analysis of contemporary slavery has failed to adequately engage with historical slavery and its legacies. Here we propose methods for addressing these complexities.

Development education (DE) is recognised, in its more critical forms, as a transformative educational process which seeks to foster understanding of local and global issues, meaningful reflection on global justice, and informed action to challenge inequity. Critical development education (CDE), when framed through the lens of historical enquiry (HE), can help learners interrogate the roots of contemporary slavery. The first section presents an overview of the literature exploring the emergence of contemporary slavery as

a global development issue, highlighting the contentious conceptualisations of the issue that frame how it is acted upon. The article then provides a critical analysis of Andreotti's (2006) typology of 'soft' versus 'critical' DE approaches before considering the implications of this model for education about contemporary slavery. To conclude, we present a pedagogical framework that draws upon critical approaches such as CDE and HE to support educators in planning for and teaching issues of contemporary slavery.

Contemporary slavery: a complex global development issue

Contemporary slavery has emerged as a significant global development issue in the 21st century. Under the guise of 'modern slavery', it has been incorporated into the United Nations (UN) Sustainable Development Goals, adopted by bodies like the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and International Organisation for Migration (IOM), and enshrined in national legislation, notably in the UK. Meanwhile, a cohort of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and 'philanthro-capitalist groups' use their influence to continually focus public attention on the issue (Kotiswaran, 2019). The renewed interest in slavery came initially as a surprise, as many assumed that it had disappeared following legal abolition in the nineteenth century. However, a 'global sea change' in anti-slavery activism occurred in the mid-1990s that brought the issue back in from the margins (Quirk, 2011: 158).

The origins of this remarkable shift lay in concerns about migration and borders in the wake of globalisation (Ibid.; Kotiswaran, 2019). In 2000, the concept of 'human trafficking' was codified by the UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, which has had 'phenomenal' levels of state ratification (Kotiswaran, 2014: 36). While the Protocol is primarily a 'law enforcement instrument', its inclusion of the 'three P's' (Prevention, Protection and Prosecution) also reflects the influence of human rights principles (Plant, 2015: 154). Nevertheless, in practice, the early focus of the Protocol was trafficking for sexual exploitation (Ibid.; Kotiswaran, 2014) that manifested as a 'moral crusade' against prostitution (Bélanger, 2014: 89).

The codification of human trafficking coincided with interest in ‘new’ (Bales, 2004) or ‘modern’ (Kara, 2017) slavery. Most discussions of this topic begin with scholar-activist Kevin Bales, whose influence is widely acknowledged (Issa, 2017; O’Connell Davidson, 2015; Quirk, 2011). Bales’ most distinctive proposal is the contemporary ‘disposability’ of labour. In this scenario of ‘big profits and cheap lives’ (2004: 4), Bales asserts that ownership is no longer required or even desirable given the abundance of low-cost labour; what is instead required is effective control, which is frequently temporary. While Bales refers to structural issues that create surplus labour (corporate power, land ownership, state policy), his overwhelming focus is on the point of exploitation between ‘slaveholder’ and victim. In this way, Bales presents slavery as a ‘residual’ phenomenon caused by exclusion from global markets (Phillips and Sakamoto, 2012: 296), an ‘anachronism’ to be tackled via economic modernisation and targeted laws (O’Connell Davidson, 2015: 57).

In spite (or perhaps because) of these characteristics, Bales’ conception of slavery ‘found a receptive audience among political elites’ (Quirk, 2011: 158). In particular, this formulation was a good ‘fit’ with human trafficking. The dual emergence of these concepts meant that ‘modern slavery’ became inextricably linked to a criminal justice approach (Plant, 2015). Following Bales’ alliance with the Walk Free Foundation and the creation of the Global Slavery Index in 2013, these ‘new abolitionists’ – an ‘uncomfortable’ coalition of aid agencies, human rights activists, religious groups and ‘neoliberals’ (Murphy, 2019: 6-7) – extended their influence to national legislation and UN bodies (O’Connell Davidson, 2015). Over time the sector has expanded its focus to labour trafficking, a process some view as ‘exploitation creep’ (Chuang, 2014), but which is facilitated by the ‘complex and ambiguous definition’ of trafficking (Gallagher, 2017: 104).

In this context, other international law concepts have also been brought under the ‘umbrella’ of ‘modern slavery’. These include the ‘slavery-like practices’ – among them debt bondage, serfdom, and servile marriage – outlined in the 1956 Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery. Furthermore, Allain (2017) has argued that the 1926 Slavery Convention

definition of slavery – widely understood then and since as referring only to chattel slavery (Quirk, 2011: 145) – may be re-interpreted to incorporate the ‘modern’ concept of effective control (Allain, 2017).

Similarly, forced labour – first elaborated in 1930 as a ‘modest commitment’ to suppressing state-directed labour (Quirk, 2011: 104) – has been refined to bring it into alignment with trafficking (Plant, 2015), culminating with the ILO’s adoption of ‘modern slavery’. However, this has led to a disjuncture between the concept and its application (Lerche, 2007). For example, the ILO presents forced labour as the ‘antithesis of decent work’, noting the existence of a continuum of exploitation (2009: 8-9). In practice, however, it is ‘embedded’ in a criminal law approach (Fudge and Strauss, 2017: 538) that privileges coercion by ‘force, threat and violence’ (Kotiswaran, 2014: 372). Social issues like discrimination on grounds of ethnicity, class, immigrant status or gender are re-imagined as individual ‘risk factors’; while economic coercion is ruled out entirely (LeBaron, 2020: 41). This ‘cocooning’ of forced labour renders it ‘safe for governments and international organisations’ (Lerche, 2007: 431).

Despite its legal foundations and prominence, ‘modern slavery’ remains notoriously ‘slippery’ and contested (LeBaron, 2020: 7). Indeed, mainstream approaches have generated a ‘wealth of critical scholarship’ focussed on its conceptualisation and operationalisation (Natajaran, Brickell and Parsons, 2020: 2). According to LeBaron’s overview, this framing: obfuscates root causes; provides ‘cover’ for anti-feminist, anti-immigration and pro-business policies; reflects western paternalism; de-politicises labour exploitation; and disempowers workers (2020: 7-8). For LeBaron, those who use the term ‘tend to place way too much emphasis on criminal justice solutions’ (Ibid.: 8). Other scholars claim that the ‘powerful’ anti-slavery lobby promotes an individualised view of exploitation that exists ‘outside the purview of state scrutiny and market capitalism’ (Natajaran, Brickell and Parsons, 2020: 3). For example, Bales and others characterise modern slavery as the ‘dark underworld’ of the global economy but fail to make any causal

links (Lerche, 2007; LeBaron and Phillips, 2019). This approach has also been criticised for analysing slavery in a ‘historical vacuum’ (Quirk, 2009: 114).

By contrast, the critical approach adopts the broader category of ‘unfree’ labour (Fudge and Strauss, 2017; Natajara, Brickell and Parsons, 2020). The reasons for this are twofold. Firstly, it is claimed that the slavery frame tends to ‘depoliticise’ exploitation by focussing on an individualised relationship of exploiter/exploited rather than difficult issues of consent and agency (O’Connell Davidson, 2015). Secondly, critics allege that the metaphor of slavery promotes an ‘implicit dichotomy’ between freedom and enslavement (Natajara, Brickell and Parsons, 2020: 2-3). Instead, it is argued that exploitation should be conceptualised as a ‘continuum’ (Ibid.) or ‘spectrum’ (Fudge and Strauss, 2017). Other issues highlighted by the critical literature - such as the criminal justice approach, the conflation of trafficking and people smuggling, and the portrayal of corporations as ‘heroes’ (LeBaron, 2020: 9) - derive from the operationalisation of a particular version of ‘slavery’ rather than the term itself.

The critical school represents a ‘useful corrective’ to the hegemonic conceptualisation (Kotiswaran, 2019: 379), but has its shortcomings. Firstly, it adopts a similarly ‘ahistorical’ approach (Lerche, 2007: 433-435), prioritising ‘abstract’ debates on whether unfree labour is ‘capitalist’ (LeBaron and Phillips, 2019: 2). Secondly, notwithstanding ‘fierce debates’ over terminology, almost no-one denies the existence of widespread forced labour and exploitation in practice (Murphy, 2019: xi). While arguing for deeper structural reforms, the ‘scepticism’ of critical scholars toward international human rights law (Kotiswaran, 2019: 379) means it offers little to those actually in conditions of bondage (Quirk, 2011: 206). Finally, some have questioned its relevance to the developing world, where informal labour is the norm, and the impacts of neoliberalism are heterogeneous (Kotiswaran, 2019).

What does this mean for development educators? On one hand, contemporary slavery is a troubling global phenomenon. While data on prevalence is contested, the severity of the human suffering linked to this

phenomenon makes it a serious cause for concern (Crane et al., 2019: 88). This is not an issue that educators should ignore. On the other hand, slavery is a challenging topic, raising issues of historical and contemporary justice; legacies of colonialism, racialisation and discrimination; and questions about the meaning of freedom and ‘development’. The importance of addressing these complexities is emphasised by the global movement around the toppling of statues and the debates about racism and colonial legacies it sparked. The geographic spread of the protests and range of figures involved – from legal slaveholders to architects of contemporary slave systems like King Leopold II to colonisers like Columbus – speak to the transnational nature of these interconnections across time. As Quirk (2009: 115) notes: ‘Slavery has always been a global issue. It should be taught as a global issue’.

Critical development education

Development education (DE) is a process which can support the development of knowledge, understanding, skills and values allied to an interrogation of many of the processes associated with transnationalism. Recent research has considered the extent to which DE approaches meet their transformative ends. Drawing on post-colonial theory, Andreotti’s (2006) ‘soft versus critical’ framework presents a multifaceted framing of DE, offering two distinct interpretations. Soft forms of DE identify poverty and helplessness as problems to be solved by individuals compelled to act out of a sense of common humanity. This message is simple and easy to accept (Bryan, 2012), however, Andreotti makes a strong case for a critical DE (hereafter CDE), rooted in the concepts of justice and equality, where the principles for change move from universalism to reflexivity, dialogue and an ethical relation to difference.

Andreotti (2006) makes reference to the importance of critical historical perspectives on the concepts of imperialism, north-south relations and universalisation, which can underpin action through CDE. This compelling assertion raises questions as to how history education and CDE may support critical engagement with contemporary slavery, particularly as the relationships between DE and other educational fields have often been

neglected (Bourn, 2008). Andreotti's (2006) framework is regarded as a seminal contribution to the field (Bourn, 2020; Hartung, 2017), challenging the moral frame through which DE is explored and the assumptions that dominate current approaches. However, this framework has also been critiqued for presenting DE approaches as an either/or option, denying nuances and possible approaches between both (Hartung, 2017). Andreotti has stated that the soft versus critical frame is not necessarily about either/or, but both and more (Andreotti and Pashby, 2013). Indeed, Bourn (2015) suggests that softer forms of DE are a starting point for educators and learners, presenting DE as a learning process that can and should play a role in bringing participants along a more critical path.

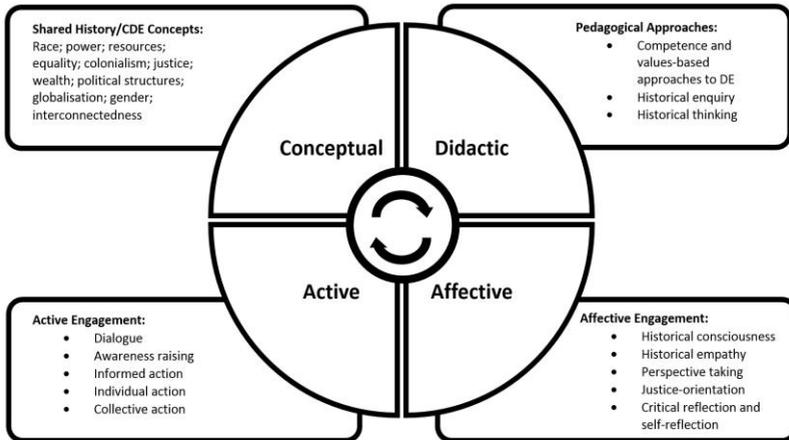
Cognisant of these criticisms, but open to the potential of the framework to offer an important critical perspective on educational practice, this article considers how educational approaches which address the theme of contemporary slavery can be structured in a manner which promotes the more critical dimensions of DE, and which interrogate the connections 'between the individual and personal, from the local to the global' (Bourn, 2008: 18). These connections, particularly in relation to the concept of slavery, also transcend time and, as such, the article also considers how a focus on contemporary slavery illuminates the potential consonance of DE and history education in addressing complex global issues.

Towards a framework for critical development education through history education

Derived from an analysis of debates within the field of contemporary slavery, against a combined backdrop of Andreotti's (2006) model and educational practice in the fields of history education and DE, this article proposes a framework for a critical approach to contemporary slavery. Comprised of four interrelated dimensions, the framework (Figure 1) identifies a series of key concepts which may underpin an educational enquiry in this area, the didactic or pedagogical processes which may frame this enquiry, the affective aspects which shape associated learning, and the action-orientations which may guide this process. Whilst a full unpacking of this framework is beyond the scope of

this article, the following sections give particular consideration to the conceptual and didactic dimensions of educational approaches to addressing contemporary slavery.

Figure 1: A Framework for planning and teaching CDE



Conceptual connections across time

History education is frequently used to provide deeper context to the legacies of slavery (Klein, 2017), yet there is also a need to consider the contemporary elements of slavery and the relationships between the historical and modern forms (Quirk, 2009). History lessons on the subject of slavery are often chronologically, geographically and thematically limited (Armstrong, 2016) and predominantly focus on the factual aspects of the transatlantic slave trade, avoiding other time periods and regions. Such narrow coverage can lead learners to the conclusion that slavery was a feature of the past, was confined to the continents of Africa and North America and ended when the transatlantic trade was criminalised and slavery abolished (Blum, 2012). HE, when framed through the lens of CDE, can help learners not only make connections between past and present forms of slavery, but can allow them to connect to the global legacies of slavery. Furthermore, this approach enables educators to address

the didactic, affective and active domains that must be stimulated to explore concepts such as racialisation, justice, inequality, power and colonialism across place and time.

For example, Quijano's concept of 'coloniality of power' (2000) – a key influence on the work of Andreotti (2011) – asserts that the conquest of the Americas led to the articulation of the labour force with the singular aim of producing commodities for the world market. The exploitation inherent to this system was justified by a process of racialisation whereby each form of labour control – slavery, servitude, wage labour – was associated with a particular ethnicity. According to Quijano (2000), the power of racialisation lives on beyond the end of colonial rule and the abolition of slavery, as evidenced by the persistence of non-wage labour among groups viewed as 'inferior'. Another approach focuses more on 'poverty and class politics' (Munck, 2014: 200). For example, the contemporary privatisation and enclosure of lands in countries like Brazil may be viewed as part of a capitalist process of 'accumulation by dispossession' (Harvey, 2005). The reference to Marx's 'primitive accumulation' highlights the similarities between contemporary and historical events, such as the 'enclosures movement' in Europe that privatised common lands and pushed peasants into serfdom (O'Connell Davidson, 2015: 59-60).

This lens shifts the focus from exploring narratives about historical slavery to deconstructing the institutional discourses and concepts that contributed and continue to contribute to multiple forms of slavery. In order to understand both the ideologies that underpinned past actors' thinking and the continuities and discontinuities that shape actions today, it is essential that learners recognise that many historical sources represent Eurocentric discourses rather than those of the disenfranchised or displaced.

Conceptual connections between the individual and the structural

A CDE perspective demands that we engage with the complex inequitable structures that create the conditions within which slavery and exploitation flourish in Ireland and elsewhere. This may be reflective of the movement away from understanding slavery solely as an issue of criminality toward one focused on national and global structures and institutions. For example, Andreotti's framework and an engagement with post-colonial ideas should lead educators to consider alternatives to the modern slavery/human trafficking/forced labour framework advanced by the United States (US), United Kingdom (UK) and multilateral organisations. India and Brazil stand out in this regard.

The issue of bonded labour was largely overlooked by nineteenth-century abolitionism (Quirk, 2011: 69). Instead, it was left to the postcolonial Indian state to tackle via ground-breaking legislation combining criminal and labour laws (Kotiswaran, 2014: 382-385). Furthermore, this broad approach was underpinned by creative Supreme Court rulings during the 1980s. One key judgement pointed to power asymmetries between employers and workers, holding that labour undertaken due to a lack of economic alternative could be considered 'forced' (Ibid.: 389). However, this interpretation was rejected by the ILO (2009). The Brazilian case involved social, labour and religious activism inspired by liberation theology and human rights, but also by Brazil's history of slavery (Rezende and Esterici, 2017). Activists consciously adopted this language in creating a 'political category' to confront powerful vested interests, including military dictatorship, agribusiness and transnational corporations (Ibid.). This led in 1995 to the creation of a new concept of 'slave labour' that went beyond the ILO's narrow view to encompass attacks on human dignity (Ibid.: 83). Evidence from Brazil reveals the importance of contemporary slavery to the global economy (Sakamoto, 2020) and its system is viewed as an 'indictment' of capitalism (Issa, 2017: 103).

Similarly, a CDE approach goes beyond institutions and individuals to consider the belief systems that underpin both historical and contemporary slavery (Andreotti, 2006). A key consideration here is the issue of racialisation

and its legacies. Much of the framing around human trafficking or modern slavery emphasises their largely de-racialised nature, advancing the claim that ‘anyone’ can be trafficked or subjected to conditions of slavery. For example, a new campaign launched in Ireland by the Government of Ireland in alliance with the IOM is entitled ‘Anyone Trafficked’. Bales notes that the key distinction between exploiter and exploited today is ‘wealth and power’ rather than ethnicity (2004: 17). Although contemporary slavery is not expressly racialised, in practice institutional discrimination based on racialised categories renders specific groups more vulnerable to poverty and exploitation (Van den Anker, 2004: 19). In Brazil, for example, official data reveals that the majority of the 54,000 people found in contemporary slavery since 1995 were black, a fact Sakamoto (2020) attributes to the ‘incomplete abolition’ of slavery and failure to achieve real inclusion.

Conceptual connections from global to the local

A focus on structural issues also recognises that whilst we are all interconnected, the nature of these connections is shaped by power relations that underpin both local and global inequality. One example of these dynamics is Ireland’s fishing industry. In 2015 news reports detailed extensive labour exploitation, including trafficking and forced labour, on Irish trawlers. Migrant workers from Africa and Asia were confined to their boats, received less than half the minimum wage, and were forced to work up to 20 hours a day (MRCI, 2017). Rather than equalise rights, the Irish state introduced an ‘Atypical Worker Scheme’ that tied migrants to employers, deepening unequal power relations (Ibid.). Following a legal challenge and an ‘exceptional rebuke’ from four UN Special Rapporteurs (Lawrence and McSweeney, 2019), the state was forced into an embarrassing climb-down. Nevertheless, the issue precipitated a startling fall by Ireland in the US State Department’s Trafficking in Persons Report, from Tier 1 in 2017 to Tier 2 Watchlist in 2020 – the only western European country at this level. While the report emphasises the need for convictions, a critical approach might link this outcome to Ireland’s insertion into the global economy. As Kirby and Murphy note, the removal of rights and protections from non-EU workers, increasing their exposure to

exploitation, was a policy choice driven by a ‘neoliberal fixation’ on limiting state intervention, delivering migrants ‘to the mercy of the market’ (2007: 14).

Bourn (2014: 14) suggests DE should encourage ‘the learner to make connections between their own lives and those of others throughout the world’. In addition to the connections this article has already explored, the literature in this area reveals that the wider network of responsibility towards contemporary slavery must include interconnections to those global issues that increase its likelihood of occurring. This more holistic conceptualisation points in turn to a broader suite of methods to prevent foreseeable harms. For example, the literature highlights the link between land ownership and labour availability, as landless workers are more easily exploited (Quirk, 2011: 121). In places like Brazil, the role of export-oriented agriculture in displacing peasant and indigenous communities is clear (Phillips and Sakamoto, 2012: 306; Sakamoto, 2020). Rather than a by-product of disembodied processes of ‘modernisation and globalisation’ (Bales, 2004: 13), this rush to ‘occupy’ the Amazon and ‘usurp’ communities was incentivised by the state and seized upon by big business (Rezende and Esterici, 2017: 79). Many members of these displaced communities were pushed into contemporary slavery, forced to enclose those same lands so agribusiness could export crops like soy and cotton (Sakamoto, 2020).

These transnational interconnections include the nexus between slavery, the environment and climate change. A mainstream approach links increased deforestation, emissions and coerced labour to consumer demand for forest-risk commodities. To quote Bales: ‘there is no secret to the engine driving this vicious cycle. It is us – the consumer culture of the rich north’ (2016: 8). Framed predominantly as an issue of ‘criminal slaveholders’, Bales’s solution is simple: end slavery (Ibid.: 10). Consumers in the North are presented with a ‘win-win’ scenario: we can absolve our guilt by ‘saving’ people from slavery without impacting ‘our lifestyles or the economy’ (Ibid.: 118). However, a critical approach goes deeper to examine the impacts of neoliberalisation and global governance that empower corporations to exert downward pressure via supply chains, incentivising sub-contracting and labour

exploitation that in turn damages the environment (LeBaron, 2020: 73-76). This instrumental power interacts with structural processes of exclusion and deepened precarity, including: landlessness; a lack of decent work and basic services; water, air and soil pollution; and climate change itself. These factors combine to render traditional livelihoods unsustainable, pushing many of the world's poorest citizens to migrate in precarious conditions (Bond DEG, 2020).

Didactic approaches to CDE

There is a need for DE to move beyond content-based didactic approaches, based on the factual presentation of global issues such as contemporary slavery to consider both competence-based and values-based approaches (Tarozzi and Mallon, 2019). The former is concerned with the development of skills such as 'critical thinking, finding creative solutions or dealing with complexity and ambiguity' (Ibid.: 120), while the latter supports a reflection on the values and beliefs which underpin learners' attitudes, understandings and actions in this regard (Ibid.). As such, active learning methodologies remain important teaching strategies, where learners have the opportunity for discussion, dialogue and reflection on the issue of contemporary slavery.

Drawing on Bourn (2014), a pedagogical framework for exploring contemporary slavery could include fostering a sense of global outlook (and responsibility) towards the issue, nurturing a belief in social justice and equity, developing a commitment to reflection and dialogue, and supporting a recognition of power and inequality within the world, and across time. With a similar concern for the relationship between the past and present, Diptée (2018) contends that there needs to be greater consideration given to how society engages with ideas about slavery's past that have the capacity to inform present attitudes. Uncomplicated and mythologised narratives that served well in centuries-old debates against slavery are no longer sufficient (Ibid.). Educators and learners need to ask critical questions to explore not only past legacies but also those that continue to hold influence in the present.

HE is a pedagogical approach to teaching that places the learner, their questions and their ideas, at the centre of the learning experience. In contrast to traditional forms of history teaching in which learners consume historical information through uncritical use of textbooks, HE allows learners to engage in the process of asking critical questions, analysing evidence to answer those questions and synthesising their own research (Barton and Levstik, 2004). HE draws on the disciplinary concepts associated with historical study that stem from the historical method. These concepts collectively allow learners to *think historically* and enable them to analyse evidence, explore change and continuity, interpret cause and effect, and understand how to evaluate historical claims in order to create their own evidence-based interpretations (Cooper and Chapman, 2009). By doing so, learners can see how historical knowledge is constructed and how history can be used to interrogate the roots of phenomena such as contemporary slavery.

Affective approaches to CDE

Andreotti (2006) suggests that CDE promotes the basis for caring about issues, such as those explored within this article, as matters of justice and responsibility towards the other, rather than from a belief in common humanity and responsibility for the other. Complicity in the structures underpinning, and the systems perpetuating, historical and contemporary slavery requires, from a CDE perspective, a justice-oriented approach, grounded in political or ethical principles. This affective dimension is prominent in the literature on history education. As Keogh, Ruane and Waldron (2006) argue, teaching about both contemporary and historic forms of slavery involves not just a factual understanding of what happened in the past, but also an emotive recognition of its human experience. Historical empathy and perspective taking, they maintain, can provide opportunities to connect historic slavery to contemporary issues of equality and justice. A longitudinal understanding of such concepts is central to an understanding of the relationship between historical and contemporary slavery.

A further framework of significance in the exploration of this affective dimension is the theoretical concept of historical consciousness,

based on an understanding of history as a phenomenon relating to how people construct historical meaning and the ways in which they orient themselves in time (Nordgren and Johansson, 2015). Rösen describes it as a form of sense-making where the ‘past is interpreted for the sake of understanding the present and anticipating the future’ (2012: 45). In this regard, historical consciousness can be taken as a trans-historical, trans-cultural and transnational mode of how humans relate to time, historical meaning and the world around them. Rösen (1993) highlights the connection between the disciplinary work of HE and what he calls ‘life-practice’. Beginning with the need to orient the individual in time, he identifies the relationship between the discipline of history and the wider cultural conditions within which the discipline of history is enacted. Historical enquiries into the past begin with, and are inspired by, particular interests which are filtered through the dominant theories that learners hold about the past. Topics such as slavery are a prime example of how important an understanding of the historic roots are to positioning oneself in the present and taking action on the issue in the future.

Conclusion

This article has sought to set the context for education that engages with the issue of slavery in its various forms, with particular reference to the multiple perspectives and inherent power dynamics which frame the field. From the outset, contemporary slavery is recognised as a global development issue that is highly complex yet, in light of the severity of human suffering, demanding of an educational response. Indeed, such complexity presents a clear challenge to educators (Keogh, Ruane and Waldron, 2006), and reflection on this issue, as suggested in this article, may present many of the emotional challenges of CDE which Andreotti (2006) identifies.

There are significant allusions to the importance of a historical lens in the pursuit of CDE, and with a focus on contemporary slavery, the conceptual connections between past and present are illuminated, and the potential of HE to guide an exploration of past and present forms is recognised. The article highlighted the importance of incorporating a structural perspective in the analysis of contemporary slavery, where lines of connection and

complicity are drawn between individuals, societal norms, belief systems and global power dynamics. Through the example of Ireland, the article drew these connections from the local, where structures and systems in the Irish context form the backdrop for contemporary slavery, to global issues such as land rights, displacement and climate change.

The didactic or pedagogical dimension of the proposed framework recognises the active participatory nature of CDE, but also the importance of reflection on the values which underpin understandings and decisions. Again, the potential of history education, and specifically HE, to inform this critical approach is recognised. Finally, the affective dimension of the framework is briefly considered, and historical consciousness is suggested as a framework to support historical empathy and strengthen considerations of positionality and anti-slavery action.

Comprising the fourth dimension of the proposed framework, the concept of action concerns not only the historical or potential actions of learners, but also the actions or inactions of individuals and institutions in the past and present, both against slavery and in support of the violent practices and structures that shape history and our current reality. This article has attempted to develop, through engagement with CDE and history education, the grounds for acting against contemporary slavery as a political and ethical concern, based on relationships and connections across place and time. Recognising the limitations of this project in light of Andreotti's (2006) framework, this article is part of an ongoing process which hopes to contribute to opening up spaces that support the exploration of how DE can contribute towards a wider educational response to the injustice of slavery in all its forms.

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NGO REPRESENTATIONS VERSUS MEDIATION: A LEARNER CENTRED APPROACH TO PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING ABOUT GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT

SON GYOH

Abstract: This article considers how the modes of communication non-governmental organisations (NGOs) use in rallying support for their campaigns shape the identity of their campaigners as potential catalysts for promoting public understanding about development issues. It argues that the revolution in communication technology provides NGOs with the opportunity to mediate the participation of their campaigners in framing knowledge about development issues. The article elaborates on an aspect of the findings from a doctoral thesis on the way youth-led campaign organisations mediate the involvement of their campaigners to promote public deliberation. It highlights how NGOs and global education providers can use social justice frames to mediate public engagement with development issues by steering their audiences towards open and safe sources of information. This will provide greater opportunity for public deliberation necessary for increasing public understanding about global development issues. It concludes by proposing how greater clarity on use of social justice frames can contribute to influencing attitudes towards global development and interdependence.

Key words: Public understanding; Public deliberation; Knowledge multipliers; Global interdependence; Virtual publics; Issue public; Campaigners.

Introduction

A decade after the publication of the *Finding Frames* (Darnton and Kirk, 2011) report on ways development NGOs can promote a higher level of United Kingdom (UK) public engagement with global development challenges, far-right nationalist sentiments have gained traction across leading western donor countries such as France and Germany. The emergence of a president in the United States (US) elected in 2016 on the rhetoric of ‘America first’ also

signalled a threat to ideals of an interdependent global society. This signifier of far-right sentiment raises important questions about the impact of nearly two decades of global education in Europe, and the tension between sometimes conflicting approaches to learning to challenge global injustice, and learning to acquire the skills to live in a global society. While the fields of development and global education continue to improve on approaches to learning about an unequal and interdependent world, INGO representations remain a major influence that shape Northern public perceptions about global development issues. It is important to clarify the use of the abbreviations INGO and NGO in this article. ‘INGO’ refers to international non-governmental organisations, which are one of the two sample categories in my doctoral research, whereas, ‘NGO’ is used to describe the second sample category, which are youth-led organisations.

This article derives from the findings of a doctoral thesis that examined how NGOs produce the knowledge they use in their campaigning and public education aimed at promoting public understanding and action on global inequality. It specifically develops on an aspect of the research findings around the practices of two categories of NGOs, in terms of how they identify and frame the campaign issues they communicate and disseminate to their audiences as knowledge. The article builds on a central proposition in the thesis that suggests a correlation between the communication strategies NGOs adopt and how it shapes the identity of their campaigners and as multipliers of public understanding. Evidence from the research findings showed that INGOs mobilised their campaign audience to take online actions in the form of petitions based on representations of development issues identified within the organisation. These prescribed actions aimed at influencing policy-makers therefore the representations were presented in soundbites associated with detached engagement and shallow public understanding.

Three related aspects of the research findings discussed in this article include: how INGOs focus on influencing policy-makers constrains their desire to promote public deliberation (and understanding) about global development issues; the implications of condensing complex global inequality issues; and the use of uncritical social justice frames in NGO representations

and global education. This article elaborates on how these dynamics can constitute barriers to public understanding about global issues, and the possibilities digital communication offer NGOs to adopt practices that can promote public deliberation. The article argues that the ability for NGO campaigners to activate narratives ‘using similar frames’ (Lang, 2013: 56-57) have implications for how they become potential multipliers of public understanding about development issues. It elaborates on a proposition made in the parent research on the need for NGOs and practitioners to adopt a mediatory role in supporting campaigners and autonomous learners’ access to diverse arenas of knowledge about global development. Specifically, this article makes an empirical contribution to debates in global education around ideas of social justice and the tension between problem-based learning aimed at influencing change, and learning aimed at acquiring skills and attitudes to live in a global society.

The diffusion in communication power has made possible mass transmission of information and the inclusion of voices from the most remote parts of the world to centres of global economic power. This, and the phenomenon of virtual movements enabled by digital networks organised around social media are examples of democratised forms of hashtag mobilisation against perceived injustice. The new possibilities virtual publics offer for knowledge exchange and the triangulation of information question the narrow view of campaigning as support for prescribed actions (Chapman and Fisher, 2000). NGO ‘campaigners’ refers to the virtual and membership network of audiences that are mobilised to act on particular development issues identified within the organisation. Beyond a diffused means of achieving critical mass for collective action, campaigning provides an arena for the flow of information across social actors in diverse locations, and for generating similar frames (Gyoh, 2016). It also offers a strategic tool for achieving specific outcomes (Eade, 2002), and the possibility of activating virtual publics that enable the inclusion of the perception of marginalised voices (Leipold, 2002; Lang, 2013).

This article further elaborates on evidence from the parent research, which suggests a higher density of communication when NGOs take on a

mediatory role in directing campaigners to diverse sources of knowledge. Such encounters contribute to generating similar frames, and in shaping the identity of campaigners as potential multipliers of knowledge. The importance of common frames has become more apparent at a time when the global community is promoting desirable social behaviour across distant countries, a form of collective action to contain the COVID-19 pandemic.

Context and theoretical assumptions

In examining the knowledge dimension of NGO campaigning, a basic outline of the theoretical assumptions adopted in the research is important for understanding social processes in generating and disseminating knowledge. This provides a conceptual guide to analysing how ‘public understanding’, can be achieved outside conventional approaches to learning, and how information becomes actionable knowledge. Public understanding about global poverty and inequality is used in the sense defined in the 2005 Make Poverty History (MPH) campaign to infer the level of knowledge the public has about *international debt*, *international trade* and *aid*, considered to be the three pillars of international action (Darnton and Kirk, 2011). In addition to these three elements, public understanding includes familiarity with ideals of global interconnectedness and social justice as espoused in the fields of development and global education. This article adopts the construct of campaigners as end users of knowledge, and stakeholders in framing and multiplying knowledge aimed at collective action. The rationale for adopting the MPH definition of ‘public understanding’ in this research is explained in a later section.

The primary research on which this article is based was set in the context of NGO campaigning on global inequality, and how campaigners as autonomous learners can become potential multipliers of knowledge about global interdependence. Understanding the ways knowledge is produced and framed in NGO campaigning is important for analysing how concepts that underpin public understanding are reflected in their narratives, and the role of campaigners as potential multipliers of public understanding. This approach to analysing public understanding requires identifying a constructivist theory of knowledge that emphasise the role of social actors, and the motivation for

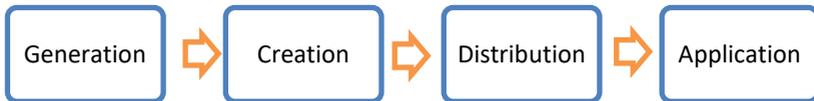
collective action. Organisational knowledge theory, therefore, provided for the research a suitable framework for conceptualising the nature of interaction between NGOs and their campaigners. This theory proposes knowledge as contextual interpreted information organisations generate and construct in collaboration with actors that apply the knowledge in accomplishing a set objective (Davenport and Prusak, 1998; Nonaka and Takeuchi, 1995). Organisational theory relates with the emphasis made in this article on the value of a mediated approach to learning about global development challenges.

The link between organisational knowledge theory and problem-based knowledge that is socially produced was made using Castells' (1996; 2000) concept of the Network society which explains the arenas and sites of knowledge production, where diverse actors interact and collaborate in constructing knowledge. This concept describes the diffusion in arenas where knowledge is produced and disseminated as a public good (Castells, 2009: 54). The integration of these concepts provides a constructivist framework for analysing how the social processes of knowledge production in the Network Society provide opportunities for the involvement of campaigners as knowledge actors. This conceptualisation of knowledge pays particular attention to the forms, sites and processes of knowledge construction.

By forms of knowledge, I refer to different cognitive modes, such as tacit knowledge, what we know from personal experience, and explicit knowledge, what we internalise from interaction and secondary sources. In combination these are used to interpret social reality and applied in understanding social events such as hunger, international debt and trade injustices. Wickramasinghe and Lubitz (2007) offer a generic description of the knowledge cycle in organisational knowledge theory to involve four broad interactive and progressive stages. The first stage is the knowledge *generation* - information emanating from institutions and organisations in its tacit and explicit forms. It includes information interpreted by the use of signs, codes and symbols that can be retrieved. Knowledge *creation* is the second stage of the knowledge cycle where group involvement is critical for negotiating meaning and defining context (Ibid.: 32). As seen below in Figure 1, the

distribution stage entails sharing of knowledge for the purpose of *application* to accomplish specific tasks.

Figure 1: The Knowledge Cycle



(Adapted from Wickramasinghe and Lubitz, 2007)

All four stages are iterative and entail social actors interacting with a common purpose to apply the knowledge in accomplishing a shared objective. Under this formulation, NGOs are conceptualised as organisations that engage campaigners as *issue publics* in generating, creating and disseminating knowledge aimed at accomplishing set objectives.

The knowledge cycle explains a process that can result in thick or shallow deliberations rather than an ideal outcome. In relation to the Frames theory, the knowledge cycle is useful in illustrating how NGOs can generate thick or shallow conversations, linked to ‘deep’ or ‘surface frames’ (Darton and Kirk, 2011: 65;75), depending on how the issue is presented. The public rallies and online interaction between campaigners also relate to the socialisation process that occurs at the knowledge *creation* phase. The multiplication and sharing of framed narratives for prescribed action relates to the *distribution* and *application* stages of the knowledge cycle. Furthermore, the prescribed action highlights the context of solving pertinent problems. NGO campaigners are, therefore, constructed as ‘social actors that generate normative claims about common good’ (Lang, 2013: 13), and consciously apply framed information to achieve specific outcomes. This hybrid theory explains ‘a unique mode of knowledge that is problem based, framed, produced and disseminated in the context of application’ (Gibbons et al., 1994:

3). The term ‘issue publics’ is used to refer to the role NGOs assume as proxies of the public sphere, and the role of their campaigners who are the immediate audience, and potential multipliers of knowledge (Lang, 2013).

Research samples and methodological implications

A brief description of the sampled categories of NGOs is important for setting the context of how the data was collected and analysed. The first sample category are international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) with elaborate bureaucratic structures, highly institutionalised and professionalised organisations that undertake humanitarian projects overseas. It comprised Oxfam, CAFOD and Trócaire that mobilise an amorphous network of campaigners in undertaking their advocacy, and are also leading producers of teaching materials in global education. They are referred to in the article as ‘INGOs’. The second sample category comprised two student-led campaign NGOs, People and Planet, and Medsin, that are referred here as ‘youth-led organisations’. They have a lean organisational structure, localised in the UK, operated by university students, and are much smaller in size and funding base. Their core activity centres around advocacy and campaigning against global inequality and social injustice. Both NGO categories are non-profit organisations with a moral purpose that engaged in a range of socially oriented activities (Gyoh, 2016: 29). All five samples, Oxfam, CAFOD, Trócaire, and two youth-led organisations, People and Planet, and Medsin were identified following a pilot study in Ireland and the UK.

The collective case study research design was adopted as it was suited to use of replication logic in triangulating the findings across the two bounded categories of NGOs. Purposive sampling was used in identifying quickly the likely source of relevant data (Creswell, 1994; Nachmias, 1996). This entailed identifying samples that represented the typical instance of NGOs that had identical modes of communication with their campaign audience. The data collection tools included interviews, visual methods, a technique that focuses on what we see and how we see it (Prosser, 2013), the study of images as objects (Spencer, 2011). This technique was used in making sense of the nature of conversation and interaction between campaigners on social media.

Other techniques included document review and questionnaires administered on youth-led organisations whose membership were also campaigners.

The participants in both bounded cases were nominated by the organisations and comprised of staff and students that worked in the campaign, communications and public education unit of the organisations. In all cases, open ended face-to-face interviews were administered with the same set of questions applied to each category of NGO. The interviews were recorded and transcribed. Pseudonyms were used by request to protect the anonymity of participants. Given that the investigation aimed at identifying patterns and trends in the practices of the sampled NGOs, the data analysis focused on the common traits in each bounded case, rather than a comparative of the two categories. This was important for generating tentative assertions from triangulation of the different sources of data (Stake, 2006: 39). Although the structure, size and mission of the two sampled categories of NGOs included in the research differed, the use of the Internet as a virtual arena for framing and disseminating their messages provide opportunities for building a network of public audiences.

Public understanding: NGO representations versus mediation

Although official funding institutions in the UK and Ireland tend to favour educational approaches to promoting public understanding about global interdependence, NGO campaigning is often the reference point in surveys undertaken to assess levels of public understanding. Research on the impact of educational approaches to promoting public understanding in the broad fields of development and global education is arguably thin. There is also a growing recognition within global education literature that campaigning can introduce new narratives and take on issues of structural injustice where NGOs build strong alliances with their network of public audiences such as trade unions (Krause, 2016: 153 cited in Hartmeyer 2016; Cox, 2011; Jones, 2010; Leipold, 2002). The implication of these debates for public understanding about global development issues are also well articulated in the *Finding Frames* report (Danton and Kirk, 2011).

The concept of public understanding is used to mean public knowledge about international debt, international trade and global aid, described in MHP as the three pillars of international action (Darnton and Kirk, 2011: 19). In this article it is used in a broader sense to include knowledge about ‘the structural causes of hunger’ (Tibbett and Stalker, 2013: 18-23), and attitudes that promote values of global interdependence. The MPH definition of public understanding was adopted for its novelty in articulating the structural and institutional factors that underpin debates about global poverty and inequality. It also offers a conceptual boundary in navigating the problem of subjectivity and contested meanings. The inclusion of global interdependence broadens the scope of the concept of public understanding to reflect the global context of this article.

The proposition of knowledge as the kernel of public understanding relates to the constructivist approach to knowledge that posits the involvement of social actors, who are also autonomous knowers. ‘Autonomous knower’ refers to self-directed learning, ‘where individuals come with prior perceptions and what it is they want to learn’ (Oxford and Yu Lin, 2011: 157-158). This assumption is central to the proposition in this article that, as leading actors in producing development knowledge, a shift from ‘representations’ of development issues to mediating the process of knowing can be rewarding to the desire NGOs have in promoting public understanding about global interdependence. The emergence of virtual publics as a practice arena for public deliberation and information dissemination has also extended the public space with possibility of coalitions and blurring of physical locations. This virtual community of practice gives further impetus to the importance of mediating the involvement of autonomous learning.

Public understanding versus public awareness about the campaign issue

The response from participants in sampled INGOs revealed the different senses in which the term ‘campaigning’ was used to include raising *public awareness* about development issues and *public appeals* for donations towards humanitarian causes. However, the ‘If’ campaign evaluation report made an

important distinction between ‘heightened public awareness’ about the conflict issue, and ‘increasing public understanding’ about the issue (Tibbett and Stalker, 2013: 18). The latter differs in the sense that it refers to increased knowledge about the nature of the problem beyond an awareness about the issue. While INGOs recognised the difference between campaigning that aims at increased public understanding, and awareness of public appeals to solicit donations, this was not reflected in the frames they use in communicating their campaign messages.

The practice of combined messaging INGOs adopt in their campaigning lends itself to basic awareness about the campaign initiative, and marginal value in promoting public deliberation. Although respondents from Oxfam, CAFOD and Trócaire described their campaigning as based on knowledge, understanding, values and skills, they did not consider the role of campaigners to include advocacy. The INGOs made a distinction between campaigning and advocacy, which they conceived of as an activity that is undertaken by more knowledgeable and skilled professionals within the organisation. In the attempt to influence decision-making and gain some degree of insider status, ‘most INGOs tend to prefer advocacy that target institutions rather than the wider public’ (Lang, 2013: 22). The focus on influencing policy-makers meant that they did not seek to generate deep frames, and therefore constituted a trade-off for public understanding. Pettigrew (1990) suggested that where more emphasis is placed on sharing expert knowledge and lobbying policy makers, there is a trade-off with communication that provokes public deliberation. It is worth noting that both INGOs and the youth-led organisations considered their campaigners to include staff within the organisations engaged in identifying, designing and communicating the campaign issues, as well as the audiences that receive and act on the message. This was reflected in the response from a respondent from Oxfam’s campaign and communications unit:

“We previously saw for our campaign an amorphous public that is out there to be engaged...there isn’t an amorphous public out there. There are groups of people that want to engage with particular issues, so that we have a more strategic approach to our audiences”.

This suggests NGOs considered their public audience as potential campaigners. However, there is a notable difference in how the youth-led organisations presented the issue to their campaign audience. As noted earlier, the processes of identifying and framing the campaign issues in Oxfam, CAFOD and Trócaire occurred within the organisation, and were undertaken by officials considered knowledgeable and competent advocates. This meant there was little opportunity for campaigners to be involved in the important processes of identifying and generating similar frames about the campaign issue. The implication of this top-down approach is described in what Freire (1970: 54) proposed as the ‘banking model of education’, in which the ‘teacher (in this case NGO) identified the knowledge content, and the learners, assimilate it as containers’ and passive consumers of knowledge.

The exclusion of campaigners in the critical processes of constructing knowledge in INGOs constrained three important factors Lang (2013: 56-57) described as important for activating similar frames namely: ‘the density of conversation between NGO campaigners, the target of NGO communication, and the mode of communication with campaign audiences’. The target of NGO communication defines how the other two factors can influence levels of public deliberation. The desire of INGOs to influence policy-makers meant that it used soundbites in representing complex development issues. Its communication was, therefore, limited to creating an awareness about an issue, and to mobilise prescribed actions targeted at policy-makers.

Aside from excluding the knower from the processes of negotiating meaning, INGO representations promote passive actions when presented around broad themes that decontextualise and condense complex issues in soundbites. For example, the framing of campaign issues using broad themes such as CAFOD’s ‘Hunger for change’ and Oxfam’s ‘Grow campaign’ had a number of complex campaign issues condensed into simple narratives encouraged detached online actions rather than promote public deliberation. This contrasted with the youth-led organisations that considered their campaigning as advocacy, and the role of the organisation as mediating the encounter of campaigners with diverse sources of knowledge. The mission statement on the website of Medsin, one of the sample organisations, revealed

that youth-led organisations considered their role: “To create a network of people in order to influence the thoughts and actions of those around you, or those that can make the change you desire” (Medsin, 2020). This was also reflected in the response from People and Planet:

“...I think we point young people to the direction of the information and knowledge, and they decide what and how they are going to campaign. People choose different levels of engagement through the briefing we provide, and they decide what they want to do” (Gyoh, 2016: 146).

The role of the organisation was mediating the involvement of campaigners in constructing their knowledge by exposing them to different sources of knowledge. The youth-led organisations described their approach as a democratic process where students who are also campaigners and advocates decide the campaign issue during annual conferences. This provided them the opportunity to negotiate and develop shared values and common frames they use in their interaction and conversations in social media.

The youth-led campaigners also considered their digital network as a virtual public space where members generated new narratives in framing knowledge about the campaign issue through counter-discourse. Fraser (1992: 123) described counter-discourse as ‘the expressions of marginalised voices and counter narratives’ that interrogate mainstream knowledge producers. The diffusion of digital information and communication power also enabled them to encounter diverse sources of knowledge, and include the perspective of marginalised groups in mainstream discourses. These networks also provided an alternative arena Thompson (1995) described as ‘counter-public’, where social actors converge to articulate and express their perspectives whilst navigating the gatekeeping tendency of dominant knowledge institutions. While the clustering of complex issues around broad themes offered INGOs a cost-effective way to build support for their advocacy, it presented a potential barrier to public deliberation.

Mitigating barriers to public understanding

While Frames theory is central to the ideas explored in the article, the primary focus here is how *deep frames* can be multiplied in fostering public understanding beyond their use or generation in presenting development issues. This addresses the problem of moving the profound ideas propagated over a decade ago from theory to praxis. The ‘density of conversation’ between NGO audiences, Lang (2013: 56) suggested, was important for multiplying similar frames in the nature and level of public deliberation. Although the hybridisation of frames in INGO messaging has been described by a number of authors as serving the wider agendas of INGO humanitarian endeavours (see for example, Baillie Smith, 2013; Dogra, 2012; Cox, 2011; Cohen, 2001), the implications for public deliberation has received less attention. The use of hybrid frames of compassion and social justice in INGO representation and fundraising appeals is argued as promoting ambivalent citizenship (Yanacopulos and Baillie Smith, 2008), and is, therefore, a potential barrier to public deliberation (Dogra, 2012:28). This barrier can be analysed in two forms; the first is the use of campaign themes that cluster and simplify complex structural issues presented in soundbites with little opportunity to generate common frames. The second is the use of contradictory narratives that combine social justice and compassionate frames. This was observed as common in the faith-based NGO application of Christian and Catholic social teaching.

The combination of social justice ideals such as equality, rights, access and participation with natural disaster narratives is a form of NGO representation that detracts from the root problem, and therefore, undermine public understanding. In the context of the COVID-19 pandemic for example, such ambiguous narratives can constitute barriers to public understanding about global interconnectedness and the dimension of unequal access of the majority world to vaccines. Bryan and Bracken (2011 cited in Tallon, 2013) also described the use of such hybrid frames as a structural conflict between INGO primary charity agendas and their identity as advocates for social transformation. This further raises questions about ambivalent social justice frames that are present in INGO representations. Ollis (2008: 45) suggested

that ‘generating a common frame of reference’ centred on social justice is important for evoking the passion to seek change, rather than the compassion to give. For example, in contrast with the images of starvation and difficulty INGOs used in representation of global inequality, youth-led organisations used protest images to generate social justice frames. The broken Nike logo below is a typical example of the type of images People and Planet used in promoting critical engagement with activities of corporate power on the exploitation of workers in poorer countries by multinationals. Such protest images can be more powerful for generating deep frames than images of compassion Darnton and Kirk (2011:75) associated with surface frames.

Figure 2: People and Planet use of social justice images (Gyoh, 2016: 157. Credit, www.peopleandplanet.org)



An interesting point that emerged from the research was the distinction youth-led organisations made between ‘campaign themes’ and ‘the campaign initiative’ in how the message is presented to activate public deliberation. Although the *Finding Frames* report described the focus on ‘single issue’ narratives as a major weakness in NGO campaigning (see Darnton and Kirk, 2011), the youth-led organisations considered ‘single issue’ narratives important for clarity and density of conversation about the issue. It mitigates the problem of ambivalent and contradictory frames found in INGO campaign messaging. For example, although highlighting the exploitation of workers by

multinational corporations in the clothing industry in a particular developing country is a 'single issue', it also exposes the wider structural dimension of business practices in the global South. As Lang (2013) noted, the focus on a single issue lends itself to 'thicker' voices and allows for density of conversations more than issues that are communicated in broad themes. The practices of youth-led organisations emphasised not only the importance of clarity about the issues but also involving campaigners and learners in the processes of identifying, designing and communicating the message as described in the knowledge cycle. It also indicated that the focus on single issues activated deliberation among campaigners, thereby, creating conditions for deeper engagement, and in shaping the identity of campaigners as potential multipliers of public understanding.

Although the three INGOs recognise the difference between campaigning that aims to raise public awareness about global poverty, and appeals to solicit public donations, this did not reflect in the way they framed or communicated their messages. The clustering of contradictory campaign messages with 'feel good sexy rallies' (Cameron and Haanstra, 2008) resulted in a heightened awareness about the campaign event, but offered low reward in provoking public deliberation. Arguably, it is the presence of such top-down frames and narratives in formal education that falls to accusations of indoctrination in the fields of global education (Standish, 2012; Elliot, Fourali and Issler, 2010).

The absence of dialogic deliberation in the communication between INGO campaigners was observed in the detached interaction and low density of conversation on their Facebook social media platforms. Although the interaction between campaigners in youth-led organisations and INGO categories appeared similar, the absence of a common frame in the narratives of INGO campaigners meant the low density of conversations resulted in shallow engagement (Gyoh, 2016: 186). Document analysis of campaign materials used by faith-based INGOs such as CAFOD showed that the representations of global poverty framed on Christian social teaching emphasised the virtues of compassion and charity rather than the questioning of assumptions around access, participation and inequalities. For example,

CAFOD and Trócaire interpreted ‘giving’ as a form of taking action against social injustice. This interpretation of social justice relates to the ambivalent and compassionate actions associated with surface frames (Darnton and Kirk, 2011: 75). This uncritical conceptualisation of social justice raises fundamental questions not only about how social justice is interpreted in NGO representations, but also in approaches to global education that propagate learning to acquire ‘skills to live in a global society’, rather than attitudes that challenge unjust structures of interdependence (Bourn, 2015: 19-20).

In sum, while the youth-led organisations applied social justice as a frame for highlighting and interrogating issues around inequality, rights, access and unjust structure of an interdependent world, the concept remains ambiguous in NGO representations, and uncritically applied in global education. The choice NGOs make between engaging their campaigners through representations of global development issues, and mediating their encounter as autonomous learners has implications in shaping their identity as multipliers of public deliberation or passive actors. The practices of the two categories of NGOs provide evidence in arguing how these contrasting identities are linked to surface or deep frames, with implications for public understanding.

Group identity and activating common frames

Considering that INGO campaigners were excluded from the processes of identifying and framing the campaign issue, there was little opportunity to become potential catalysts in multiplying public understanding about global inequality. The absence of group identity in INGO relationships with their campaign audience was noted as a setback in generating similar frames. The importance of group identity for collective action is acknowledged in the literature on social movements (Touraine, 2004) and reflected in evidence from the membership structure of youth-led organisation (Gyoh, 2016). INGOs that do not have individual membership structure can explore possibilities that their network of campaign audiences offer and their position as first in line of receiving and dissemination knowledge. This is further strengthened by the emergence and dominance of online campaigning, and the

use of web-based forms of public communication (Harrison, 2006; Marshall, 2010). Although Oxfam, CAFOD and Trócaire do not operate a membership structure with identifiable campaigners, possibilities existed for them to engage more strategically with their local support and outreach groups in promoting a shared purpose. The support and mentorship Oxfam and CAFOD provide local groups offer a ready organic structure that can be explored in enhancing the involvement of their campaigner audiences as a cohesive virtual network of issue publics.

The concept of informationalism and communication power also explains the possibilities digital information technology affords campaigners as autonomous knowers that can activate counter-publics through their networks. It is worth mentioning that although digital information arenas are considered as virtual publics, participation in the information sharing activity in virtual networks does not necessarily produce catalysts that multiply public understanding. Indeed, these digital networks can also serve as venues for the proliferation of passive actors. The growing problem of ‘fake News’ associated with the diffusion in communication power is an example of the subversive use of digital knowledge arenas as spaces for misinformation and discursive barriers to public understanding. However, the value of diffused communication power and trans-national networks of virtual publics in an interdependent global society cannot be overstated.

Conclusion

The communication strategies NGOs adopt for engaging with their campaign audiences have implications for promoting public deliberation necessary in generating similar frames around a common purpose. This also has implications for global education considering the role INGOs play as leading producers of knowledge about global development. Where INGO campaigning focuses on influencing policy decision makers, there is a trade-off between generating public deliberation and shallow engagement. The negative consequences for public understanding are explained in the concepts of ‘deep’ and ‘surface’ frames. The conditions for generating common frames necessary for public understanding and collective action is enhanced where

NGO communications target the public audience. Evidence from the practices of youth-led organisations contradict the association of single-issue narratives in NGO campaigning with surface frames. Rather, it showed how single issues provide more clarity and density of conversation when used with social justice frames in questioning unjust structures of global interdependence.

Organisational knowledge theory provided a constructivist paradigm for analysing how the interaction between social actors in NGOs can foster or limit opportunities to participate in constructing knowledge about global development. It also offered a way of conceptualising the role of networks driven by digital information and communication in providing a virtual arena/public, and how deep frames can be activated and multiplied. The presence of group identity was argued as important for mobilising collective action. While the membership structure of youth-led organisations was an advantage in generating similar frames, INGOs could make up for the absence of such a structure by engaging more strategically with the affiliate groups and virtual networks they maintain with their campaign audience. A strategic shift from ‘representation’ to ‘mediation’ could be rewarding to INGOs and the desire in global education to promote public understanding about global development issues, as well as reflecting on the purpose and interpretations of social justice as a means to that end.

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GLOBAL EDUCATION AND MIGRATION IN A CHANGING EUROPEAN UNION

ROMINA DE ANGELIS

Abstract: Migration flows impact European national education systems with challenges and opportunities linked to the very fundamental values of human dignity, human rights, freedom, democracy and equality on which the European Union (EU) is based. In this article, global education (GE) is regarded as an effective pedagogic and policy approach to address the drawbacks of previous education and policy strategies undertaken to deal with questions related to migration within the EU. In line with the EU values, GE is rooted in the principles of equity and social justice, and it offers a policy approach that can be suitable to the diversified contexts of several EU countries. GE represents an opportunity to serve multiple purposes, to include: contributing to immigrants' inclusive integration across EU host countries; encouraging more welcoming attitudes in host societies; and catering to the manifold learning needs of different types of migrants.

This article investigates core aspects related to European citizens' perceptions of migration and migrants, constraints of earlier policy approaches to migrants' integration and current accomplishments and shortcomings in implementing GE across the EU. Secondary analysis of a range of quantitative and qualitative data reveals three main themes within the findings: i) prevailing negative perceptions on migrants within the EU; ii) positive outcomes in countries where joint action on GE initiatives has been undertaken among various stakeholders; iii) ongoing challenges in the implementation of GE due to political priorities, discontinued funding, lack of adequate national frameworks and teacher training. Accordingly, this article includes fundamental recommendations focused on: i) promoting GE initiatives in national education systems across the EU; ii) improving them through consistent, cross-sectoral and multi-stakeholder funding; iii) ensuring their effectiveness through teacher education and active CSOs participation.

Key words: Global Education; Migration; European Union.

Introduction

This article is conceived as a contribution towards addressing the impacts of contingent migration flows on European national education systems. Migration poses challenges that global education (GE) can help turn into opportunities with approaches rooted in the European Union's (EU) fundamental values of human dignity, human rights, freedom, democracy and equality. Findings show that this is all the more important given the rising levels of xenophobic and populist attitudes, and conservative political parties having gained power across several EU countries. To ensure an effective GE approach to migration, it is equally crucial to tackle aspects related to the lack of: national strategies, adequate funding, multi-stakeholder cooperation, migrant students' integration in education systems and appropriate teacher education.

In this context, GE is intended as a learning process which can improve approaches to migration within EU countries and their differing demands. GE shares with the realms of development education (DE), global learning (GL), global citizenship education (GCE) and others an interest in educational approaches that promote human rights, equity, social change and social justice. By converging the competences of those similar yet distinct fields, GE provides an overarching conceptual and policy approach pertinent to the different contexts of various EU countries. In this regard, as detailed below, current research presents instances of improved results in countries where various national bodies have cooperatively implemented GE initiatives. Nevertheless, data also reveal ongoing challenges in GE implementation related to political, financial and policy aspects.

The main areas of exploration in this article focus on European citizens' perceptions on migration, limitations of previous policy approaches to migrants' integration and current achievements and shortcomings in implementing GE across the EU. Research findings from secondary analysis of a range of quantitative and qualitative data show: prevailing negative

perceptions toward migrants within the EU; positive outcomes in countries where joint action on GE initiatives has been undertaken among various stakeholders; ongoing challenges in the implementation of GE due to political priorities, discontinued funding and lack of adequate national frameworks. Accordingly, this article includes some fundamental recommendations focused on: promoting GE initiatives in national education systems across the EU; improving them through consistent, cross-sectoral and multi-stakeholder funding; and ensuring their effectiveness through teacher education and active civil society organisations' (CSOs) participation.

Defining global education

In accordance with EU fundamental values, GE constitutes a path towards achieving multiple goals, such as: improving immigrants' integration across EU host countries, cultivating more welcoming attitudes in host societies and meeting the diverse learning needs of different types of migrants. Drawing from a definition of GE in the Maastricht Declaration (DEEEP, 2002: 2):

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

As Wegimont (2020) suggests, the Maastricht definition contains and conveys a conceptually balanced understanding that encompasses GE educational subject matter, values and political aspects. This definition of GE continues to bolster improvements in theory, research, policy and practice in this field. Similarly, Bourn (2020) acknowledges that, while comprising areas of interest and concern common to for instance DE, ESD, intercultural, peace and citizenship education, GE has recently emerged as a discrete educational field. Specifically, these other educations can be viewed as constituting various dimensions within GE. Notably, as Bourn articulates, GE as a pedagogy

(besides being an educational field) places particular emphasis on its social justice component: ‘an important feature of global education (GE) has been the continued evolution of a distinctive educational approach that is both an educational field and a pedagogy of global social justice’ (Bourn, 2020:11).

The aims of GE are also in line with the Agenda for Sustainable Development’s emphasis on the multifaceted benefits for development and growth that are brought about by migrants’ contributions in host countries (as well as their country of origin and transit countries). The scope of GE is also aligned with the SDG target 4.7 that promotes learning and appreciation of cultural diversity and the role it plays in sustainable development (United Nations General Assembly, 2015).

In this way, the provision of GE within the EU context can be improved by disseminating learning from research on the experiences of various EU countries in responding to the questions of education and migration, which can inform policy-making in order to ensure the strengthening of GE within national education systems. In this regard, as noted by Wegimont, the Maastricht definition of GE is also particularly advantageous - among other aspects - for ‘developing pan-European policy learning initiatives, respecting national particularities and differing educational systems, while enabling a common policy language to emerge’ (Wegimont, 2020: 29).

In view of the above considerations, GE is envisioned as an auspicious way forward to efficiently tackle the shortcomings of education policy approaches to migration undertaken over the years, as it is based on the principles of equity, understanding and welcoming of diversity and social justice, together with providing an overarching policy approach pertinent to the contexts of different EU countries. Within this understanding, GE overcomes the dichotomy between ‘we’ and ‘the other’ and it allows the free expression and harmonious integration of a variety of identities that are brought about by migration within hosting countries. As Ramalho (2020) tenderly notes in her letter to Paulo Freire, he represents a symbolic example

of the oneness that GE seeks to promote between migrants and their host societies, and he is also the emblem of the great potential of the successful implementation of GE.

In exile from his native Brazil, Freire was himself a political refugee in other countries. Here, thanks to the welcoming and nurturing connections found in the host societies, he was able to not only constructively contribute to his host countries, but also to produce knowledge and transformative practices that are still globally recognised and widely used. Interestingly, the core ideas of Freire's thought are also central aspects of GE's focus and pedagogies (Bourn, 2020). That is to say, the elements of transformation, critical thinking and dialogue as the bases to engender cultural action, by starting from problem-based questions and activities (Freire, 2017). These elements are essential in multicultural societies, where integration is born out of the ability of various ethnic groups to mutually understand and influence each other's consciousness and practices. In this context, by adopting a Freirean perspective, the quality of tolerance is indispensable both for the host society and for migrants in order to welcome each other:

“the learning of tolerance takes place through testimony. Above all, it implies that, while fighting for my dream, I must not become passionately closed within myself. It is necessary that I open myself to knowledge and refuse to isolate myself within the circle of my own truth or reject all that is different from it or from me” (Freire and Freire, 1997: 50, 51)

The transformative power of GE relies also in the potential to engender individual and collective changes in both migrants and host societies. Once again, in Freire's words: ‘We are transformative beings and not beings for accommodation’ (Freire and Freire, 1997: 36). Concurrently, in this way GE also attempts to overcome the limitations of national models of integration with a global outlook by taking into consideration the interdependent social, economic, cultural, political and environmental dimensions that distinguish the complex phenomenon of migration and the notion of migrant (Hicks, 2009).

In an attempt to simplify such complexities, the following section explores the notions of migration and migrant origin people with a specific focus on their application within the EU context.

Defining migration and migrant origin people

It is essential to deconstruct the concepts of migration and migrant using a different approach to the Global Monitoring Report 2019 (UNESCO, 2018), where a more general definition of the term is employed to thoroughly comprehend the migration framework within which GE approaches are formulated. Doing so helps us acknowledge a diversity of challenges posed by migration, which require diversified policy and educational responses (McCann, 2017).

According to Eurostat (2018a): ‘Migration refers to the number of migrants, people changing their residence to or from a given area (usually a country) during a given time period (usually one year)’. Consequently, immigration is understood as ‘the action by which a person establishes his or her usual residence in the territory of a Member State for a period that is, or is expected to be, of at least 12 months, having previously been usually resident in another Member State or a third country’ and an immigrant is defined as a person undertaking said action (Ibid.). However, the Regulation (EC) Number 862/2007 of the European Parliament and of the Council of the European Union includes in its definitions (Article 2) the notions of: ‘long-term resident’, ‘third-country national’, ‘refugee status’, ‘subsidiary protection status’, ‘family members’ and ‘unaccompanied minor’ (Official Journal of the European Union, 2007).

The paper commissioned for the *Global Education Monitoring Report 2019 Consultation on Migration* acknowledges the importance of identifying various types of migrants depending on the purposes of migration (Tani, UNSW and IZA, 2017). Accordingly, additional (sub) categories of migrants arise from the combination of the definitions provided by the International Organisation for Migration and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD’s) International Migration Outlook

(IOM, 2019; OECD, 2018a), to include: ‘displaced persons’, ‘economic migrants’, ‘seasonal workers’, ‘trainees’, ‘working holidaymakers’, ‘intra-company transferees’, ‘intra-EU/EFTA posted workers’, ‘students’ and ‘asylum seekers’. As a consequence, the movement of different types of migrants with different backgrounds and reasons to migrate within the EU territory has posed a variety of challenges for education policies and systems within EU countries. For instance, a study by Eurostat on education indicators (Eurostat, 2015), as part of a larger study on migrant integration, reports that the proportion of early school leavers, as well as school failure and low-achievement in the EU is higher for non-EU citizens than for nationals. Similarly, this is proven also for students belonging to the second generation of migrants (UNESCO, 2018). For the latter, in particular, it proves especially difficult to comprehend and abide by all the regulations of the education systems in the host country (Koehler, Schneider and Young, 2019).

Among this variety of definitions, unaccompanied minors specifically, together with migrants holding a refugee status, displaced persons and asylum seekers constitute especially urgent challenges for educational institutions in various EU countries. In particular, educational institutions play a key role in ensuring access to education for all as a fundamental human right. Furthermore, they are a crucial apparatus to foster social integration and economic progress (Ibid.), especially for immigrants in a disadvantaged position, such as the categories mentioned above. What is more, these categories of migrants are the most socially and emotionally vulnerable and education can meaningfully contribute to supporting them in their integration process (Fazel et al., 2012). For these reasons, a strengthened GE approach rooted in the principle of equity and in the appreciation of diversity can be beneficial in facilitating the integration of refugees, unaccompanied minors and other categories at risk.

Considering the varying notions of migration and migrant, the multi-dimensional approach offered by GE caters to the diverse demands that education systems in various EU nations are presented with, by overcoming

the drawbacks of past and current educational approaches and contributing to the comprehensive integration of migrants, with the aim to:

“advance from the ad-hoc-measures taken in reaction to the immediate emergencies to more permanent structures and concepts that presume high levels of heterogeneity in classrooms as the most likely normality of schools also in the future” (Koehler, Schneider and Young, 2019: 14).

Research Methods

The methodological approach adopted in this research study involved the secondary analysis of a range of quantitative and qualitative data. In particular, the research process began by defining the research questions that the study sought to answer. Accordingly, the research questions were defined as follows:

- What are the main GE and migration issues within the EU?
- What are the existing GE policies and their gaps in relation to migration issues?
- How are current issues and policy gaps addressed through GE?

Secondary quantitative data collection was combined with a thorough review of recent literature, with a view to developing a deeper, integrated and comprehensive understanding and synthesis of the complexities inherent within the research topic (Goodwin, 2012). Moreover, secondary analysis in social research has been increasingly recognised as an effective method to establish and enrich the ‘dialogue between professional social scientists in government and academic social scientists’ (Hakim cited in Goodwin, 2012: 27).

Data were gathered from multiple sources by developing search strings and searching GE and migration databases and academic journals. Sources of data included statistical and qualitative studies, policy documents, European agencies’ websites, government and NGOs’ databases and country-specific reports. The consultation of current updates (i.e. up until November

2020) of official data, reports and reviews of documents produced by this variety of stakeholders ensured that the data included in this study were not obsolete and/or irrelevant (Young and Ryu, 2012). Data from these sources were combined with a review of theoretical and policy approaches to migration and migrants, as well as peer-reviewed studies, to determine the core issues and policies wherein (and how) a GE approach in the context of EU migration could be meaningful.

Different data sets were then analysed and interpreted through the use of content analysis of documents and triangulation techniques, to identify recurrent themes and to ensure a comprehensive understanding to meaningfully fulfill the research scope (Krippendorff, 2004). Findings from this exploration are presented in the sections below.

Limitations and further research

The limitations of this study are related to the use of secondary data and the lack of primary data generated specifically for the purposes of this research (e.g. exact figures for each category of migrant). A second constraint concerned the limited access to literature and data in languages other than English for a more comprehensive understanding of GE and migration in the specific contexts of various EU countries.

Further research and longitudinal studies are needed to monitor and assess the outcomes of national GE programmes and initiatives over longer periods of time, as well as qualitative research focused on the achievements and challenges of particular local contexts by also including migrants' perspectives. Finally, another area of exploration for current scholarship concerns the impacts of COVID-19 on GE and migration. Exploratory and evaluative studies related to this aspect are needed in order to assess the ongoing changes and educational needs that EU countries are and will be facing in the wake of the global pandemic.

Prior responses to migration and diversity, limitations and interculturalism for integration

Historically, between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, assimilation was the common theoretical and policy approach to the immigration phenomenon within Europe. This approach prescribed that immigrants should absorb the ‘ethos’ (Council of Europe, 2008: 18) of their host country. A main drawback of the assimilation method was its devaluing of the distinctiveness of immigrants’ own diversity within the host society. As a response to the shortcomings of assimilation, multiculturalism acknowledged the diversity of minority communities in opposition to a majority group within a country. However, this approach perpetuated the divide among different groups within a state, engendered segregation and overshadowed the cultural diversity that characterised minority groups. Consequently, as noted in the *White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue* (Ibid.), neither approaches ensured integration of immigrants and social cohesion between them and members of the host society.

Both the assimilation and multiculturalism strategies lacked an element of dialogue, which is instead at the basis of interculturalism (Ibid.). In this way, the intercultural approach promotes human rights, democracy, rule of law, equality (of rights) and it supports cultural pluralism. Furthermore, interculturalism envisages a combined effort among governments, formal and informal learning institutions, and civil society. What is more, the core constitutive elements of the intercultural dialogue are aligned with the purposes of GE outlined above. GE initiatives and learning approaches allow immigrants and host country citizens to harmoniously embrace each other’s differences, based on a sense of interconnectedness at a global level. Accordingly, combining the notions of intercultural dialogue with those entailed in GE leads to the development of a spirit of ‘intercultural citizenship’, which enables learners to acquire the capacity to thoroughly understand and actively endorse diversity (Tarozzi and Torres, 2016).

Research Findings: EU perceptions of, responses to and challenges of migration

An overview of the various policy approaches undertaken by EU countries to tackle issues of migration since the late nineteenth century brings to the fore inherent complexities. These complexities relate to defining, understanding and addressing issues related to the conditions of migrants and the diversities they entail. The analysis also encompasses the evaluation of the achievements and shortcomings of GE initiatives over time, with a particular focus between 2015 and 2020.

Perceptions on migrants within Europe

Statistical country reports within the EU such as the Special Eurobarometer Report (EU, 2018) identify aspects related to a large sample of EU citizens' attitudes towards: immigrants' integration in the EU, immigrants' integration with regard to education, policy measures that would facilitate their integration and the responsibilities of various national actors in supporting this process. Accordingly, the key themes that need addressing, based on public opinion perceptions from the survey, highlight the element of 'integration' as a major challenge. Specifically, host countries whose borders are located in the Mediterranean and Eastern EU areas are characterised by negative perceptions of immigrants' integration and their impact on the country. Consequently, these hostile perceptions are linked to elements of fear and perceptions in influencing integration outcomes and a recognised need for governments to better manage the question of immigrants' integration. An akin need for efforts to counter stereotypes and antagonistic attitudes towards refugees and asylum seekers was reported by the Global Education Network Europe (GENE) (2018).

Improving attitudes towards immigrants within host societies is seen as an indispensable long-term investment by a majority of EU citizens. Additionally, findings also report that EU citizens share a positive attitude towards the EU playing a leading role in supporting individual countries in the integration process. The ability of immigrants to speak the language of their host country is predominantly perceived as crucial for an effective integration.

Furthermore, two main divides are recurrently identified in the Eurobarometer report. Respectively, a regional divide identifies, on the one hand, Northern Europe and Portugal, which display more positive attitudes towards immigrants; whereas, on the other hand, countries of Central and Eastern Europe together with several Mediterranean countries (i.e. those with higher migration flows) present more negative attitudes. The second dichotomy is a socio-demographic one between younger, well-educated and economically secure respondents having more positive perceptions *vis-à-vis* older, less educated and economically vulnerable respondents holding more negative opinions.

The process of integration is largely perceived as a ‘two-way process’ (EU, 2018), where both immigrants and the host society should play a role. In these regards, a study conducted in Denmark by Vitus and Jarlby (2021) highlights the importance of calling attention to social and cultural aspects of the integration process, besides ensuring refugees’ readiness for the labour market and economic independence. Based on perspectives gathered from frontline integration workers, the authors expound the neglected need of young refugees to receive bespoke services to facilitate their integration (Ibid.). Finally, within the two-way process perspective, educational institutions, local and regional authorities and the government are seen as the main actors that need to be involved in the integration process (EU, 2018).

The implications of these findings will be considered in the final section of the article, with the next section presenting the achievements and shortcomings in the process of implementation of GE in the EU over time.

Achievements and shortcomings in implementing GE across the EU

The report by GENE (2017) on the Status of GE in European countries acknowledged the key role played by both formal and non-formal education, together with civil society organisations (CSOs) to counter the negative attitudes stemming from recent migration crises in various countries. Similarly, the 2018 *Report on the Status of Global Education in Europe*

(GENE, 2018) highlighted that the question of migration has been at the top of the agenda in various countries. The report noted that valuable efforts were made in several countries, to include: Austria, Czech Republic, Cyprus, Greece, Italy, Latvia, Luxembourg, Malta, Poland, Portugal and Sweden. Positive results were achieved through a number of initiatives directed at the integration of children of a migrant background into education systems through pre-primary programmes (OECD, 2015), seminars and workshops to support teachers implement GE in their daily practices, and inter-ministerial and multi-stakeholders coordinated work.

Five GENE participants also introduced national strategies for GE, respectively Austria, Czech Republic, France, Italy and Portugal (GENE, 2017). In 2018, the list included Austria, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Ireland, Malta, Norway, Portugal, Slovakia and Spain (GENE, 2020). Additionally, other examples of good practice in various countries, such as Belgium, Czech Republic, Luxembourg, Norway, Poland and Sweden, reported positive evaluation activities related to efficient implementation of NGO-funded GE initiatives (GENE, 2017). In 2018, Belgium constituted an exemplar illustration of cooperation between NGOs and schools in building GE skills, where country-wise interventions displayed positive impacts on the following themes:

“1. Learn about the world and its interconnections. 2. Feel concerned (understand the importance of solidarity, equality between humans, develop empathy). 3. Develop a positive and non-discriminative thinking. 4. Be aware of your local and global responsibility. 5. Build a free critical opinion. 6. Carry out a useful action. 7. Adhere freely to the values of education for global citizenship” (GENE, 2020: 23).

The 2020 GENE report also recorded increased funding to GE initiatives by the Ministries of Education in various countries, although they were only yet at the initial stage. Nevertheless, this step shows hope for growing and sustained funding over time.

Another example of good practice provided in the 2020 report is the introduction of the European qualifications passport for refugees in Armenia, Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway and the UK. This initiative allows refugees without documentation to have their skills and qualifications recognised in order to facilitate their integration process into further education and employment in the host country (GENE, 2020). Additionally, the document reported recent steps towards increasing inter-ministerial cooperation and multi-stakeholder engagement in some countries, such as Czech Republic, France, Luxemburg, Malta and Poland (Ibid).

Current Challenges

A study conducted by CONCORD (2018) called attention on the fact that, between 2011 and 2015, national governments' investment in GE across the EU stagnated, thus affecting the ability of some countries to fulfill their commitments towards GE. This inability to successfully implement GE programmes was due to the fact that the amount of public funding allocated to GE is an indicator that reflects the countries' level of commitment to the ideas and values promoted by GE. Nevertheless, the study acknowledged the influence of various critical factors affecting the countries' budget allocation for GE. In particular, it emphasised the perspectives shared by respondents from NGOs, who referred to national politics and political priorities as crucial factors, rather than the effects of the economic crisis. Furthermore, the report identified systemic weaknesses that need addressing in relation to: multi-stakeholder and cross-sectoral partnerships and funding at both national and EU-levels, and between government and non-governmental sectors. Along the same lines, with regard to implementing GE in primary schools, Tarozzi and Inguaggiato (2018) maintained that, for an effective implementation in schools, a multi-stakeholder policy within a national framework is not only desirable but necessary.

Additionally, the widespread lack of teacher education is alarming, in that it can result in discrimination (UNESCO, 2018; OECD, 2018b) and segregation within classrooms, schools and societies at large. As Koehler, Schneider and Young (2019) remarked in their study on the challenges faced

by EU education systems in relation to including and integrating young refugees, lack of teacher training can adversely affect multifold aspects. Teachers need to be equipped with not only the competences needed to teach the national language as a second language, but also a set of knowledge and skills related to migration and diversity issues. Furthermore, they need to be able to address the diverse needs of students from varied backgrounds, while at the same time ensuring a tolerant environment within the classroom where diversity is respected and celebrated (Ibid.). An instance can be found in the discrimination that is performed towards (sometimes second-generation) high-achieving migrant students from higher socio-economic backgrounds and who are, apparently, well-integrated within Swedish society (Wiltgren, 2020). One of the research participants belonging to the migrant students' group interviewed by Wiltgren (2020) explained that, despite attending courses aimed at broadening cultural perspectives and promoting unity among people, many Swedish students tend to self-isolate from students who are perceived as not being fully Swedish. Similarly, teachers do not intervene and consider the phenomenon as an unfortunate occurrence (ibid). Likewise, the study by Migliarini (2018) shows how in the Italian context immigrants are often discriminated against through a process of 'colour-evasion Italian style', wherein there is lack of awareness about underlying racist and discriminatory processes.

These processes frequently result in the phenomenon of segregation of migrant students (especially asylum seekers and refugees) in the education system, by labelling them as SEN students for their cultural differences and deriving difficulties. As Migliarini (2018) sharply notes, such a phenomenon is representative of an excessive Eurocentric curriculum and lack of adequate tools to address the varied needs of migrants. In these regards, based on the definition of GE outlined above as an 'education that opens people's eyes and minds to the realities of the world, and awakens them to bring about a world of greater justice, equity and human rights for all' (DEEEP, 2002: 2), promoting GE pedagogies would contribute to addressing issues like those in the Italian context. With regard to the aspects emerging from the above examples, the focus of GE on intercultural dialogue and social justice

constitutes a particularly helpful feature for teacher education and the education curriculum in general. Moreover, among the key factors that Koehler, Schneider and Young (2019) identified as having either adverse or beneficial effects on the educational achievement of second-generation migrants and refugees there is also educational access. Specifically, ensuring educational access respectively in early years for second-generation migrants and promptly after arrival for refugees could positively contribute to their educational accomplishments.

For what concerns the funding trends across EU countries in relation to Official Development Assistance (ODA), which is associated to the funding of GE programmes and projects, the 2018 GENE report (based on OECD data) noted that ODA spending decreased between 2016 and 2017, although bilateral aid and humanitarian assistance allocations increased. However, the report also underlined the difficulty in estimating definite calculations of expenditures on GE in formal education systems, due to the lack of allocation of separate budgets within Ministries of Education. The study acknowledged that in countries where expenditure on GE increased despite reductions in ODA, this was due to ring-fencing of funding towards GE, which was considered as a priority in addressing crucial challenges. In the case of the Netherlands, funding for a GE core-structure ceased altogether, thus worryingly undermining the future implementation of GE in the country, as well as in any other country where similar central structures have been discontinued. Nevertheless, the report on *The State of Global Education in Europe 2019* depicted a differing situation, where eight countries that had previously reduced their ODA budgets increased them again. Furthermore, the general picture among GENE participating countries included raised levels in twelve countries and decreased ones in ten (GENE, 2020).

In view of the findings presented above, the main challenges to the implementation of GE in the context of migration in the EU identified in the analysis of existing data, policies and educational initiatives can be summarised by the seven following points: i) GE integration processes are adversely affected by negative perceptions of migrants among EU citizens; ii)

lack of effective and consistent GE national strategies across the EU; iii) lack of adequate and continued national governments' funding of GE initiatives; iv) lack of extensive inter-ministerial, multi-stakeholder and cross-sectoral cooperation and funding; v) lack of coordinated action among formal and non-formal education and CSOs; vi) lack of thorough integration of learners of migrant background into national education systems (especially vulnerable categories); vii) lack of adequate teacher education.

Addressing aspects related to limited funding sources for GE and cooperation among various actors within countries across the EU is paramount, in consideration of the positive impacts that GE initiatives can have on migration issues. The instance of Belgium mentioned in the previous section is an exemplary case. Furthermore, the seven points in the list above are interrelated, in that continued funding of GE initiatives can facilitate improved national strategies and multi-agency actions, which can in turn positively affect both perceptions of migrants among EU citizens and migrants' integration within EU national education systems, with better equipped and skilled teachers.

Conclusions and recommendations

Drawing on the lessons learned from current research on and past responses to issues of migration and integration within the EU and in order to address the main problems identified above, the conclusions and recommendations presented in this section are rooted in a view of GE as a long-term integrating framework, rather than a mere quick-fix for urgent situations. In line with the aims of the international community and with a global focus on migration (Global Compact for Migration, 2018), GE encompasses the multi-dimensional reality and commitments emphasised by the Declaration of the High-level Dialogue on International Migration and Development. It considers the varied needs of both migrants and their host societies, whose perceptions play a crucial role in facilitating intercultural dialogue and integration. GE is intended as an effective structural response at various institutional levels, including formal and non-formal education.

Prioritising GE in national political agendas would, therefore, help improve European citizens' perceptions of migrants, which would contribute to building more inclusive and integrative societies in the long-term. Similarly, it would reinforce existing and develop new national strategies for GE in EU countries that do not already have any. This could be done by formulating national action plans that focus on structural and systemic inclusion of GE initiatives with a multi-stakeholder approach. Of equal importance would be national governments' multi-annual funding of GE structures, agencies and programmes to support long-term results and envisioning NGOs as crucial actors within this process. As it emerged from the findings in the sections above, GE initiatives would benefit from the promotion of inter-ministerial, multi-stakeholder and cross-sectoral cooperation and funding. Moreover, both the initiatives and their funding need to be conceived as a long-term process at various levels and be coordinated among multiple actors.

Another essential aspect for the effectiveness of GE relates to bridging formal, non-formal education and local realities together. This connection can be established by: integrating migration issues and migrants' stories within the school curriculum. Through this process differing needs of diverse migrant typologies and local contexts can be addressed. Also, introducing adult learning programmes (through local authorities and CSOs) for both adult migrants and local citizens could create a safe space to promote language learning, intercultural dialogue, expression and appreciation of diversity. Of a more compelling nature is the need to ensure the Right to Education for children of migrant background, including refugees and unaccompanied minors. The provision of inclusive education should be an imperative commitment across EU countries, as well as early-childhood and pre-/after-school programmes to improve language and subject-specific skills, irrespective of migrants' document processing status.

Finally, the provision of adequate teacher education should be prioritised, by including fast-track recognition of certificates for teachers of migrant background. Facilitating their integration into host countries'

education systems represents a great potential in supporting migrant students' and their families' integration process (Economou, 2020; Georgi, 2016). Equipping local teachers with knowledge, competences and a support system is necessary to prepare them to respond to migrants' needs and to assist local learners in cultivating a culture of dialogue for integration, appreciation of diversity and its potentials. Continuous work on improving the implementation of GE initiatives at various levels within EU national systems, as well as formal and non-formal educational structures can enhance the multifold issues related to migration in the EU discussed in this article. The transformative power of GE, which is rooted in a commitment to social justice and human flourishing, is key to shape a better EU and global society.

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USING COLLECTIVE MEMORY WORK IN DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION

NITA MISHRA, JENNY ONYX AND TREES MCCORMICK

Abstract: This article captures aspects of community responses to COVID-19 through a participatory and interdisciplinary approach, namely collective memory-work (CMW). Using an autoethnographic CMW, we share experiences on the theme of solidarity in the backdrop of a global health pandemic and ‘black lives matter’ across continents. As a methodology CMW has been adapted and adjusted by scholars informed by the purpose of its application, institutional frameworks, and organisational necessities.

In the summer of 2020, a CMW symposium was scheduled in an Irish university but postponed due to COVID-19 restrictions. The scholars, however, decided to go online and work on the symposium. This article provides insights into the impact of the two events on the lives of four women scholars aged between 51 and 79 years who formed one of the discussant groups. The unfolding of the two global pandemics, namely racism and COVID-19, leads to reflections upon the conflicts experienced around solidarity, especially between participating in demonstrations in solidarity with #blacklivesmatter, and distancing ourselves in solidarity with all risk groups for COVID-19. One group’s right to breathe stood in opposition to another group’s right to breathe. The process of writing this piece on CMW also taught us to collectively own our final thoughts and words in this article.

Key words: Collective Memory Work; Development Education; Solidarity; Control; Pandemic; Racism; COVID-19.

Introduction

The importance of development education (DE) in engaging critically with communities has been an area of interest in the sector of international development for over three decades. At various intervals, scholars and practitioners have stressed the need to re-invent processes of public engagement to embrace diversity and emerging challenges in social

consciousness. This article addresses the above concern through insights gained from a collective memory work of four scholars across three countries in the backdrop of the COVID-19 pandemic and #blacklivesmatter.

Theoretically, we have framed our arguments on the emerging multifaceted nature of solidarity using the concept of alienation. Methodologically, we argue that the use of collective memory work with its aspects of timeliness, its variations, the potential fields of application, its value in teaching, learning, research, and social activism supports the building of networks for cooperation and knowledge exchange across geographical and disciplinary boundaries. More importantly, the transfer of the collective memory work into non-academic arenas sets it out as an important development education tool.

In this article, we have first explored the connections between the methods of collective memory work and development education. We then focus on the process of collectivising and discuss how we (four strangers) proceeded with the project. Starting with the common theme of ‘solidarity’ we, then, move onto emerging themes in our memory work traversing through awareness, homes and homelessness, racism, the new normal, linking the idea of ‘control’ with the concept of alienation, human agency, and learning how to focus from the act of breathing. We deliberate upon COVID-19 as an art and a portal between different worlds and conclude with the contention that CMW is a useful interdisciplinary tool to facilitate discussions and actions on emerging social tensions.

The aim is to advocate the use of memory work to bring development education into ordinary use, within control of citizens’ action. With a focus on our discussions related to agency, control, and alienation, we argue that development education facilitators could use memory work to support learners collectively to explore and still retain agency.

Understanding Collective Memory Work

Memory work is an open methodology (Haug, 2008) which offers the possibility of reinterpretation on an individual case basis and create different

forms of knowledge leading to new ways of learning. Scholars such as Jansson, Wendt and Åse (2009) argue that through an analysis of reactions of participants in a collective memory work, and [new] processes initiated thereof, critical discussions emerge which help locate ruptures and ambivalences in the already known, and open-up for understandings and interpretations that takes the scholar beyond the discursively given. In the same vein, Onyx and Small (2001) contends that our construction of the self continuously influences the construction of the event, and collective memory work enables us to understand each others' construction of a specific event and allows participant to be both the subject and the object of the constructed event. 'Because the self is socially constructed through reflection...' (Ibid.: 774). Thus, as Onyx and Small (Ibid.) reminds us, as a feminist social constructionist method, memory work breaks barriers between the subject and object of research collapsing the researcher with the research and making everyday experience as the basis of knowledge. Questions on relationships emerge, including those based on power. As co-researchers in a collective memory work, the participants now have the same tools at their disposal to question inequalities and relationships based on unequal power. And this is where, we argue, collective memory work, and its search for not only 'how it really happened' but also in its search for moments when in 'the process of creating an image, memory becomes a tool for the dominant class', (Haug, 2008: 538) resonates with the goal of development education.

At the core of development education is the mandate to question inequalities, injustices, and existing power structures. According to a leading development education proponent, McCloskey, development education has 'a commitment to critical enquiry and action'. Linking it to the COVID-19 context, McCloskey further states that the DE sector 'has an opportunity and, perhaps, a responsibility, to debate how the coronavirus crisis should be negotiated over the short and long-term' (McCloskey, 2020: 174). In other words, DE must adopt and embrace different forms of public engagement for such a public discussion of pandemics. Collective memory workshop is one such route where learners can be trusted to design and follow their own forms of active engagement to critically reflect upon a subject of collective interest.

As such, CMW ties up neatly with Oliveira and Skinner’s concern (2014) of enabling Development Education and Awareness Raising (DEAR) practitioners to conceptualise citizen engagement in a more meaningful way by taking into consideration its broad context (2014: 9 cited in McCloskey, 2016: 129).

In fact, McCloskey had earlier voiced concerns that development education had been unable to enhance citizenship engagement with international development issues through sustained action outcomes, and argued for ‘supporting learners in designing their own forms of active engagement’ with greater clarity and openness (McCloskey, 2016: 110). We contend that the role of collective memory work in engaging the public to collectively sustain action outcomes arising from such questioning and sharing of memories of inequalities and experiences must be adequately researched. This will lead to meaningful conversations amongst diverse and smaller groups of people and communities for the public good. It is this gap we aim to fill through this article.

The process: how it really happened

In the summer of 2020, a CMW symposium was scheduled to be held in an Irish university but postponed due to COVID-19 restrictions. The scholars, however, decided to go online and work on the symposium. Our host, Robert Hamm, sent out emails to all participants enquiring if we were keen to participate in an online meeting to take the symposium forward. Twenty-five of us agreed to do so. Owing to the huge numbers and, to facilitate meaningful discussions, we agreed to be divided into smaller groups depending on our time zones and availability. The first meeting was difficult for some of our participants. It was especially difficult to accommodate Australian and American participants at the same time, for example. It was either early morning hours, or late night. After the first meeting of all participants, we met three times on Zoom. Between the four of us in our group, we were an eclectic mix of women scholars between the years 51 and 79, of Swedish, Indian-Irish, Indonesian-Australian, and Australian backgrounds. Other groups had scholars from Germany, Pakistan, the Americas, Brazil, the UK, and elsewhere

whom we met online for a second time at the end of the project. The starting point for this collective memory work was the concept of solidarity and how this was actualised during the COVID-19 pandemic.

In our first online group-meeting, we decided to go back to our desks between meetings to write on what emerged in our lives during the first lockdown in March 2020. We discussed how lockdowns varied in Sweden, Ireland and Australia, and how these experiences varied with ethnicity. We shared those stories through group emails. A narrative was emerging following which we decided to dig into the main conflict we experienced around solidarity, between participating in demonstrations in solidarity with #blacklivesmatter, and distancing ourselves in solidarity with all risk groups for COVID-19. There was a contradiction between our own comfort and sense of solidarity and the wider injustices based on race and class. One group's right to breathe stands in opposition to another group's right to breathe. As a trigger word for our memory pieces, we therefore used George Floyd's last words: 'I can't breathe' (Singh, 2020).

Keeping this in mind, we decided to select two memories; one a positive memory, and the other a more unpleasant one, to bring to our collective memory work. After discussing these memories through emails and Zoominars, we felt an urge to go deeper into the concept of solidarity, and in our last memory pieces we described how we encountered solidarity in our everyday life. Through a series of online meetings, learning from each other, forging a friendship based on trust and shared memories, we collectively produced this document at the end of the process. The following image (Figure 1) emerged from our memories. It provides a summary of our texts and discussion, and our conceptualisation of how these are connected.

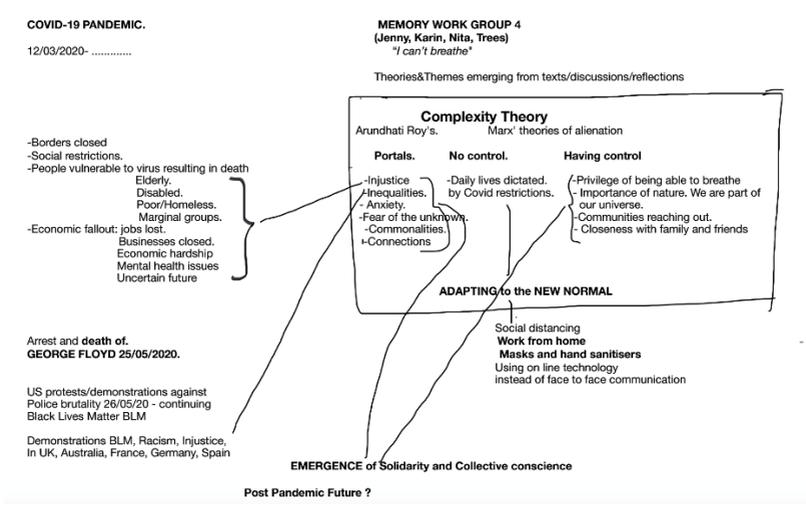


Figure 1: Memory Work (McCormick et al., 2020)

Situating Ourselves

All four of us were aware of our backgrounds as privileged women with education mostly modelled on Western concepts. Two of us are ‘women of colour’, and two are white women. Two of us retired from paid university work, and the other two currently work in universities. Using a qualitative feminist method of Memory-Work, two of us, with others, explored (Onyx et al., 2020) a collective experience of ageing after retirement in which, following Freire (1970), we argued for a humanising pedagogy wherein ‘we’ control ‘our’ own learning, we argue for the voice of older women as agents of their own well-being, and what we found challenges the current script of ageing and social control that defines and limits who older women can be.

Similarly, we are aware of a tendency in the mainstream discourse on ‘gender and development (and/or DE)’ for example, to bring in the voice of ‘Third World women’ or women from ‘the global South’ or ‘disadvantaged people’ with ‘the implication being that Third World women speak so that ‘Western’ women-qua-‘developed’ may speak to one another about ‘them’ (Lazreg, 2002: 127). Working with Lazreg’s (Ibid.: 143) contention that the

responsibility to engage with a reflexive methodology ‘which constructs itself as it constructs the subject matter’ is a task fraught with unspoken assumptions, we offer our experiences as a bridge between ‘the self’ [‘us’ reflecting as women scholars from varied backgrounds] and ‘the other’ [‘us’ again as women who are impacted by the two pandemics differently because of age and colour] by situating ourselves in the two pandemics. ‘The other’ here is our alienated self. We are women, considered ‘privileged’ and yet racialised in our everyday lives. As such we are acutely aware of the lives of the ‘disadvantaged’ sections [as it is ‘us’ also], and this is the strength of this article.

Solidarity

Our last and first question was about solidarity. What is it really? Where is it? While trying to grasp it through memory pieces, we realised that although it was fundamental to our collective work, it was something we took for granted. Without solidarity, and its accompanying aspects such as trust, empathy, love, there can be no society. Solidarity is an essential condition for humanity.

“...all stood in solidarity
each
meaningless without the other
a moment
incomplete without the other...”

Solidarity can be expressed in our daily contact with strangers as we walk through the park or just around the block. During the special circumstances of COVID-19, perhaps we smiled more, engaged in light conversation, and realised that we were together in our individual isolation. We offered kind words of comfort, small acts of kindness. We could not hug our grandchildren and friends, but we could call and text and show our concern for each other. We were unable to directly help those in intensive care at hospitals, but we as a collective adjusted to the situation, cared through small acts of solidarity, by keeping acceptable social distance as seen in public spaces when people interact carefully:

“On the subway people were sitting with distance, the informal rule seemed to be one person on every set of two pairs of chairs facing each other. The remaining people standing picked places 1-1.5 meters away from each other. She had seen no signboards or heard on social media recommending this public behavior and was amazed that everyone seemed to have figured out the same system”.

This is a quiet solidarity, largely unsung, but a very effective base for dealing with the pandemic crisis. We were separated but with a shared understanding of friendship. We also seem to be returning to a more peaceful lifestyle, while creating new ways of being part of the community. We were doing more for each other. Our sense of safety depended on ‘the other’ sharing the same urgency to be safe. In some places, community-based groups emerged to encourage people in their neighborhoods to connect with each other.

“Taara downloaded the Nextdoor app on her phone and soon received greetings and messages of welcome from people who live around her. A lady wrote ‘Say Hi when you see me walk past with my two yellow Labradors. I’d love to get to know you’. Another posted ‘Is anyone interested to go bushwalking on Sunday mornings?’ And ‘I can help do the shopping for you’. ‘I can walk your dog’. ‘My daughter is making cloth masks. She accepts orders. ‘Does anyone know a reliable gardener?’ ‘I am giving away a small fridge’, and so on”.

Neighbours invited each other to join walking groups and book clubs, offer their unwanted goods free of charge and share information about reliable trades-people and handymen. Actions such as these indicate that there is a sense of solidarity within communities. There is a willingness to regard the lives and safety of fellow human beings as equal to our own. Religious and community organisations have pulled together and offer food and support to those in need.

“This is solidarity, this is normal.

The new normal: anxiety, adaption, emergence”.

Awareness

We became aware that when COVID-19 was declared a pandemic on 12 March 2020, it not only unleashed a wave of sickness and death, but in the process exposed inequality, prejudice and discrimination experienced by minorities, indigenous people, as well as refugees and immigrants. The poor, homeless, disabled and dispossessed were also experiencing discrimination, and a greater vulnerability to COVID-19. Awareness of acute schisms in our society and environment had become apparent with the unfolding of events globally. This was reflected in our discussions and our writing.

We were also becoming more acutely aware of the contradictions between our own personal comfort and the wider fear and hardship around us. We felt, more sharply, the joys that were enhanced by our experience, especially the comforting presence of nature, and the value of our human connections with friends and family. We were walking outdoors more. We noticed the terrible injustices imposed by humans on nature. We were having evening tea everyday with overseas siblings and parents over WhatsApp. Suddenly we had more time to complete tasks we had postponed. At the same time, we also felt more sharply our own anxieties, the social distancing that alienated us from friends and family at an immediate level, and the terrible injustices made visible. We began to question the solidarity we wanted to feel. There was a contradiction in articulating ‘we are all in this together’, except that we were not in it together!

This awareness which existed within us in a latent form manifests in our collective memory work because we as society were forced by the lockdowns to pause and reflect on our lives. Participating in the workshop allowed us to express our deepest thoughts on the two pandemics of 2020, to dwell on the possibilities of becoming overwhelmed or to be able to overcome the crises, to reach out to others, and to collectively deal with the enormity of the problem we faced as a global society. As such, CMW has enormous potential as a tool for development education practitioners in communities facing similar difficulties in dealing with other crises. Older hitherto hidden

patterns of structural inequalities between groups, classes, communities, and continents emerge and can be collectively challenged without leaving anyone behind.

We, therefore, argue that through our collective memory work on the experience of solidarity during periods of social crises we provide key lessons to development education in different contexts.

“Key in the analysis of remembered history are contradictions. In turn, these are a methodological tool that must permeate and complicate the linear search for truth ‘as it actually happened’. The result of such Memory Work is thus not rectifying or establishing the correct image; neither is it advice on how to get to the correct perspective or how far removed one is from it. Perhaps it is more than anything restless people with new questions, who are in a process with the intention of moving themselves out of a position of subalternity” (Haug, 2008: 538).

Central to collective memory work has been the presence of contradictions or different truths from different perspectives of all participating agents in the process. All truths have equal weight in the final analysis. Emerging features of trust, empathy, kindness, neighborhoods, collectiveness, bridging the self with the other through ‘social distancing’ amongst others have vast potential as transformatory tools which development education needs to equip itself with.

Racism

Racism was laid bare by COVID-19. In one memory when shopping for toilet paper, the author becomes acutely aware of a perception, a stereotype of a Chinese hoarding toilet paper. The racism is subtle, and maybe only in the author’s imagination, but still very real and present. It affects us all. Subtle moments of discomfort in public spaces needed to be called out. We were four women of different ethnicities and of different ages, and experienced racist discrimination differently.

“As Taara rounded the corner where tissues and toilet paper were kept, she spotted one lonely packet of toilet paper on the top of three rows of empty shelves. As she put the last of the six packets in her trolley, Taara noticed that a few customers turned their heads and watched her. She was aware of a video that had gone viral on social media of an Asian man running in and out of a supermarket buying toilet paper. She also heard in the news on television that people from Chinese descent have been abused and harassed during this time. Taara felt her heart thumping away and willed herself to breathe calmly as she stared straight ahead and walked with ‘unseeing eyes’ to the checkout”.

COVID-19 fear reveals racism in unexpected spaces. Racism is quite banal sometimes especially when it is about fear of the un-known. People who do not mirror you become a threat. The crisis revealed our deepest fears and long forgotten biases. Our discussions revealed that this basic fear of what doesn’t look familiar, later, reproduces structural discrimination embedded in the foundation of our societies.

Homes and Homelessness

In this case, the problem of homelessness stared at us. Home quarantine requires a home! At the peak of the pandemic, the city centers were desolate, and those who remained out on the streets were those who had nowhere else to go. Those who were usually in the periphery, hidden away in the darkness of the night, suddenly were a majority in the city's outdoor spaces. The homeless claimed our streets. A second realisation dawned that we, the authors of this text, all have homes! We had options earlier, to go out to work and come back home in the evening. We faced a new challenge - now our homes have also become our offices.

“Stuck in our homes we have begun to rely much more on online communication, and tools like Zoom in combination with the pandemic sometimes creates an unexpected intimacy. You stare at these tiny moving portraits of people in their home environment, and phrases such as ‘how are you’ or ‘hope you are well’ aren’t empty

phrases any more. Everyone is happy to share all the details of their sore throat”.

One of the first things I thought when I heard of a lockdown was:

“Oh gosh! This means all 4 of us will be in the house 24/7
...This was going to be the end of us”.

This intimacy, sharing personal environments and bodily sensations, also points out the differences. When meeting outside neutral offices, we encounter personal home environments, filled with strange colors, sounds and animals. We became aware of the differences in our group, geographically, historically, socially. Even if we believe this virus unites us, it also reveals the differences in our realities, differences that were not obvious at international conferences and meetings. Earlier our designations and roles represented us in meetings, not what we had in the backdrop of our screens in the living room or study. And then how many of us in a family can share a study while at work? These were unique issues which led us to think of the importance of collective memory work, and therefore as a tool for development education, to reflect on shared spaces in communities without hesitation. We worked on this piece together from kitchens, living rooms, attics, and cars.

Fear, anxiety and risk

One of the important findings of our collective memory work was the recognition of a fear, an anxiety, and possible risks in stepping out of homes, or connecting with people outside our homes. As we share the experience of the pandemic with others in our society, it does not automatically lead to solidarity. Many of us hid indoors (if we have a home), and focused on our individual health and happiness, facing the risk and anxiety of our own death in isolation. The recognition and acceptance of such an anxiety was not possible without collectively writing and sharing our memories of the pandemic. And hence, we strongly advocate its use as a development education tool to be used in contexts where the aim is to delve deeper into people’s psyche to understand what holds them back, and what, for example, perpetuates conflicts. It has the potential to bring people together through a

collective dialogue to reflect upon the others' actions which may be perceived as taking risk or avoiding a risk in a situation of sudden change.

Interestingly, the words 'fear', 'anxiety' and 'stress' did not appear in any of our written memories. Nevertheless, the emotion that these words convey were woven throughout our writings as we described what we did, saw, heard, smelled and felt. Reading through our memories, one can feel the sense of unease, of not being completely comfortable, of being on edge. It was a feeling of uneasiness, nervousness and anxiety in all of us. A perplexity about how this pandemic had suddenly changed our daily lives! Our worlds had changed, and we were unsure about how to handle the new normal. We did our best to adapt to our new circumstances by making new routines to normalise what was clearly abnormal to us. We now keep hand sanitisers in our handbags, wear masks, maintain social distance of 1.5 meters from our friends, and refrain from visiting crowded places. We participate in meetings and concerts online instead of attending in person. We cancel dinner parties, holidays etc. It is a bit like the first scene in a horror movie, where subtle details reveal that not everything is alright and what follows has the possibility of becoming the unexpected and terrifying. A slow realisation dawns upon us that one is never in total control, and that a situation we take for granted can change quickly.

Losing control versus alienation

A theme that emerged in our memory work was the contradiction in the texts between situations of control, such as being a determined individual in one's own context acting in the world, and with situations without control, especially of being stereotyped, de-individualised and having to submit to a larger system upon which we have no influence. This paradox of being in control and yet not having control in many other ways, corresponds to a kind of 'alienation' discussed by Hegel and Marx (see Byron, 2013 and Sayers, 2011 for a detailed discussion on Hegel and Marx's concept of alienation). According to Marx, in a capitalist economy, individuals become alienated from their product of labour, the labour process, others around them, and from their selves. For Hegel, alienation was more of an estrangement of the spirit in the life of a

human. Elsewhere, taking cue from Hegel, Sayers argues that all human phenomena follow a path beginning with ‘an initial condition of immediacy and simple unity’ to ‘a stage of division and alienation’ culminating ‘in a higher form of unity, a mediated and concrete unity which includes difference within it’ (Sayer, 2011: 289).

Our emerging theme shows a similar process arising during COVID-19 where we hope humanity reaches a stage of ‘adult maturity and self-acceptance’ (Ibid.). Additionally, for this project of healing, maturity and acceptance of contradictions and conflicts within society, a step forward would be to blend Aristotle’s concept of good and happiness with Marx’s theory of alienation as contended by Byron. Byron argues that ‘it is normatively satisfactory to restructure the forces that give rise to alienation’ (2013: 434). Thus, our contention that the concept of alienation is useful to understand people’s conflict with their selves and with others while at the same time expressing solidarity, in the COVID-19 context holds ground. We further include arguments made by Raekstad:

“Marx's theory of alienation is of great importance to contemporary political developments, due both to the re-emergence of anti-capitalist struggle in Zapatismo, 21st Century Socialism, and the New Democracy Movement, and to the fact that the most important theorists of these movements single out Marx's theory of alienation as critical to their concerns” (2015: 300).

Having human control over our own conditions enables expressing oneself, leading to self-realisation, and being in direct relation with oneself and others. The opposite of this relational individual, is an interchangeable pre-programmed and un-creative person, alienated from itself and its fellow human beings, alienated in relation to its living conditions, at best a cog in the machinery. An example of losing control over your own narrative, being stereotyped and therefore de-individualised is in the memory of buying toilet paper (above), where the main character experiences a notion of racial profiling, suddenly fearing people categorising and labelling her as ‘Asian’ in

a white-man's country. 'Without control: stereotyped, de-individualized, out of breath.

Losing control over one's life was apparent in another memory piece. We found another example of losing control, becoming de-individualised, and categorised, as old (over 70 years), and therefore treated as potentially sick and in need of care (rather than being an actor with multiple capabilities).

"Then news of a planned demonstration in Sydney. It was lockdown. People, especially those over 70, like Jo, were told not to leave the house. It was too dangerous. The authorities tried to ban the proposed (anti-racism) demonstration for health reasons".

Without much thought, we realised, that certain groups of people were 'advised' to stay indoors while others could step out. The intentions behind such policies were driven by a notion of public good which was perhaps not based on evidence from the public (the over 70's age group in this case) it tried to protect. Ultimately, this is what COVID-19 was doing. We lose control, we can't breathe without assistance, we are no longer in charge:

"Jo remembered a documentary on COVID-19 and how it causes death. Apparently, in the final stages, it affects the lungs, which is why there was a desperate call for ventilators for hospital intensive care units. The person may still breathe, but the carbon dioxide is no longer expelled, oxygen no longer absorbed. Basically, the person suffocates".

Without being able to control our breathing we will ultimately die, figuratively as well as literally.

"Couldn't breathe
Barely out of the emergency
Out of the ambulance..."

In sharing these memories, we want to argue that in situations of losing control or having no control over one's life conditions, as communities living in

poverty will give testimony to, using the tool of memory work collectively will throw a beacon of light on different dimensions of poverty and inequalities.

Having control and human agency

In contrast to losing control and becoming alienated, our memory work also elicited examples of having control. These memories were about being in nature, meditating, yoga, and participating in public demonstrations in solidarity with ‘the other’. Our memory about nature is a beautiful example of being an individual in a certain context, about being special, situated, with a history and belonging, very much alive and breathing:

“She picked a twig lying on the ground and breathed in the familiar fragrance of the most iconic Australian tree. It’s a smell that directly transports her to this park, to Australia, to home”.

In another piece on meditation, the main character becomes aware of her special breath, and announces that being her, being human, is also about being in control. To control breathing is to be empowered, aware and therefore in control while also embracing what is outside our control, which becomes a way of controlling one’s reactions towards the unknown.

“But gradually Jo became aware that this breath was rather special. In fact, it was life. Without breath, she would be dead. Breath is simply taken for granted, that is until it stops. We all breathe constantly, usually without effort, without thought. To focus on breath, to really focus, is to fully appreciate the sanctity of life”.

Similar in this memory piece where yoga is about taking action, regaining control-

“Yoga
It is time to re-start
... So, I started yoga
Slowly but surely...”

The memory-piece describing public demonstrations in solidarity with #blacklivesmatter was also very much about being able to take action, regain control, and to assert the right to breathe.

“But ordinary citizens around the world had had enough of these deaths of unarmed black people. The demonstration was going ahead regardless of its legality. Black lives matter. They have the right to breathe. We as citizens must stand in solidarity with them”.

Thus, as we note from the above examples, in memory-work, agency of participants is central to the method where participants:

“...spin the web of themselves and find themselves in the act of that spinning, in the process of making sense out of the cultural threads through which lives are made...” (Davies, 1994: 83 cited in Onyx and Small, 2001: 782).

The crisis revealed the presence of conflicting rights within society. To emphasise one’s right to express oneself or to follow the authority’s recommendation to ensure others’ rights to breathe. The crisis also showed that we can take control. Either we fall victims of the pandemic within ourselves, and outside ourselves, or we use it as an opportunity to rise above the pandemic to reveal our higher selves, to take responsibility, collectively and socially. One memory piece noted:

“Wondering how ordinary patients cope [in the red zone of government hospitals]
She [COVID-19 patient, lawyer sister] sent in a written complaint to the courts
Evidence-based proof of mismanagement
Unhygienic, water starved toilets
Helplessness of patients
Walled in the red zone...”

Thus, our memory work reflects upon ordinary lives taking cognisance of a (utopian) society where one is active and creative within existing life

(threatening) conditions alongside others. As such, it holds immense potential for development education as a means to rise above our immediate conditions. For this notion of control should not be mistaken for selfish individual freedoms which leads to alienation from relations but as being connected and responsible for each other. Similar to breathing in meditation, as noted in our work, where equal ‘focus’ to all thoughts crossing our mind to create a higher awareness is encouraged, the two pandemics become tools to reflect on society in a different light, perhaps with all its faults and strengths. In this sense ‘the COVID-19 crisis’ is a bit like art, as it frames and highlights what is important. At best it makes us acutely aware of something that we mostly ignore as being banal, or so obvious that we can’t see it without help.

“*Prana*, my breath called me out
...To understand the breath
The very essence of life
‘*prana*’ my breath...”

The new normal

The writing process brought acceptance of the ‘new normal’ albeit marked by anxiety, for us. The term was like a *mantra* to convince ourselves that we are perhaps coping or should be coping. There is a kind of feeling that ‘this is the new reality and it’s not going away...so get over it’. Public dialogue increasingly begins to focus on mental health of all people, and not only of those who could afford paid services. Suddenly well-being became a household word. It was about our coping or not being able to cope with the pandemics, and not just about some ‘other’ in a faraway global South context.

The ‘new normal’ aptly illustrates the process of our own memory work. We describe our own pain, the loss of routine, the anxiety, and the threat of the unknown. We then reflect on our experience, search for, find and deliberate upon deeper meaning. Some of this reflection leads to a heightened awareness of the injustices in our societies.

“calling, cajoling, coaxing all she knew in high-places
...Courts set up an investigation committee

matters set in motion by
a COVID-19 survivor”.

A reflection

We are in the process of engaging in the production of knowledge [about development], and instead of ‘collecting witness accounts about development’ (Lazreg, 2002: 127), we offer to be the subject as well as the object. This is in itself a powerful tool, facilitated by CMW, which we argue could be used in DE to roll out the ‘transformatory changes’ it purports to. Borrowing from Freire’s *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970), we contend that to be transformatory, we must go beyond conventional models of pedagogy, in favour of a more humanising pedagogy that challenges the status quo between the learner and the teacher, and between the oppressed and oppressor. As co-producers of knowledge we have shown that the production of knowledge is a combination of serious reflection and action between equals, a horizontal dialogue guided by love, humility, faith and mutual trust.

Some of our deliberations lead us to a new mindfulness of our own good fortune, of the healing properties of nature, of the sanctity of life-giving breath. We are left with many unresolved questions: how to redefine friendships, how to heal nature, how to support each other, how to earn a living, how to restore social justice, for example. There is a sharper awareness. Rather than tracing a linear process of causality, we seek to identify myriad decision-making moments of individuals, communities, and the institutions. Situations are constantly emerging out of this interaction as a co-creation of people and external conditions. This process has no finite ending. It can lead to destructive outcomes, but also to personal growth and new societal patterns to support greater fairness. Through a process of disruption, anxiety, reflection, of finding new positives and adopting new practices, the ‘new normal’ offers itself as a tool or method to development education processes. The ‘new normal’ has the potential to facilitate the interrogation of layered memories of participants because:

“Many of these layered stories can be seen as evidence of the everydayness of crisis, and of the frightening power of ‘the general

training in the normality of heteronomy’ — the normality of external control, of other people’s rules” (Johnston, 2001: 36 cited in Onyx, 2001: 781).

Understanding this ‘new normal’ becomes easier through the tool of collective memory writing process which captures an essential aspect of development education where educators are fumbling for newer and more effective methods of documenting and analysing societal anxiety. This can be observed below:

“Momentum and movements for change are quietly (and sometimes loudly) occurring, across the many spaces and places where justice remains denied. If you care to look and listen, you will see and hear them. Looking beyond the fatigue of the 24-news cycle and a hardening indifference to images of suffering, you will see these moments in the volunteer search and rescue White Helmet workers in Syria, the Fairtrade towns and school committees, the divestment in fossil fuels campaigns, the indigenous communities and women’s rights groups challenging traditional land and inheritance laws and customs in places like Kenya and India and in the onward journey of the human rights movement worldwide” (Daly, Regan and Regan, 2016: 9).

Furthermore, the use of new means of online communication to bridge distances mixes our private and public self which sometimes creates awkward situations, where the private domain is juxtaposed by one’s public role creating an awareness of the subtle but strict borders between different social worlds. In an interview, Arundhati Roy suggested that we should look at COVID-19 as ‘a portal between different worlds’. Historically, pandemics have forced humans to break with the past and imagine their world anew (Roy, 2020).

The idea of COVID-19 as a portal between worlds is a useful image which directs attention to the potential of the crisis to bring us together, de-alienating us by making us lose control over our petty lives and facilitating opportunities where we are interested in finding alternative sustainable means

of ‘control’ than reproducing existing unequal social lives. As such, this portal summarises some of our discussions on how the pandemic reveals inequalities (between different worlds) but also commonalities and connections (portals). This learning through our collective memory work, brings focus to the importance of all voices as all are affected by the pandemic, though differently, while agreeing that the method is ideal for extending the findings to other voices. The contrast of the two pandemics for us ‘privileged’ authors represented important learning for us, as growing awareness of the injustice of black lives matters.

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Perspectives

DECOLONISING THE MEDIA: COUNTING OUT AFRICA'S PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

PEADAR KING

“Our history (in) about 50 or 100 years from now will there find, recorded in black and white and in color, evidence of decadence, escapism, and insulation from the realities of the world in which we live. We are currently wealthy, fat, comfortable, and complacent. We have a built-in allergy to unpleasant or disturbing information. Our mass media reflect this.

Just once in a while let us exalt the importance of ideas and information. Let us dream...

To those who say people wouldn't look, they wouldn't be interested, they're too complacent, indifferent and insulated, I can only reply: There is, in one reporter's opinion, considerable evidence against that contention.

This instrument (TV) can teach. It can illuminate and, yes, it can even inspire. But it can do so only to the extent that humans are determined to use it towards those ends.

Otherwise, it is merely wires and lights -- in a box”.

Edward R. Murrow (2005)

What's making the headlines

Western media lit up on the 23 December 2020 with the news that the South African lottery yielded, what all commentators were agreed on, was an unusual sequence of numbers. Apparently, numbers 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 are just that. The numbers garnered 5.7 million rand for twenty people while the numbers

earned a further 79 people 6,283 rand each. A story of such importance that it made headlines in radio, television and newsprint outlets across the western world perhaps leaving numerologists scratching their heads wondering at the sudden interest in their niche field of interest.

Irish state broadcaster, *RTÉ*, carried the story in its main news and current affairs programmes. As did *Newstalk* radio station. So too did *The Journal.ie*. And the *BBC* (British Broadcasting Corporation). *Sky News*. The Australian *7 News* channel. The United States (US)-based *ABC News*. The Canadian-based *Global News* channel. *The New Zealand Herald*. *The Guardian*. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. Italy's *La Repubblica*. And more. The story that displaced other stories.

‘And now you’re up to date’, as *Newstalk* reminds us following each news bulletin.

For those, and not just numerologists, who are interested in reporting on significant numbers, here are some: according to the *Missing Migrants* (2021) database 99 people died while trying to cross the Mediterranean Sea in December 2020. More than 100 people drowned in three separate shipwrecks in the Mediterranean Sea in just 72 hours (Reliefweb, 2020), a couple of weeks before the South African lotto story grabbed international headlines. According to the the United Nations refugee agency (UNHCR), more than 80 million people were forcefully displaced across the world in 2020 (UN News, 2020). And according to the *British Medical Journal*, malaria killed 409,000 people in 2019 and 411,000 in 2018, most of them babies and toddlers in sub-Saharan Africa (Dyer, 2020). Peter Sands, executive director of the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria, is quoted in the *BMJ* report saying:

“The global health world, the media, and politics pay(s) little attention to a disease that is still killing over 400,000 people every year, mainly children. This is a disease we know how to get rid of — so it is a choice that we don’t” (Ibid.).

Ignoring the plight of those who flounder in the waters of the Mediterranean, those who are forced to gather up what little they have and flee their homes, those who could, but never will, reach beyond the age of five is the choice mainstream media makes each day. Unless, of course, the numbers stack up in an unusual sequence.

African elections

And it is also possible that numbers have stacked up in unusual sequences in the myriad African elections that have taken place on the continent since the beginning of 2020 and continue to take place well into 2021. But my guess is, if that were the case, very few people in Ireland and in the western world would be aware of that. And hazarding a further guess, very few people in Ireland and the western world would be even aware that presidential elections *were* and *are* taking place across Africa, in 2020 and 2021.

First up in 2020 was the presidential election in Togo (population 8.2 million) where the 53-year-long dynastic rule of the Gnassingbe family continued. Pater Gnassingbe Eyadema ruled the country with an iron fist for 38 years following a 1967 coup. Son Faure Gnassingbe was first elected in 2005 and, again, for a fourth consecutive term in February. A 2019 constitutional change will potentially see him in office until 2030. Should that come to pass, it will mean that the Gnassingbe family rule will extend for over 60 years in what the World Food Programme (2018) characterise as one of the poorest countries in sub-Saharan Africa.

Cushioned by a retirement package that included \$540,000, a luxury villa and the sobriquet ‘supreme guide to patriotism’, Burundi’s (population 11.1 million) outgoing president Pierre Nkurunziza, relinquished office but not power and influence following the presidential election of 25 May 2020. From 1993 to 2006, a catastrophic civil war engulfed the landlocked and resource-poor country resulting in an estimated death toll of over 300,000 (BBC News, 2018). Nkurunziza’s handpicked successor Évariste Ndayishimiye will be required by law to consult him on matters of national security and national unity. His election took place against the background of ‘summary executions,

arbitrary detentions and arrests, torture and sexual violence’, according to a UN Commission of Inquiry on Burundi (UN Human Rights Council, 2020). Located to the north of Lake Tanganyika, Burundi is ranked as the fifth poorest country in the world (UNDP, 2020).

Citing widespread irregularities, Malawi’s (population 19.1 million) supreme court unanimously backed the constitutional court’s decision to annul the results of the February 2019 presidential election in what was regarded not only as a historic moment for the country but for the continent (Fisher, 2020). In the rerun election that took place in June 2020, opposition leader Lazarus Chakwera defeated Peter Mutharika, the first time a court-overtaken vote in Africa resulted in the defeat of an incumbent president. Congratulating Chakwera, the Chairperson of the African Union Commission, Moussa Faki Mahamat, extended ‘his profound gratitude to the people of Malawi, for demonstrating their firm commitment to democracy, constitutionalism, rule of law, peace and stability’ (African Union, 2020). Located to the west of Lake Malawi, the country is ranked 174 of 189 on the UN Human Development Index (UNDP, 2020).

On 18 October 2020, the electorate of Guinea (population 13.1 million) went to the polls in what most African commentators regarded as a high-stakes presidential election (Africa News, 2020). One of the most resource-rich countries in Africa, the poverty rate is alarming according to the World Food Programme (2021) with 21.8 percent of households’ food-insecure. Malnutrition remains high: 6.1 per cent of children under five-years are affected by global acute malnutrition, 24 per cent are stunted, and 12 per cent are underweight. Eighty-two-year-old incumbent Alpha Conde was declared the winner in the country that first reported Ebola in the pandemic that swept across West Africa between 2014 and 2016. The election followed days of deadly violence in which at least 30 people were killed according to Human Rights Watch (2020) in what it characterised as a ‘brutal crackdown that undermined the credibility of the election’. Six months previously, Conde pushed through a controversial constitutional amendment that allowed him to serve a third presidential term.

In his sixth attempt, 60-year-old Anglican priest Wavel Ramkalawan clinched Seychelles' (population 98,671) first round presidential election on 25 October 2020 in what all commentators were agreed was an orderly and free election. Heavily dependent on tourism, which contributed to 80 per cent to its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and employment in 2019, the archipelagic island nation located on the Indian Ocean is vulnerable to external shocks according to the African Development Bank (2020). Shocks that upended the country's economy in 2020 in the guise of the coronavirus pandemic.

Amidst fraudulent claims by opposition candidate, Tundu Lissu, who was shot and seriously wounded outside his home in 2017, 60-year-old John Magufuli, the son of a peasant farmer, was returned as president of Tanzania (population 55.9 million) in which he garnered 84 per cent of the vote. The National Electoral Commission (NEC) has dismissed claims of fraud (BBC, 2020). The Election Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa (EISA, 2020) reported the curtailment of political rallies and public gatherings and the police detention of leaders of several political parties in the run-up to the election. A World Bank (2019) report noted that a significant proportion of the population remains vulnerable to falling into poverty and about half of the population continues to live below the international poverty line of \$1.90 per person per day.

In Cote d'Ivoire (population 27.5 million) where almost half the population also live under the poverty line, Alassane Ouattara won a controversial third term on 3 November 2020 garnering 94.2 per cent of the vote in an election boycotted by the opposition. A 2016 constitutional change allowed him to exceed the up-to-then two-term limit. Dozens of people were reported killed following the announcement of his election (DW, 2020a). The Carter Human Rights Center concluded that 'the tense and polarized political environment that surrounded this election was fueled by President Ouattara's decision to run for a third term and the Constitutional Council's validation of his candidacy' (Carter Center, 2020).

To the northeast of Cote d'Ivoire, sixty-three-year-old Roch Marc Christian Kabore won a second term as president of Burkina Faso (population 20.9 million) in November 2020 in what was once regarded as an oasis of peace and stability in an otherwise turbulent region, now mired in conflict. Escalating violence resulting from fierce clashes between ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant) (Da'ish) and al-Qaeda militants has driven more than one million people from their homes. Since the beginning of 2020, 25 per cent of the country's entire population – one in 20 people – is now displaced according to UNHCR (2020) in what they describe as one of the world's fastest-growing humanitarian and protection crisis.

Ranked 189 by the UN Human Development Index (UNDP, 2020), Niger (population 24.4 million) is the poorest country on the planet. In its December 2020 presidential elections, outgoing president Mahamadou Issoufou was beaten into second place by ruling party candidate Mohamed Bazoum. Bazoum, however, failed to achieve the mandatory 50 per cent plus one majority. A run-off election is scheduled for February 2021 in which he is tipped to win (DW, 2020b). If all goes well, the upcoming election will mark a democratic transition in a country bedeviled by past military coups.

President Faustin-Archange Touadera of the Central African Republic (population 4.8 million) won another term of five years following elections on 28 December 2020 that were overshadowed by violence between government and rebel forces. In the immediate aftermath of the election, the UNHCR reported more than 200,000 people, 'a panicked population', fled their homes fearing their own safety. More than 30,000 people crossed the border into neighbouring Cameroon, Chad, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) (UN News, 2021). Central African Republic is the eighth most dangerous country for humanitarians according to the Aid Worker Security Database (AWSDB, 2021) resulting in aid agencies suspending their humanitarian work.

Africa's colonial past

The big men of Africa. The big man syndrome. The pejorative Swahili word for these Big Men is *wabenzi* and the Bantu word *WaBenzi* meaning the men with the Mercedes Benz; the new ruling class that superseded the old colonial class. 'The replacing of a certain "species" of men by another "species" of men who have totally assimilated colonialist thought in its most corrupt form (Fanon, 2001: 27). Today's big men follow on from a long list of now reviled former self-aggrandising African presidents: Malawian president Hastings Kamuzu Banda's (1966-1994) with his penchant for three-piece pin-striped suits complete with sunglasses and black homburg hat; the extraordinary braggadocio of Jean-Bédél Georges Bokassa who in 1977 crowned himself Emperor of the Central African Empire, at a cost of \$US22 million in a country at the time of two million people. And perhaps the crown prince of them all and kleptocrat-in-chief, Zairian President Mobutu, who renamed himself Sésé Seko Nkuku Ngbendu wa Za Banga, 'the all-conquering warrior who, because of his endurance and inflexible will to win, will go from conquest leaving fire in his wake'.

Such grandiosity is not without context. Theirs was a learned grandiosity. Men who created their likeness on the likeness of the white men they replaced. A likeness cultivated by white-man rule 'in their narcissistic colonialist bourgeoisie dialogue' (Fanon, 2001: 36). Black men who learned their white-man lessons well. Jean-Paul Sartre put it most eloquently in his Preface to Frantz Fanon's classic text on colonialism *The Wretched of the Earth* (2001: 7):

"The European élite undertook to manufacture a native élite. They picked out promising adolescents; they branded them, as with a red-hot iron, with the principles of western culture; they stuffed their mouths full of high-sounding phrases, grand glutinous words that stuck to their teeth. After a short while in the mother country, they were sent home, white-washed. These walking lies had nothing left to say to their brothers; they only echoed".

None of the ten presidents elected in 2020 are household names in Ireland. All of the above elections were rarely, if ever, featured in Irish media. *The Irish Times* carried reports on eight of the ten elections discussed in this article, but each election report was limited to one or two reports. *The Irish Independent* reported on seven of the elections but again each election was confined to one or two reports. In the case of its report on Burundi's presidential election, there was an oblique reference to the presidential election in an article headed 'Six mass graves uncovered in Burundi containing more than 6,000 bodies' (Kaneza, 2020). *The Irish Examiner* limited its coverage to five of the above ten elections and each of the five received one article.

Only one election mattered

Contrast that with the tsunami of coverage of the United States' (US) presidential election; the political nooks and crannies of swing/purple states hashed and re-hashed in mind-numbing detail. Much of it repetitive. Much of it speculative. And much of that speculation was plain wrong. Nobody predicted that President Trump would receive 74,222,958 votes highlighting the futility of much of the pre-election coverage. We have become all too familiar with the intimacies of Joe Biden's family and the trouser-tugging antics of Rudy Giuliani; his dye-smearred face splashed all over our media. Not forgetting the daily updates of the wildly idiosyncratic behaviour of the defeated incumbent. Our world has become obsessed with their world.

And all the while, other worlds exist. Africa exists.

Undeniably, the US election affects global politics in a way that African elections do not. The power that the US wields matters on a global stage. US elections have consequences not just for their own citizens but for all of us. But African elections matter too. For their citizens and for us too. All 185.1 million citizens.

Incontrovertibly, we have strong historical and cultural connections with the United States. But it's not that we don't have strong cultural and historical ties with Africa. From Roger Casement's devastating 19th century

critiques of the Belgian-led colonial exploitation of the Congo to former President Mary Robinson's 1992 tearful response to the famine in Somalia, Ireland has always claimed a special connection with Africa. Irish missionary footprints can be found in most African countries. By 1965, there were 6,517 Irish Catholic missionaries, nuns, brothers, priests and laity along with hundreds of Protestant and other faiths working in the global South, of whom 4,122 Irish Catholic missionaries were working in Africa (O'Sullivan, 2012: 15). The 1951 South African census recorded that 8,254 South African residents were born in the twenty-six counties of Ireland and an additional 1,366 were born in the six counties. By the early 1960s an estimated five thousand to six thousand (7 per cent of the white population) of what was then Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) identified themselves as Irish-Rhodesian (Ibid.).

Ireland's connections with Africa

Irish politicians have consistently reminded African countries of these links when it feels the need. Marking Ireland's accession to the UN Security Council in 2021, then Taoiseach Leo Varadkar declared:

“Today's victory underpins Ireland's place in the world; as a global island, with a clear and tangible ambition to play a central role in contributing to international peace and security. We look forward to working with our partners in the international community from all around the world to promote our shared values of peace, justice, and human rights” (DFA, 2020).

His predecessors were also quick to invoke Ireland's connections to Africa and beyond, stressing our shared colonial past, a past that has seeped into official political discourse. Speaking at the UN General Assembly in October 1960, Irish Minister for External Affairs, Frank Aiken, declared that Irish people knew ‘what imperialism is and what resistance to it involved’. Taoiseach, Séan Lemass, told a gathering in Washington in 1963 that Ireland had a ‘natural’ sympathy with the cause of the developing world. and that Ireland was ‘particularly conscious of the needs of countries following our path to freedom’ (O'Sullivan, 2012: 17). Thanking all those who supported Ireland's

election to the UN Security Council, then Tánaiste and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Simon Coveney said: ‘We will not betray that trust’ (DFA, 2020).

How that is to be achieved in the absence of public knowledge of and engagement with Africa, a continent that holds almost seventeen percent and growing of the world’s population is difficult to imagine (Worldometer, 2021). Whatever about the visibility of Ireland’s place in the world, Africa’s place in Ireland is largely invisible. Africa: the invisible continent. The reality is that Africa does not count in Irish media unless one is counting lotto numbers. Africa is largely invisible. Its people are largely invisible. Its politics are largely invisible. And its presidential elections are largely invisible. And the climatic and health-related threats to its people are largely invisible. Beyond the election between two white, male septuagenarians, other elections are taking place. Beyond the fetishisation of randomly selected numbers, other numbers count. The outcomes of elections that shape the lives of almost 200 million people. Elections that also feature some septuagenarians. But Black septuagenarians. Elections between black leaders of ten African countries. Of which so little is heard.

Despite newsroom’s ‘ravenousness for content ... with all the ephemera it takes to fill it’, Janan Ganesh (2021) argues that television has lost its way. Radio too, where each (often highly remunerated) anchor is ‘a monologed merchant’ filling space with sound and sometimes fury. The contrived debates. The tendentious guests. The echo of the echo-chamber. The reverie of trivia. And the commentariat drawn, in the Irish context, from the predominantly white, middle-aged, middle-class professional class, from which Black voices, rarely, if ever, feature. In a widening culture of what counts as ‘news’, news that informs and illuminates, that opens out to encompass the whole world is fading from our screens and from our dials. Insofar as space is given to Black lives, this space is, for the most part, devoid of Black lives. Ganesh (2021) argues that we are witnessing ‘the debasement of TV (and radio), ...the monetisation of fluff ... that has done more than social media to pollute civic life. The great US broadcast journalist and war correspondent, Edward R. Murrow (2005), was right when he said television

ought to be more than ‘wires and lights in a box’. It can illuminate and it can inspire. But only to the extent that humans are determined to use it towards those ends. If we don’t know, as Peter Sands argues, it is because we chose to not know and those who determine what constitutes news make those choices on our behalf every day.

For now, it would appear that black presidential elections don’t matter. As I write (January 2021), the imminent Ugandan election is gaining quite a lot of traction in the Irish media (*RTÉ*, *The Irish Times*, *The Irish Independent*, *The Irish Examiner*) with a lot of focus on opposition candidate, rapper-turned-politician Bobi Wine. As to the question why Uganda is getting such attention, I do not have an answer. Perhaps it’s the rapper-turned-politician schtick? For example, *The Irish Times* published a full-page article, paid for by Irish Aid through the Simon Cumbers Media Fund, headlined ‘Uganda’s Reggae Politician’ (Butler, 2021). Perhaps it’s because the 76-year-old, Yoweri Museveni, has been president of Uganda for 35 years although in the African context that in itself is not unusual.

A review of *RTÉ* on-line indicates that the Malawian presidential election was the only country of the ten considered above that featured in its reportage. It did cover the Togolese election in 2005, the presidential election in Burkina Faso in 2014, Niger in 2011, the 2014 exile of President Michel Djotodia of the Central African Republic. *RTÉ* also carried two football results for two of the above ten countries in 2020.

Writing about the third level sector in South Africa, much of which is still in thrall to an Apartheid mindset, 20 years after the end of Apartheid, Cameroonian scholar Achille Mbembe (2015) calls for the decolonisation of the university from the entrapment of whiteness. Television too in this country calls out for decolonisation from its ‘old clothes’ whiteness. A space where Black and other people of colour can say ‘This is my home. I am not an outsider here. I do not have to beg or apologise to be here. I belong here’. For that to happen in the university sector, Mbembe (2015: 4) argues:

“we need to decolonize the systems of management insofar as they have turned higher education into a marketable product bought and sold by standard units. The system of business principles and statistical accountancy has resulted in an obsessive concern with the periodic and the quantitative where excellence has been reduced to statistical accountancy”.

Irish media too.

We need to decolonise Irish media.

For decolonisation to happen in the university sector, Mbembe further argues it needs to break free from ‘imitation’ and ‘mimicry’. The same holds true for television and radio. Decolonisation is a time of ‘closure’ as well as a time of possibility, what the Kenyan scholar, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o, cited by Mbembe (2015) calls a time for ‘re-centering’.

It is time too for re-centering Irish media. For an end to mimicry and imitation. In a country that celebrates its much-vaunted artistic creativity, that ought to be within our reach. ‘Human history is about the future’, according to Mbembe. If Irish media is to have a future, a critical part of that future is escaping from the entrapment of its whiteness, escaping from its all-consuming western gaze, recognising that there is a world beyond Boston and Berlin, beyond the nexus of the United States and the European Union.

Perhaps 2021 will be that year. Perhaps 2021 will be the year in which Irish media will really engage with the African continent and its politics. Perhaps. Should that be the case expect to hear a lot about presidential elections scheduled for 2021 in Benin, Cape Verde, Chad, Djibouti, The Gambia, Libya, Niger (re-run), Republic of Congo, São Tomé and Príncipe, Somalia, South Sudan and Zambia.

And now you’re up-to-date.

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WHY 2021 IS HUMANITY'S MAKE-OR-BREAK MOMENT ON CLIMATE BREAKDOWN

LAURIE MACFARLANE

Abstract: COVID-19 and climate change are both symptoms of a growing environmental breakdown. To overcome both challenges we must restructure the capitalist system on which our economies are based. This article reflects on the dangers of restoring the status quo ante in a post-pandemic world. While the COVID-19 crisis has caused immense suffering to all, it has also shown it is possible to restructure economies on short timescales. The article urges governments in the global North to forge a different path by undertaking a vast programme of investment to decarbonise the economy. Going back to 'business as usual' would do nothing but deepen our current environmental crisis.

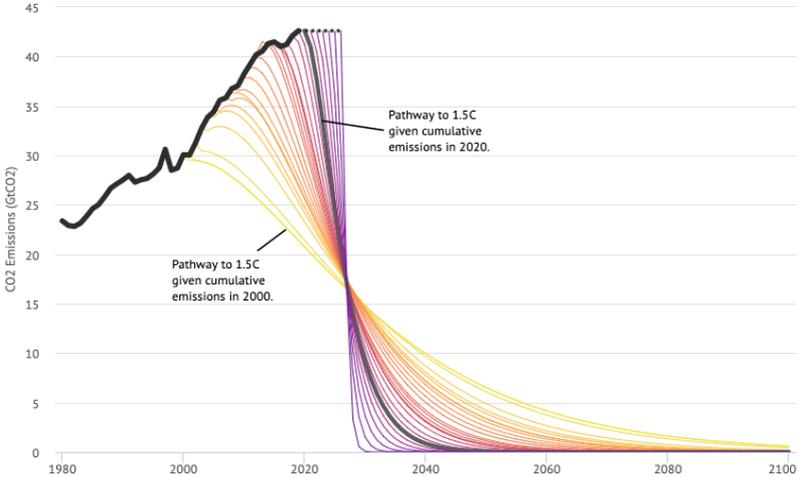
Key words: COVID-19; Climate Change; Global Capitalism; Paris Agreement; COP26.

2020 will be remembered for many things, and let's be honest: most of them will be bad. But amidst the hardship and suffering, there is a positive story to be told. It was, perhaps, the first time in living memory when governments around the world took radical action to put the interests of public health and wellbeing above that of private profit. For a world that is so dominated by the logic of capitalism, that's no small triumph. It's tempting to say that this was a one-off response to a one-off pandemic. But this is to misunderstand both the nature of COVID-19 and global capitalism. If you hoped we could leave life or death political decisions behind us in 2020, then I'm here to disappoint. Because in 2021, the stakes are even higher.

First, some context. Before COVID-19 gripped the world's attention, humanity's primary challenge was clear: our fossil fuel-based economic system had pushed our natural environment beyond safe operating zones, threatening the foundations upon which civilisation depends. Without 'rapid,

far-reaching and unprecedented changes in all aspects of society’ (IPCC, 2018) we were on track to experience devastating and irreversible damage to our climate and ecological systems, and the end of life as we know it. In recognition of this stark reality, in 2015, world leaders signed the Paris Agreement which aimed to limit global warming to 1.5C above pre-industrial levels. Achieving this would require a global mobilisation of resources on an unprecedented scale to rapidly cut emissions.

Although impressive on paper, for the most part this was not matched by action. Emissions continued to rise every year after the agreement was signed, leaving our ‘carbon budget’ for staying within the 1.5C target shrinking ever smaller. On current trajectories, the world is expected to breach the 1.5C ceiling in less than a decade (Hausfather, 2020) – and hit 3C of warming by the end of the century (Ritchie and Roser, 2019). Each passing year of inaction produces a compounding effect, necessitating ever steeper carbon reductions in future years.



Emission reduction trajectories associated with a 66% chance of limiting warming below 1.5C, without a reliance on net-negative emissions, by

starting year. Solid black line shows historical emissions, while coloured lines show different pathways to limiting warming to 1.5C. | Carbon Brief

In short: time is rapidly running out. For this reason alone, 2021 was always going to be a critical year in the fight against climate breakdown. But then COVID-19 came along.

‘The Great Pause’

Twelve months ago it looked like 2020 was going to be another record breaking year for carbon emissions. But as COVID-19 rapidly spread around the world, businesses were forced to close, international travel ground to a halt, events were cancelled, and people were told to isolate at home. Unsurprisingly, this ‘Great Pause’ (Janoo and Dodds, 2020) caused carbon emissions to fall – according to the Global Carbon Project (McSweeney and Tandon, 2020) global emissions fell by 7 per cent in 2020. Despite being the largest relative fall since the Second World War, this still pales in comparison to what is needed to meet the Paris targets. If warming is to be limited to 1.5C then emissions need to fall (Hausfather, 2020) by 14 per cent every year until 2040.

Some have cited these falling emissions as evidence that COVID-19 has helped to ‘save the planet’. As well as being wildly exaggerated (Watts 2020), these claims are also offensive: the idea that a pandemic that has caused immense suffering and killed more than a million people should be celebrated is obviously perverse. Pandemic-induced lockdowns do not provide a model for climate action. More importantly, however, those who say the pandemic will help the environment have got things precisely backwards. Like many other infectious diseases, COVID-19 has its origins in the encroachment of human activity into natural ecosystems. As more and more countries have sought to maximise economic growth, activities such as logging, mining, road building, intensive agriculture and urbanisation have led to widespread habitat destruction, bringing people into ever closer contact with animal species. As the United Nations’ environment chief, Inger Andersen (Carrington,

2020), put it: ‘Never before have so many opportunities existed for pathogens to pass from wild and domestic animals to people’.

According to the US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, three-quarters (CDC, n.d.) of new or emerging diseases that infect humans originate in animals. In the case of COVID-19, it is believed that the virus originated in China’s bat population and was then transmitted into humans via another mammal host. On our current trajectory, while COVID-19 might be the first pandemic many of us have experienced, it will almost certainly not be the last. COVID-19 is therefore not a random act of God. Like climate change, it is a symptom of accelerating environmental breakdown, which in turn is a product of an economic model that is reliant on growth and accumulation (Stratford, 2020). Seen in this light, the idea that COVID-19 can somehow aid the environmental crisis is absurd: they are two sides of the same coin. To address both, we need to tackle the root cause.

Building back better?

As vaccines start to be rolled out across the world, attention is now turning to how the global economy can be rebooted. With unemployment soaring and economic hardship mounting, leaders will face growing pressure to reinstate ‘business as usual’ as quickly as possible. But doing this would not be a neutral act – it would be an active decision to deepen our environmental crisis. Restoring the status quo after defeating COVID-19 would be like celebrating beating lung cancer by smoking a hundred cigarettes. The cure for the disease can never be its cause.

The upshot is that the pandemic has shown that it is possible to radically restructure economies on short timescales, provided there is the political will to do so. Many countries have already promised to ‘build back better’ from the pandemic. In 2021, this rhetoric must be matched by reality. If the pandemic itself cannot cure the environmental crisis, the way we structure the recovery from it most certainly can.

Instead of spending billions to return national economies to their destructive path, governments must instead forge a different path by unleashing a vast programme of investment to decarbonise the global economy as fast as is feasibly possible, and bring our environmental footprint within fair and sustainable limits. Countries in the global North that have played a disproportionate role contributing to environmental breakdown have a moral obligation to lead by example, while supporting a global just transition. As well as placing the global economy on a more sustainable path, this would create a new wave of high-skilled, low carbon jobs. Crucially, it would make future outbreaks of animal-borne diseases such as COVID-19 far less likely.

Some will question if we can afford such an undertaking. But the pandemic has shown that affordability is always a political constraint (Macfarlane, 2017) – not a technical one. Central banks have created trillions of dollars (Macfarlane, 2020) to prop up economies throughout the crisis – redirecting even a fraction (Andrijevic and Rogelj, 2020) of this towards green investments could put the world on track to meet the 1.5C temperature goal. With interest rates at record lows, there has never been a better time to turbocharge the green transition. The question is not whether we can afford to do this – it is whether we can afford *not to*.

In 2008 we bailed out the banks. This time, we must bail out the planet.

Crunch time for the carbon superpowers

Learning the right lessons from COVID-19 will be critical, but it's far from the only important event this year. When it comes to meeting our climate goals, nowhere are the stakes higher than in the world's largest two economies: the US and China. Together these two countries account for nearly half (Ritchie and Roser, 2019) of all global emissions, and it will be virtually impossible to avert climate catastrophe without both making radical changes. Whether we like it or not, much of the power to materially reduce humanity's carbon footprint lies in Washington and Beijing. Fortunately, 2021 is shaping up to be a decisive year in both countries.

In January 2021, Joe Biden replaced Donald Trump as the 46th president of the United States. In the face of mounting pressure from climate campaigners, Biden (2020) announced that he will ensure the US reaches net-zero emissions no later than 2050. However, some fear (Aronoff, 2020) that in power Biden will be heavy on rhetoric but light on concrete action. And with a political system awash with fossil fuel dollars and climate denial, there are questions about whether he can deliver, even if he tried to.

In China, President Xi Jinping has already pledged to make the country ‘carbon neutral’ by 2060 (McGrath, 2020). Crucially however, the details of how this will be delivered will be unveiled in Communist Party’s long-awaited 14th five-year plan (Yixiu and Zhe, 2020) covering 2021-25, which will be published in March 2021. Of particular importance will be the binding targets that are set on the proportion of non-fossil fuels in the primary energy mix and the trajectory of coal power capacity. Both will have a huge impact on China’s emissions-reduction efforts over the coming five years.

Taken together, it’s not much of a stretch to say that President Biden’s climate package and China’s next five-year plan could be the most consequential policy packages in human history.

Beyond Paris

At its core climate change is a collective action problem: the short-term interests of each individual country are in direct conflict with longer-term interests of the planet as a whole. It’s therefore essential that national action is led by international cooperation. Once again, 2021 provides us with a critical juncture.

In November world leaders will gather in Glasgow for COP26 (<https://ukcop26.org/>), the successor to the landmark Paris meeting of 2015. Under the terms of the Paris deal, countries pledged to reconvene every five years to improve their carbon-cutting ambitions. COP26 will provide perhaps the last opportunity for world leaders to agree on targets that are compatible

with limiting warming to 1.5C. By the time the next major COP meeting comes around in 2026, it may well be too late.

The amount at stake this year is therefore difficult to overstate. If there was ever to be a crunch point in the climate crisis, then 2021 is it. We face a fork in the road, and the decisions taken over the next 12 months will determine which path we choose. If promises to ‘build back better’ from COVID-19 are fulfilled; the Biden administration lives up to its pledges on climate change; China’s five-year plan delivers on its decarbonisation commitments; and COP26 is a success – then we *might* have a chance of averting climate catastrophe.

The flipside of this is that if none of this happens, our prospects look drastically different. If ‘build back better’ turns out to be an empty slogan; President Biden’s climate plan fails to pass the gridlock of the US political system; China’s five-year plan includes a vast expansion of coal power plants; and COP26 is a diplomatic failure – then we will find ourselves locked into a very dangerous trajectory indeed.

A constellation of events like this doesn’t come along every year. Time is short – so let’s make it count.

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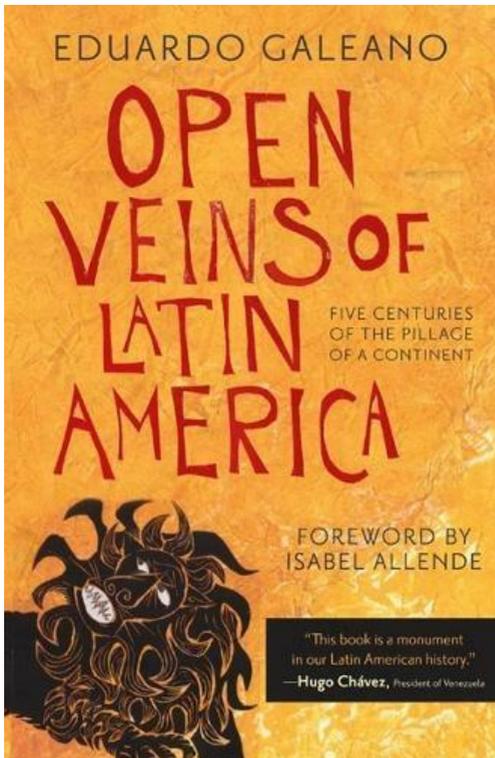
Note:

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OPEN VEINS OF LATIN AMERICA: A RE-APPRAISAL 50 YEARS ON

STEPHEN MCCLOSKEY



Fifty years ago, the Uruguayan journalist and author Eduardo Galeano published his classic study of the European – and later United States’ (US) - colonisation and rapacious plunder of Latin America titled *Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent* (1997). When it was first published in 1971, *Open Veins* was banned by military governments in Chile, Argentina and Uruguay, and Galeano was imprisoned and forced into exile. The book has always retained its reputation for meticulous research and a luminous writing style which the

novelist Isabel Allende suggests is ‘poetic in its description of solidarity and human capacity for survival’ (Allende, 1997: xii). Galeano gives an unsparing account of ‘how the Spaniards and Portuguese in America combined propagation of the Christian faith with usurpation and plunder of native wealth’ (1997: 14). In a review of the book, Mongredien suggests that it offers an ‘impassioned and lucid’ account of how:

“A continent blessed with bountiful natural resources has been systematically stripped of its gold, silver, tin, copper, oil, nitrates, manganese and rubber, while its people remain among the poorest on earth, with high levels of infant mortality, illiteracy and child prostitution” (2009).

The five hundred years of ‘pillage’ that followed Columbus’s first voyage to the Americas in 1492 included indentured slavery, extractivism, colonialism, indigenous genocide and, in the second half of the 20th century, an economic re-colonisation through debt, neoliberalism, rigged trade rules, corporate impunity and tied aid. This article reflects on Galeano’s text as it reaches its fiftieth anniversary and considers what it tells us about the importance of history to the contemporary discourse on development.

Dependency theory

Galeano was heavily influenced by dependency theory which argued that ‘as a result of the unequal distribution of power and resources, some countries have developed at a faster pace than others’ (Rose, 2016). Dependency theorists suggested that:

“we cannot formulate an adequate development policy for a majority of the world’s population without knowing how their past economic and social history influenced their current underdevelopment” (Ibid.).

One of the leading advocates of dependency theory, Andre Gunther Frank, argued that global trade is between strong core states and weak peripheral states and the latter have been subjected to centuries of domination by the core with a view to maintaining their peripheral status as suppliers of primary resources and consumers of processed commodities (Frank, 1967). In *Open Veins*, Galeano explicitly links the development of Europe and, later, the United States, to the under-development and exploitation of Latin America. He suggests:

“Latin America is the region of open veins. Everything from the discovery until our times, has always been transmuted into European – or later United States – capital, and, as such has accumulated in distant centers of power” (Galeano, 1997: 2).

It was the permanent peripheral status of Latin America in a dependent relationship with European powers and the US that resulted in leading academics questioning the legitimacy of the ‘development’ process itself (Esteva, 1992; Escobar 1995). Post-development thinkers rejected the development concept completely as an ‘ideological export’ and ‘a simultaneous act of cultural imperialism’ (Reid-Henry, 2012). For the Colombian scholar, Arturo Escobar: ‘development amounted to little more than the west’s convenient “discovery” of poverty in the third world for the purposes of reasserting its moral and cultural superiority in supposedly post-colonial times’ (Ibid.). *Open Veins of Latin America* informed this reflection on what development actually means with what Allende describes as its ‘meticulous detail’ and ‘political conviction’ (Allende, 1997: xii). ‘Great literary works like this one’, she argues, ‘wake up consciousness, bring people together, interpret, explain, denounce, keep record, and provoke changes’ (Ibid.: xiii).

How Latin America developed Europe

‘Poverty is not written in the stars’, writes Galeano, ‘underdevelopment is not one of God’s mysterious designs’ (1997: 7). It is instead the product of imperial design and Galeano reveals the full horror of what followed when ‘Renaissance European ventured across the ocean and buried their teeth in the throats of Indian civilizations’ (Ibid.: 1). *Open Veins* has three parts and in the first he recounts how European lust for gold and silver brought Spanish and Portuguese colonists to the Americas under the cloak of propagating Christianity (Ibid.: 14). Entire indigenous populations were exterminated through indentured slavery in gold and silver mines or from their lack of resistance to the bacteria and viruses carried by their conquerors. Some died by their own hand in anticipation of the fate that awaited them; in Haiti, ‘many natives... killed their children and committed mass suicide’ (Ibid.: 15). In

1532, the Inca leader Atahualpa fulfilled his promise to Spanish conquistador, Francisco Pizarro, of filling one room with gold and two more with silver but was not spared (Ibid.). From 1545 to 1558, 99 per cent of Spanish mineral exports from the Americas came chiefly from the silver mines in Potosi (now Bolivia) which ‘not only stimulated Europe’s economic development; one may say that they made it possible’ (Ibid.: 22-23). The Spanish aristocracy frittered away much of this wealth on creating new titles, extravagance and needless wars to the point that the Hapsburg regime fell into bankruptcy by 1700 (Ibid.: 24, 26).

The Latin American satellites with the strongest links to the core in the period of imperialism are today the poorest. Potosi, argues Galeano, is the best example of this under-development when poverty and de-population followed the stripping of silver from the seams of the mines. That part of Bolivia that was once Potosi had a population larger than Argentina but is now ‘six times smaller’ (Ibid.: 32). ‘The Indians of the Americas totalled no less than 70 million when the foreign conquerors appeared on the horizon; a century and a half later they had been reduced to 3.5 million’ (Ibid.: 38). Eight million Indians died in the mines of Potosi, including women and children, many from toxic gases and freezing temperatures (Ibid.: 40-41). In addition to claiming millions of lives, the forced labour tore indigenous people from sustainable and collective agricultural production that was abandoned. There was indigenous resistance where it could be mounted, most notably by the Incan monarch, Tupac Amaru in Cuzco (now Peru), who abolished slavery and taxes until his capture and death (Ibid.: 44-45).

During their colonisation of Brazil, the Portuguese transported an estimated ten million slaves from Africa as forced labourers in sugar, tobacco and wood plantations, and gold mines (Ibid.: 51-52). By ploughing much of their mineral riches into buying English manufactured goods, the Portuguese destroyed their own nascent manufacturing sector and that of their colonies. As Galeano suggests: ‘the English had conquered Portugal without the trouble of a conquest’ (Ibid.: 56).

Monoculture

The soil of Latin America proved as lucrative as the mine seams with sugar becoming a dominant agricultural product after it was planted in several Caribbean islands and north-east Brazil, cultivated by ‘legions of slaves’ from Africa (Ibid.: 59). The demand for cash crops from Europe such as sugar, cotton, rubber, cocoa, tobacco and fruit resulted in monoculture, the cultivation of a single crop as the main driver of an entire economy. The relentless cultivation of the soil for cash crops created hunger for those who lived from the land and, when the soil was spent, sugar cultivation shifted elsewhere. When the conditions for growing sugar in the formerly buoyant north-eastern Brazil began to deteriorate, it slumped into poverty and became the ‘most underdeveloped area in the Western hemisphere’ (Ibid.: 63). For countries like Cuba, that remained dependent on sugar-based monoculture, a legacy of colonialism was their precarious economic alignment with world market prices that fluctuated with supply and demand. Galeano cites Cuban revolutionary José Martí: ‘a people that entrusts its subsistence to one product commits suicide’ (Ibid.: 69). For former colonies, diversifying their economic base in a weakened post-colonial state of dependency and monoculture would be a tremendous challenge, particularly when many Latin American states fell under a regime of debt and neoliberalism in the second half of the 20th century (Hickel, 2017).

US colonialism

Chapter three of *Open Veins* discusses the implications of United States’ industrial expansion for Latin America based upon a rapacious consumption of minerals and petroleum from states south of the Rio Grande. Chilean copper, Bolivian tin, Brazilian iron ore and Venezuelan oil were among the resources extracted from the continent by the US, often secured through military, political and economic interference to enable Washington to dictate the terms of trade (Galeano 1997: 134-170). US support for a military dictatorship in Brazil in 1964, for example, ensured that disputed iron ore rights fell into the hands of a Cleveland based mining company (Ibid.: 156). As one of the key architects of neoliberalism, Friedrich von Hayek, once remarked after a visit to Chile following a US-backed military *coup d’état* in

1973 that installed military despot, Augusto Pinochet: ‘My personal preference leans toward a liberal dictatorship rather than toward a democratic government devoid of liberalism’ (Grandin, 2006). Authoritarian leaders could be relied upon to implement neoliberal reforms by force if necessary and to suppress voices of dissent.

Section two of *Open Veins* is dominated by the narrative of a European retreat from Latin America and the advancement of US commercial interests described by Galeano as the ‘contemporary structure of plunder’. The buoyancy of the US economy post-World War Two saw the exponential growth of US corporations with the complicity of military and business elites across the continent. Thus, the new Brazilian dictatorship enabled fifteen car factories to be ‘swallowed up’ by Ford, Chrysler and other US auto corporations between 1964 and 68 as the country was ‘hawked’ to foreign capitalists (Galeano, 1997: 217). As in Brazil, Argentina removed all restrictions on foreign investments which were to be ‘considered on an equal footing with investments of internal origin’ (Ibid.: 218).

Abetting the process of foreign control of key Latin American industrial sectors, primarily by US corporations, was the International Monetary Fund which began extolling the virtues of what Klein described as the ‘shock economics’ of neoliberalism: currency devaluations, removal of price controls, wage freezes, and tariff reductions on imports (Klein, 2007). Indeed, the laboratory of neoliberalism was Pinochet’s Chile under the tutelage of neoliberal guru Milton Friedman to disastrous effect (Ibid.: 77-87). In a post-script to *Open Veins*, comprising section three, written seven years after its publication, Galeano could reflect upon the 1973 coup in Chile, the rolling out of neoliberal ‘reforms’ and the debt crisis that was enveloping the continent. He concluded that:

“Underdevelopment in Latin America is a consequence of development elsewhere, that we Latin Americans are poor because the ground we tread is rich, and that places privileged by nature have been cursed by history” (Ibid.: 267).

Legacy

When the late Hugo Chávez, president of Venezuela from 1999-2013, decided to provide the newly elected US president Obama with a history of Latin America at a summit of the Americas in Trinidad in 2009, he chose *Open Veins of Latin America* (Clark, 2009). This cemented Galeano's text as the pre-eminent account of the continent's colonial history but also emphasised the importance of framing development interventions within the context of historical relations between the global North and South. The book is a reminder to development educators that we can't fully understand the development or underdevelopment of any country or continent without the framing of the social and economic processes that shaped and defined their history. Prescribing development interventions like the seventeen Sustainable Development Goals (UN, 2015) are doomed to failure if they are not informed by the historical causes and legacies of colonial interventions like those described in *Open Veins* (McCloskey, 2020a).

In 2020, I reflected on another classic work from Latin America, which had reached the milestone of fifty years in print, written with same sense of humanity, solidarity and social justice (McCloskey, 2020b). Like *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Freire, 1996), *Open Veins* is designed to raise consciousness, support debate and agitate for social change. *Open Veins* remind us, as Cannon suggests, that Latin America 'remains a key site of hegemonic struggle between neoliberalism and contesting development models' (2016: 1). As such it can be considered a 'development belweather' which deserves close monitoring and discussion in the development education sector (Ibid.).

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Viewpoint

WHAT THE US ELECTION MEANS FOR THE MIDDLE-EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

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For the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, United States' (US) politics are a matter of life or death. The fate of millions can be decided by American voters and a new American administration. For some MENA countries where elections, if they are held, are but a farce the US elections are arguably more important than local ones. But while for many in the US, the choice between Republicans and Democrats carries a very substantial difference in terms of policy and a clear ideological distinction, for the MENA region the differences between the two American parties can be far more subtle and, historically, Democrats are not by default less deadly for the region than Republicans.

US involvement in the MENA region, whether under a Democrat or a Republican administration, has historically entailed support for despots and corrupt regimes often in pursuit of resources such as oil (Cook, 2019; al-Rasheed, 2018) and to enhance the regional strength of Israel at the expense of Palestinian rights (US Department of State, 2020). Barack Obama's era brought with it death and destruction with his support and expansion of the drone strikes programme (Purkis and Serle, 2017). In fact, as co-founder of the peace group CodePink (2020), Medea Benjamin (2017) writes:

“Obama authorized over 10 times more drone strikes than George W Bush, and automatically painted all males of military age in these regions as combatants, making them fair game for remote controlled killing”.

For many people in the Middle East and North Africa, the Obama years were not so different to the Bush presidency. The bombs kept falling and the wars never stopped. Trump, however, brought with him a new and lasting damage adding a new layer to the American role in the region's war: an open and unapologetic support for brutal dictators and a clear policy to drop any pretence about concern for human rights (Haltiwanger, 2017). This was a clear break from Obama's policy of speaking firmly about the importance of human rights and democratic reform in the region. He was, of course, still supporting these dictators (Jilani and Emmons, 2016) but at least it came with the occasional criticism of their human rights record (Roth, 2017; Kirkpatrick, 2015).

Looking back in recent history, Democrats have been in power while some of the most grave atrocities were committed in the Middle East. Bill Clinton was president while thousands were starved to death under brutal sanctions imposed on Iraq, and he launched several military operations in Iraq and Somalia (Kagan, 2001). Under Barrack Obama on the other hand, the US bombed Syria, Libya, Iraq, Yemen, Somalia, Pakistan and Afghanistan and expanded its deadly drone programme (Clarke and Herbst, 1996; Parsons and Hennigan, 2017; Liptak, 2014). This is not to suggest that there are no significant differences between the two American parties, but to highlight the nuances that exist in the role of US interests in the MENA region. There are some things that are stable and rarely change from one administration to the next: support for strategic partners and allies such as Israel, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt and other brutal regimes in the region, that serve the US strategic and economic interests (Bove, 2018).

Despite all of this, most people in the MENA region are as relieved as many US voters at the outcome of the November election which means that far right President Donald Trump will be leaving the White House. However, even if incumbent Joseph Biden's election brings some relief for the MENA countries, it is also tinged with much skepticism about his administration's bringing meaningful change to the region. The Trump years brought with them a deadly change both on the ground and more severely in the discourse. This had a direct impact that was most clearly felt in the deterioration of freedom

of expression, the crackdowns on dissent and opposition, and the emboldening of the region's authoritarian regimes. Despite not launching any new major wars in the region, Trump turned the US role as the world's bully into a matter of national pride rather than an unspoken truth.

Like their European counterparts, American politicians in power were usually required to speak about human rights abuses and democracy in the world. This is usually done with high tones of condemnation when it comes to authoritarian regimes that are not allied with them, and less harsh criticism that could amount to justification when it comes to their authoritarian allies. During Trump's tenure: the US withdrew from the Iran nuclear deal; moved the American embassy in Israel to Jerusalem; and imposed the infamous "deal of the century" thus essentially ending any prospects for a viable Palestinian state or justice for Palestinians (Landler, 2018; Plett Usher, 2018; Alnajjar, 2020). This was a clear signal that the US abandoned the role of mediator in the Middle-East conflict, but rather nakedly served as an agent for Israeli ambitions. Trump was also clear in his unapologetic support for regimes mired by human rights abuses, having even as he put it, a 'favorite dictator' (Youssef, Salama and Bender, 2019). Trump withdrew large numbers of US troops from Afghanistan and Iraq (BBC News, 2020), but at the same time greenlit the Turkish invasion of northern Syria that resulted in the ethnic cleansing of the Kurds (Cockburn, 2020).

And as Trump approached the end of his term, he issued a pardon (De Young, 2020) to four Americans convicted of killing 14 Iraqi civilians while working as contractors with Blackwater in 2007, a pardon that UN human rights experts say violates US obligations under international law (Reuters, 2020). The pardon is also a clear message confirming what many in the region already knew: Iraqi lives do not matter.

The question looming over the next four years at the time of writing (January 2021) is will a Biden presidency add a friendly diplomatic face to the same destructive policies, or fundamentally change them? Few will be holding their breath for radical change in policy. In fact, the decision not to pursue a

more radical agenda was probably made when Biden won the Democratic primaries and nomination for president, and the more radical Senator Bernie Sanders was voted out of the race. It is likely that Biden will represent a return to the centrist status quo both locally and internationally. The new president will be dealing with a strongly divided US, and many polarising and pressing local issues. In the MENA region, he could find himself mired in a spectacular rise in repression, tensions, wars, instability, and insecurity. A reality that his predecessor had an active role in fomenting.

As Arab states line up to sign peace treaties with Israel (Erakat, 2020) at the expense of Palestinian rights, the Gulf crisis seems to be heading towards a resolution which leaves the question of what happens to the Iranian and Palestinian dossiers, which are more pressing than ever (Aljazeera, 2021). It is unlikely that Biden will roll back on any of the major decisions taken by the Trump presidency when it comes to Israel and Palestine such as relocating the US embassy, but what might be on the cards is the restoration of humanitarian aid to the Palestinians that Trump had withdrawn when he decided to cut funding to UNRWA (United Nations Relief and Works Agency), the UN agency for Palestinian refugees (Amira, 2018). This might also usher in an attempt to resume peace talks and regain the role of ‘mediator’. However, on more substantial issues of Middle-East policy such as the construction of Israeli settlements in the Palestinian West Bank and the continued siege of the Gaza Strip, there is unlikely to be any significant change of position from the Biden administration.

What is likely to change, though, is US relations with Iran, with a possible return to diplomacy and an attempt at an agreement that would ease tensions raised in the aftermath of the assassination of Iranian General Qassem Suleimani by the Trump administration in 2020 (Cohen et al., 2020). For better or worse, this situation holds the fate of millions in the region hostage in its proxy wars. A return to diplomacy here is likely and, most importantly, necessary. The Biden administration’s relationship with Iran will also have knock-on effects for its relationships with Saudi Arabia and the United Arab

Emirates, and the future of the war in Yemen. Biden may not be as strong a supporter as Trump for the Saudi monarch's belligerent strategy in the region.

One thing is certain, Trump supported ruthless dictators across the region, despite grave human rights abuses, and Biden will most likely continue to do the same. But, unlike Trump, he will at least talk about democracy and human rights. This might sound trivial, but one thing that we have learned from Trump's presidency is that words do matter.

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Resource Reviews

ECOPEDAGOGY: CRITICAL ENVIRONMENTAL TEACHING FOR PLANETARY JUSTICE AND GLOBAL SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Douglas Bourn

Misiaszek, Greg William (2021) *Ecopedagogy: Critical Environmental Teaching for Planetary Justice and Global Sustainable Development*, London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Over the past decade there has been increasing recognition of the need for a convergence of the goals of global citizenship and sustainable development education. This has been most clearly articulated within the Sustainable Development Goals. There are, of course, practice-based examples of this in Scotland and Wales but there has to date been little academic work that aims to bring these fields more closely together. There is the recent work by Sharma (2020), but perhaps the most significant and important academic work is that by Greg Misiaszek. A student of Carlos Torres, Misiaszek (2018; 2019 with Torres) has through a range of publications outlined a new approach to environmental education and sustainable development that brings in key thinking from traditions linked to global citizenship.

Central to his thinking, and this is most clearly outlined in this volume, is the term ecopedagogy. This is a pedagogical approach that is informed by the thinking of Paulo Freire and focuses on the importance of environmental justice and planetary sustainability. Misiaszek defines ecopedagogy as ‘essentially literacy education for reading and re-reading human acts of environmental violence’ (2020: 1). His approach is rooted in popular education with an emphasis on critical thinking and transformability.

Misaszek notes that there had been some criticisms of Freire’s work for not addressing environmental matters and suggests that this was an area the

great Brazilian thinker was working on when he died. Ecopedagogy is in many ways an attempt to take forward Freire's thinking and locate it within the context of the economic and environmental crises of the 21st century.

The volume covers a very broad canvas including critiquing concepts of development, neoliberalism, globalisation, post-truthism and the shortcomings of the Sustainable Development Goals. Reflecting the influence of Freire, Misiaszek emphasises the importance of dialogue, praxis and trans-disciplinarity. There is also a recognition of the value of the work of Sousa Santos and epistemologies from the global South, the importance of indigenous knowledges and countering dominant global North narratives.

This volume provides a welcome addition to the academic discourses around sustainability and global citizenship. However, it is not an easy read, it is theoretical and in many ways repeats its main theme several times. There are passing references to examples of practice, but the volume would have been enriched by more examples that give a more explicit explanation of what ecopedagogy could mean in practice. For example, the impact of the climate emergency campaign and the ways in which thousands of young people around the world have engaged in this issue poses wider questions around ways in which people learn and what they do with this learning. I was also disappointed that discussion on the Sustainable Development Goals was limited to a few pages at the very end of the volume. I would have thought that the issues these Goals pose in terms of environmental and social justice warranted a more detailed critique.

Whilst global citizenship themes are implicit throughout the volume, they are only discussed in some detail over three or four pages and then only within the framework of citizenship more broadly. The author does make reference to the need for a more critical global citizenship education, but there is little discussion of the work and influence of Andreotti, Tarozzi and Shultz for example. They are referred to but the volume could have been enriched by comparing his ideas to their work.

However, these critical comments should not detract from what is clearly a very important publication. It provides an important framework for taking forward ideas and thinking on sustainability and global citizenship. Misiaszek reminds us of the continued value of the ideas of Paulo Freire and that calls for planetary justice pose much wider questions about the purpose of education and learning and the need for constantly questioning the influence of neoliberalism.

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PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH, CAPABILITIES AND EPISTEMIC JUSTICE: A TRANSFORMATIVE AGENDA FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

SU-MING KHOO

Melanie Walker and Alejandra Boni (eds.) (2020) *Participatory Research, Capabilities and Epistemic Justice: A Transformative Agenda for Higher Education*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

This book connects contemporary philosophical, theoretical and political concerns to address decolonisation and (in)justice with the capabilities approach in development and participatory research practice. It makes important bridges between knowledges and experiences, covering philosophical and theoretical questions about knowledge injustice, education, and collaborative and creative research using community-engaged participatory approaches. The book converges different constituencies, going beyond assumptions that they should remain separate in addressing the three main concerns of: 1) the problem of epistemic injustice in real-world educational contexts; 2) what we can learn from participatory research methods; and 3) the relevance of the capabilities approach, using examples mainly from the global South. Fricker's theory of 'epistemic injustice' (2009) and 'epistemic contribution capability' (2015) concern citizens' abilities to contribute to knowledge have their contributions taken up fairly, becoming both receivers and givers of knowledge in hospitable situations of mutual esteem and trust (Walker and Boni, 2020: 12). Epistemic injustice is at the centre of struggles for liberatory and transformative knowledge, to 'decolonise' development and education by challenging and transforming how knowledge is made.

Critical development educationists tend to question economy and market-oriented approaches to citizenship, learning and action. Rooted in largely non-formal, social justice-oriented education, development education

engages diverse educators and learners towards broad objectives of transformation, while critically challenging social injustice. However, development education only sparsely engages with development theory's paradigm shift towards the human development and capabilities perspective (ul Haq, 2003). Development education's engagement with higher education tends to be limited to specific areas of teacher education and nonformal student co-curriculum, ignoring higher education's other major activities of research, professional education in disciplines other than teaching and the 'engagement' and 'impact' agendas. From the perspective of academic research, educational research and research about disciplinary and professional pedagogies remains a bit of a Cinderella. Questions of how research contributes to knowledge creation and social change, research practice and connections to social struggles and policies are central to the original motivation and mission of this journal. This book offers useful ideas and examples to bridge education, research and practice.

The human development and capabilities paradigm is concerned with how knowledge works to oppress or liberate, since it is centrally concerned with people's real freedom to consider and effect choices in a non-abstract 'real' world. Education for human development differs from education for neoliberal development (Jolly, 2003). Human development values education as an intrinsic good and desirable end in itself, but also as a means to overcome disadvantage and oppression and move beyond. Participatory research is a potentially transgressive and transformative approach to research that seeks to create less oppressive, more socially engaged and just ways of knowing and being.

Melanie Walker and Sandra Boni are important contributors to current debates about social justice, higher education, capability theory and human development. Their introductory and concluding essays offer an excellent primer to the book's three central concerns, while the individual chapters offer rich and expansive examples across different regions. The subtitle: 'A Transformative Agenda for Higher Education', recognises that higher education is a far from ideal context for realising epistemic and social

justice. There are serious limitations on what higher education can do to bring about a more just world, but the same might be said about all forms of education, or even all social movements for justice. As Sen argues in *The Idea of Justice* (2009), the world is full of manifest injustice. The non-ideal nature of higher education should not prevent efforts to reduce and prevent further injustice. Addressing higher education's specific role in producing, codifying and validating knowledge is a first step towards redressing epistemic injustice and bringing about more just arrangements. Demands for more reflexive, inclusive and decolonial knowledge are central to making higher education more responsive to, and responsible, for democratic and just social transformations.

Chapter 2 by Velasco and Boni offers an example from a higher education institution committed to a transformative human development programme focused on co-production and ethical citizenship. Colombia presents a challenging context in the wake of the 2016 peace agreements, with continuing problems of armed violence, economic inequality, poverty and basic needs deprivation. Agriculture and mining affect biodiversity and are entangled in continuing complexities of illegality and conflict. University stakeholders, enterprise and social partners came together to identify valued dimensions for human and sustainable development and assess relevant processes and conditions of possibility, enablement or limitation. The hope is that education can act as a capability multiplier to expand epistemic capability, practical reason, knowledge and imagination, social relationships and networks with respect, dignity and recognition. Participatory design enables typically excluded actors such as students, support staff, social organisations and entrepreneurs to have a voice in the process. Not all capabilities expanded in the same way for different participant groups and the authors offer a power analysis of these differences (51-53).

Chapter 3 by Belda-Miquel and Avella-Bernal considers the elusive topic of social innovation, a concept that originated in business schools, but is considered a new academic 'must' (60). The authors wonder about the means and ends of education, turning to Sen's capability approach to align

undergraduate social innovation teaching with community engagement, social justice and wellbeing expansion. Fricker's critique of epistemic injustice enters their discussion of pilot courses for a large, geographically distributed private university in Colombia, bearing in mind a mission to train 'comprehensive professionals capable of leading social change' (71). Bringing academia and communities together can create new meanings and connections, but academia's logics also bring risks and ambiguities. Instead of creating empowering social meanings, they may be introducing new forms of alienation, extractivism and epistemic injustice that distort communities' own terms, meanings and aspirations (83).

Chapter 4 by Leivas-Vargas and others offers a response to this quandary by discussing capabilities for epistemic liberation, employing Freirean 'action learning' as a problem-solving approach for a neighbourhood in Valencia, Spain. The project brought together different stakeholders using creative and participatory visual methods, engaging them in co-design, collective reflection and 'conscientisation' for change (fig 3, 102). Secondary school students used photovoice, intergenerational university students used participatory video, and immigrant mothers of youth used social diagnosis and social mapping.

Chapter 7 by Cin and Süleymanoglu-Kürüm also discusses the use of video in feminist participatory action research that fosters students' skills, values and knowledge to advance gender justice. Videography offers a safe environment to discuss gender issues, develop students' political capabilities, voice gender issues and bring them to public attention. Gender equality has been de-prioritised in the current Turkish conservative political conjuncture. Influenced by Islamic conservatism, the Turkish Council of Higher Education cancelled the higher education gender equality programme in 2019, claiming incompatibility with national cultural values. When higher education institutions fail to provide equal and participatory spaces, arts-based participatory projects retain opportunities for inclusion, democratic space and development of capabilities for political participation. Higher education's potential to advance epistemic injustice is less straightforward in socially

divided contexts and where the education system operates to reproduce state ideology and deter critique. The authors emphasise ‘one’s freedom to express political ideas and to engage in politics; to protest and to be free from state repression’. The absence of such freedom is ‘political poverty’ (171-2; Cin, 2017: 44).

In Chapter 5, Keleher and Frediani consider the problem of epistemic oppression in an exchange programme involving community residents, academic planners and architects in conversations about the right to the city in Salvador, Brazil, where violence and homicide are problematically prevalent. The programme built and nurtured solidarity, enabled community representatives to take on roles, and offered opportunities to interact and learn across different collectives and countries. There were hopes to challenge power asymmetries and open up possibilities to imagine alternative, more socially just forms of city-making (126). However, the authors noted silences, skirting around risky and sensitive issues entangled in violence and drug trafficking. Participants’ silence is related to epistemic oppression, yet Keleher and Frediani also explain such silences as contextual, subversive and potentially ultimately working towards changing unjust structures. Epistemic oppression constrains abilities to contribute to knowledge and redress unjust and violent conditions. However, a better understanding of this oppression can point to how such conditions can be mitigated by collective action, solidarity and thoughtful and ethical approaches to epistemic responsibility.

Chapter 6 by Carmen Martinez-Vargas reflects on global South contexts permeated by colonial pasts and neo-colonial continuities in her research with a small group of South African undergraduates (Martinez-Vargas, 2018). The capabilities approach to epistemic justice seems relevant to the task of confronting the legacy of colonial-racial hierarchies. The capability to contribute epistemically is fundamental to epistemic freedom, defined by Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2018: 3) as ‘fundamentally about the right to think, theorise, interpret the world, develop own methodologies and write from where one is located, unencumbered by Eurocentrism’. Inclusive research processes can contribute to unlocking ‘colonial conversion factors’, thereby

expanding epistemic freedom and working towards more epistemically just institutions.

The examples discussed are striking their use of creative and alternative media in participatory research. In Chapter 8, Walker and Mathebula discuss photovoice, combining photographic stories with critical and shared reflection with student researchers in South Africa. They explore storytelling and the development of ‘narrative capability’ as the capacity to speak and construct personal identities. Participatory photovoice is an accessible, inclusive method for low-income participants. Photovoice fosters narrative capabilities of self-recognition, mutual recognition and relationships, and can help to build creative and critical skills and knowledge of inclusion and exclusion (208). However, advancing individual capabilities may be insufficient in the face of untransformed structural conditions and Walker and Mathebula are somewhat despondent about this. While their project succeeded in developing students’ narrative capabilities, it was less successful at shifting university structures and power (211).

In chapter 9 Marovah and Mkwanzani discuss the use of participatory graffiti with rural Tonga youth, a hard-to-reach disadvantaged minority in Zimbabwe. Graffiti enables participants to creatively and freely illustrate, interpret, explain and present their experiences. Graffiti is both an art method and a research tool that provides space and voice to those who have been silenced. Through creativity, the project surfaced needs for recognition, concerns with cultural heritage, the impact that collective capabilities can have, and the importance of creative methods of expression to strengthen epistemic inclusion and foster social cohesion.

The focus on epistemic capabilities and functionings aligns the human development and capabilities paradigm, participatory action research methods and concerns with epistemic injustice and knowledge decolonisation. Covering policy making, community action, institutional change, teaching and researching, these studies point towards the importance of structural and historical ‘conversion factors’ underlying epistemic injustice and frustrating

transformative change. This volume is an exemplary exercise in theorising and praxis, revisiting theory from a variety of experiences and locations and rendering the capabilities perspective more accessible to non-specialist educators, practitioners and researchers. This volume was a gift to review, sparking deeper reflection around pressurised teaching and research under COVID-19 pandemic conditions. These reflections surfaced deeper critical questions about the sustainability and survivability of higher education, its institutional structures, practices and values, and questions of how to keep doing engaged, transgressive and transformative teaching and research in the longer term.

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CRITICAL SCHOOL GEOGRAPHY: EDUCATION FOR GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP

SUSAN GALLWEY

Huckle, J (2020) *Critical School Geography: Education for Global Citizenship*, e-book, available on author's website: <https://john.huckle.org.uk/critical-school-geography/>

The cover photo of John Huckle's e-book, *Critical School Geography: Education for Global Citizenship*, depicts a young climate striker with a poster stating: 'If you were acting on climate change, I'd be learning at school'. This is an apt image for a book that explores the overlapping fields of geography, education and critical social theory, in pursuit of a way of teaching that is meaningful and empowering for today's young citizens. *Critical School Geography* is aimed principally at post-primary geography teachers in the UK, although much of the content can be applied in the Republic of Ireland and other countries. Looking beyond subject boundaries, the book is relevant to other post-primary social science subjects with a citizenship dimension, such as Politics and Society in the Republic of Ireland, or Government and Politics in Northern Ireland. Furthermore, the book is of value to anyone working in the broader fields of formal or non-formal global citizenship education (GCE), education for sustainable development (ESD) and development education (DE).

Critical approaches to geography, education and global citizenship

Critical School Geography is based on critical approaches to the contested spaces of geography and education. Broadly speaking, critical geography aims to free the discipline from its imperial roots, to use geographical knowledge to view the world differently, and to seek better ways of living together on our planet (Dorling, 2018). Critical education, as presented in this book, is founded upon Freire's (1972: 28) idea of 'praxis', or reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it. Huckle believes that these two approaches

can be brought together to create a critical geography education that enables students to understand the social construction of space, place, nature and identity, and to take actions towards rebuilding these constructions in more just and sustainable ways.

Critical School Geography is clearly aligned to UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation) guidance on GCE and ESD, reflecting Huckle's assertion that geography is the school subject with the greatest potential to provide the knowledge, skills and values that contribute to sustainable development and global citizenship (2). The nine curriculum units presented in the book contain specific links to *Global Citizenship Education: Topics and Learning Objectives* (UNESCO, 2015) and *Education for Sustainable Development Goals: Learning Objectives* (UNESCO, 2017). Huckle supports UNESCO's conceptualisation of GCE and ESD as transformative processes, working across cognitive, socio-emotional and behavioural domains of learning to build the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes that learners need to contribute to a more inclusive, just and peaceful world (UNESCO 2015: 15). It should be noted that although the UNESCO conception of GCE/ ESD occupies a core role in Huckle's text, it does not escape his critical eye; he points out that the UNESCO guidance fails to acknowledge that radical global democratisation is needed if the GCE/ESD goals are to be truly achieved (406).

Linking theory and practice

Critical School Geography addresses both theory and practice. The chapters provide a framework that teachers can use to explore critical ideas about knowledge, pedagogy, nature, space, place, democracy and citizenship. Each chapter is followed by a curriculum unit, framed in terms of key issues of concern to today's teenagers, such as housing, jobs and health care. This reflects Huckle's belief that geography teachers have a duty to relate sustainable development to young people's anxieties about their futures (5). Each curriculum unit demonstrates how the ideas explored in the chapter can be put into practice in the classroom, including inquiry questions, learning outcomes, learning activities and assessment tasks.

The relationship of theory and practice is well illustrated in Chapter Four on ‘Knowledge’. Challenging empiricist and positivist conceptions of geographical knowledge, this chapter explores the concept of ‘powerful geographical knowledge’ (Lambert, 2018) that can provide students with new ways of understanding the world. This rich discussion is followed by a curriculum unit exploring the causes and solutions of homelessness, in the context of SDG 11 (Sustainable Cities and Communities), and UNESCO GCE topic 6 (Difference and respect for diversity). In the curriculum unit, students probe myths about homelessness, learn about housing policies, and explore how structural change could reduce the number of homeless people.

Another good example of theory linked to practice is found in Chapter Six on ‘Nature’. This chapter opens with a challenging question: ‘Faced with a crisis in our relationship with the rest of the natural world, what competences should geography teachers be developing in their students?’ (247). The chapter examines planetary boundaries, contrasts ‘reformist’ vs ‘transformative’ approaches to sustainable development, and explores eco-pedagogy as a critical approach that develops students’ ability to reflect and act on their relations with the rest of the natural world. The chapter is followed by a curriculum unit on Urban Farming in Chicago, Nairobi and Bristol, linked to SDG 2 (Zero Hunger) and UNESCO GCE Topic 2 (Issues affecting interaction and connectedness of communities at local, national and global levels). In the curriculum unit, students explore the stories that we are told about food and hunger, and consider the social, environmental and personal costs of the ways we eat (267).

Other examples of innovative chapter-curriculum unit pairs are a chapter on ‘Space’ which is linked with a curriculum unit on China’s Belt and Road Initiative and its impacts on Xinjiang and East Africa, and a chapter on ‘Democracy and Citizenship’ which is linked with a curriculum unit on the role of international tax reform in paying for the transition to sustainable development. The theory and practice presented in each chapter reflect Huckle’s four decades of experience as a teacher and teacher educator. They demonstrate how a creative, holistic approach can bring the UNESCO

GCE/ESD guidance to life. Furthermore, the strong content provides a counter-argument to those who have claimed that global citizenship approaches undermine and devalue core subject knowledge (Standish, 2012: 94).

Geography and Development Education

Huckle discusses how DE approaches can inform and enrich teaching about development within the geography curriculum, particularly in terms of examining unequal North-South relationships (302). He argues that geography teachers need to address North-to-South patterns of engagement as articulated by Andreotti (2014) in her “HEADS UP” acronym: Hegemonic, Ethnocentric, Ahistorical, Depoliticised, Salvationist, Uncomplicated, Paternalistic. The Global Learning Programme (McCloskey, 2016) is cited as a key support structure for teachers wishing to augment the DE element of their classroom practice.

For development educators working across disciplines, there are examples of ‘thinking geographically’ that would translate well into DE practice. For example, Chapter 8 on ‘Place’, discusses a critical pedagogy of place which poses questions such as: What happened in this place? What will happen in this place? What should happen in this place? What role should I play in constructing this place? (344). This approach is applied in Curriculum Unit 8, ‘Becoming a young British Muslim woman: the significance of place’. In this unit, students explore the geography of anti-Muslim incidents in UK communities and learn of the strategies that young Muslim women adopt to keep themselves safe in public places (361). Applying this type of place-based approach could enrich DE offerings not only on racism but also across a range of social-environmental issues.

Another benefit that development educators can gain from this book relates to Huckle’s championing of radical democracy as the means of redistributing wealth and power, thereby extending equality, liberty, solidarity and sustainability (IV). Huckle’s vigorous stance provides a morale boost for

development educators troubled by the ongoing ‘de-clawing’, de-radicalisation, and de-politicisation of DE practice (Bryan, 2011).

Using *Critical School Geography*

Critical School Geography can be used by any teacher interested in strengthening the GCE/ESD dimension in geography or related subjects. The combination of theory and practice make it an ideal resource for Continuing Professional Development (CPD) and Initial Teacher Education (ITE). *Critical School Geography* is strongly oriented towards the UK (and within the UK, primarily England), not only in terms of educational structures but also in terms of political, social and economic contexts; for example, the data used in the curriculum units is almost exclusively English. However, as the book’s topics are inherently global in scope and significance, readers from outside the UK should be able to translate the content to their own settings. Huckle’s detailed links to UNESCO guidance throughout the book ensure that non-UK educators can extrapolate examples via UNESCO-linked guidance from their own countries, for example the Republic of Ireland’s *Education for Sustainable Development: A study of opportunities and linkages in the primary and post-primary curriculum* (NCCA, 2018).

Critical School Geography is accessible in all senses of the word. It is an open-source e-book available for download from the author’s website. It uses a modest 6000 KB of memory despite its 450-page length, enabling teachers to keep it readily to hand on their laptops or tablets. The plentiful hyperlinks in the text will bring the reader to many freely available sources, including books, articles, websites and videos. The e-book format allows for a very current context, as is evident in its discussion of the COVID-19 pandemic. However, the text will require continuing edits if it is to remain up-to-date.

Throughout the book, the tone is that of a seasoned educator who enjoys bringing in new voices. Complex concepts are communicated clearly to those who are unfamiliar with the terrain whilst not dumbed-down for those who are more at home with critical theory. The topical themes of the

curriculum units ensure that the activities for students are engaging to young people who are learning to navigate their present lives and plan their uncertain futures. Overall, *Critical School Geography* provides sustenance for any teacher who believes that geography classes can indeed help young people to imagine and create a more just and sustainable world.

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THE INTEREST: HOW THE BRITISH ESTABLISHMENT RESISTED THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY

NEIL ALLDRED

Taylor, Michael (2020) *The Interest: How the British Establishment Resisted the Abolition of Slavery*, London: The Bodley Head.

My 1972 Penguin edition of Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* has a helpful footnote from the translator. In it, she defines 'conscientisation' as 'learning to perceive social, political and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality' (Freire, 1972: 15). Michael Taylor's riveting new book doesn't explicitly use these very 1960s concepts – redolent as they are of Mao Zedong's contradictions and Freire's own earnest attempts to help illiterates in Latin America – but he unpacks the historical realities of the slave trade, of slave holding and of the emancipation of enslaved people in a way that helps the reader in 2021 perceive many of the structural flaws in our contemporary society, and he ends with a challenge so that readers may become activists and agents of social change.

Taylor's doctoral thesis, on which this book is based, was prompted by his dismay at the mythical nature of much of Britain's historical narrative: he felt that much schoolbook history explained slavery as a vile institution emanating from elsewhere that Britain did much to help alleviate and then to triumphantly abolish almost singlehandedly. Instead, he sees Britain's role as much more malign, and the positive contributions of William Wilberforce and other lauded luminaries are offered a much more nuanced and modest role, since he prefers to examine a triptych of very different agents. Firstly, the eponymous West Indian Interest constituted those members of the various elites in Britain that strongly supported the principle and mechanics of slavery in Britain's Caribbean colonies – where 700,000 enslaved people worked for British enrichment. Secondly, the various groups of those enslaved people who refused to submit to slavery and actively rebelled against it, from the slave rebellion and drive to independence in Saint-Domingue – contemporary Haiti – under Toussaint L'Ouverture, through the myriad uprisings and protests in

British-ruled colonies. Thirdly, the incredibly widespread opposition to slavery across so many sections of British society, be they women subscribing funds to disseminate anti-slavery propaganda, or women courageously envisioning and implementing a boycott of Caribbean sugar, or the activities of the Anti-Slavery Society (still going strong today when even more people are enslaved worldwide than in 1832), or the working-class movements that saw slavery for the injustice that it was and is.

In a narrative that never flags and that is far from pedestrian or merely academic, Taylor documents the grip of Tory politicians in the late 18th and early 19th Centuries – he specifically concentrates on the period 1807 to 1837 – and their implacable opposition to the abolition of slavery. He demonstrates clearly how people in the upper reaches of politics, in business and trade, in the legal profession, in the military, in the Anglican church and in the landed gentry worked to block abolitionist sentiments, publications and activities. Kings George IV and William IV joined the pantheon of eminent Prime Ministers – including Canning, Peel, and Wellington – in blocking for as long as possible any moves to free the enslaved peoples in the Caribbean colonies.

He details the many uprisings and rebellions that took place, with hundreds dying for their freedom, and thousands then being even more cruelly treated after the insurrections had been beaten back by an even more aggressive and well-armed colonial response – supported by British military, political, legal and economic might. He draws our attention to the works of Black slaves, writers and activists such as Mary Prince, Olaudah Equiano and Ottobah Cuguano, whose separate accounts of their enslavement were eagerly read, discussed and heightened the awareness of ordinary people the length and breadth of Britain. He reminds us, too, of the work of historians such as CLR James (1933) and Eric Williams (1964) – West Indians themselves - and Joseph Inikoro, a Nigerian, all of whom mapped out the singular evil of the triangular slave trade, so ably and enthusiastically managed by British elites.

His documentation of the political struggle across England is particularly fascinating. Ordinary working-class men and women had no political power and limited suffrage. Taylor delineates the House of Lords as

an unrepresentative bastion of privilege and self-interest. Rotten boroughs meant that a constituency such as Old Sarum in Wiltshire had just eleven non-resident electors who nonetheless returned two MPs to parliament - but the combined populations of Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, Bradford and Sheffield (750,000) had no representation in Westminster. The Tories were adamant in their resistance to any social reform – especially electoral reform – and thus constituted a near-impregnable block on any progressive legislation. So ordinary people who were concerned with the slavery question in the West Indies had to target parliamentary reform at Westminster – which they did with gusto.

The Anti-Slavery Society was founded in 1823 but its gradualist, incremental approach, that favoured amelioration of the enslaved people's lot rather than wholesale abolition of the institution of slavery, made little progress against such establishment strengths – until the Society agreed to a more radical splinter group. This was initially called the Agency Committee, which quickly gained financial and moral support from wealthy Quakers, from Dissidents and from a small number of other sympathetic individuals. It developed a strategy of supporting MPs, of publicising issues, and of sending speakers on tours around the country to educate and activate local communities. Indeed, it became an independent entity – the Agency Council - after the Great Reform Act of 1832, when the Whigs insisted on reform of political procedures and were – unsurprisingly – supported by almost everyone outside the establishment in London.

Taylor draws attention to figures such as Daniel O'Connell, the Irish political leader who campaigned for Catholic Emancipation, and his and others' success in this field caused Peel to back down and grant Catholic relief in 1829. The parallels between West Indian slavery and the way British elites treated Irish Catholics and other colonised peoples are made clear without ever losing track of the book's main thread. This vignette deftly illustrates how domestic political squabbles and international conflicts often resolved into the same issue: class politics in which a wealthy and insensitive clique seek to maintain power at all costs – and certainly at the cost of thousands of lives lost and livelihoods made miserable. In retrospect, we can perhaps be pleased that

Peel's definition of Conservative principles – in the *Tamworth Manifesto* – was so absolutely set against social, institutional and political change of any shape whatsoever, that the Tories were bound to fail in electoral terms and, indeed, the Whigs came to power intent only on domestic political reform, but that great leap forwards in terms of electoral democracy enabled the rapid dissolution of slavery – in the West Indies and elsewhere.

Even with full abolition being granted by Westminster in 1832, however, it did not come into effect until 1835, and even then, there was to be a period in which the former slaves would be expected to work for their former masters as 'apprentices' but without the meagre support previously offered to slaves – the basic housing and the occasional meals on festive occasions. So, slavery in all but name continued – just like the Jim Crow laws in the Democrat-controlled Southern states in the United States for the one hundred years after the Confederate side lost the American Civil War. Furthermore, immediately after the abolition of slavery in the West Indies, Britain began to import Indian indentured labour – maybe as many as 500,000 – to drive down the bargaining power of 'freed' slaves and to replace those who refused to do the degrading and arduous work involved in sugar production. And, of course, the final obscenity: compensation was to be granted, not to the freed slaves but to the former slaveholders as compensation for their lost 'property'. Taylor quotes calculations that the compensation offered to some 40,000 slaveholders was worth £350 billion at 2020 values, and took 170 years to be completely paid off (being completed in February 2018), by generations of British taxpayers.

There are many other stories and details in Taylor's rich and engaging book, but for this review, a DE perspective will enable us to draw a few conclusions of relevance, perhaps, to contemporary struggles. Global inequality and the climate crisis are the two most pressing – indeed, existential – challenges facing the world today. In his Epilogue, Taylor details the efforts of Caribbean politicians and others to conceive of justice in a post-enslavement world. Sir Hilary Beckles, Barbadian chairman of the Caribbean Reparations Commission (CRC), presented the case for reparations to the UN General Assembly. Taylor cites as precedents the Australian, US, German and British

governments' payments of reparations for the harms done to, respectively, Aboriginal peoples, Native American and Black American farmers, survivors of the Holocaust, and survivors of the British atrocities during the Mau Mau struggle for independence in Kenya. Apart from financial considerations, the CRC also proposes four specific actions to be undertaken by the UK; a formal apology (and not mere expressions of regret); healthcare, given the appalling levels of ill-health suffered by subsequent generations of West Indian citizens; remediating the illiteracy that has plagued the Caribbean since the abolition of slavery; and, finally, complete forgiveness of debt to all former colonies in the Caribbean.

Taylor laments the inheritance of racism bequeathed by this era to all succeeding generations of Britons. He notes that all subsequent economic models and schools passively accept various versions of the exploitation of workers. The number and range of direct beneficiaries of slavery, which has influenced their thinking, their cultural outputs, their view of the world, is huge, whether we look at George Orwell, Graham Greene or Elisabeth Barrett Browning and myriad others: we are all tainted. And some politicians today have extolled that aberrant and inaccurate picture of Britain at the head of abolitionist movements, when the England of that period was dragged, weeping and wailing, into an action of the most modest level of justice.

So, do we today applaud the attacks on statues of Rhodes or Colston? Do we condemn those British universities that accumulated vast wealth from the fruits of slavery? Taylor reminds us that 'emancipation was entirely contingent upon the collapse of the Tories, the reform of parliament, favourable Cabinet politics, *and* slave rebellions in the Caribbean' (2020: 310). And, of course, huge working-class rallies and petitions, protests and boycotts across Britain. He argues that the truly historic aspect of abolition was the coming together of so many actors and circumstances against the unbelievable wealth, contumacy and sheer racist values of so many politically important people in British history. There is a positive to this sorry saga and that is that abolition was successful - eventually.

In 2021, we now have a remarkable text that is clear, passionate, detailed and intellectually robust. We have a document that can help us examine past practices and perceptions and to see whether contemporary values and understandings will stand us in good stead in any actions we may wish to take against the inequalities and injustices facing the world today. Taylor was only 32 years old when he completed his inspiring book, and we can perhaps hope for his company in the struggles still to come!

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