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Editorial

DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

MICHELLE MURPHY

This issue of *Policy and Practice* on the theme of ‘Development Education and Social Justice’ comes at a time of great global upheaval and turmoil. The world is still grappling with the social and economic impact of the COVID-19 pandemic. Climate change is at the top of the global agenda and as world leaders gather in Glasgow for the COP-26 United Nations (UN) Climate Change Conference, the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP, 2021) has issued a stark warning about impending climate catastrophe if countries are not more ambitious in their climate policies. Issues of inequality and social justice continue to dominate discourse as the two most recent United Nations *Human Development Reports* (United Nations, 2019; 2020) lay bare.

The 2019 *Human Development Report* (United Nations, 2019) was clear that many inequalities in human development have been increasing. The report warned that a new generation of inequalities is opening up, around education, and around technology and climate change (Ibid.). In his introduction to the report, Achem Steiner noted that inequality is not just about income, it is about the unequal distribution of wealth and power, and entrenched social and political norms that leaves power in the hands of a few (United Nations, 2019: 5).

The 2020 *Human Development Report* (United Nations, 2020) finds that trends continue to go in the wrong direction with deprivations, underdevelopment and inequalities persisting globally despite progress in some areas. The UN reports that today, average life expectancy is 20 years higher for people in the richest countries compared to those in Sub-Saharan Africa. Similarly, almost one in three adults in Southern Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa are unable to read. These inequalities are also reflected in the sizeable

differences in income levels. The report shows that the interaction of the impacts of climate change with existing inequalities threatens significant reversals in sustainable development.

A new normal is coming and a great transformation is needed to change the path we are on (United Nations, 2020). But how do we make this transformation, how do we change our path and more importantly how do we all influence the shape our future should take? The 2020 *Human Development Report* (Ibid.) reiterates the case that people's agency and empowerment can bring about the action we need to take if we are to live in balance with the planet in a fairer world. Development education is key to shaping this new path, delivering social justice and challenging inequalities.

'Values are fundamental to our personal understanding of what it means to live a good life. But people cannot realize their values without having sufficient capabilities and agency' (United Nations, 2020: 8). Education and educators help us to build capability and agency which supports our participation in society. Education not only benefits the individual, but all of society. Education is one of the key public services that enables participation in society, in the economy and in public life. Development education is key to building capacity and agency which are essential to the realisation of social justice. It is essential to delivering the changes required to build a better future, which will allow us to live in balance with the planet, and with it we can help countries and communities realise the Sustainable Development goals (SDGs) (United Nations, 2015). In an era of change and upheaval, delivering better outcomes for people, locally and globally, must be at the core of human development.

A common theme of all three Focus articles in this edition of *Policy and Practice*, is that while global citizenship education (GCE), development education and education for sustainable development (ESD) are complex, all three are essential to addressing issues of social justice, and delivering better outcomes for people globally.

Shawna Carroll examines an anti-oppressive approach to global citizenship education in her article. She explains how teachers must be supported to both understand their role in systematic oppression, as well as their role in dismantling it. Carroll's framework for anti-oppressive GCE helps us to understand the interconnections of privilege and oppression, both on a local and global scale. The ability to link the local to the national and the global is key to realising social justice, addressing inequality, and delivering on the ambitions of the SDGs (United Nations, 2015). Carroll reminds us of the important role of teacher educators, not only in delivering important content, but in applying this content to the realities of complicated local and global social justice issues. Understanding the context is key, as is the ability to critique this context.

Resolving issues of inequality, locally and globally is complex and multifaceted. Carroll notes the importance of modelling the kind of teaching pre-service educators hope that students will practice and build on. She outlines a framework for building an anti-oppressive foundation in GCE and the critical conversations this entails. The framework aims to assist understanding the interconnections of privilege and oppression, both on a local and global scale. Carroll's article also ties the importance of these critical conversations to the inclusion of the SDGs into national programmes.

Joyce Raanhuis in her article 'Empowering Teachers as Agents of Social Cohesion' emphasises just how important development education has become in equipping teachers and learners for a socially just world. She reminds us that 'educational efforts towards social justice emphasise the need to provide teachers and learners with the knowledge, skills and attitudes to promote positive action'. This involves capacity building, and providing people with the skills to enable critical analysis and advocacy. It also involves equipping people with the skills to challenge the status quo and stereotypes, an understanding of the societal context (past and present) which influences the dynamics of inequality and power, and the ability to engage with how global issues impact on our daily lives. Building capacity and supporting agency will help to ensure that all of us can influence the shape of human development.

Raanhuis reminds us that many of the perceptions of development education emanating from the global North are not suited to the conditions and the understandings of people from the global South. This point is often forgotten in the discourse around development education and social justice. The knowledge, conditions and understandings of all people, must be valued equally. Raanhuis notes that the level of social cohesion is inversely correlated with the level of inequality. Raanhuis explores how educators and teachers for global development, global citizen education and development education have to address and incorporate unconscious bias, anti-oppressive approaches and the dynamics of inequality and power both locally, nationally and globally. They must also pass this knowledge on to their students. Raanhuis details how the principle of lifelong learning is embedded in development education and social justice education in South Africa. Teachers have a key role to play in capacity building, dialogue, critical thinking and community building to promote social cohesion. Lifelong learning should be an integral element of all types of education, and to see an example of this principle embedded in development education is very positive.

Raanhuis makes the salient point that enabling teachers to make meaningful connections between their local realities and global contexts is what will deliver social justice. This is why supporting development educators through lifelong learning is essential. In a world where vast amounts of information are just a click away, it is vital that teachers are supported to develop student's capacity for critical thinking, to question where information is coming from, who it is coming from and why.

Lochlann Attack in his article on recalibrating SDG 4.7 on Education for Sustainable Development examines the role of ESD within the history of the UN's strategies for achieving sustainable development and how this might be improved within the context of the SDGs. In order for global citizens to be able and willing to act for and promote change, they must be supported to see things differently through critical analysis of both global and local contexts. Attack's article echoes the point made by Carroll on the importance of understanding context, and the point made by Raanhuis on the importance of

lifelong learning and continuous professional development of development educators.

The Incheon Declaration states that education is at the heart of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (UNESCO, 2015). Indeed, SDG 4.7 aims to ‘ensure all learners acquire knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development’ which is crucial to the success of all seventeen SDGs. Attack goes beyond education for sustainable development as a tool to support individuals. Through his exploration of the concept of epistemic responsibility in recalibrating SDG 4.7, he makes the case for supporting communities through ESD. He argues that by increasing the capacity of communities to engage with sustainable development, and by equipping them with the knowledge that allows them to act in ways to support Agenda 2030, this in turn will increase their capacity to mobilise for the SDGs.

Attack does not shy away from addressing some deficiencies in ESD including the challenge of including environmental content in education. He argues that recalibrating SDG 4.7 through the lens of epistemic responsibility, and adapting ESD to address these deficiencies and meet these challenges would mobilise communities and individuals to deliver on the ambition of Agenda 2030. Development education is crucial to empowering people and communities to bring about the action needed to live in balance with the planet (United Nations, 2020).

The common thread running through these articles is the importance of critical analysis to social justice and the importance of education as an agent for change. The ability to challenge the dominant narrative, to make the link between global and local policy, to communicate this to people and communities, and to support action is the foundation of development education. Without development education, and the teachers that deliver it, we will never deliver social justice. Capacity and agency building needs development education. It needs teachers to continue acting as agents of change, making those connections between the local reality and global context to deliver social justice.

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Focus

ANTI-OPPRESSIVE GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION THEORY AND PRACTICE IN PRE-SERVICE TEACHER EDUCATION

SHAWNA M. CARROLL

Abstract: Pre-service teacher-educators are tasked with teaching not only important content, but also the realities of complex local and global social justice issues that impact their students and those students' future students. To address the colonial roots of development (Arshad-Ayaz, Andreotti, and Sutherland, 2017; Pashby, 2015), which promotes a lens of 'helping' and projects aiming to civilise the 'Other' (Andreotti, 2006), I share the theory and practice of an anti-oppressive global citizenship education (GCE), which I utilise in a teacher-education programme in Japan. I borrow Andreotti's theorisations and combine terminology from Sensoy and DiAngelo (2017) to understand an anti-oppressive GCE, which not only understands the complexities and fluidity of societies, but also uncovers the systemic oppression that organises societies. Foundational terminology is explained to understand systemic oppression and constitutive subjectivities (Coloma, 2008), and this theory is used to explain several anti-oppressive GCE practices which promote self-reflexivity and go beyond inclusion for pre-service teacher-educators. In this new COVID-19 era where injustices are magnified, this anti-oppressive GCE encourages teacher-educators to go back to the basics to understand their role in systemic oppression, as well as their role in dismantling it.

Key words: Anti-oppression; Global Citizenship Education; Pre-service Education; Constitutive Subjectivities; Theory and Practice.

Introduction and context

Although I have been committed to helping resolve social justice issues for decades, the understanding of my own role in contributing to these issues did

not come until much later in my education journey. Although aiming to help those that were marginalised, I was actually contributing to their oppression with individualising, liberal multicultural beliefs (Thobani, 2007) and was ignorant of the systems of oppression we are all navigating. It was not until my graduate studies that I realised that although my aim was to help, when individualising struggles and viewing ‘the Other’ in opposition to myself, a binary and hierarchy were reinforced. This understanding that injustice can be resolved by preventing individual unjust actions and a focus on meritocracy are part of liberal multiculturalism that aims to keep those in dominant positions dominant, and ‘allows’ Others to be ‘included’ in the unjust system ‘on the nation’s terms’ (Ibid.: 159). The anti-oppressive framework explained in this article aims to put into question these individualising discourses that reproduce inequitable power hierarchies.

I am a queer, white woman who was born and educated in Canada and now teach students in a pre-service English teacher-education programme at a national university in Japan. After arriving in Japan, it was necessary to adjust the anti-oppressive framework learned during my doctoral studies in Canada, and I quickly realised my western-centric understanding needed to be adapted. The way systemic oppression works in Japan is much different than in Canada, and would be different in Pakistan, Ireland, or Brazil. Although systemic oppression is present in all countries and across countries through global hierarchies of privilege and oppression, systemic oppression is contextual and is based on the history and society of each country. Learning more about the intricacies between Japan and Canada has helped to develop an understanding that context is key to this anti-oppressive GCE framework.

Coming from Canada which is often described as ‘multicultural’, I landed into discourses from both Japanese and foreigners’ perspectives that diversity was not an issue here, as Japan is a monoethnic and monolingual country. Living and working in Japan, it is not uncommon to be in countless situations where Japan as a whole, and classrooms in Japan in particular, are described as monocultural or homogenous. Perhaps on a superficial level Japan is less ‘multicultural’ compared to countries such as Canada; however,

Japan has a history of colonisation of Indigenous peoples (Ainu and Ryukyuan peoples), Koreans, and Taiwanese, as well as rich diversity from food, music, and clothing, to important cultural differences of language, genders, races, and abilities, an increase of immigration, and so on, throughout the geographically diverse island nation. The discourse of monoculturalism that aims to erase this diversity is part of systemic oppression in Japan, which invisibilises differences with the aim of creating national unity.

It was not until after the Second World War that the Japanese government increased their efforts to change the discourse that explained Japan as a homogenous nation (Ueno, 2004). Before the Second World War, the government used discourses of heterogeneity to justify ‘expansionism’, or the brutal colonisation of Korea and Taiwan (Ibid.: 7). After the Second World War, to advance patriarchal, colonial, and nationalist policies which created strict boundaries of inclusion and exclusion, the Japanese government constructed a new understanding of the Japanese as homogenous (Ibid, 2004). It is within this context, where many pre-service educators believe that Japan is homogenous and diversity exists in other countries but not within Japan, that I re-worked my understanding of systemic oppression and multiculturalism within an ‘Eastern’ context teaching through this anti-oppressive GCE framework.

Background of global citizenship education

According to UNESCO (2015: 15), the goal of GCE is broad as it ‘aims to be transformative, building the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes... [for] a more inclusive, just and peaceful world’. Three foundational documents by Global Education First Initiative (2012) and UNESCO (2014; 2015) help to understand the broad field of GCE; however, they each have different understandings of GCE (Toukan, 2018). Much research has shown that GCE has many strands and political commitments (Dill, 2013; Franch, 2020; Veugelers, 2011), which is important because the vagueness of GCE allows for many differing politics and values, and GCE has been critiqued for reproducing western bias, assuming liberal individualism for all (Estellés and Fischman, 2021).

There are many issues within the broad field of GCE, starting with its colonial roots of development (Andreotti, 2011; Arshad-Ayaz, Andreotti, and Sutherland, 2017; Pashby, 2015). This lens of development or ‘helping’ the Other through projects of civilising ‘them’ are seen in common, soft forms of GCE (Andreotti, 2006). Within these soft forms of GCE, the focus remains on helping the Other because they ‘lack’ the skills to help themselves, individualising complex issues, without uncovering the deeply systemic roots of inequality (Ibid.).

So where is the hope in GCE and is there a way to move beyond these colonial beginnings and continuation in the field? With authors such as Andreotti, Pashby, and Stein, critical GCE is a space to speak against and build understandings of GCE that critique soft forms of GCE and focus on critical conversations within the field. Building on Stein’s (2015) understandings of an anti-oppressive GCE, the framework explained in this article aims not only to understand the complexities and fluidity of societies, but also to uncover the systemic oppression that organises societies.

Teaching soft forms of GCE could mean the depoliticisation and individualisation of citizenship education through neoliberal discourses (Pashby, 2015). This neoliberal and liberal multiculturalism education aim to include the ‘Other’ into the dominant system, ignoring systemic oppression and the ways that these inclusive policies reproduce unequal power relationships. Answering Pashby’s (2015: 361) call for a critical GCE that, ‘can open up dynamic and critical spaces for students to both understand and challenge systemic inequalities’, this anti-oppressive GCE framework aims to continue a conversation about how teacher-educators and their students can understand oppression as systemic and their role in dismantling it within their teaching practice. It encourages teacher-educators and their students to: 1) understand systemic oppression, 2) go beyond inclusionary policies based on liberal multicultural frameworks, and 3) be reflexive of their constitutive subjectivities, or the ways in which their subject positions are fluid, multiple, and dependent on different contexts.

Understanding systemic oppression, individual discrimination, and prejudice

There is no simple way to solve local and global issues of inequality and there is no ‘right’ way to have these conversations within pre-service education. This article explains only one way that educators in pre-service teacher-education can bring a critical GCE perspective into their practice with an anti-oppressive lens. The focus on anti-oppression to teach GCE is to answer Andreotti’s (2016) call for acknowledging the complex and incommensurable conversations within GCE through a critical lens. It also takes up Mignolo’s (2000) call for an examination ‘of our own complicity with patterns of domination’ (Andreotti, 2011: 393). This is crucial for teacher-educators and their students, as they are part of these systems which oppress non-dominant groups.

To explain this anti-oppressive framework, I will define the concepts of prejudice, discrimination, and oppression. As a foundational text, Sensoy and DiAngelo (2017) explain these three terms well, which is why I start most of my courses with the text to ensure students’ understanding of the terms.

First, prejudice is an individual person’s pre-judgement of groups. These pre-judgements are internal and biased thoughts, feelings, attitudes, and assumptions which are often based on stereotypes of groups that the person is not familiar with (Sensoy and DiAngelo, 2017). It is important to note that all people, including teacher-educators and their students, have prejudices and these are both conscious and unconscious (Ibid.). Of course, this means that these prejudices can affect classroom environments, relationships, student outcomes, and so on.

Prejudices need to be uncovered within teacher-education because a person’s actions or inactions are produced by these prejudices. Because our thoughts determine our actions (Greenwald, Banaji, and Nosek, 2015), it is important to spend time uncovering our prejudices in teacher-education to reduce conscious and unconscious discriminatory actions (Sensoy and

DiAngelo, 2017). Creating a space where this is achievable is where the understanding of anti-oppressive practices come into play, explained later.

If we do not move beyond understandings of prejudice and discrimination, we will continue to teach within soft forms of GCE. Soft forms of GCE assume that if we individually do not discriminate against others, then we will eventually achieve equality. The issue here is the focus on an individual's actions, which do not consider the systems of oppression that students and teachers are navigating. Moving to a form of GCE which goes 'beyond an emphasis on the rights and responsibilities of individuals, and towards an educational recognition of the need for alternative forms of existence that do not rely on a violent and unsustainable (dominant) system' (Arshad-Ayaz, Andreotti, and Sutherland, 2017: 33), is what this anti-oppressive framework calls for.

Oppression is not individual, but rather a series of systems that empower a dominant group to enforce prejudice and discrimination against a minoritised group through institutional power. Dominant groups gain power over a long history, create and reproduce power-hierarchies that privilege dominant groups and minoritise others, and impose their beliefs and cultures as what they deem 'normal', and individual prejudice 'becomes automatic, normalized and taken for granted' (Sensoy and DiAngelo, 2017: 62). Systemic oppression is embedded throughout institutions, such as education, government, health care, law, media, and so on. This means that even if an individual discriminatory act does not occur, the oppressive system still exists and often goes unnoticed by the dominant group (Sensoy and DiAngelo, 2017). So, even if a teacher consciously aims to create an anti-oppressive classroom space, the teacher still holds power in that space and can use that power to oppress the students, so the students may not question the teacher.

It is difficult for those who come from a dominant group to see oppressive systems or individual acts of discrimination, which is why it is important for those in dominant groups to listen in order to try and understand minoritised people's experiences (Ibid.). This is important in classrooms, as it

is not only teacher-student relationships that exist, but a variety of dynamics based on subject positions like the students' and teachers' race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, ability, and so on. This is also why context is important, as a person's subject positions will have more or less power, according to the context. For example, as a queer, white woman, I have a lot of privilege as a professor in Japan or Canada; however, as a queer woman in Japan, I face more systemic barriers than in Canada (World Economic Forum, 2021), but as a white person, I hold a lot of privilege in both contexts. Those in dominant groups in any country should understand their privileges and role in dismantling systemic oppression, as those with power tend to be gatekeepers. For example, a student who is minoritised due to their race or ethnicity may feel unfairly assessed. The student could use their agency to ask the teacher to re-assess the assignment, but ultimately it is the decision of the teacher and/or administration to take the issue seriously as they hold the power.

These oppressive systems throughout all societies endorse a kind of 'ranking' or valuing different groups, which not only position the dominant group as more valuable and powerful and the minoritised group as less valuable and less powerful, but it also creates binaries of complex, constitutive subjectivities. Building on Crenshaw's (1991) foundational theory of intersectionality, Coloma (2008) developed a theory of constitutive subjectivities, which pays attention not only to the multiple subject positions each person negotiates, but also their fluid, contextual, and dialectical nature. Constitutive subjectivities are how we see our own subject positions and how we are seen by others in a 'dialectical process of self-making and being made' (Ibid.: 20). These complex, constitutive subjectivities are not only simplified through stratification/hierarchisation, but they are also simplified as binaries (i.e., white versus Black, man versus woman, etc.). This ignores the multiple and fluid realities of people who are mixed-race, Trans and gender non-binary, and so on.

As oppression is systemic, it is impossible for someone in the dominant group to experience 'reverse-racism', 'reverse-sexism', 'reverse-heterosexism', 'reverse-classism', and so on. Someone in the dominant group

could experience an act of discrimination; however, they do not face the systemic barriers which create racism, sexism, heterosexism, and so on. For this reason, it is important to differentiate the terms discrimination and oppression: ‘All people have prejudice and discriminate, but only the dominant group has the social, historical, and institutional power to back their prejudice and infuse it throughout the entire society’ (Sensoy and DiAngelo, 2017: 66). When understanding their own role in systems of oppression, it is important for teacher-educators and their students to understand the multiple ways they could experience privilege and oppression, depending on the context.

This conversation of complex, fluid subject positions is connected to the next part of this framework, which is the importance of self-reflexivity. The foundation of this framework is for teachers and students to understand systemic oppression, but this cannot be separated from their own investments in systemic oppression. Self-reflexivity moves beyond self-reflection to understand one’s own complicities and negotiations of systemic oppression (Vadeboncoeur, Bopp, and Singer, 2020). Self-reflexivity is a life-long process, as language, culture, and power-hierarchies continue to shift throughout histories and contexts.

As mentioned earlier, it is very difficult for people in the dominant group to recognise oppressive systems because their experiences are so normalised. These complex oppressive systems are individualised and become recognised as exceptional, discriminatory acts (Sensoy and DiAngelo, 2017). For example, a minoritised student being bullied may not be linked to its root cause or systemic oppression, but seen as an individual example of bullying. Because of this, it is necessary to recognise that there are important differences between equity and equality. Equity calls attention to the unequal starting points and long histories of inequality, which recognises that the same measures are not appropriate for everyone (Alexander, 2008). Equity practices pay attention to differing needs and circumstances, which are based on systemic oppression and historical injustices. Educators often practice this by providing students with ‘special needs’ extra support so that they can achieve success. These extra supports are necessary for some students, while

unnecessary for others. Practices based on equality, on the other hand, aim to treat everyone equally, regardless of their unequal starting point but expect the results will be the same (RMI, 2019). Practices of equality could be not providing students with ‘special needs’ extra supports, with the understanding that this would be ‘unfair’ to the other students. Through recognising that equality measures do not produce equal results because of unequal starting points and systemic barriers, this anti-oppressive framework aims to promote self-reflexivity through the examination of students’ and teachers’ role in systemic oppression using equity-based solutions based on an individual’s context.

An anti-oppressive GCE which goes beyond inclusive practices

An anti-oppressive GCE goes beyond inclusion, as inclusion can reproduce power imbalances and colonial relationships through assimilation policies (Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill, 2013; Thobani, 2007). It is important to stop and ask, who is being included into what and on whose terms (Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill, 2013; Kumashiro, 2002)? Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill (2013: 10) explain that liberal multicultural discourses, which could be seen as part of the ‘soft’ GCE canon, ‘assume that all minorities and ethnic groups are different though working toward inclusion and equality, each in its own similar and parallel way’. On the other hand, ‘Indigenous communities’ concerns are often not about achieving formal equality or civil rights within a nation-state, but instead achieving substantial independence from a Western nation-state— independence decided on their own terms’ (Ibid.: 10). Being included into a system which aims to erase your existence, through things like skewed historical narratives and policies, is counterintuitive.

It is not only Indigenous communities that seek alternatives from simplistic, inclusion policies, which are set on the dominant groups’ terms (Thobani, 2007). In the context of Canada, Thobani (Ibid.: 145) explains the ways that Indigenous peoples have been invisibilised through inclusion policies, while non-white bodies are made to be hyper-visible through discourses of the ‘cultural stranger’. When white narratives, histories, and

discourses remain central, inclusion continues to not only remain superficial, but as a tool of the state to hierarchise and control minoritised groups. This is similar in the context of Japan, where the Japanese government aims to dominate East Asia with its long history of colonial rule, including the assimilation and erasure of Indigenous nations, as well as anti-immigrant discourse and policies against non-‘pure’ Japanese (Horiguchi and Imoto, 2016). Therefore, when inclusive practices in GCE do not question systemic oppression, they are superficially including ‘Others’ into a system that promotes colonisation, heteropatriarchy, and the erasure of Indigenous peoples (Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill, 2013; Ueno, 2007).

In the GCE literature, Arshad-Ayaz, Andreotti, and Sutherland (2017: 28) also explain that ‘inclusion can so easily become a silencing act when it comes with the expectation of affirmation of those who have included, creating a debt for those who have been included’. Going beyond inclusion means that we should uncover taken for granted notions of normalcy in the classroom. This also includes deconstructing the idea of ‘who is generally considered to be a global citizen, who is not, and how come?’ (Arshad-Ayaz, Andreotti, and Sutherland, 2017: 30). Moving beyond inclusion means questioning systemic barriers minoritised teacher-educators and their students face, and examining their own ‘complicity, self-implication, and self-reflexivity’ within these same systems (Ibid.: 31).

As teacher-educators and their students explore their own diversity and complicity within these complicated systems, they examine their own classrooms and communities and their links to systemic oppression, before venturing out into the world, which often creates ‘us versus them’ dichotomies. When students and their teachers can examine the diversity within themselves and their communities, they can start to uncover and deconstruct the prejudices they carry. Understanding their own constitutive subjectivities, as explained above, helps students and teachers understand that we are all implicated within these systems based on the various contextual privileges and disadvantages.

Anti-oppressive GCE practices within pre-service language education

Although the points above are important, there are many ways to ‘do’ anti-oppressive GCE. The three main points for this framework, which frame my own teaching include: 1) understanding and teaching important terms connected to systemic oppression, 2) modelling what it means to go beyond inclusion, and 3) practicing and helping students practice reflexivity of their/our constitutive subjectivities or the ways their/our subject positions are contextual within different systems of oppression.

Setting up the anti-oppressive space

Organising courses to start with an anti-oppressive foundation is key to creating the anti-oppressive space. There are a few practices I will share which help to create an anti-oppressive space; however, it is important to note that systemic oppression will always exist within and outside the classroom. First, post all materials online at least one week before each class. This is important for accessibility, especially in an English as a Foreign Language (EFL) environment or when students are English language learners. This empowers students to be accountable to their own learning, as the materials are available for them and can be accessible to them throughout the course for translation. It also helps students know what to expect and gives those who need it, extra time. Posting materials at least one week before class can also help balance power in the class, where as a professor, it is important to recognise that we hold a lot of power.

Post the syllabus at least one week before the course begins. The syllabus is also where we can build an anti-oppressive foundation. The syllabus, which I translate into Japanese so that it is understandable for all, includes all information necessary for students to begin the course, including the weekly topics, readings, and assignment deadlines and instructions. In addition to sharing information about plagiarism, late assignments/extension requests, and so on, in a ‘course guidelines’ section, I ensure students are made aware of gender-neutral pronoun usage, non-tolerance of discrimination,

mental health resources available on campus, and accessibility resources on campus. In addition to being a roadmap for the course, the syllabus acts as a tool to overcome some systemic barriers within the university context, sharing important resources for the students' self-care and success. It also helps students to start thinking about what we deem as 'normal' information to be included in a syllabus, as mental health and gender diversity can be seen as taboo subjects in Japan.

To promote self-reflexivity, as well as an anti-oppressive space, ask students to complete a 'welcome survey' at the beginning of the course. I answer the same welcome survey I assign, so that the students can get to know me and not feel as though I am just extracting information from them. The survey asks students personal questions which help get to know them, without making assumptions due to my previous experiences, and gives space for practices of genuine inclusion. Ask students questions such as:

- What is your preferred name (what should I call you)?
- What gender pronoun(s) should I use when I refer to you?
- Do you have access to a computer and Wi-Fi?
- Tell me three things about yourself.
- Where were you born?
- Who do you live with?
- What culture(s) do you identify with?
- How has COVID-19 affected you?
- What do you want to learn in this course?
- What is your biggest worry about this course?
- Do you have any allergies or medical concerns I should know about?
- How can I help you learn best? Please share any learning challenges or disabilities you have. Feel free to discuss this with me in person or through email instead.

These questions, and others I include, cover a variety of topics and give students the opportunity to disclose minoritised subject positions, mental

health concerns, worries, and experiences that help me be a better educator and go beyond inclusion to make the space accessible for all. With this information, we can incorporate some of their subject positions, hobbies, and so on into classes, without revealing their individual experiences or subject positions. Of course, students can choose to share or omit personal information, but the survey is a very important anti-oppressive practice that helps get to know the students and their needs and allows the teacher to provide more support to those who need it.

The first class is important for building an anti-oppressive community, so ask students to do self-introductions. Before this activity, explain the use of pronouns and normalise sharing pronouns in order not to make assumptions about other peoples' genders (but never force students to state their pronouns). Students can also share their hometowns and an interesting fact about themselves. This means that the first class is usually consumed by introducing the course and syllabus, as well as these introductions. Although it takes time, it is very important in developing the anti-oppressive community, online or face-to-face.

Another practice which assists students and teachers with self-reflexivity is meditation. At the beginning of each class, I introduce different two-minute meditations (i.e., counting breath, mantra, visualisation, body scan, etc.). This is a chance for the teacher to become present in their teaching and helps students become present in the classroom, possibly with many other classes the same day. Asking students to look inward is key to an anti-oppressive space. By focusing on ourselves rather than 'the Other,' we can learn to 'know, understand, and challenge [our] own investment in colonial dominance and self-identification' (Cannon, 2012: 24). Even though the practice of meditation is only two minutes, we can encourage students to bring any of the meditations that resonate with them into their everyday practice and/or future classrooms. Taking care of ourselves and acknowledging not only our mind, but our bodies and spirits can help create a deeply aware anti-oppressive practice (Ng, 2012).

Modelling anti-oppressive teaching methods

As a pre-service teacher-educator, it is important to model the kind of teaching we hope our students will practice and build on. In order to be a good model of anti-oppressive education, there are several things we can aim to achieve in our classrooms. In addition to the strategies explained above and teaching the important terms explained earlier, strive to be accountable to the language you use. This is especially important in my line of work, as a language teacher-educator. I work hard to make the language I use anti-oppressive, although this will be a life-long task as language and culture continues to change. It is important to use gender-neutral language, and not to assume a student's gender, sexuality, ethnicity, family structure, and so on. When introducing literature for students to use in their future classrooms, carefully select texts that do not reproduce stereotypes or tokenism. When sharing example sentences or images with the class, ensure to be conscious of which subject positions are represented (or not). It is also important to include student-centred activities that students can bring into their future classrooms, where they are in charge of their own learning, such as think-pair-share, small and large group discussions, jigsaw activities, quick writes, and so on. In an EFL environment, these activities also promote the use of Japanese when students are engaging with difficult readings and content. Modelling is both implicit and explicit through the course, and it is important to encourage students to be purposeful and accountable to all the choices they make in their future classrooms.

Self-reflexive activities

Through the content of each course, I connect all topics to the students and their constitutive subjectivities, which we simplify as 'identities' for the purposes of students' understanding. Students have a difficult time speaking about their own constitutive subjectivities, especially those with subject positions from dominant groups, so ask students to do self-reflexive activities. In one of the first activities of any course, I ask the students to take three minutes to draw a 'Japanese person'. I have done this in many classes and in

all classes, almost all male-identified students draw male characters, and most females draw female characters, but some draw male characters instead. Many of the students can quickly understand that their own gender and the patriarchal system influences their drawings, as well as the media, their education, and other systems where oppression is reproduced. In addition to this activity which can be adapted according to your own context, we can ask students to explore their constitutive subjectivities and their links to language and culture through different arts-based activities like self-reflexive poetry (Burton, Wong, and Rajendram, 2020) and plurilingual portraits (Busch, 2006), as arts-based teaching practices can have a large impact in self-reflexivity and students' understandings of themselves (Ibid.).

In addition to understanding the key terms explained earlier (prejudice, discrimination, oppression, and equity), students also explore how their own constitutive subjectivities are linked to systems of oppression through the readings and activities. Students first start with examining their subject positions. Exploring their subject positions and eventually their constitutive subjectivities through activities such as the ones explained above, as well as others like the 'power flower' activity (Access to Media Education Society, 2002), supports them in exploring their dominant and minoritised subject positions. In all instances, it is important to first model the activities and share your own identities to make explicit the different subject positions we all hold, including minoritised subject positions. Sharing my own subject positions, such as my queer sexuality, helps students reflect on their own and helps to develop trust. However, ensure that students feel safe and comfortable – meaning that many activities they complete should be done individually or with a partner (where they only share subject positions they are comfortable sharing and in general, are never forced to share). In all activities, students continue to develop their critical thinking skills and understanding of the relevance of the content in their lives.

Closing thoughts

The anti-oppressive GCE framework shared in this article is one way of bringing an anti-oppressive perspective into global citizenship education within pre-service education, which will continue to shift and grow. The key focus of this framework is on 1) the understanding of systemic oppression, 2) moving beyond inclusion, and 3) understanding and being reflexive of our constitutive subjectivities and their connections to systems of oppression. By going back to the basics to understand that individual experiences are based on these interconnected systems of oppression and are always contextual, teachers and students can better understand their role in a critical, anti-oppressive GCE that does not reproduce these local and global inequitable power relations. Of course, as explained by Andreotti (2011), every theory is partial and limited. This framework is building on previous work and will continue to change as it aims to share complex understandings with students in an EFL, pre-service teacher-education environment.

Bringing critical conversations into global citizenship education within pre-service teacher-education contexts is important as countries aim to include the Sustainable Development Goals (UNESCO, 2017) into their programmes and become marketable in an ever-increasingly globalised context. In order not to fall back on soft forms of GCE, it is important to address the colonial roots of development (Andreotti, 2011; Arshad-Ayaz, Andreotti, and Sutherland, 2017; Pashby, 2015), which this anti-oppressive framework can assist with. As systemic oppression is amplified with inequitable distribution of resources and power in the new age of COVID-19, we should understand the ways in which these inequities are not new but based on contextual histories of oppressive systems with regards to many subject positions in each country (i.e., race, nationality, gender, sexuality, class, ability, religion, etc.). This is no easy task, as explained by Martin Cannon (2012: 25) in the context of Canada:

“The doing of anti-oppressive pedagogy is time consuming, difficult, and challenging... It requires great care in linking diverse communities, and providing for a united front against the racism and

colonialism aimed at Indigenous peoples in Canada. But the most urgent challenge is in finding common ground. To find where this common ground lies, we need to think seriously about privileged learners”.

This framework, which I hope others and myself will continue to build on, helps to understand the interconnections of privilege and oppression, both on a local and global scale.

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EMPOWERING TEACHERS AS AGENTS OF SOCIAL COHESION: CONTINUING PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN POST- APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

JOYCE RAANHUIS

Abstract: Development education (DE) has become increasingly crucial in equipping teachers and learners for a socially just world. Educational efforts towards social justice (SJ) emphasise the need to provide teachers and learners with knowledge, skills, and attitudes to promote positive action. This article explores one continuing professional development (CPD) programme in South Africa to promote social cohesion (SC) in schools and classrooms. Drawing upon the experiences of ten teachers who attended this programme, the article analyses the ways in which this programme capacitated them to become active agents of transformation and change. The article argues that, whilst the programme was received positively by the teachers, the efficacy of the programme in supporting teachers to become change agents is constrained by their context and the dynamics of programme delivery.

Key words: Development Education; Social Justice; Continuing Professional Development; Formal Education; Social Cohesion; Teachers; South Africa.

Introduction: development education and social justice

There are different perspectives on how elements of DE, with its emphasis on SJ, are understood. Education as an equity-oriented lifelong process is also stressed in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG), as Goal 4 aims to ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all. Perspectives from the global South highlight the connection between DE and SJ as the lifelong process of learning and unlearning, concerned with the process of beliefs, values, and worldviews (Gupta, Singh and Duraiappah, 2019: 325). For an equity-oriented society, recognising and valuing all forms of knowledge are essential and need to be beneficial towards society (Odora Hoppers, 2010).

DE for SJ includes challenging stereotypes and encouraging independent thinking, in order to critically explore how global justice issues interlink with everyday lives (Irish Aid, 2017; Bourn, 2014). However, in unequal and fragmented societies, such as South Africa, the role of DE involves redressing inequalities due to colonialism and apartheid, and present structural inequalities (Abdi, 2003; Jooste and Heleta, 2016). This includes recognising the benefits of access to citizenship rights, considering that those rights remain unevenly distributed whereby poor people continue to experience significant levels of discrimination and marginalisation (Soudien, 2016: 585). Thus, building identities which are both national and cosmopolitan are also challenging, as in South Africa this is narrated through ‘unity in diversity’ (Staeheli and Hammett, 2013). However, perceptions of DE often emanate from the global North, which might not suit the conditions and understandings of people in the global South (Jooste and Heleta, 2016). This highlights the imperative question about which values, and norms are guiding DE for SJ (Ibid.). Therefore, a belief and commitment towards SJ is needed which includes epistemological and ontological knowledge generation to equip teachers and learners for DE. As Odora Hoppers (2015) argues there are ways of knowing and issues of indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) that are important in shifting the power dynamics towards an agenda of DE aimed at SJ. This, furthermore, includes the need for different voices from lived experiences of racialised and marginalised people in order to dismantle the reproduction of Eurocentric power relations, inequalities and injustice (Sultana, 2019). Thus, an approach to DE is underpinned by elements of transformative learning (Mayo, 2019; Brown, 2015), a commitment to reflection and dialogue, and positive action for change (Bourn, 2014: 21, 22). This includes the development of graduates who are socially responsible, and ethical and globally competent (Jooste and Heleta, 2016: 2).

This article is theoretically informed by the concept of DE in the global South. An approach towards DE for SJ needs to be life-long and foreground contextual and historical aspects of societies, which influence the dynamics of inequalities and power. In an attempt towards redistribution of knowledge for all, epistemic and ontological knowledges need to be generated,

and principles of IKS need to be incorporated. This requires a transformation of beliefs, values and attitudes and an ongoing commitment to become socially responsible, ethical and globally competent.

This article analyses a continuing professional development (CPD) programme for social cohesion (SC) from a SJ point of view. SC is South Africa's nationwide concept used to redress inequalities of the past to achieve SJ, equity and unity. SC is viewed as a societal rather than an individual goal and comprises horizontal and vertical dimensions (Colletta and Cullen, 2000; Chan, To and Chan, 2006). The horizontal dimension refers to individual and communal attitudes and relations, whereas the vertical dimensions consider the structural aspects of governing and governance affecting its citizens (Sayed et al., 2017). Furthermore, the level of SC is inversely correlated with the level of inequality. The more unequal a country, the less the level of SC and vice versa (Langer et al., 2015). Thus, in unequal countries, levels of political distrust and violence are often higher (Wilkinson and Pickett, 2010). In promoting a cohesive and just society, it is essential that historically systemic inequalities are reduced, resources are re-distributed, and relationships are strengthened (Sayed et al., 2017; Chan, To and Chan, 2006).

The article was guided by the following two research questions: how do teachers perceive a CPD programme for social cohesion? And, what knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values acquired from CPD supports teachers in their motivations towards positive action?

CPD for DE and social justice

Timperley et al (2007) highlighted four factors in CPD that are important to teacher training, which are the CPD context, the content, activities, and the learning process. Clarke and Hollingsworth (2002) proposed a non-linear model of teacher growth, comprising a process of enactment and reflection, whereby the CPD participation influences the change of teachers' knowledge, beliefs and attitudes, followed by a change in classroom practices and, ultimately, changing student learning outcomes (Ibid.). The framework, developed by the Irish Development Education Association (IDEA),

comprises the following characteristics and components of DE: contribution to knowledge and understanding; strengthening of values and attitudes; enhancement of skills and competencies; and promotion of action (IDEA, 2015 in Irish Aid, 2017).

Andreotti (2006) differentiated between soft and critical approaches and implications for global citizenship and development education. The ‘soft’ approaches are based on the perception of common humanity, whereas ‘critical’ approaches focus on justice and complicity in harm (Ibid). Power, voice, and difference are central to the critical approaches, in an attempt to understand origins of assumptions and implications (Ibid.). This requires a degree of ‘critical literacy’ for teachers, by being mindful of their assumptions or implications of approaches, in order to not indirectly or intentionally reproduce belief systems and harmful practices (Andreotti, 2006: 30).

Bourn (2014) argued that a belief in SJ is influenced by personal, social and cultural aspects and can be a motivating factor for teachers to act as agents of change. However, Horner et al. (2015) argued that the role of teachers is twofold; as agents of change and conflict. These roles can play out simultaneously, in different moments and contexts. This means that teachers can promote harmony between pupils by emphasising respect, justice and inclusiveness but can also use their pedagogy and curriculum to perpetuate inequality and conflict between different groups (Ibid.). Quirke-Bolt and Jeffers (2018) argued that CPD in DE is more complex than other elements of professional capacity building. Quirke-Bolt and Jeffers (2018) drew on the work of Bourn (2014), who argued that teachers’ CPD requires reflection and critical thinking of their understanding of DE. This is an engaged process of learning, with different ontological and epistemological perspectives (Ibid.). Mogliacci, Raanhuis and Howell (2016) indicated that changing beliefs and attitudes can be a long-lasting and demanding process, and argue that it is essential for teachers to engage in reflexive processes and have sufficient time and space for critical self-reflection.

In reviewing DE interventions, O’Flaherty and Liddy (2018) highlighted the importance of the epistemology, methodology, and pedagogy of the reviewed studies. Their review showed that forms of assessments were often used to measure the interventions. The pedagogies in the interventions continued the dominance of traditional learning sites and the use of action and activism for global change was not mentioned (O’Flaherty and Liddy, 2018: 1044). Despite using methodologies suitable for DE and SJ, such as active learning, participative pedagogies, dialogue, and critical thinking, successful implementation of DE interventions are dependent on the funding and duration (Brown, 2015). Furthermore, in promoting positive action towards a DE and SJ agenda, it is essential to incorporate strategies that include transforming institutional structures and cultures (Zembylas and Bekerman, 2012). This includes the need to engage senior school leadership (McCloskey, 2016) or to use a whole-school approach, enabling transformation to occur beyond the classroom (Hunt, 2020; McCarthy and Gannon, 2016). Critical approaches, drawn on transformative and radical foundations of DE, are useful for the fundamental structural change that is needed for SJ (Troll and Skinner, 2014).

Post-apartheid South Africa

Prior to the ending of apartheid in 1994, South Africa was a deeply divided country, scarred by the history of colonialism and apartheid regime’s racial segregationist policies in which the black majority was denied basic human and socio-economic rights. Following the 1953 Bantu Act, the country was segregated on race lines. The quality of education was highly skewed, as teacher education for the black population was significantly underfunded compared to teacher education allocated for the white minority population (Seroto, 2020). Also, the neo-Calvinist inspired Christian National Education (CNE) enabled teachers to uphold racial and gender prejudices and stereotypes through curriculum and pedagogy (Chisholm, 2019).

The new democratically elected government created a unified education system and promulgated a raft of policies to promote equity, tolerance, respect, SJ, and to redress the inequalities of the past. Thus, teachers were identified as key agents in this transformation process.

In 2012, the Department of Arts and Culture (2012) developed a newly designed framework to explicitly address SC which is defined as:

“the degree of social integration and inclusion in communities and society at large, and the extent to which mutual solidarity finds expression among individuals and communities. In terms of this definition, a community or society is cohesive to the extent that the inequalities, exclusions and disparities based on ethnicity, gender, class, nationality, age, disability or any other distinctions which engender divisions, distrust and conflict are reduced and/or eliminated in a planned and sustained manner. This, with community members and citizens as active participants, working together for the attainment of shared goals, designed and agreed upon to improve the living conditions for all”.

The role of SC is described in development policies, such as the National Development Plan 2030 (National Planning Commission, 2012) and Medium-Term Strategic Framework 2019-2024 (DPME, 2020), and in educational policies such as the *Action Plan to 2024: Towards the realisation of Schooling 2030* (Department of Basic Education [DBE], 2020). The Action Plan to 2024 states that South Africa is committed to promoting SC and contributing to global development, and that UNICEF’s multi-country Care and Support for Teaching and Learning (CSTL) initiatives will be used to guide the promotion of SC and to reduce violence (DBE, 2020). The CSTL initiative aims to provide schools with transformational, quality, inclusive education and to build the capital needed for sustainable and inclusive development (MIET AFRICA, 2020: 4). However, despite these policy initiatives on SC, recent violence within the country highlighted tensions rooted in deep economic inequality and racial disparity. This recent violent unrest stressed the urgent need to strengthen SC and unity to ensure peace and harmony between different communities (Fricker, 2021).

The focus on lifelong learning is stated in various policies. The Integrated Strategic Planning Framework for Teacher Education and

Development (2011–2025) has teacher development as a core aim to improve the quality of teaching and learning, redress inequities of the past and provide teachers with skills, knowledge, and attitudes for lifelong learning (DBE and DHET, 2011). According to the CPD management system, teachers are required to obtain 150 CPD points within a cycle of three years (South African Council for Educators [SACE], 2013). Whereas the South African policies mentioned above do not explicitly refer to DE, the principles of DE and SJ are found in the current South African policy provisions in terms of their approach to lifelong learning and education.

Methods

This article draws upon doctoral research and analyses the experiences of teachers who attended one CPD programme for SC that was facilitated by a teacher. A purposive sampling method was used to find and select the CPD programme and participants. The CPD programme was selected through opportunistic sampling (Cohen et al., 2018) of CPD programmes that focused on SC and were facilitated in Cape Town, between 2016 and 2017. This sampling approach was also used to select high school teachers who participated in this CPD programme, considering that educational research in emergency contexts has often neglected challenges within secondary education (Talbot, 2013). All high school teachers (n=10) indicated their willingness to participate in the study.

The data collection consisted of document analysis of the CPD materials, participant-observations of the CPD programme and semi-structured interviews with one CPD facilitator and ten teachers. The facilitator is a male and racially self-identified as White. The other participants were eight female and two male teachers, who racially self-identified as African (one), Black African (two), Coloured (six) and White (one). The teachers were between 26 and 60 years old, and their teaching experience ranged between six and 37 years.

The teachers worked in two co-ed schools and one boys' school, in urban, historically affluent suburbs in Cape Town. These suburbs were

classified as white-only suburbs during apartheid and the schools catered only to white learners. However, whereas the structures of the schools are relatively unchanged, the learner population at some of the schools has become significantly more diverse over time in terms of race, language, religion, and culture.

Ethical clearance was obtained from the university and the education department. Access to the CPD programme and school premises were obtained by the CPD provider and schools. As I observed the CPD programme, I was able to gain initial interest from participants to participate in this study by explaining the purpose of the study, research process, privacy, anonymity, and confidentiality. When I requested access to their schools I explained this process again and informed teachers about their consent form and interview. For the CPD facilitator, all information was shared once more prior to the interview.

The article reports the findings of teachers' CPD participation after at least two and a half months, to enable teachers to engage and incorporate their newly acquired CPD learnings over time (Darling-Hammond, Hyler and Gardner, 2017). The data was collected in 2017, and the interviews included questions about teachers' perceptions regarding the aims, mechanisms and outcomes of the CPD programme, in relation to their agency and school context. The data collection consisted of in-person semi-structured interviews that lasted between 45 and 60 minutes. The interviews were recorded, transcribed and coded using a discourse analysis approach (Gee, 2014) in Atlas TI. The document analysis, interviews, and detailed field notes of the CPD observation were triangulated to generate reliable evidence (Cohen et al., 2018).

Description of CPD programme

The CPD programme emerged in 2016 after the teacher union's national conference explicitly focused on the role of teachers in promoting SC. Within the same year, debates and protests about racism and discrimination in various schools across South Africa emerged (Christie and McKinney, 2017), highlighting the importance of building SC and the need to adequately support teachers in their classrooms. This was the only accredited CPD programme in 2017, which explicitly focused on SC, hence, it is a useful case study to understand teachers' experiences regarding CPD for SC.

The programme was facilitated near Cape Town over one weekend, from Friday afternoon till Sunday afternoon. All participants stayed in shared accommodation next to the workshop venue. The CPD programme was facilitated by a white male and female, who worked as principals at historically white high schools and have extensive experience. Both facilitators were involved in the design process of the CPD programme (interview with CPD facilitator in 2017). The programme aimed to explore how diversity and transformation play a role in creating a peaceful country. It examined and embraced existing hegemonic traditions within the school, and beliefs and values of teachers (overview CPD programme manual, 2017). The programme used PowerPoint presentations and video clips and a variety of activities such as group work, reflection, case studies and dialogue. Furthermore, teachers received a journal for reflection and handouts consisting of literature, exercises, and templates.

Analysis

The findings of this article are described in relation to the components of DE, which are its contribution to knowledge and understanding, how it strengthens values and attitudes, enhances skills and competencies, and promotes action (IDEA, 2015 in Irish Aid, 2017).

Contributing to knowledge and understanding

The first component of DE refers to the contribution of knowledge and understanding, which explores cultural, environmental, economic, political and social relationships (Irish Aid, 2017: 6). Thus, it should challenge dynamics of power and inequalities, including those caused by colonialism and apartheid (Odora Hoppers, 2010; Sultana, 2019; Abdi, 2003). Teachers were provided with theories on prejudice and unconscious bias in order to understand their personal and professional agency as teachers for SC. They received hand-outs with practical strategies on how to create safe classrooms. In an attempt to transform existing hegemonic traditions and beliefs within schools, the programme provided teachers with strategies on how to hold difficult conversations about transformation.

In providing teachers with the relevant content knowledge (CK) and pedagogical content knowledge (PCK) for SC, it is important to acknowledge the knowledge and positionality of the knowledge giver. This is an essential aspect of DE, as Sultana (2019: 36) argued that the positionality of the knowledge giver influences the knowledge proffered and how development knowledge is produced, circulated and consumed. The influence of the facilitators in producing knowledge and understanding is illustrated in the following ways:

“Some people respond differently to certain people in terms of understanding their style and all that. I still fail to understand why there are no presenters from other racial groupings? Do they know enough or is it just what they read in books? Which are mainly American. Don’t we have South African stories and there any writings about South Africa for South Africans?” (IsiXhosa teacher, school 1).

“... the two principals [facilitators] were from very like-minded environments.... They should get someone from a school that

represents a bigger working-class environment” (English teacher, school 3).

The aspects of the contribution to knowledge and understanding aimed at DE were apparent in the CPD programme through the theories and activities. However, the analysis showed that the facilitators played a crucial role in how the programme was perceived. Education during apartheid was based on racial, paternalistic assumptions of CNE (Chisholm, 2019), hence knowledge production has always played an important role in both producing knowledge and redressing the inequalities and injustices of the past. Sayed and Novelli argued that, in post-conflict contexts, teachers and facilitators have histories and experiences of conflict, both as victims or perpetrators (2016: 81). As a result, they carry prejudice and biases against others who do not share their identity and belonging (Ibid.).

Furthermore, knowledge is understood to be partial, subjective, and situated (Haraway, 1988). The programme was facilitated by two principals who work in historically affluent schools. Therefore, the knowledge and teaching experience that they drew upon might have been influenced by their experiences of working within these particular environments, which are not similar to the majority of South African schools (Spaull, 2019). Therefore, their perceptions of addressing issues of SC within education might be aimed towards certain types of schools or challenges regarding SC.

Strengthening values and attitudes for global change

The second component of DE aims to bring about positive change, informed by values of equality, diversity, sustainability, democracy, human rights and responsibilities (Irish Aid, 2017: 6). Whereas the different knowledges described in the previous section provided teachers with new pedagogies and insights into transformation, the use of activities focusing on self-reflexivity enabled the teachers to engage with their epistemological and ontological assumptions, behaviour, and values. The activities were targeted towards

understanding the dynamics of unconscious bias and prejudice, and how this influences practices within the classroom and school.

The programme aimed to strengthen values and attitudes towards positive change by focusing on the teachers' reflexivity. Andreotti (2014) described the process of reflexivity as a metaphor of three layers; self-awareness, self-reflection and self-reflexivity. The programme provided teachers with activities to create self-awareness and to reflect upon personal and professional experiences. The study found that the majority of teachers reported an increased awareness of their existing beliefs and attitudes following the programme activities.

“The part about Biases! I felt that that was quite powerful. And it made me aware of those biases that I have in a classroom because sometimes you don't realise that it's actually something that you don't necessarily pounce on” (Life Orientation teacher, school 2, 2017).

As a result of increased self-awareness and self-reflection, teachers were able to connect their personal experiences and wounds of the past, such as traumatic and violent events, as described below:

“That did make me become a little bit more aware of my surroundings, aware of other people and their reality as opposed to my ‘coloured reality’ and what I’ve grown up with made me just start thinking a little bit.... I grew up in a racist society, believing that Coloured people should be together, that’s how we grew up; that’s what we were told” (English teacher, school 2).

The study found that the teacher's process of self-awareness, self-reflection, and self-reflexivity led to increased critical consciousness (Freire, 2000). Teachers became more aware of themselves and, as Greene (1995 cited in Waghid, 2005) argued, the ‘multiple voices’ and ‘multiple realities’ of others. Kwenda (2003) argued that self-consciousness is the starting point of

the principle of ‘mutual vulnerability’, whereas self-consciousness is shared or at least recognised as a form of cultural justice. Within education, such self-consciousness and deep self-awareness are essential to becoming humanising pedagogical agents (Keet, Zinn and Porteus, 2009). However, in post-conflict countries, such as South Africa, with deep-rooted histories of violence, inequalities and injustice, the critical awareness includes recognising and coming to terms with teachers’ inherited attitudes and values caused by traumas in the past (Weldon, 2010: 362). Weldon argues that such self-knowledge can inform change processes towards new values, rebuild relationships and foster meaningful reactions (Ibid.).

Enhancing skills and competencies

The third theme describes the use of tools to enhance the skills and competencies of teachers. This includes the exploration of multiple perspectives (Odora Hoppers, 2015) and critically engaging between local and global issues (Bourn, 2014) by using participative and creative approaches (Irish Aid, 2017).

The programme provided teachers with practical hand-outs, consisting of strategies suitable for building SC. Practical hand-outs provided guidance and pedagogies on how to create safe spaces and dialogue, promote active listening, and create a reflective classroom community. Through group work, case studies were used to engage teachers in dialogue. Thus, through role-play or presentations, teachers explored a topic and presented this to the rest of the group. The topics were connected to the previously provided knowledge and attitudes about the role of their school policies, processes, traditions and cultural practices.

The analysis showed that the use of examples, through case studies or presentations, enabled teachers to connect their newly acquired knowledge and attitudes to their classrooms and broader context, as described below:

“It did equip me because the scenarios that they used, it makes you take it back to class, for instance, the case of maybe dealing with a learner you understand. Because sometimes you will deal with a learner, thinking that this learner is misbehaving, not knowing that there is something beyond that. But now you must find another way of dealing with that learner” (IsiXhosa teacher, school 2).

Another way to enhance skills and competencies was through sharing knowledge and learning from teachers who teach in different contexts:

“Oh, teachers during the training, oh, that was really good. I think, because it all started so involved as well, we immediately started talking in groups. So I think that, at the end of the day, we spoke maybe to ten different people and about what works for them” (Teacher, Afrikaans teacher, school 1).

The CPD programme used a range of pedagogies that were critical, participative, and collaborative. Such pedagogies are also perceived as suitable for promoting SJ and SC (see Sayed et al., 2017; Gill and Niens, 2014; Ladson-Billings, 2014). In enhancing newly acquired skills and competencies, the programme used group work activities to enable teachers to make meaningful connections between their local realities and global contexts. Through role-play and case studies, teachers could engage with their new skills and knowledges interactively. Thus, the use of dialogue encouraged teachers to critically engage with aspects of DE and the roles they play within local or global contexts. These components of CPD are essential in equipping teachers with an increased understanding and suitable pedagogies for DE and SJ.

The motivations to promote positive action

The fourth component of DE refers to making connections between one's personal life and global justice issues. This view is expanded by focusing on the empowerment to make a positive difference in the world and by the commitment towards making socially responsive, ethical and global competent

people (Irish Aid, 2017:6; Bourn; 2014; Jooste and Heleta, 2016). The programme aimed to equip teachers with knowledge, skills, attitudes and values to promote positive action, by focusing on: transforming policies; transforming attitudes and behaviour; and changing school cultures.

The programme provided teachers with knowledge and an understanding of how school policies, such as the code of conduct and hiring policies, can become more inclusive in order to bring about institutional change:

“We are earmarking this, because it links also very well with relooking at the code of conduct of the school. Just the slight twigging that needs to happen to make it fit for a new generation” (English teacher, school 3).

It is essential to align CPD and policy initiatives to promote SC and SJ (Sayed et al., 2017). Most teachers indicated that their code of conduct was amended to make current school policies more inclusive. Through various reflective activities, teachers were exposed to how their behaviour and attitudes can influence their classroom practices. However, it is important that there is continuity, either through PLCs (Feldman, 2020) or other forms of formal or informal CPD (Evans, 2018), whereby teachers could internalise new knowledge, skills, and attitudes over a more extended period (Cordingley, Higgins and Greany 2015).

“There needs to be a continuation in order for you to change and to instil it” (Technology teacher, school 2).

Furthermore, the programme included strategies to cascade the new CPD learnings within the school, even though teachers felt that it was difficult to share their new learnings with their peers:

“I think what they should do is actually have a programme design which we take back to school, so it’s part of the mechanism of the

programme, so it's not really us forcing it" (Afrikaans teacher (2), school 1).

The strategy lays the groundwork for actions that teachers can follow up on. However, this article did not look at the long-term outcomes. The analysis highlights the importance of incorporating different mechanisms within the school to cascade the newly acquired learnings. A whole-school approach could be suitable as such approaches can provide the ability to embed global learning principles into the ethos, values, and purpose of the school (Hunt, 2020). Thus, when nurturing the values and learnings of DE and SJ within the school, the values will be integrated within the school rather than solely through pedagogy and curriculum. To promote positive change through CPD, such programmes need to include a whole school approach with clear strategies for institutional change. However, context matters in such transformations. It is therefore essential that the framework of components and characteristics of DE factors in contextual dimensions.

Discussion and conclusions

In order to equip teachers for a socially just world, it is essential to support teachers as lifelong learners. By exploring one CPD programme aimed at SC, facilitated near Cape Town, South Africa, this article aimed to address how teachers perceived CPD for SC and what skills, knowledge, attitudes, and values acquired from the CPD programme supported them towards positive action. The article offered an analysis of the programme by using components and characteristics of DE, which include: the contribution to knowledge and understanding; strengthening values and attitudes; enhancing skills and competences; and promoting action. The article showed that the facilitators' situated knowledge and experiences are key in transferring knowledge, considering that the knowledge which facilitators seek to impart is conditioned by their own knowledge.

Through a process of self-awareness, self-reflection and self-reflexivity, the programme engaged with teachers' existing beliefs and values. In post-conflict countries, this includes engaging teachers with the prejudices

and traumas of their past. However, as it requires time to change beliefs and attitudes, spaces for formal or informal CPD that engage teachers in critical reflection over time are necessary. By engaging in case study activities and dialogues, teachers were able to connect their newly acquired theoretical underpinnings to their local and global contexts. Thus, active learning activities enabled teachers to connect their newly acquired knowledge and internalise their values and attitudes towards the necessary skills and competencies for DE and SJ.

The motivations to promote positive action were influenced by their school environment. Whereas all teachers indicated that conversations around changing school policies had taken place, most teachers indicated the difficulties of implementing new strategies. Within the timeframe of this study, teachers reported the difficulty to make meaningful changes to their practices or behaviours without continuation or follow up workshops. Thus, despite the importance of CPD targeting the DE agenda for SJ, I suggest that in order to change institutional structures and belief systems, such CPD programmes need to be context-specific and require a guided approach on how to dismantle institutional cultures to bring lasting change.

This article focused on one CPD programme for SC through the lens of teachers in post-apartheid South Africa. Although the programme was facilitated within a post-conflict context in the global South, I believe that the findings are also relevant to broader diverse contexts in terms of their religious, racial, linguistic, or cultural learner populations. The findings provide insights for those interested in designing and delivering CPD aimed at DE and SJ. Teachers in all contexts should be supported as agents of change, through CPD. Therefore, it is vital for teachers to understand how their power, positionality, and beliefs influence their agency for SJ and SC. As such change requires self-reflexivity and time, I argue that CPD aimed at DE and SJ within all contexts should create spaces for teachers to confront and change existing dispositions over time. Thus, in considering the influence of institutional cultures in promoting positive action, I recognise that context matters. Therefore, a model

focusing on the required knowledge, skills, attitudes and actions for DE should factor in the importance of context.

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Disclaimer: The author understands race to be socially constructed. However, this article uses the official categories of “Black”, “Coloured”, “Indian” and “White”. These categories were opposed under apartheid and not set by the author. In self-identifying racial backgrounds, teachers could choose between “Black African”, “Coloured”, “Indian”, “White”, “Other” and “I choose not to respond”. The author uses these categories as markers of inequities, but does not endorse the utilisation of these categories.

A PROPOSAL FOR RECALIBRATING SDG 4.7

LOCHLANN ATTACK

Abstract: A 2020 report from Philip Alston, the former United Nations' (UN) Special Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights, claims that to 'avoid sleepwalking towards assured failure while pumping out endless bland reports' supporters of the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) need to focus on 'new strategies, genuine mobilization, empowerment, and accountability' (Alston, 2020: 20). This article explores what such a 'recalibration' of SDG 4.7 might look like by drawing on resources from contemporary social epistemology to propose a criterion for assessing whether frameworks for implementation are genuinely transformational.

First, I reiterate the central role that education plays in Agenda 2030, and outline Alston's imperative for recalibrating the SDGs. Second, I propose that any recalibration of SDG 4.7 should involve grounding Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) in terms of epistemic responsibility. Third, I propose a criterion for assessing the transformative capacity of frameworks for the implementation of SDG 4.7 by adopting and developing Sanford Goldberg's notion of epistemic responsibility, which is illustrated by reference to the work of the recent global citizenship education (GCE) advocacy project Bridge 47.

In this way, the article provides a novel response to recent developments in high-level strategies to combat social injustice and climate change at a global scale. While it does not attempt an in-depth assessment of the UN's latest framework for implementation of Education for Sustainable Development, it develops and motivates a promising criterion to be used for such assessments hereafter.

Key words: Sustainable Development Goals; SDG 4.7; Education for Sustainable Development; Responsibility; Theory of Change.

Introduction

Over the past 12 months there have been a number of major developments that pertain to education's role, via the United Nations' Agenda 2030, in achieving a socially just and sustainably developed world. In the summer of 2020, the former United Nations' Special Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights, Philip Alston, produced a report highlighting the imperative for 'recalibrating' the UN's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (Alston, 2020: 20). In May 2021, an ambitious new framework for achieving SDG 4.7, the Education for Sustainable Development 2030 Roadmap, was launched by the United Nations (UNESCO, 2020). Insofar as Alston's call for a recalibration of the SDGs is well-motivated, this article seeks to re-evaluate SDG 4.7 by articulating a hitherto undiagnosed issue with its conception of epistemic responsibility, and in doing so propose a criterion for assessing implementation frameworks for SDG 4.7. I base my diagnosis and proposal on one of Alston's main points of critique of the SDGs: their shortcomings with respect to empowerment, accountability and genuine mobilisation (Alston, 2020: 12). To this end, the article consists of three parts: (i) an introduction to Sanford Goldberg's account of epistemic responsibility, and an argument for its relevance to recalibrations of SDG 4.7; (ii) positioning Goldberg's notion of epistemic responsibility in relation to the literature on Education for Sustainable Development (ESD), and the role of ESD within the history of the UN's strategies for achieving sustainable development; and (iii) proposing a criterion for assessing the transformative capacity of frameworks for the implementation of SDG 4.7 that is based on Goldberg's notion of epistemic responsibility, with reference to the work of the recent global citizenship education (GCE) advocacy project Bridge 47.

The role of education in Agenda 2030

The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (or Agenda 2030) was launched in 2015 by the United Nations to 'end poverty and set the world on a path of peace, prosperity and opportunity for all on a healthy planet' (United Nations General Assembly, 2015). It was agreed upon and adopted by all 193 member states of the United Nations. As well as outlining all adoptees' broad commitment to sustainable development, it outlined 17 Sustainable

Development Goals and 169 targets that must be met for the Goals to be achieved (Ibid.).

Each one of the 17 SDGs cover broad areas for improving sustainable development by 2030, with SDG 4 addressing education by aiming to ‘Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all’ (Ibid.: 17). SDG 4 consists of seven targets, with SDG 4.7 focusing on capacity building via education as follows:

“by 2030 ensure all learners acquire knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including among others through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship, and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture’s contribution to sustainable development” (Ibid.: 17).

While not explicitly mentioned in the Agenda 2030 Declaration, the role of global education (GE) in achieving SDG 4.7 is undeniable. To understand why this is, we need only consider GE’s definition under the landmark 2002 Maastricht Global Education Declaration: ‘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’ (Maastricht Declaration, 2002). The Maastricht Declaration built upon the 1997 Council of Europe’s Global Education Charter to provide ‘a framework for the improvement of global education at the European level’, with its definition of GE widely used in contemporary discourse to this day (Georgescu, 1997; Council of Europe, 2021; Bridge 47, 2018). The Declaration states that GE is understood to encompass numerous other educational movements and approaches that meet the definition of GE, including development education (DE), global citizenship education (GCE) and Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) (Ibid). Since ESD is the term most widely used in the context of recent United Nations’ documentation relating to SDG 4.7, I will

herein primarily be referring to ESD (albeit on the condition that it is broadly interchangeable with GE, GCE and DE).

It is also important to note that the Agenda's original 'Framework to Action' document for SDG 4, the Incheon Declaration, states the indispensability of GE to the entire Agenda in no uncertain terms:

"Education is at the heart of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and essential for the success of all SDGs...In fact, education can accelerate progress towards the achievement of all of the SDGs and therefore should be part of the strategies to achieve each of them" (UNESCO, 2015: 24).

Hence why SDG 4.7 is not only important in itself as a target to improve the quality of, and access to, education, along with the SDG's other 168 targets. But both Agenda 2030 and the original framework for implementation for SDG 4 make clear that the success of all other SDGs (i.e. the concrete aims of Agenda 2030) are contingent upon achieving the targets of SDG 4. On its own terms, then, Agenda 2030 makes clear that success in achieving SDG 4 – and by extension SDG 4.7 – is essential to the success of all other SDGs.

Agenda 2030 and the imperative for 'recalibration'

In the summer of 2020, the United Nations' Special Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights, Philip Alston, produced a report on global efforts toward poverty eradication (Alston, 2020). The report presented a wide-ranging critique of the narrow and simplistic *status quo* understandings of poverty eradication used by the World Bank and other multilateral bodies engaged in the delivery of the SDGs. Alston articulates part of his critique specifically in terms of the SDGs cautioning that, while they 'have achieved a great deal, they are failing in relation to key goals' (Ibid: 1). His critique of the SDGs is premised on three key fundamental shortcomings: (i) their lack of adequacy and impact 'by design' (Ibid.: 11); (ii) their 'unrealised transformative potential' (Ibid.: 12); and (iii) their limited ability to respond to

technological developments and the fallout from the COVID-19 crisis (Ibid.: 14).

Importantly, however, Alston's critique does not suggest an abandonment of the SDGs altogether (Ibid.: 14). This is primarily because he acknowledges that it has 'been a game-changer in important ways and has been used to very good effect in many settings' (Ibid.: 10). He notes their particular value as a means of mainstreaming discussions about issues such as poverty reduction at the highest levels of decision-making and agenda-setting, since they are undeniably now 'the dominant framework through which poverty eradication efforts and development policy are structured at the global level' (Ibid.: 10). Hence, Alston calls for a 're-evaluation' and, ultimately, 'recalibration' of the SDGs which would both retain their high-level influence and resolve the problems identified in his critique (Ibid.).

While Alston makes several conclusions in his report, his argument for recalibrating the SDGs is premised on the need for 'new strategies, genuine mobilization, empowerment and accountability', all of which are central to his notion of 'unrealized transformative potential' (Ibid.: 20). Alston suggests how such factors have thus far been 'marginalized' either from the SDG's inception, or throughout their implementation. Empowerment, he argues, has been undermined by the fact that 'space for meaningful democratic engagement is shrinking dramatically', and is exacerbated by either the laxity or active suppression of such spaces by governments (Ibid.: 12). Accountability for delivering on the goals is currently characterised by 'its voluntary nature, deference to national choices, and institutional arrangements that minimize opportunities for sustained scrutiny', meaning that they are 'rarely critical or focused, and they often hide behind jargon' (Ibid.: 14). Taken together, Alston claims that these deficiencies with respect to empowerment and accountability enable the 'deep deficit of political motivation' that systematically limits the SDG's potential to transform societies to mere rhetoric (Ibid.: 20). Thus, to convert this rhetoric into genuine mobilisation on the scale required - and the scale suggested by Agenda 2030 itself - a robust theory of social change is needed that increases empowerment

and accountability of all stakeholders in the Agenda. Hence, insofar as Alston's critique is well-motivated (both his indictment of it *and* his acknowledgement of its value in advancing social justice and sustainable development) there is a clear imperative to address the issues he identifies with respect to 'genuine mobilization, empowerment and accountability' (Ibid.: 20).

While Alston does not specify what conception of 'public' he is referring to, it seems reasonable to suppose that he is referring to the 'general public' as the assembly of citizens who are not directly preoccupied with Agenda 2030. For my purposes here, I understand a member of the 'public' to be any citizen whose engagement with Agenda 2030 is *only* via the 'public sphere' in Habermas' sense. Adopting Habermas' conception of the public sphere here is crucial as it enables focusing on the majority of citizens who do not have information concerning Agenda 2030 made available to them 'like business or professional people transacting private affairs', as those individuals directly involved in implementing Agenda 2030 do have (Habermas, Lennox and Lennox, 1974: 49). In this way we can separate 'the public' as a distinct body of citizens who are only guaranteed information about Agenda 2030 through what they encounter in the public sphere, thereby putting an obligation on those other groups of citizens (e.g. public officials or members of civil society) to produce relevant information that is not limited to their respective private spheres by being accessible to all members of the public sphere.

One constructive response to Alston's critique, I submit, is to explore the role of education in 'recalibrating' the SDGs. This is primarily for two reasons: (i) the undeniable centrality of education to Agenda 2030, as outlined in the previous section, and (ii) the distinct potential that SDG 4.7 has to address issues surrounding empowerment, accountability and genuine mobilization for Agenda 2030. In what follows, I suggest that one fundamental issue with SDG 4.7 at present is its implementation, and that this issue lies in an inadequate conception of what constitutes individual responsibility for implementing Agenda 2030 for members of the public. To this end, I use conceptual resources from social epistemology to both diagnose this issue and

to propose a reconceptualization of individual epistemic responsibility that reaffirms the centrality of SDG 4.7 (and thus ESD), to achieving Agenda 2030.

The relevance of epistemic responsibility in recalibrating SDG 4.7

Alston's critique of the SDGs raises the question of what an effective recalibration of SDG 4.7 would constitute. According to common understandings of ESD enshrined in the Maastricht Declaration, the Incheon Declaration, and in SDG 4.7 itself, it is clear that sufficient awareness of relevant topics is required to achieve sustainable development. Indeed, the very notion of placing importance on ESD presupposes that for individuals to act in ways that achieve sustainable development, they need to receive some form of appropriate education rather than simply acting upon their current levels of awareness. This centring of awareness highlights the key role that knowledge plays in ESD.

We can draw clear parallels with the literature on epistemic responsibility, which spawns from the conviction that to have adequate conceptions of what it means to act responsibly, we must first have an adequate understanding of what it is to engage with knowledge responsibly. As Gideon Rosen observes, 'Ordinary morality, like the law, operates with a defeasible presumption of responsibility' (Rosen, 2004: 61). That is, when we ordinarily hold individuals morally responsible for an act, we are open to revising that judgement considering excusing factors. To borrow Rosen's example, if we overhear that someone stole something from a corner shop, we will revise our moral judgement of them in light of 'any fact that defeats the standing presumption of responsibility' - for example that the culprit is five years old or is a kleptomaniac. The importance of epistemic factors is clear in such cases, since a legitimate deficit in awareness does not just potentially excuse an act, but it can also lead to incorrect judgements about that act. Understanding ESD in terms of epistemic responsibility, then, views the fundamental value of ESD as removing excuses for not being aware of evidence that would compel them to promote sustainable development.

It might be argued, however, that grounding ESD in terms of epistemic responsibility risks encouraging what Vanessa Andreotti has termed ‘soft global citizenship’ (Andreotti, 2006). For Andreotti, we cannot accept global citizenship education as that which simply increases individuals’ awareness of issues and willingness to act on them (Ibid.: 46-48). Andreotti contrasts this with ‘critical global citizenship’, which ‘tries to promote change [...] by creating spaces where [learners] are safe to analyse and experiment with other forms of seeing/thinking and being/relating to one another’ (Ibid.: 49). This view focusses ‘on the historical/cultural production of knowledge and power in order to empower learners to make better informed choices’ without prescribing what these changes should be’ (Ibid.). On this basis Andreotti concludes that, although the ‘soft’ view ‘is appropriate to certain contexts - and can already represent a major step’, without the ‘critical’ view we ‘run the risk of (indirectly and unintentionally) reproducing the systems of belief and practices that harm those [we] want to support’ (Ibid.). Hence there seems to be a reasonable objection to any proposal to ground ESD in terms of epistemic responsibility: if epistemic responsibility simply deals in terms of whether an individual is aware of certain facts or not, doesn’t it risk promoting a purely ‘soft global citizenship’?

However, these concerns can be readily addressed by two considerations. Firstly, Andreotti acknowledges that ‘soft global citizenship’ can represent a major step in certain contexts. For instance, to be critical about one’s views on development, one first needs to have a basic grasp of certain facts about development, which could be learned via the ‘soft’ approach. Moreover, insofar as I am concerned with the lack of public awareness of Agenda 2030, I am not primarily concerned with levels of ‘critical literacy’ but rather levels of basic understanding. Indeed, as Odell et al. note in their recent discussion of ‘transformative learning’ within the context of the SDGs, fundamentally such learning is understood as a ‘process by which individuals acquire knowledge and skills’ (Odell et al., 2020: 1). Moreover, Moacir Gadotti understands ESD as aiming ‘to help people to acquire applicable knowledge and to empower them to act responsibly’ (Gadotti, 2010: 232). While these perspectives should not be taken to endorse a neglect of critical

literacy (see for example Sterling, 2016), there is a clear precedent within the ESD literature to support Andreotti's point that simply acquiring relevant knowledge is important in certain contexts. Secondly, as I will now argue, a recent account of epistemic responsibility not only allows for, but highlights the importance of, 'critical literacy' in Andreotti's sense whilst also addressing concerns about levels of public awareness.

Goldberg's account of epistemic responsibility

Sanford Goldberg's recent work on epistemic responsibility seems capable of highlighting the importance of 'critical literacy' as well as basic levels of awareness concerning sustainable development amongst the public. This is primarily due to Goldberg's grounding epistemic responsibility in the expectations that we have of one another as epistemic agents, his distinction between legitimate and illegitimate expectations, and his notion of epistemic communities. On this basis, I suggest that Goldberg can provide a compelling epistemic account of how we might achieve Alston's imperative for the 'genuine mobilization of the public' behind the SDGs.

Epistemic expectations

Contrary to more traditional accounts of epistemic responsibility, Goldberg argues that epistemic responsibility should be understood as fundamentally *social*, such that it reflects the social nature of human interactions with the world. There are two kinds of expectations of others that he says underpin a social epistemic responsibility: the basic and the non-basic or general. Goldberg claims that we are entitled to have basic epistemic expectations of one another 'merely in virtue of the fact that we are epistemic subjects who depend on one another for information about our shared world' (Goldberg, 2018: 150). Such expectations concern how others form, sustain, and revise their system of beliefs, enabling us to expect others to use reliable belief-forming processes so that they 'produce true beliefs' (Ibid.: 105). Goldberg claims that we are entitled to such basic expectations of one another because the absence of such entitlement 'calls into question something that is part and parcel of our everyday practice of relying on others' say-so' (Goldberg, 2017:

2880). This in turn ‘undermine[s] a core part of our epistemic (information-gathering) practices as a social species’ (Ibid.: 2881). In this way, these core criteria reflect a requirement of reliability and a minimal form of responsibility in belief-formation and maintenance: every epistemic subject, by definition, must meet these basic expectations. When these expectations are not met, then, we are epistemically irresponsible on a basic level.

However, Goldberg claims that ‘our epistemic expectations of one another go far beyond the basic’ (Goldberg, 2018: 160) and into ‘non-basic’ or ‘general’ expectations (Ibid.). While basic epistemic expectations must be satisfied to be ‘qualified’ as a properly functioning epistemic subject, general expectations must be fulfilled to qualify as a reliable epistemic subject within certain epistemic domains (Ibid.: 56). General expectations highlight how, in addition to meeting basic requirements as an epistemic subject, we each may have additional social-epistemic roles conferred by our respective social circumstances. Thus, the full picture of epistemic expectations demands that we recognise ‘insofar as a given role makes epistemic demands of you, playing that role properly requires satisfying the epistemic demands in question’ (Ibid.: 161). It is worth noting here that, by highlighting the importance of social roles in attributions of responsibility, Goldberg’s account is potentially compatible with Robin Zheng’s (2018) recent critique of Iris Marion Young’s (2011) Social Connections Model of responsibility for structural injustices.

Legitimate and illegitimate epistemic expectations

Crucial to Goldberg’s account of epistemic responsibility is another distinction he makes between legitimate and illegitimate epistemic expectations. This distinction accounts for the fact that while we all make, and are subject to, expectations of others, these expectations will not always be ‘legitimate’. An illegitimate general expectation will vary depending on the individual or community concerned. For example, the expectation to know the distinction between supply and demand in neoclassical economics is illegitimate for primary school students, but legitimate for university graduates of economics. Thus, to avoid committing individuals to being responsible for meeting

illegitimate expectations, a necessary condition for being epistemically responsible for something is that it is premised on a legitimate expectation of one given one's social role.

We have just seen via an example how this distinction works on the intuitive level, but what exactly makes a general expectation legitimate? Goldberg's answer to this is straightforward: such expectations' 'legitimacy and our entitlement to have them derive from the legitimacy of our social practices' (Goldberg 2018: 165). In other words, we can source the legitimacy of general epistemic expectations in the legitimacy of the social practices that enable them in the first place. For instance, as a society we deem practices such as secondary and tertiary education from recognised institutions as legitimate (this is what confers value to the pieces of paper with grades or diplomas); the social practice of attending university represents a legitimised social practice (rightly or wrongly) of gaining a certain amount of knowledge in one's degree subject. Thus, insofar as there is a legitimate social practice that confers epistemic content, we can have legitimate epistemic expectations of individuals or communities participating in that practice. In Goldberg's words, then, 'epistemic responsibility is ensured by a subject's having lived up (or not) to all of the epistemic expectations others were entitled to have of her on the matter in question' (Ibid.: 183). Thus, our respective 'social epistemic responsibilities' are the collection of general expectations others legitimately have of us.

It is this conception of epistemic responsibility that enables us to diagnose an epistemic problem for Agenda 2030 and, in doing so, enables us to recalibrate SDG 4.7. The problem is this: despite increasingly ambitious strategies for implementing SDG 4.7, there is currently no legitimate social practice whereby the public, in their social role as citizens, are expected to be aware of Agenda 2030 and how to achieve it. We can trace the precedent for establishing social practices to promote ESD back to Recommendation 96 of the 1972 United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm, which was to establish educational programmes 'directed towards the general public [...] with a view to educating him as to the simple steps he

might take, within his means, to manage and control his environment’ (UN, 1972: 24).

In more recent years, a pattern has emerged of increasingly ambitious frameworks without significant tangible changes. The Incheon Declaration recognised how education facilitates a sense of citizenship that is ‘vital for achieving social cohesion and justice’ (UNESCO, 2015: 25) and its indicative strategies included ‘system-wide interventions’ via implementing the Global Action Programme on ESD (GAP) (Ibid.: 50). The Global Action Programme on ESD, endorsed by UNESCO in 2013, stated that a sustainable world ‘requires changes in the way we think and act’ by ‘mainstreaming ESD’ (UNESCO, 2014: 32; 14). Most recently, in mid-May 2021 the ‘ESD for 2030’ framework and its Roadmap for Implementation were formally recognised by UNESCO as the guiding documents for the next decade’s mobilisation on ESD (UNESCO, 2021a). The ESD Roadmap was launched as a follow up to the GAP with the stated objective to ‘fully integrate ESD and the 17 SDGs into policies, learning environments, capacity-building of educators, the empowerment and mobilization of young people, and local level action’ (Ibid.: 16). It claims to build upon the lessons learned from the GAP, due to the ‘increased importance placed on ESD to promote the contribution of learning content to the survival and prosperity of humanity’ (Ibid.: 4). The tone of the Roadmap is markedly more demanding and urgent:

“What we know, what we believe in and what we do needs to change. What we have learned so far does not prepare us for the challenge. This cannot go on... We must urgently learn to live differently” (Ibid.: 4).

Despite these undeniably extensive and increasingly ambitious strategies for mainstreaming ESD to achieve SDG 4.7, numerous indicators highlight how far off target we are. The Incheon Declaration itself acknowledged that, at the time of publication, education systems ‘seldom fully integrate such transformative approaches’ and that ‘only 50% of UNESCO’s Member States indicate that they have integrated ESD into relevant policies’

(UNESCO 2015: 49). In early 2021, UNESCO's 'global review of how environmental issues are integrated into education' found that while almost every one of the 'policy and curriculum documents' that they analysed 'included at least one reference to environmental themes...the depth of inclusion was very low on average' (UNESCO, 2021b: 9). The best category available to the documents analysed was 'moderate' depth of inclusion (meaning 1,000 per every million words), which only 17 per cent of the documents satisfied. Furthermore, only one in four Education Sector Plans, which 'tend to be broader, longer-term policy documents articulating a vision for a country's education system and how to achieve it', contained references to environment related topics (Ibid.: 24). The report also identified 'numerous logistical, social and political barriers to inclusion of environmental content in education' (Ibid.: 27).

If such deficiencies are the norm of current high-level ESD implementation, it hardly seems reasonable to expect the public to be adequately aware of the issues required for legitimate epistemic expectations pertaining to sustainable development. Thus, when we remind ourselves that since its inception, Agenda 2030 expects a high degree of stakeholder involvement and, in SDG 4.7, expects 'all learners' to be able to contribute to sustainable development by 2030, it seems hard to avoid calling this an illegitimate expectation of the public.

Insofar as we accept Goldberg's account of epistemic responsibility, then, there appears to be no epistemic basis for holding the public responsible for achieving sustainable development. In this way we can clearly see how genuine mobilisation, empowerment and accountability will be marginalised and the transformative potential of Agenda 2030 unrealised. For how can citizens be empowered by an Agenda that they are not being made aware of? Moreover, how can they hold fellow citizens, and those in positions of political or capital power accountable for implementing an Agenda they are not being made aware of?

In diagnosing this problem, the source of the problem becomes apparent: the lack of a legitimate social practice concerning sustainable development that the public *qua* citizens can engage in. Thus, on Goldberg's view it appears the fundamental problem with Agenda 2030 identified above – its illegitimate epistemic expectations of the public - can only be remedied by providing such a practice.

Achieving 'genuine mobilization' through increased legitimate epistemic expectations

Insofar as general epistemic expectations vary based on what epistemic domain we are in, we can say that the legitimacy of such expectations vary from epistemic community to epistemic community. Thus, in Goldberg's terms, 'The result is that what it takes to be epistemically responsible in one community can differ from what it takes in another community' (2018: 240). In order to respond to the objection that his view results in full-blown relativism about epistemic responsibility, Goldberg endorses what he calls 'community-sensitive invariantism [(CSI)] regarding epistemic responsibility' (Ibid.: 241). CSI enables epistemic responsibility to both be sensitive to the specific conditions of one's community, whilst also fixing the conditions for epistemic responsibility across communities where similar conditions are present. To use an example in the educational context: insofar as I have epistemic expectations of students in my school to not cheat during exams, this expectation holds for all students *qua* students, regardless of their school.

Moreover, we can refer back to Andreotti to illustrate the value of this distinction within the context of ESD. Andreotti begins her critique of 'soft global citizenship education' by recalling her discomfort with a 'Make Poverty History' workshop for activists, since 'the group seemed to be unaware that the thought patterns and effects of "what they love doing" could be directly related to the causes of the problems they were trying to tackle in the first place' (Andreotti, 2006: 40-41). Goldberg's account enables us to legitimately expect more of this group of individuals, as they claim to be engaged in development issues. In this context, we can see how increased epistemic

expectations of such a group supports Andreotti's calls for increased 'critical literacy' from those who claim to be actively engaged in development work. Moreover, Goldberg's account allows us to legitimately expect more of such individuals, without needing to expect so much of everyone else, thereby avoiding cases where we have unreasonable expectations of the public to have 'critical literacy'. This point is neatly summed up by Goldberg when he concludes that 'the standards for epistemic responsibility derive from the relevant communities, but the right to hold the subject to those standards is universal' (Goldberg, 2018: 242).

I propose that CSI can be used to motivate arguments for 'expanding communities' regarding awareness of social injustices and climate change, thereby motivating arguments for proponents of ESD. In this sense, it seems that we can 'expand the community' of those we legitimately expect to be epistemically responsible about understanding a given issue from just those experts whose profession or preoccupation it is to understand it, to include non-experts who encounter that issue simply as members of the public who are connected to it insofar as they are global citizens. In this way, we could then not only expect the public to be aware of basic aspects of ESD, but also to exercise 'critical literacy' of their awareness. If such community-expansion is consistent with Goldberg's conception of epistemic responsibility, then it seems to me to be a promising way of remedying the problem for Agenda 2030 diagnosed above.

On this basis, we can conceive of the project of genuinely mobilising and empowering citizens as a question of creating a legitimate social practice that exposes them, *qua* citizens, to issues of sustainable development and social justice. In doing so, we gain a means for holding the public epistemically responsible (consistent with their other social roles) for mobilising behind Agenda 2030. It is on this basis, I submit, that Goldberg's conception of epistemic responsibility not only enables us to articulate the epistemic dimension of Alston's critique of Agenda 2030, but in doing so suggests that a remedy might be the generation of new social practices through adequate provision of ESD. In this way, proponents of mainstreaming ESD in

education systems gain a novel argument that does not rely on any political, potentially polarising view about achieving sustainable development.

Successful community expansion: Bridge 47

What might such ‘community expansion’ look like in practice in the context of SDG 4.7? While this question cannot be explored in adequate detail here, it is worth briefly referencing a promising example in Bridge 47. Bridge 47 was a project, co-created by 14 European and global organisations, with the aim of coordinating the mobilisation of civil society to achieve SDG 4.7 (Bridge 47, 2021). This was primarily carried out through dissemination of research, advocating for ‘better policies that reflect the role of Global Citizenship Education (GCE) in making sustainable development possible’, and facilitating inter-organisation and intersectoral partnerships that spread awareness about GCE (Ibid.). The project, which started in October 2017 and ended in August 2021, included two global networks, two national development education networks, two European research networks and six national civil society platforms.

Bridge 47 was premised on the conviction that GCE needs ‘to be reflected in the objectives and practices of policymakers, governments, civil society organisations and communities’ if we are to achieve sustainable development (Ibid.). To this end, Bridge 47 divided its advocacy work into three parts: diversifying GCE so that it is inclusive and accessible, communicating the value of GCE, and increasing capacity for GCE by running trainings, publishing and sharing tools for GCE advocacy. Through its partnership work, the project sought to connect GCE advocates and practitioners to so-called ‘external audiences’ who were unfamiliar with GCE. The extent of the Bridge 47 network and its commitment to a critical and robust understanding of GCE and SDG 4.7 enabled it to advocate for genuinely transformative policy changes that are aligned with Agenda 2030. This is exemplified by the recommendation paper that was the outcome of its 2019 Envision 4.7 conference held in Helsinki (Bridge 47, 2019). The paper begins by explicitly reaffirming the attendees’ commitment to SDG 4.7, before stating that ‘Urgent action is required in Europe to meet our responsibilities to reach

this target’ (Ibid.: 2). On this basis, the paper makes two general recommendations: (i) ‘a pan-European overarching strategy for Target 4.7 needs to be developed at the latest by 2021’, and (ii) ‘European, national and sub-national educational policies should take into consideration the need for [...] education to have a coherent and inclusive approach [...] across all levels of education’ (Ibid.: 2). The document goes on to make five specific recommendations, each with their own subsections, to provide comprehensive guidance on delivering the general recommendations.

This is the kind of framework construction and implementation that appears to constitute ‘community expansion’ with respect to awareness of sustainable development and social justice. While we await an evaluation of the delivery of Bridge 47, the results to date suggest that it has succeeded in combining standalone awareness-raising initiatives with a fundamentally structural approach to promoting GCE (i.e. ‘expanding the community’ of whom we can legitimately expect to be aware of GCE) in order to achieve SDG 4.7.

It must be acknowledged that, in its recent *Stakeholder Engagement and the 2030 Agenda: A Practical Guide*, the UN does suggest its awareness of the importance of community expansion in its ‘theory of participation’, when it highlights the importance of a ‘whole of society approach’ to transformational change (United Nations 2020: 45). However, each of its references to education *simpliciter*, never mind structural changes to education systems, are passing. One hopes that the subsequent ESD Roadmap for 2030 represents a watershed moment in centring ESD in the UN’s strategy for implementing SDG 4.7. But, as we have seen in recent years with Agenda 2030, perceived watershed moments will remain as mere perceptions unless we constantly subject them to critique and demand that their rhetoric is matched in practice.

Conclusion

This article aimed to respond to recent developments in ESD's role in achieving social justice and sustainable development by reevaluating the implementation of SDG 4.7. To this end, the article was composed of three parts. First, I reiterated the central role that education plays in Agenda 2030, and outlined Alston's imperative for recalibrating the SDGs. Second, I proposed that any recalibration of SDG 4.7 should involve grounding ESD in terms of epistemic responsibility. Third, I proposed a criterion for assessing the transformative capacity of frameworks for the implementation of SDG 4.7 by adopting and developing Goldberg's notion of epistemic responsibility, with a brief reference to the work of Bridge 47. In this way, the article has provided a novel response to recent developments in efforts to combat social injustice and climate change at a global scale. While I have not attempted an in-depth assessment of the UN's latest framework for implementation of ESD, I hope to have developed and motivated a promising criterion to be used for such assessments hereafter.

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Perspectives

WHY OPPOSITES DON'T ALWAYS ATTRACT: REFLECTIONS ON BINARIES AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR DECOLONISING DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATIONS AND EDUCATION

EILISH DILLON

Abstract: In this article, I argue that addressing binaries is an important aspect of decolonising development communication and development education (DE). I draw on some key points emerging in research I am currently conducting on ethical communications among international development NGOs in Ireland. Though critique of binaries in development education is often focused on the binaries of 'North-South' or 'local-global', in this article I address other binaries common to development education and communications such as 'means and end', 'real and not real', 'positive vs negative' and 'us and them'. Exploring their implications, I argue that binary thinking doesn't only limit our field of vision but it distorts it, often leading to damaging consequences. This article is not designed to present a full discussion of binaries but to highlight some of the processes at play in relation to them. The hope is that it may encourage us to critically reflect on the effects of what we say and the stories we use in global education as well as in development communications.

Key words: Development Communication; Development Education; Decolonising Development; Binaries; Development Discourses; and Representations.

Introduction

Concerns about binary thinking and its implications for development education (DE) have been mentioned in this journal over many years. These address the binaries of global North and South, which are discussed widely, including by

Beals (2013) and Downes (2013), and those of the local and the global (Bryan, 2011) and developed/developing (Briskman et al., 2013). Despite many comments on the problems with binary thinking, there has been very little detailed discussion of it or of why it's a problem. At the heart of these concerns, and of my focus on binaries here, is an understanding that the terms, phrases or labels that we attach to things to simplify or categorise them all matter. They are influenced by, and they affect, how we see the world and how we relate and act within it. Words literally 'make worlds'.

My concern here is with the prevalence of binaries in the language of development as well as with the binary thinking associated with it. To see or construct something in a binary is to set it up in relation to another as a 'two', like a dualism, but even more than that, it is to position these two as opposites or as polar ends of a spectrum. What happens when we construct the world in these oppositional terms? What is its impact on the relationships and practices constructed around them? Through this article, I hope to encourage more reflection on this issue, especially in relation to development communications and education.

My main argument is that binary language and thinking - and their associated assumptions, hierarchies, simplifications, reductions, oppositional standpoints, dualisms and separations – need to be understood, critiqued and shifted in order to decolonise development communications and DE. By decolonising development communications and DE, I mean challenging colonial and modernist discourses and representations around development. This involves understanding and addressing the cultural, discursive, organisational and institutional processes which produce and reproduce forms of communication based on colonial assumptions, exploitative relationships and exclusionary practices and creating spaces for alternatives based on inclusivity, respect, equality and sustainability. In practice, the term 'development communications' is used to simultaneously apply to a specific area of professional practice within organisations, i.e., around communicating messages, public relations (PR) and social media, as well as to how organisations communicate across different areas of its work, i.e., fundraising

communications, communications in and through campaigning, advocacy and education, and communications through different means, e.g., social media. Across these different areas, decolonising development communications and DE is hugely challenging as it requires significant change in how development is spoken about, the images used, the stories told and in the underlying assumptions upon which development relationships and practices are constructed. It requires much more critique of accepted notions of development (arguments, assumptions, discourses etc), and active engagement with anti-racism, feminism and critical pedagogy, as well as shifting the frameworks of meaning and the language practices that we often rely on.

Though the complexities of many of these issues are outside the scope of this article, I offer some brief illustrations of why it is so important to address binaries in efforts to decolonise development communications and DE. I argue that binaries tend to:

- Establish hierarchies in development thinking, organisation and practice which emphasise the interests of some over others;
- Polarise positions around contested areas of development practice and communications. This makes critique from apparently opposite sides of an argument difficult and it stifles negotiation around meanings and mutual learning;
- Simplify, individualise and/or depoliticise communications around complex realities resulting in damaging practices associated with limiting and distorting perspectives and with stereotyping;
- Fix identities which encourage entrenchment rather than change and practices around risk-aversion rather than transformation.

I begin with a brief discussion of binary thinking before exploring a tension highlighted in my research between fundraising and DE. I discuss its implications with reference to the binary language of ‘means and ends’, ‘the

real versus the not real', 'the positive versus the negative' and 'us and them'. The main purpose of this article is to encourage development educators and communicators to question our assumptions and our use of binary terms and thinking in our own practice.

What is binary thinking?

Robbins explains that though classification can be helpful, binary thinking 'pits two opposites against each other and also includes the implicit hierarchical assumption that one of the two is inherently more valuable than the other' (2015: 1). She argues that it is applied not only to how different individuals and groups of people have been classified, often leading to 'prejudice, discrimination, and oppressive policies and practices toward the less favoured group', but also to 'opposing ideas and methods of practice' (Ibid.). Thus, we are all too familiar in DE and development communications with the commonly used binaries of place as well as those of identity – us/them, black/white, gay/straight, men/women; of power – structure/agency, powerful/powerless, agent/victim; of development status – developed/developing, donor/beneficiary, NGO/community; of being and knowledge – rationality/emotionality, mind/body, real/not real; and of what counts – measurable/not measurable, individual stories/context, the positive/negative. Each of these serves to fix categories which are based on separatist and hierarchical assumptions which give primacy to one over the other and which produce and reinforce stereotypes. It is one thing or the other, either/or type thinking, which undermines the range of perspectives and experiences on any issue. A 'binary view of development', according to President Michael D. Higgins, 'can all too easily slide into a sense of condescension grounded in unspoken feelings of superiority. At the very least, it divides the world in two, with one side depicted as helpless victims, and the other as their well-meaning saviours' (cited in Zomer, 2015: 148). Rather than the rainbow, binaries give us just 'black' and 'white'.

Scholars from different traditions have been critical of binary thinking and its associated stereotyping (Hall, 1997) and hierarchies (Derrida, 1998), its colonial superiorities and fixed, oppositional identities (Spivak,

1988; Bhabha, 1994), as well as its gender and other identity limitations (Butler, 1990). Scholarship on decolonising development and on post-development (Sachs, 1993; Escobar, 1995; Ziai, 2015) has contributed significantly to attempts to move beyond binaries in development discourse and representations, to question fixed and separate identities, to challenge universality and homogenisation and to take account of fluidity, complexity, diversity and nuance. And all of this while acknowledging power relations and trying to open up understanding and different knowledge systems rather than closing down meaning. With reference to Grossberg's work, for example, Kumar highlights the role that postcolonial theory has played in going 'beyond fixed notions of identity by deconstructing binary oppositions like colonizer–colonized, Western–Eastern, or dominant– subordinate', implicating 'both sides of such divides in the historical and geographical contexts of colonialism' (2014: 382). Such critiques of binary thinking resonate with Stein and Andreotti's approach to decolonisation which they understand as involving:

“diverse efforts to resist the distinct but intertwined processes of colonization and racialization, to enact transformation and redress in reference to the historical and ongoing effects of these processes, and to create and keep alive modes of knowing, being, and relating that these processes seek to eradicate” (2016).

So, what does all this mean in practice for the language we use in development communications and DE? And why do I think it is so important?

Beyond the tensions between fundraising and education

My interest in this topic has recently been cemented in the process of undertaking research on ethical communications among international development NGOs (IDNGOs) in Ireland (Dillon, 2021). This research has been undertaken in conjunction with Dóchas, the network of IDNGOs in Ireland. It involved qualitative research with over sixty participants from management and staff of IDNGOs, including fundraising, communications, education and campaigns personnel, as well as with participants from migrant organisations, academia and other key informants.

More specifically, this article emerged from concerns I had arising from repeated reference by research participants to a long-standing tension between fundraising imperatives ‘on one side’ and the work of DE, campaigning and advocacy (and sometimes communication or public engagement) ‘on the other’. Some of these issues were captured by one communications’ manager who commented:

“you’ll get those conflicts, so it’s like both sides are defending their interests. So I suppose it’s to be expected, you’d want that cut and thrust, so that always the coms and advocacy side of the house is trying to push back, what we’re trying to do is achieve a power balance but it doesn’t always work”.

It was described by an educator within an IDNGO in the following terms:

“there’s a lot of tension in all agencies about fundraising and the department I’m working in... I do understand the other team has a different brief, and they’re using the means that have been proven to work that I don’t happen to agree with always. I think we could be much braver... in terms of targeting people but I have no influence on that”.

The inevitability of this tension and that fundraising imperatives usually seem to ‘win out in the end’ has often been spoken of, at least in my research, in near fatalistic terms. One communications manager explained that though she can have some influence on the images and messages used in fundraising communications, ‘there is always some fundraising communication that I’d be uncomfortable with. I think there’s always going to be that tension’.

What can be done when different interests are consigned to the position of opposites battling against each other for power? What happens when the immediate interests of fundraising are seen to override the long-term aims of education or campaigning?

Listening to research participants over the past months encouraged me to question the implications of understanding this tension in these binary terms. If fundraising is seen to be on one side and DE on the other, for example, as if in binary opposition, with communications sometimes somewhere in the middle, it would seem very difficult for DE to overcome what research participants see as its subordinate influence on communications within IDNGOs. This binary between fundraising and education can also lead to an assumption that the images and messages used in DE are beyond question and that problems only exist in relation to the ‘worst forms of stereotyping’ or ‘the flies in the eyes’ type of images associated with extreme fundraising ads. Such thinking has led to a lack of questioning of new marketing techniques that IDNGOs use, according to Cameron and Kwiecien (2021: 4), where:

“the underlying narratives about poverty and development continue to portray the global North as a benign set of actors with the ultimate agency to solve the problems of poverty and injustice through charity and self-interested consumption”.

It has also resulted in insufficient critique of the language and representations used in DE.

This tension (or binary) of fundraising versus education has other related binary associations, language and arguments, between ‘means and ends’, what is regarded as constituting ‘the real and not real’, between ‘positive and negative’ representations and the ‘us and them’ trope mentioned above. I discuss each of these in turn below in order to illustrate some of the critiques of binaries I mention above.

Means and ends – establishing hierarchies

As indicated above, when fundraising is seen as separate from education, it can imply (and justify) that the role of fundraisers is different to those of educators, that its aims are different, and often that they take precedence over those of education because of their immediacy and significance. In my research, most

participants identified fundraising as the most (or second most after the organisation's values) significant influence on the images and messages used in IDNGO communications. As a result, in light of competition for funds and in an increasingly globalised fundraising market, many communications and fundraising staff involved in my research seem to reluctantly accept the argument that the 'end justifies the means'. They argue that funds have to be raised by whatever means have most financial results. Though they aim to be 'as ethical as possible', some fundraisers concede that in order to raise funds, they often have to rely on simplistic messages and stereotypical images. As one fundraising manager put it:

"You really have to have pretty hard-hitting images in order for people to respond to it. It is the way it works... the only thing that really works from an investment perspective is the hard-hitting ones on TV. That is a bit of duality in the work we do, on one hand, we don't want to upset people but on the other hand, we need to make sure that the budgets we're using for fundraising are being used in the best possible ways".

Some educators within IDNGOs involved in my research talk about trying to introduce complexities in the face of their organisations' overly-emotive and individualised communications. At the same time, they often have to accept the murky reality that their work is based on funds sometimes raised through problematic means, while they fear that it compromises the work they do. As one such educator commented in relation to the fundraising communications of some organisations:

"I'm shocked when I see a lot of the stuff. Genuinely shocked. I do feel it's undermining what departments like mine want to achieve ... most don't look at the systems, there's no connection, the connection is missing. They're not looking at root causes of a situation. It's very immediate... we're a humanitarian response agency, but at times I say let's just pause, let's just pause and look at the bigger picture".

A related binary argument made by some is that fundraising is required to support the work of the organisation and the needs of people ‘on the ground’ and that this has priority over sensitivities that people ‘here’ might have to negative and disturbing images that are portrayed in the process. This ‘needs of people on the ground versus sensitivities of donors here’ binary is also based on the limited and distorting idea that international development equates with overseas development intervention or assistance. This reinforces a damaging conflation of international development with aid, which obscures understandings of its associations with capitalist expansion, modernity and coloniality. It also serves to underplay the role of education and campaigning in challenging such systems and in supporting transformative alternatives. The ‘needs on the ground’ versus ‘sensitivities here’ binary supports a common assumption that marketing and fundraising needs to be directed at what audiences will respond to. The most effective fundraising, when constructed in those binary terms, is that which raises the most money, no matter what the short-term or long-term costs. Thus, simplistic, ‘hard-hitting’ fundraising can be justified in the name of ‘common sense’. When fundraising ‘common sense’ is set up in opposition to people’s ‘sensitivities’, the argument for reproducing stereotypes is reinforced on the dismissal of critics who are seen to be reluctant to face reality, or who are overly concerned with political correctness.

Despite problems with this binary, it does highlight the significant challenges for decolonising development communications in an increasingly globalised and competitive fundraising context. I hope to address these challenges in subsequent articles on development communications.

What’s real or not, positive versus negative – polarising positions and stereotyping

A second argument related to the binary between fundraising and education is based on another simple binary around what constitutes understandings of ‘the real’ and the ‘not real’ in development communications. Whether in fundraising or in education, in social media or in campaigning, different

understandings of reality are supported and produced. The argument among some goes that images or stories which portray people in extreme poverty or in vulnerable or crisis situations cannot be criticised because they ‘represent reality’. Others, and those ‘on the other side’ are critical of such representations of reality because they do not adequately reflect complexity and because they can lead to stereotypes.

An example might help here. A common criticism of development communications, especially in fundraising campaigns, is the use of images of people made vulnerable and in need. These reflect common tropes such as images of children with flies in their eyes or of refugees displaced due to conflict or of women and children queueing for food. Though such images, and the stories related to them, represent ‘real’ situations, a significant problem arises, when such examples are seen to constitute ‘the reality’. When these IDNGO representations are then questioned because they don’t tell the ‘full story’, their legitimacy is often claimed on the basis that they represent real situations or the experiences of real people. Their ‘not fakeness’ is drawn upon to legitimise them in the face of criticisms that they do not reflect complexity or diverse realities. Being attuned to how binaries can set up polarising, though persuasive, arguments in this way can help to identify what’s missing or under-emphasised in any portrayal, and to understand that reality is often much more multi-dimensional than representations of so-called ‘real’ or ‘true’ situations suggest. It can also highlight some important aspects of stereotyping that are often overlooked in the defence of ‘the real’.

Stereotypes become constructed in a number of ways, including through repetition of the same or similar narratives and images, over-focus on a limited range of tropes, and concentration on the use of familiar frames. As such, what is real becomes constructed into stereotypes ‘of the real’, which are sometimes based on specific instances of reality. Thus, presenting ‘real’ experiences repeatedly as if they reflect ‘the real’, while silencing and under-emphasising others, serves to limit and distort complex realities. Though a detailed discussion of the myriad problems with stereotypes is beyond the scope of this article, one research participant’s comments on them provide an

important reminder of some of these. Coming from a sub-Saharan African country and working in international development in Ireland, she explained her concerns about the effects of stereotyped communications:

“the harm it does to people, it’s like racism, it’s how it makes me feel... the bullying... the abuse people get because of the assumptions about how they lived before they came here... do you live in trees?... the verbal abuse, racial abuse, bias in employment, still I get that. The assumption is that the person is not capable. It is damaging lives... people’s mental health...”

In decolonising development communications and education, exploring the relationship between communications and stereotypes, truth and reality is essential. It is also ever more important in the context of concerns about fake news, deliberate attempts to manipulate people through marketing and on social media, and in the face of growing populism. So, does it matter if what’s real is presented in stereotypical terms if organisations do not deliberately set out to distort or manipulate? What can organisations do when people tend to respond best to the simplest and starkest of communication strategies? These questions are crucial for communicators and educators, especially when they believe that IDNGOs ‘do good’ and when they have good intentions to communicate ethically. In considering the binary of ‘the real’ versus ‘the not real’ and its implications for stereotyping, we can see the need to look beyond intentions. The effects of our communications often matter most.

Positive versus negative images, messages and stories

Many people attempt to address some of the limits of these binaries and stereotypes in communications, and between fundraising and education, through challenging ‘negative’ stereotypes with the presentation of more ‘positive’ images and stories. But even in doing so, other binaries are drawn upon or set up between ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ images and messages, and between ‘us’ and ‘them’.

Replacing negative stereotypes with positive ones, or trying to focus ‘more on the positive’, can have the effect of glossing over complex challenges, denying trauma, exploitation and abuse and obscuring the political and structural dimensions of people’s lives. It has also had the effect of replacing one stereotype in development communications, i.e., of the suffering African child, with another, the smiling African child, while maintaining a White Saviour or neo-colonial development gaze. Thus, in replacing the negative with the positive, communicators and educators can inadvertently serve to reinforce and deepen the infantilisation, homogenisation and generalisation of the African continent, for example. They can also reinforce positive tropes associated with particular forms of development, the successful rural businesswoman, for example, or assume that girls’ successfully graduating from school equates to gender equality. Such ‘success story’ tropes tend to be linked to positive constructions about the role of IDNGOs and aid in development which can undermine and silence the myriad other factors involved in social, economic and political progress (Gaynor, 2019). This is not to say that more positive stories and more diverse and active accounts of development in different contexts are not needed. Even though this is the case, it is also important to take account of the dangers associated with pitting the positive against the negative in a limited binary way.

Us and them – fixing identities

As outlined earlier, many post-colonial and post-development theorists have commented upon the dangers of seeing the world in ‘Us’ and ‘Them’ separatist and hierarchical terms. In this journal, Oberman and Waldron (2017: 25) argue that this binary is even evident in how seven to nine-year old’s ‘understand the relationship between developed and developing countries and in the language with which they express their ideas’. Among the many problems associated with the ‘Us’ and ‘Them’ binary and fixed identities are simplistic assumptions about who the so-called ‘beneficiaries’ are in relation to development practice. It is also associated with the different types of ethnocentric or racist othering, victimisation and passivity encapsulated in the phrase ‘these people’.

One example of ‘us’ and ‘them’, which is used widely in development communications, in fundraising and in DE, and which merits attention here, is the phrase ‘enabling people to tell their own stories’. Often considered benign, it is assumed to promote localisation and decolonising development through promoting greater diversity and the inclusion of ‘more voices from the global South’ in development communications. Despite this, because it is cast in binary terms, it can undermine these important efforts.

Though not stated, it usually assumes that the ‘people’ involved are those in the global South, drawing on the accepted notion of development as what happens ‘over there, out there and down there’. In so doing, experiences and responsibilities around poverty, inequality and justice are dichotomised and framed through a North-South rather than a global lens. With a global lens, ‘telling their own stories’ would apply as much to those experiencing homelessness and direct provision, homophobia and gender-based violence in Ireland and across Europe as it would to people experiencing these and other realities in different countries in East and Central Asia and in Africa and South America.

This phrase also presents problems in its emphasis on overly-individualised effects of global injustice, and establishes an unspoken binary between the individual experience and the environment or structural context within which people live. In so doing, it undermines the complex political, economic and social structures contributing to poverty, inequality and human rights abuses. The emphasis on individuals ‘telling their own stories’ can lead to under-attention given to critiques of wealth creation or to problematising over-consumption. In the absence of such structural analysis, when those experiencing poverty and displacement, inequality and abuse constitute the centre of attention, there is also a danger that the people involved could inadvertently be assumed to be entirely responsible for their own fate. While ‘telling their own stories’ can begin with individual, family or community accounts, they should never end there. There is an important role to be played by fundraisers, communicators and educators in making the links between the

personal and the political (Dillon, 2019), and the global and local (Dillon, 2018) economic and socio-cultural contexts which affect them.

Conclusion

This article has been influenced by research I have conducted on ethical communications among international development IDNGOs, which will be discussed in greater detail in future publications (Dillon, 2021). In short, that research highlights the significant work to be done in this area within the IDNGO sector and the urgency of that work. Participants expressed their interest in and commitment to promoting ethical communications in IDNGO communications. While many identify the strengths and benefits of the Dóchas Code of Conduct on Images and Messages (Dóchas, 2007) for supporting ethical communications, most feel that it needs to be updated at the very least, and that additional measures need to be agreed and put in place within the sector to strengthen implementation of the values outlined in the Dóchas Code of Conduct. These range from calls for IDNGOs to promote greater equality, diversity and inclusion (EDI) around development narratives to calls for anti-racism and decolonising all aspects of international development communications and organisational practice. More specifically, points raised include calls to democratise the sourcing and recording of content; promote stronger practices around consent; ensure more diversity and greater focus on people telling their own stories; emphasise complexity; and the need to shift to more inclusive, egalitarian and active language. While many advocate more education, training and support structures to advance these measures, others favour a strengthening of the governance systems around communications in the sector.

The discussion on binaries in this article is an attempt to engage readers in some of the debates and challenges around decolonising development communications. It reinforces the point that language and thinking matters. Using simplistic, oppositional categories limits and distorts our understanding and engagement with the complexities of development. Many of the binaries discussed here reflect and construct relationships and practices based on stereotypes, they reinforce colonial and modernist

hierarchies, and they individualise responsibilities. Taking a step back and examining these binaries may enable us to begin the task of decolonising development communication and education. At the very least, it should help us avoid the trap of assuming that what we say and do are not the problems – they often are.

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LEARNING IN PREDOMINANTLY WHITE SPACES: INTERROGATING DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION THROUGH MINORITY ETHNIC STUDENT PERSPECTIVES

SHIVA R. JOYCE, ARAM WAHHOUD, JACQUELINE MOREIRA DA
SILVA AND CHRISZINE BACKHOUSE

Abstract: This article is the transcription of an interview with three past students from minority ethnic backgrounds who completed the ‘Creativity and Change’ Special Purpose Award at Munster Technological University (MTU) Crawford College of Art and Design. The interviews discuss the student’s experiences as participants from minority ethnic backgrounds on a course where the majority of students were White Irish. The students discuss their personal histories in their countries of origin and the challenges they faced to adapting to the demands of the course with its focus on development education (DE). The conversation reflects on how the DE sector can enhance the participation and inclusion of learners from the minority ethnic sector in its practice.

Key words: Development education; Minority ethnic sector; Social inclusion; Global South; Art and design.

Introduction

This article is the transcription of an interview with three past students from minority ethnic backgrounds who completed the ‘Creativity and Change’ Special Purpose Award at Munster Technological University (MTU) Crawford College of Art and Design. Creativity and Change is designed to promote creative methodologies in global citizenship (GC) / development education (DE). In it, we use a model of ‘transformational learning’ developed by Singleton (2015) which proposes that for learning to lead to change, it must involve the ‘head, heart and hands’. When we encounter difficult or troubling global justice issues, we can experience an anesthetic, or numbing effect. We

have found that creative experiences are conducive to transformative learning because the aesthetic experience has the power to counteract this anesthetic.

Every year up to 25 students take part in the course, ranging in age from 19 to over 60 and coming from all parts of Ireland. The majority of our students are white Irish. At an alumni event, students identified the lack of racial diversity in our programme as problematic as it doesn't represent the changing demographics of Ireland. To address this issue, we established the 'Amplifying Voices' scholarship, which was designed to support students from ethnic minorities and other under-represented backgrounds to take part in the course. We sat down with the first two scholarship recipients, as well as the student who had identified the issue, to discuss barriers to global citizenship and development education and the importance of ensuring that everyone can participate in and contribute to this field.

Chriszine (course lecturer and interviewer): I'm going to begin with Jacqueline and hear a little bit from you because you were a past participant two years ago on the Creativity and Change course, and you're one of the people that began to bring this issue to our attention. So, could you first of all just tell us about your experience of Creativity and Change and what stood out to you about being on the course?

Jaqueline: Hi everyone. I am Brazilian and I absolutely loved Creativity and Change. I found it fascinating to come together ... where everyone was talking about inequality and global justice, and I loved the way we have learning experiences and there is no right or wrong and how we go deep into the root causes of issues and how complex all those situations and issues can be. I just personally had some kind of complex of inferiority for being Brazilian... I grew up in a country that was called a 'third world' country. And today, it's like a 'developed/developing country', so I think I brought with me ...this inferiority kind of complex that I had to deal with.

Chriszine: Did that shift at all (the inferiority complex)? Were there any insights you made around that during the course?

Jaqueline: I definitely changed my point of view that I'm not inferior or ... we are not inferior. We are not a third world country... People say that we are developing. It doesn't mean that we are not developed in other ways. There are other points of view. This is just one side of a story that is being told and being accepted as the truth and it isn't the truth. It was really good being able to unfold and realise this.

Chriszine: Shiva you look like you want to come in.

Shiva: I just thought that's so powerful. I heard a really interesting comment once that ... I think was the First Nations community in Australia ... that said 'we're not developing. This isn't a developing nation or any of that. It's actually in recovery from colonialism', and I loved that. If our development had not been impeded, then where would we be now? So, it really is about how those words frame and shape and place people. And... are intended to make you feel inferior.

Chriszine: Excellent point, thank you... I feel like you're illustrating the importance of having people from different perspectives in this space to show up the blind spots that might be in the language that's being used. Jacqueline to come back to the course and your experience of it... You had some concerns around diversity, the lack of diversity of participants on the course. Do you want to say a little bit more about where that came from and what your concerns might have been?

Jaqueline: I think coming from this place where I was feeling inferior, then I recovered from that and I realised that... I felt a little bit alone, let's say because there was no one else like *me*. I had some, I won't say issues, but I had some concerns ... *Was there* anyone of another background that I could share *this with*? Everyone was white, everyone was European. Everyone spoke English for longer than I had for example... We were talking about world inequalities, world issues, so why *was there* one kind of people? Let's say from one specific place in the world, to talk about all the world?

Chriszine: Yeah, absolutely. And one idea you had to redress that was to have a scholarship programme. What made you think that that might be helpful?

Jaqueline: Because Creativity and Change is a course that is designed to address issues. I think we'd be too comfortable just waiting for people to come *apply for the course*. If you are really interested, you have to go and find *students*. Say: 'We need more diversity. Where can we find diversity? What can we do?'

Chriszine: After you made this suggestion, Jacqueline, we went away as a staff to think about this and try to figure out how could we put this into place. We were able to get some funding to put together what we ended up calling the 'Amplifying Voices' scholarship. September 2020 was the first year that we were able to take in students on this scholarship and two of our first students to be able to avail of this scholarship were Shiva and Aram so I might get you both to introduce yourselves. Tell us a little bit about yourselves, how you found your way to Creativity and Change and anything else you'd like to share about yourself. I'll go over to Shiva first and then Aram.

Shiva: I'm based in Cork and I'm a writer and printmaker, but I have quite a long professional background in education from Australia and the UK and in human rights policy and strategy development. I suppose we're talking about how we found our way to Creativity and Change... I'm going to go off on a tangent. I was looking at this story that just came up recently about National Football League (NFL) players who... when they have a brain injury from the game have historically been given less support... *for* those injuries because they were believed to be cognitively inferior, and I think that's what I've been thinking about. the feeling of being thought of as inferior when you come from a different place and a different background into the Irish education space or into the Irish professional context. And educationally, whatever experience you have and you bring is sort of nullified... I found it really dismissive, directly and indirectly racist. that's added to by the fact that then you've got the Department of Justice which affects your actual status here and means you are a non-national which doubles your *college* fees. If you're going to have to

go and get these qualifications to be recognised for things you're already qualified in and then you also can't get work. It's harder to go and find the funds to pay double the fees. It's like what Jacqueline was saying, when you see that one person in the room, think about... how many barriers that have been created by white Irish systems to keep us out *that* they've already overcome to get there. Anything that's done to address that is just an opportunity that is so needed because it's balancing what is undermining us from those same systems.

Then the other thing I was really looking for was a community that was open and willing to listen. When I walked into spaces, you know I'd get comments like 'the push for diversity is undermining white male Irish voices' and I just sort of thought 'you're a white man with a microphone. I don't think you've got a problem'. But those kinds of things were happening frequently and I thought, ok, if there's a bunch of people who are interested in Creativity and Change, then they're open to listening. This might be the space where I'd find support and at least an openness to talk about issues.

Chriszine: Shiva, there are some important themes you've brought up. You spoke about the additional barriers in both work and in education you've had to overcome. You also spoke about wanting to be part of Creativity and Change because it provided an opportunity to connect with people that might see things similarly, or at least be open to having these conversations. And here's a question you'll have to answer honestly. Did you find *that community* or are you still on the search?

Shiva: Look, when you enter an educational space or actually any space you don't know what lessons you're going to learn. You have an assumption about what you're going to learn, but you might learn a completely different lesson.... There was a really interesting lesson I learned about myself and my capacity to create change in this space... I was in a space where I could be as direct *about racism* as I wanted and as clear and precise as I wanted... I really took time to look at how my energy levels were affected by that. What I was comfortable with and what was I not comfortable with? It was happening in a

safe space where, in other positions there were huge power differentials and my income would be compromised. So this was a really good experimental space for me, which wasn't what I was expecting to do and it helped me to understand as well where people were coming from... So it's not quite the lesson or the thing you might have come in for.

Chriszine: That's really interesting. I want to come back and pick up on that again, but before I do, I want to introduce Aram and hear his voice in this space as well. So Aram would you like to introduce yourself and tell us a little bit about your background, your interest in Creativity and Change, and how you found your way onto this course?

Aram: Well, thank you very much. I am adding to what is mentioned before about finding connections and learning more about ourselves and the environment around us. Those are two key points I would like to *agree with* before introducing myself. My name is Aram Wahoud and I'm a visual artist. I was born in Syria and I fled after the war started. I stayed in Lebanon for eight years as a refugee. There, I found myself advocating for people who live in marginalised areas, including me, because of my refugee status. I was not allowed to work officially in Lebanon or practice my career. I started reading about global citizenship and how the system ignores or excludes some people just because there is no box to tick for them.

And then I've been called for a resettlement in Ireland and I arrived. After one year I found out news about Creativity and Change and at that point I was looking for an opportunity to learn about my new environment. I was totally shocked with the idea of... crossing to the other side of the world where I was... challenging myself to survive as much as I can until I find a place where *people* can accept me as I am... When I applied for Creativity and Change, I found myself *saying* 'yes, this is the place that I want to be and those people that I would like to interact with' because I wanted to learn about myself in my new environment and also know and learn about the country that I'm going to stay *in*, for the rest of my life maybe... I'm here now more empowered.

Chriszine: Thank you Aram. What was it like for you coming into the group as somebody with a different background to the majority of the group?

Aram: At the beginning I found a lot of challenges. One of them is using academic English to learn for the first time in my life, so it took me a while honestly and because I was... discussing deep issues, political opinions and sometimes adding some physical perspectives that was really challenging for me because it was the first time in my life to practice English on that level of intellect... *it* usually takes me time to express it clearly. But then, I started practicing all of those new vocabularies and expressions and started being more aware of the topic that's been discussed and that was also by the help of my *fellow students*, mostly because they tried a lot, sometimes to simplify... The other side of the story is when we used to meet face to face during our sessions in Cork I was also at the beginning a little bit hesitant, a little bit shaky, a little bit confused because I couldn't navigate with a new city. Some *of the other students* used to cycle with me even if I am the last one in the cycling line just to make sure that we are all together and... that would maintain trust... So those were two different challenges. One of them was logistic and one of them was linguistic.

Chriszine: Thanks Aram. Would, anyone else like to add to this question about what it was like for you to come from a different background than the majority of the group?

Jaqueline: I will speak to this now. Apart from the inferiority that I already mentioned that I had in the beginning, I think that there was something else I wasn't expecting... I felt I had the responsibility of speaking always from another point of view. I always had to bring my experience, always talking about the place where I'm from, or the continent where I'm from. *It...* was like a heavy responsibility. *I told myself* 'I'm here representing these people and I have to remind myself and always speak up... I have to speak up because I *am* the only one. I have to, you know I had to.

Shiva: I'd follow on from that... The burden of this responsibility is dual. *It's* about how you will be judged because you're the first person allowed in, or you're the first person present there. But then also *the question is*, how to help others have access as well... I was just thanking Jacqueline for using her voice. Because of that, we're here, you know. And when I was looking at the course, it was like 'this must be OK, because they've at least put out support for people who are coming from minority backgrounds. So that means that it might be a place that listens' and all of that factored into my decision making.

I did the same thing Jacqueline did when she was in the class, saying, 'why is there no one else here? You're talking about the world'. I *asked* 'why are you entitled to make all these decisions with no input from somebody who's actually going to be experiencing the repercussions of the decisions you make?' I'd sort of question or follow up on... something that I felt didn't sit right with me. But afterwards, I would get messages from fellow students who were saying 'thank you for saying that. Thank you for bringing that up. I didn't know how to say that. I didn't know I could say that'... Well, that's really powerful and I think it's similar to what Jacqueline was saying that you know, you ended up without wanting or asking for a role of educating.

Chriszine: Aram, do you want to jump in and say anything about that? If you experienced that? Or maybe have a different perspective?

Aram: Well, when I was in Lebanon I used art principles as a means to create a safe place and I was part of many different organisations that were working in Lebanon to create a diverse place where we can have a group of participants and to explore with them in a non-formal education... I'm not here just for studying this topic and to be a receiver. I'm here to interact and to act as well as a practitioner. In Lebanon *I gained* field experience and *I'm* shaping it up now in this safe environment in the College on that academic level *which* helped me... to understand and figure out what I can take for later and what can I leave as well.

Chriszine: Thank you Aram. You have all raised important points regarding the need for diversity in development and citizenship education. Are there any other changes you think we could make to lower the barriers for students from ethnic minorities?

Jaqueline: I will just once again *agree* with what Shiva said about the recruitment *and how there should be* diversity everywhere. There should be diversity in all levels *of an organisation* not only within *the student population*. And I know it is really, really hard for people coming from other backgrounds to get into the Irish system of education. So that... should be addressed, either by putting *in a* change or... it's a conversation that needs to be had.

Shiva: But another part of that, that would be good to look at is how you implement leadership yourself and what barriers you are creating and where your gaps in knowledge are creating those barriers. Things like what Aram was talking about, *such as* academic engagement with English as a second language. *You need to ask yourselves if* you are maximising people who have incredible skills in other areas and are allowing them to flourish with the strengths they have? *The course was* heavy text based, *which* was creating its own barrier and that was a leadership decision or a planning decision that was made that became another barrier... Some of that will be solved by bringing in leadership that is diverse.

Aram: The other point is for people on this scholarship and this is related to the donation issue, I think at some point because I arrived... one year and a few months before applying to this school and I had to leave everything behind I had no tools to do anything and I struggle to find basic materials, even a pen and paper sometimes was a struggle for me because I just arrived with two pieces of luggage. So maybe that would be taken into consideration. Or, I would allow them to access Internet as well because our year was totally *an* exception and I had to update my devices to be able to connect with the Internet because when I assigned to the course I thought that I'm going to do it face to face and not online and then the pandemic started and I had to figure it out myself.

Chriszine: Thank you so much Aram, Shiva and Jaqueline. We appreciate the time you've given to us in this interview and we hope we can continue to develop this course, and our practice as development and citizenship educators, to become more inclusive and diverse.

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Shiva R Joyce is a writer, poet and printmaker. She received a University Medal, Dean's Award for Excellence and David Kilmartin Literary Award for her studies in accessible and inclusive education. She holds a Masters in International Public Policy and Diplomacy from University College Cork (UCC) and is currently reading at Oxford University in creative writing and completing an ethno-ecological poetry collection. She is a current Transform Associate Artist at Mermaid Arts Centre, a Dublin Fringe Festival WEFT Studio Artist and features editor of *Good Day Cork* which began amplifying underrepresented voices in Irish media, arts and poetry in 2018. <https://linktr.ee/ShivaRJoyce>

Aram Wahhoud is a visual artist based in Lismore, Co. Waterford. He was born in Damascus and spent around eight years in Lebanon as a refugee. He uses a multidisciplinary approach to produce art projects that focus on social justice and human connections. Aram did many experimental artworks creating sculptures, performances and interactive puppet shows. He found two independent projects to produce visual artworks

and arranged many developmental workshops that focused on wellness and self-expression during his residency in Lebanon. He designed, managed and facilitated activities using a non-formal educational method for people with various disabilities. In addition, Aram has received awards from the Arts Council, Lismore Castile Art, Ettijat-Independent Culture and the Goethe-Institute. He has been recognised as a professional visual artist by Visual Artist Ireland and become a member of Union Internationale de la Marionnette (UNIMA).

Jacqueline Moreira da Silva is an early years' practitioner, writer and an arts enthusiast. She is a former student of Creativity and Change at CIT and is supporting the volunteering group 'It's OK Cork' (at the Kabin Studio) which focuses on well-being, mental health and community. She is completing her first poetry collection in Brazilian Portuguese.

Chriszine Backhouse is a course lecturer on the Creativity and Change programme, MTU. She has an MA in Dramatherapy from Concordia University, Montreal, Canada and has researched how theatre can expand and strengthen connection to community and nature resulting in a deeper commitment to environmental actions. She is co-founder of Speak Out: Theatre for Transformation, a Cork-based theatre company that has been working in the area of community development since 2008.

THE FOODBANK IS THE CANARY IN THE COALMINE OF NEOLIBERALISM

STEPHEN MCCLOSKEY

Abstract: The network of foodbanks operated by The Trussell Trust in the UK is providing worrying evidence of a spike in poverty levels following thirteen years of austerity since the 2008 global financial crisis and the economic contraction created by the COVID-19 pandemic. There has been a 33 per cent increase recorded by The Trussell Trust in foodbank use between 2019-20 and 2020-21. The article considers the main drivers of this increase and what it tells us about the welfare state in the age of neoliberalism. It considers whether foodbanks represent a sticking plaster in efforts to combat poverty or an important source of research and means of campaigning for an end to foodbank use. The article reports on a visit to a foodbank in west Belfast to determine how the pandemic has impacted on take-up and practice. The article asserts that foodbanks represent evidence of a callous welfare system designed to punish the poor for their own poverty. Development educators should take heed of these warnings of endemic poverty at a local level and probe their root cause.

Key words: Foodbank; Welfare; Social Security; Poverty; Neoliberalism; Universal Credit; Development Education.

Introduction

In 1911, miners introduced the practice of bringing caged canaries into the mines to detect the gathering of toxic gases such as Carbon Monoxide (Eschner, 2016). Should the canary expire in the mine, it was a warning for the miners to quickly exit the tunnels and save themselves. As the Collins online dictionary suggests, the ‘canary in the coalmine acts as an early warning of a problem or danger’ (Collins, 2021). The Trussell Trust’s network of foodbanks in England, Scotland, Wales and the north of Ireland could hardly be described as an early or new signifier of poverty as they have been around

since 1997. However, their continued and widening use by people in distress, unable to provide their weekly food supply for a variety of reasons, is a poverty indicator that is foolish to ignore. The geographical spread of foodbanks and carefully maintained data on their take-up indicates that poverty is accelerating with The Trussell Trust's UK network of 1,471 foodbanks having distributed 2.4 million emergency food parcels to 'people in crisis' from April 2020 to March 2021 (The Trussell Trust, 2021a). That represented an increase of 33 per cent on the previous year and, worryingly, 980,000 were distributed to children. The extraordinary scaling up of foodbank use has seen the number of emergency food parcels increase from 61,000 in 2010-11 to 1.9 million in 2019-20 (The Trussell Trust, 2021c: 10). This timescale coincided with the aftershocks of the 2008 global financial crisis when 'neo-liberal economic orthodoxy that ran the world for 30 years suffered a heart attack of epic proportions' (Mathieson, 2008). The austerity-driven response to the crisis in the UK saw the poverty gap widen, life expectancy stop growing, home ownership decline and household debt accelerate (Toynbee and Walker, 2020).

The foodbank has been a barometer of this acceleration of poverty and, the COVID-19 pandemic caused a spike in foodbank visits by 40 per cent in the middle of 2020, reflecting the number of people catapulted into crisis by the economic contraction caused by the virus (The Trussell Trust, 2021c: 13). I visited the South-West Foodbank which is located in my constituency of west Belfast and serves a cluster of local communities, that includes a Nationalist and Loyalist interface area. I aimed to find out more about how a foodbank works in practice and how usage has changed during the pandemic. The article begins with the wider picture of foodbank use documented by The Trussell Trust and a macro poverty overview of poverty in the north of Ireland.

The Trussell Trust

The Trussell Trust was founded in 1997 by a couple, Carol and Paddy Henderson, using a legacy from Carol's mother, Betty Trussell. It combines the provision of emergency food supplies with a campaign to end hunger and, effectively, remove the need for foodbanks. Through a referral system that includes social services and community organisations, people in distress can

secure a voucher that is exchanged for a minimum of three days' emergency food that is as nutritiously balanced as possible given the need for long-term storage. The network of foodbanks has grown rapidly over the last 25 years, often supported by churches and an army of volunteers. If the Trust aims to campaign for its own dissolution by eradicating the need for emergency food support, then it's unlikely to happen anytime soon. The Joseph Rowntree Foundation (JRF, 2021: 2-3) reported 14.5 million people in the UK to be living in poverty *before* the COVID-19 pandemic, of whom 4.2 million were children and 1.9 million pensioners. In identifying causes for these startling statistics, JRF found that falling incomes fall fastest among people on the lowest incomes. This is primarily because of a freeze in benefits rates between 2016 and 2020 (Ibid.: 3) but is also the result of an increase in poverty in the workforce. Low pay and insecure jobs meant that poverty across the whole UK workforce jumped from 9.9 per cent in 1998 to 12.7 per cent in 2018 (Inman, 2020). JRF argues that 'no one should be in poverty for more than two years' and, yet, either 8 or 9 per cent of individuals in poverty have remained so for longer than 24 months (JRF, 2021: 3).

The latest statistics on The Trussell Trust foodbanks reinforce the JRF findings and suggest that it is the most marginalised and vulnerable who are in crisis and need support. Two in three (66 per cent) of the households referred to a foodbank in early 2020 included one or more disabled people and 95 per cent were destitute (The Trussell Trust, 2021c: 11-12). The drivers of hunger include the erosion of the social safety net following the introduction of welfare 'reform' that included a streamlined and supposedly simpler payment system called Universal Credit (UC). The Trussell Trust, however, has found the five week wait for the first payment of UC to be an unnecessary hardship on benefit claimants which often drives them into long-term debt as they wrestle with daily expenses such as rent and utilities that can't be delayed.

Another key driver of food poverty is a sudden adverse life-experience event like ill-health, eviction, job loss, or domestic violence. Many of these problems are mutually reinforcing with, for example, unemployment and eviction often leading to, or exacerbating, health problems. And, of

course, many of these problems have spiked during the pandemic including economic stress caused by sudden unemployment, domestic violence during periods of extended lockdown, child poverty, soaring mental illness and greater economic vulnerability. A report from the British Academy on the multiple impacts of COVID-19 found that ‘We are in a Covid decade: the social, economic and cultural effects of the pandemic will cast a long shadow into the future – perhaps longer than a decade’ (Butler, 2021). Compounding these problems is what The Trussell Trust (2021b: 3) describes as ‘a lack of formal or informal support’ meaning that many who made recourse to one of their foodbanks had ‘either exhausted the support that was available from family and friends, or had resource-poor social networks who weren’t in a position to help’.

Worrying enough as the statistics provided by The Trussell Trust network are, they should not be interpreted as the full extent of food poverty. The Independent Food Aid Network (IFAN) represents more than 500 independent food banks operating in the UK and additional support is provided by the Salvation Army, school-based foodbanks and many community organisations. Foodbanks are a growth sector, though in the growth-obsessed neoliberal economic order, governments will not be showcasing this kind of evidence of the impact of ‘market-driven reform’. The north of Ireland has not been spared the growth in food poverty.

Poverty in the north of Ireland

A pre-pandemic study of poverty in the north of Ireland by JRF found that 370,000 people were living in poverty, of whom 110,000 were children, 220,000 working-age adults and 40,000 pensioners (Bernard, 2018: 2). More than a quarter of children in the north and west constituencies of Belfast were in relative poverty in 2019 meaning that they were living in a household with an equivalised income below 60 per cent of UK median income (Duncan, Sheehy and Scruton, 2021). 37 of the North’s 50 worst areas in terms of educational deprivation are in Belfast, and in parts of the city most directly impacted by the Irish conflict (1968-98), more than two-thirds of students leave school without five GCSEs or an equivalent qualification (Ibid). The

legacy of conflict and colonialism in the North (McVeigh and Rolston, 2021) has resulted in a weak economy with ‘low levels of capital investment and innovation; limited amounts of homegrown startups; higher levels of public-sector employment and a less well qualified workforce than neighbouring countries’ (Duncan, Sheehy and Scruton, 2021). Table 1 shows the weakness of the economy with 14 per cent or 162,000 of working adults in relative poverty and 11 per cent (126,000) in absolute poverty in 2019-20. An individual is considered to be in absolute poverty if they are living in a household with an equivalised income below 60 per cent of the (inflation adjusted) UK median income.

Table 1: Relative and Absolute Poverty 2019-20 in the north of Ireland (Department of Communities, March 2021).

	% of individuals in Relative and Absolute Poverty	% of children in Relative and Absolute Poverty	% of working adults in Relative and Absolute poverty	% of pensioners in Relative and Absolute poverty
Relative Poverty	17% (313,000)	22% (100,000)	14% (162,000)	18% (52,000)
Absolute Poverty	13% (241,000)	17% (75,000)	11% (126,000)	14% (40,000)

A more recent indicator of poverty in the North is available in Table 2 showing the number of food parcels distributed by The Trussell Trust foodbanks from April 2019 to March 2021. The Trust distributed 33,693 more food parcels in 2020-21 compared to the previous year with 47,799 distributed to adults and 31,028 to children. Table 3 shows that there was also a substantial increase in the number of food parcels distributed in Belfast from 11,634 in

2019-20 to 15,778 in 2020-21. These statistics confirm the spike in foodbank use created by the pandemic which peaked in April 2021 when the volume of food parcels distributed by The Trussell Trust was 84 per cent higher than in February 2020 (The Trussell Trust, 2021c: 28). I visited my local foodbank to find out how these statistics impacted on the ground.

Table 2: Food parcels distributed in north of Ireland 2019-21 (The Trussell Trust, 2021a).

Year	Food parcels to adults	Food parcels to children	Distribution Centres	Total food parcels
2019-20	26,160	18,974	42	45,134
2020-21	47,799	31,028	36	78,827
Difference	+21,639	+12,054		+33,693

Table 3: Food parcels distributed in Belfast 2019-21 (The Trussell Trust, 2021a).

Year	Food parcels to adults	Food parcels to children	Distribution Centres	Total food parcels
2019-20	6,523	5,111	9	11,634
2020-21	9,484	6,294	9	15,778
Difference	+ 2,961	+ 1,183		+ 4,144

The South-West foodbank

Edel Diamond is manager of the South-West foodbank, which is located at an interface between the Nationalist Lenadoon and Loyalist Suffolk communities, which have suffered longstanding inter-communal violence and tension, and are still addressing the legacies of conflict. But South-West foodbank has a geographical catchment area that extends to nearby Colin Glen, Twinbrook, Poleglass, Dunmurry Lane and Andersonstown; areas that have high levels of poverty. Edel sits with two mobile phones in front of her that ring constantly as we meet. The calls are alternately from ‘clients’ or food suppliers. ‘I hate that word’, says Edel of the term ‘client’. The cold neoliberal speak that deems a user a ‘client’ is out of step with the ethos of the foodbank. ‘They are human beings’, she says, ‘looking for help’. Edel manages 50 volunteers from the doorman who greets me on arrival to take my details for track and trace purposes to drivers, administrative staff, and those who prepare food parcels for distribution. A huge container at the rear of the building holds food supplies and the shelves inside are neatly labelled with a diversity of foodstuffs. The offices contain four types of pre-prepared food parcels ready to go: families of 2-4 members, 3-4, 5 plus and singles. Edel explains the referral system. A number of ‘agents’ that include social services, community organisations and mental health teams provide people in distress with red food vouchers each with a unique serial number. The vouchers are redeemed for 3-4 days’ food offering three meals a day. The serial numbers are recorded on a database which feeds into The Trussell Trust’s bi-annual reports on food supplies given to people in crisis. A maximum of three vouchers are meant to be offered but if the need for support extends beyond three weeks, then it is provided.

While most of the food distributed is pre-packaged by necessity, the foodbank sometimes receives fresh vegetables from what Edel describes as ‘pop-ups’ which are spontaneous community-based initiatives, mostly organised in response to the surge in poverty that accompanied the pandemic. Donations like these are always welcome but most of the supplies to the foodbank come from collection points in local Asda and Sainsbury supermarkets. Customers buy a few extra items during their weekly shop and

donate them to the foodbank. There are also donations from local businesses both in food stocks and cash. Like many in the foodbank network, Edel got involved through her church and her time is voluntary. She carries a hugely responsibility lightly and suggests that food distribution is just part of her role. She endeavours to find the source of the food insecurity experienced by each user and, if possible, provides other forms of assistance like short-term cash support or advice on benefits.

When the pandemic started, she began receiving calls from workers in hospitality suddenly made unemployed, taxi drivers unable to work, and workers in the gig economy which ground to a halt. Her foodbank also supports Syrian refugees re-settled by the government, single parents, the bereaved and people suffering from long-term illness. Many of the foodbank users are caught in a crisis created by the five week wait for Universal Credit. To prevent users from falling into long-term debt, the foodbank sometimes provides short-term payments to help bridge the five-week gap to UC. She encourages users to avoid, if at all possible, from applying for bridge or crisis loans from government as they will be deducted from future welfare payments and could ultimately create another crisis. When we discuss the impact of the pandemic, I'm told it not only sharply increased food emergencies but the way the foodbank operated as users could no longer access the building and food had to be sanitised. This meant increases in deliveries, particularly as family food parcels included several bags of groceries that could not be carried by users.

Sometimes crises beget crises. Losing a loved one to COVID-19 can result in lost income and reduced circumstances that compound grief with increased poverty. A woman forced to leave the family home due to domestic violence will have to make a fresh claim for welfare support. A benefit sanction or an error in the intrusive and challenging application process can mean re-setting to the start of the five week wait for UC. For those trapped in the terrifying prospect of poverty and hunger, the foodbank is more than a temporary supply of food but a source of comfort, advice and signposting to support.

Artificial scarcity

If social security benefits are designed to help people in distress, then evidence from The Trussell Trust (2021c) suggests that UC is compounding the causes and effects of poverty and appears to punish the poor for their own poverty (Fraser, 2017). It is resonant of the same impulse that informed the cruelty witnessed by Jack London in Edwardian England while researching his book, *The People of the Abyss* (1903). The poor had to earn their charity by picking oakum or breaking stones. Discharging charity on the basis of need without conditions attached was ideologically inconsistent with the political ethos of the day. The thousands of people who use foodbanks in my constituency are not going hungry from a scarcity of food which is available to anyone who can afford it. They are in most cases struggling to make ends meet as a result of wage freezes and an unfair benefits system.

Margaret Kelly, the Northern Ireland Public Services Ombudsman, has recently reported that the introduction of Personal Independence Payment (PIP), a benefit for people aged between 16 and 64 with a long-term health condition or impairment, has resulted in repeated failings that have led to ‘many claims being unfairly rejected’ (Kelly, 2021). Capita, a private consultancy, carries out PIP assessments on behalf of the Department for Communities in Northern Ireland and was found by the Ombudsman to focus assessments more on entitlement to PIP rather than the ‘complainant’s medical condition’ (Ibid.). This appears to be more evidence of a system designed to reduce the welfare budget than assist those in need.

Bartholomew (2020) asks if foodbanks ‘are like putting a plaster over a gaping wound’. If the primary reason for food shortages isn’t food scarcity but low pay, benefits cuts, insecure employment and debt then foodbanks are unable to address these structural causes of poverty. Beck (2019), for example, argues that ‘Food banks are becoming embedded within welfare provision, fuelled by corporate involvement and ultimately creating an industry of poverty’. The Trussell Trust argues that it provides a research base on which to campaign for welfare reform and carries out advocacy work to end the need for foodbanks. There is no desire, suggests the chief executive of The Trussell

Trust, Emma Revie, for foodbanks to ‘become the new normal’ (Ibid.) as a permanent part of the welfare architecture. Whether you see the network of foodbanks as an unofficial, corporate-backed appendage to the welfare system or an independent voice of tireless volunteers providing emergency support to those who need it most, there is no brooking the argument that their use is rapidly escalating. And, by monitoring that usage, The Trussell Trust and other networks provide invaluable evidence of the extent of government failings in meeting the welfare needs of the poor or addressing the structural causes of poverty.

When asked why he decided to probe the impact of austerity in the UK in 2018, Philip Alston, the former UN Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights, said it was “Primarily because it was a laboratory for neoliberal economic approaches to welfare”, adding that “The food bank is the perfect indicator of failed government policies” (Bartholomew, 2020). For development educators and international development personnel, monitoring the use of foodbanks and tracking the needs of users should be part of their practice. Poverty is local as well as global, and tackling it means drilling down to its root causes. The foodbank is the current canary in the coalmine of neoliberalism and the foodbank network is sending out worrying evidence of a widening local contagion of poverty. We would be foolish to ignore it.

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Viewpoint

REMEMBERING PAULO FREIRE AS A FREEDOM FIGHTER

HENRY A. GIROUX

The centenary of Paulo Freire's birthday was on 18 September this year. Freire and I worked together for fifteen years, which I consider one of the most enlightening periods of my life. We co-edited a book series and, along with Donaldo Macedo, got many of Freire's books translated and published in the English-speaking world. He wrote the preface for my second book, *Theory and Resistance in Education* (Giroux, 1983), and we collaborated together until he died. There have been and will be many celebrations. Too many of them will treat him as iconic rather than as the revolutionary he actually was. In doing so, they will speak of Freire with a kind of depoliticising reverence that we often associate with the empty praise reserved for dead celebrities. Ivy League schools will put out statements celebrating his work offering themselves as paragons of radical change, which of course is the opposite of what they believe in. This diversion is understandable at a time of manufactured ignorance, the worship of celebrity culture, and an age in which historical memory becomes dangerous and dissent a curse. Freire was a revolutionary whose passion for justice and resistance was matched by his hatred of neoliberal capitalism and loathing for authoritarians of all political stripes. Put simply, he was not merely a public intellectual but also a freedom fighter. The current attacks on him in Brazil by the neo-fascist Bolsonaro make clear how dangerous his work is even today.

One of Freire's most important contributions was his politicisation of culture. He viewed culture as a terrain of struggle that both reflected and deployed power. He rejected the vulgar Marxist notion that culture was simply a reflection of economic forces. Not only did he connect culture with social relations that ranged from producing and legitimating class warfare, ecological destruction, and various forms of privilege, but he also understood that culture

was always related to power and was an enormously influential force. This was especially true in the age of social media with its power to define diverse modes of inclusion, legitimate consent, produce specific forms of agency, and reproduce unequal relations of power both within and outside of nation states.

He strongly emphasised the role of language and values in struggles over identities and resources and how they worked through different organisations and public spheres such as schools, the media, corporate apparatuses, and other social spheres. His work on literacy focused on how neoliberal cultural practices put certain forms of commercialised agency in place, defined and circumvented public space, depoliticised people through the language of commands, while commodifying and privatising everything. Culture and literacy for Freire offered people the space to develop new modes of agency, mass resistance, and emotional attachments that embraced empowering forms of solidarity. For Freire, the terrains of culture, literacy, and education were the terrains on which individuals acquire consciousness of their position, and the willingness to fight for dignity, social justice, and freedom. For Freire, culture was a battlefield, a site of struggle, and he recognised in the manner of Gramsci that every relationship of domination was ‘pedagogic and occurs amongst the different forces of which it is composed’ (cited in Martin, 2013: 36).

Freire, first and foremost, believed that education was linked to social change and that matters of consciousness and identity were integral to making pedagogy central to politics itself. For Freire, education and schooling were part of a larger struggle against capitalism, neoliberalism, authoritarianism, fascism, and the depoliticisation and instrumentalisation of education. Direct action, political education, and cultural politics defined for him both new strategies of resistance and new understandings of the relationship between power and culture and how it shaped matters of identity, values, and one’s understanding of the future. Pedagogy and literacy were political because they were connected to the struggle over agency, ongoing relations of power, and the preconditions for connecting knowledge and values to the development of active and engaged critical citizens.

Freire's great contribution was to recognise that domination was not only economic and structural but also pedagogical, ideological, cultural, and intellectual and that matters of persuasion and belief were crucial weapons for creating engaged agents and critical subjects. He also refuted the easy escape route for cynics who equated and collapsed domination and power. Resistance was always a possibility and any politics that denied the latter erred on the side of complicity with the most heinous crimes, however unrecognised. Freire was a transformative public intellectual and freedom fighter who believed that educators had an enormous responsibility to address important social and political problems, to tell the truth, and to take risks, however inconvenient the consequences. Civic courage was essential to politics, and he embodied the best of that conviction.

In making education central to politics, Freire connected ideas to power, and critical consciousness and literacy to intervening in the world in the fight for economic, social, and racial justice. He never separated the massive suffering and constraints imposed by inequality from the sphere of politics and in doing so connected the conditions, however specific, for resistance to addressing the constraints that bore down on people's lives. Freire believed that everyone had the capacity to be an intellectual, to think critically, to make the familiar strange, and to fight individually and collectively against disimagination machines and the zones of ethical, political, and social abandonment that transformed democracies into updated versions of the fascist state.

His work was not about methods, but about fostering individual and social change in a way that gives voice to the voiceless and power to those considered disposable. Freire was a freedom fighter, who believed deeply in a future in which radical democracy was possible. He was a fearless utopian for whom hope was not simply an idea but a way of thinking otherwise in order to act otherwise. Freire's educational and political work was rooted in an ethical ideal and sense of responsibility that is under attack today, which testifies to its importance and the need to defend it. There is also the need to prevent it from being appropriated by ruling elites and extend it to new

economic, cultural, and social circumstances for which it is desperately needed in the fight against the fascist politics emerging across the globe.

Freire believed that no society is ever just enough and that the struggle against injustice is the precondition for radicalising values, fighting institutional oppression, and embracing a global politics of shared democratic values. Civic literacy for him was a weapon for awakening consciousness, emboldening civic action, and closing down the lure of a fascist politics. Freire was dangerous, and rightly so, at a time when history is being cleansed, those considered disposable are both expanding and losing their lives, and the need for an anti-capitalist consciousness and mass social movement more crucial than ever. Freire's spirit and politics are not to be celebrated but emulated.

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TENACITY OF GENDER INEQUALITY IN SOUTH AFRICA: A HIGHER EDUCATION PERSPECTIVE

LWANDO MDLELENI, LINDOKUHLE MANDYOLI AND JOSE FRANTZ

Abstract: Countries have embraced the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) worldwide. SDG 4 is the education goal that aims to ensure inclusivity and equity in education. On the other hand, SDG 5 aims to promote gender equality and empowerment of women. In the higher education sector, it is evident that although massive strides have been made to address gender balance there still seems to be gender inequality that is evident especially for women in leadership positions. Gender equity and equality in higher education management have been in the spotlight in South Africa in recent years. Universities everywhere are under a lot of pressure to transform in all aspects of their business. This article looks at the case for gender transformation and policies that advocate for social justice and gender equality in higher education. We then report on the current state of women leaders in the higher education sector and the continued challenges they face. In looking at possible solutions, it is important to understand the debate around gender dynamics and the argument of inclusion versus representation. As we continue to address the issue of gender equity in higher education, we must consider the context in which we place people, especially women and also be aware of the institutional culture and how it contributes to promoting or negating gender equity.

Key words: Higher Education; Development Education; Gender Equity; Gender Equality; Transformation; Social Justice; Gender inequality; and Women.

Introduction

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) have clearly been articulated to highlight the need to address gender inequality and empowerment through SDG 5 and, specifically, to address gender disparities in education in SDG 4. In a recent UNESCO (2021) report titled ‘Women in higher education: has the female advantage put an end to gender inequalities?’, there are still some key challenges despite the advances made. The report highlights that there has been a definite shift in terms of enrolment and access by females to the higher education sector. The report indicates that we need to realise that equal access does not necessarily mean that there are equal opportunities in all areas of society for women. One of the key areas highlighted is that at the senior levels of academia and decision making in higher education, women remain underrepresented. According to Callister et al. (2006), women have progressed well in terms of educational attainment. A report by Naidu (2018) highlighted that in South Africa with respect to universities in 2016 only 27.5 per cent of professorial posts were occupied by women and at lecturer level, women were represented by 56.6 per cent. Thus, while there are more women than men at lecturer level, the same is not true for more senior levels.

In South Africa, the struggle for social equality has always been at the root of the revolution for a democratic South Africa. The constitution of South Africa promises all South Africans a society founded on democratic values and social justice amongst others. Focusing on social justice, gender equality is one of the fundamental principles enshrined in the Bill of Rights of the South African constitution. The principle of equality not only upholds and protects women ‘s rights, but it also unambiguously forbids discrimination on the premise of gender (South African Constitution, 1996).

Likewise, the issue of gender inequality remains a present and persistent challenge in South African higher education. Higher Education Institutions have a social obligation to equip people with the intellectual dimensions necessary to pursue national development plans, but individual country data in Africa illustrates that women endure to be under-represented at all levels of HEIs (Forum of African Women Educationists [FAWE], 2015).

FAWE (Ibid.) asserted that African universities are often male-dominated. Gender inequity in HEIs is a persistent phenomenon in the continent.

This imbalance is a result of institutional frameworks, which, having largely been male dominated spaces, are not sensitive to the needs of women and consequently exclude women from decision-making spaces, significant roles and academic excellence (Zulu, 2016). Although policies to widen participation have been implemented in South African higher education since 1994, inequality of achievement persists in universities. A recent article highlighted that women are still underrepresented in the higher education sector in South Africa despite changes to laws and policies over years (Akala, 2019). Thus, the aim of this article is to engage with the notion of gender equality in higher education and to what extent transformation and equity has been implemented. The golden thread throughout this article is the issue of gender equality. Furthermore, the article looks at how development education (DE) can tackle gender inequality through implementing transformative educational approaches.

The case for gender transformation and policies advocating for social justice and gender equality in higher education

Higher education in South Africa has undergone significant transformation within a policy framework that speaks of gender equity and has been the focus of policy-makers since the inception of democracy. During the apartheid period human rights were unequally enjoyed by a minority. Higher education adopted the apartheid ideology and segregated people along racial, social class and gender lines. However, with the post-1994 democratic dispensation, higher education went on a transformation trajectory which had the objective of redressing the injustice by opening up spaces that were previously exclusive to a particular race group, social class or gender type (Zulu, 2016).

Consequently, the focus of higher education policies paid special attention to redress and social justice. The White Paper on South African Department of Education (1997) on transformation in higher education aims to address past injustices that were intensified through race, gender, social

class, disability and other forms of discrimination. Though we can revel in the gains made to advance the position of women in South Africa, it is important to recognise that, more than two decades of democracy on, there is more that needs to be attained. In 1996, the Commission for Gender Equality (CGE), was established in terms of Section 187 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. Its intention was to endorse gender equality, development and attainment of gender equality. Yet, the CGE 2019 report shows that, even though the nation has managed to progress in attaining the goals of gender equality and transformation through numerous legislative and policy frameworks, the enactment of these policy and legislative frameworks, including enabling relevant state organisations to promote gender equality and equity, has been delicate (CGE, 2019).

Gender equity is a national imperative in South Africa and this is pronounced as crucial in the constitution and supported by a gender equity legislative framework and legislative framework for women's empowerment. This, with the remarkable collection of equity legislation and policies is evidence of the priority given to gender equity in South Africa. However, the question that we are engaging with in this article is, has policy been applied effectively to achieve gender equity in higher education?

At the national level, the 1997 Higher Education Act provided for the establishment of institutional forums at universities to promote transformation; and a national oversight committee was established to oversee this work. Increasing female representation in all levels of higher education was seen as critical to increasing equality in the field of higher education and research. The uneven female representation in higher education is due to barriers that women face in the workplace. Progress towards gender equality in academia remains a pipe dream for many female academics where women are by far still under-represented. Many obstacles remain in universities that, if adequately addressed, may pave the way for female academics to assume leadership positions.

Ramohai (2016) asserted that, as a nation, we have made momentous steps in progressing gender equity at all levels, and women have made important advancement in the workplace. There has been an important growth in women employed in academic and administrative posts and overall there are more women than men working in South African higher education institutions (Ibid.). However, a fact sheet on ‘Gender Parity in Post-School Education and Training Opportunities’ published in 2021 by Khuluvhe and Negogogo specified that:

“there are more males than females employed in academic positions (i.e. as instruction and research staff); women remain at the lower levels; they remain under-represented in science, technology and engineering and in senior executive and leadership”.

Gender inequalities remain in our universities and studies have demonstrated that in all parts of academia female staff remain excluded, sidelined, discriminated against and victimised (Sadiq et al., 2019; Kiguwa, 2019).

Women as leaders in higher education in South Africa

The full participation of women in leadership at all levels of decision-making is essential to unlocking transformational change (Sadiq et al., 2019; Kiguwa, 2019). It is the expectation that the SDGs will serve as a vehicle to guide different sectors to provide opportunities to support women to fully and equally participate in leadership positions. It is envisaged that if we provide women with the opportunities to become transformative leaders then they can build on their experience and impact other women leaders. If they open the way for more women to emerge as leaders, then progress towards eventual gender parity in leadership and decision-making will occur. A study conducted by Brown (2005) highlighted that women leaders are willing to serve as mentors for other women so that they can help them understand the role they seek to obtain and empower them to attain the necessary knowledge and skills for the position.

We are, however, cognisant of the fact that climbing the leadership ladder is not always easy for women (Ahrens, Landmann and Woywode, 2015). Literature in the global context highlights that women in educational leadership need to consider factors such as the sociocultural environment, historical, economic and political contexts. McNae and Vali (2015) in a study exploring women's leadership experiences in a higher education context highlighted that women continue to face numerous barriers. These barriers include, but are not limited to, the male dominant location of power in the workplace as well as systemic challenges within existing university structures. Women must adopt male standards of leadership, as women are often viewed as emotional and subjective; whereas, men are viewed as rational and objective and if they want to be taken seriously, they need to act out of character (Vinkenburg et al., 2011). In most instances, women must fit into leadership positions that have been defined by and for males

Poltera (2019) highlighted that as we explore the role of women leaders, we need to consider the African context and culture differently from western countries and consider that mainstream leadership theories cannot be generalised to the African context. Poltera further highlights that there is a need to embrace the complexity and diversity of women in leadership positions. There is thus a need to understand women's leadership in the various contexts across the continent. As leadership is found to be contextual (Strachan et al., 2010) and situational (Harris, 2008), it becomes important for us to understand what the facilitators and the barriers are for women to become effective leaders. Strachan et al (2010), highlight that there is thus a need for contextual research so that specific strategies can be developed for women accessing academic leadership positions in developing countries. Research on regional differences would help provide a more accurate picture of the experiences of African women leaders (Amayah and Haque, 2017). More poignantly, an assessment of the complexity of gender dynamics in society generally and higher education specifically will help craft pointed strategic interventions.

Gender dynamics: inclusion versus representation

An important subcategory of the general development of scholarship and policy frameworks dealing with gender equality and transformation is the inclusion versus representation dichotomy. In this section we outline the importance of viewing these two as distinct, but inextricably related categories in the gender transformation project. This is done to avoid conflating the two concepts, at the risk of a stagnation of gender transformation targets in the higher education sector. Ultimately, the objective is to understand these two terms objectively and not in the normative way they are used to window dress the gender transformation agenda. Inclusion being the gradual, targeted and meaningful identification, equipping, support and prioritisation of capable women in the higher education sector. While representation means the ripple effect that meaningful inclusion has on changing the narrative of gender equity in the sector. In other words, more women being represented in strategic areas of higher education, increases representation and the reality for other young women to see the possibilities for the future.

Beyond affirmative action to gender equity

The higher education sector generally reflects the problematic gendered power relations in South Africa. The democratic era has – with an intention for redress and hastening social transformation – employed a number of policy frameworks to ensure a more just and equitable society; affirmative action is amongst the most contentious of these policies. According to Akala (2019: 3) ‘affirmative action is a policy intervention that aims at redressing imbalances in areas such as education, workplace and political participation’. Reflecting on the general impact of the affirmative action policy, Akala (2019) concedes that although some gains have been made in the increase of the number of women in the sector, a lot still needs to be done. Compounding this bleak reality, is the rate of completions, successful migration from post-graduate student to academics and senior leadership positions remain imbalanced on the gender scale (Akala, 2019).

Strikingly, these efforts of the democratic state fall short of addressing some of the ubiquitous regressive gender imbalances, regardless of

the amount of money and policy development invested in it (Nkenkana, 2015). Writing from a decolonial feminist perspective, Nkenkana argues the inextricable relation between social transformation and the emancipation of women (Ibid.). According to Nkenkana, the fundamental cause for a weakened gender transformation project in Africa is the global power structure. She argues that for Africa to make inroads on gender transformation, it needs to reconstitute its society against and beyond the imagination of the problematic global patriarchal order (Nkenkana, 2015). Echoing a similar point, prominent decolonial feminist Maria Lugones locates patriarchy and its attended ills such as gender inequality within a matrix of the colonality of power (Lugones, 2010). Essentially, viewing the problems of gender inequality as historically rooted in global power relations, and presently negotiated in the context of snail-paced gender transformation. As such, the interventions of Nkenkana (2015) and Lugones (2010) provoke a need to reconstitute and refresh the parameters of the debate on gender equity in higher education. To do this we must attend to the overt and covert power dynamics that give rise to gender inequality in the first place, and how they reproduce themselves in spite of a constitution as progressive as the South African one.

Appreciating the complexity of engendering gender transformation in the sector while existing in an untransformed - discouragingly slowly transforming - society, Sturm (2006) considers the challenges of those spearheading university transformation. Can universities transform beyond their society? Or must this transformation be in tandem? If so, what are the implications for the practicability of this process in the context of varying social circumstances? Sturm (2006) appreciates gender inequality as a structural problem embedded in the relations of power in society. This view resonates with the interventions made by Akala (2019), which reflect the possible reasons why the gender imbalances persist in higher education. Thus, thinking against the grain of policies that superficially increase representation, while not systematically creating the conditions for meaningful inclusion, is important if we are to have better prospects of gender transformation in higher education. Essentially, there needs to be an unsettling of a hegemonic view of

gender relations in higher education. But who is to do this, and what gives them the authority?

Inclusion, representation or both?

An asymmetrical power relation is implicit in the whole process of ‘inclusion’; who gets to include, from within? This is an important question, not because answers to it are immediately accessible but because it recognises that the problem is an imbalance in power. As a way to understand the relationship between exclusion and representation, we look at a policy and legislative instrument of gender quotas that originated in the Latin American region (Htun, 2016). Addressing gender imbalances in public service, Argentina introduced the quota system that saw seats legally be reserved for women (Ibid.). This increased the participation of women in politics, and the gender quotas grew became a global phenomenon (Ibid.). However, it is also noteworthy that the imbalance remained in terms of general decisions and policy direction, with the men citing the inexperience and lack of capacity of the beneficiaries of a gender quota (Ibid.). This brings us to the idea that representation does not always mean inclusion, while the inverse also holds true.

Thus, a joined-up rather than distinct reading of these two concepts is helpful to drive us closer to gender equity. A balanced and careful implementation of policy that ensures inclusion and representation with equal significance avoids the typical window dressing that normative patriarchal notions of inclusion usually entail. Without representation you cannot engender confidence and belief in young women that they deserve and can be stakeholders of consequence in higher education. Whilst, without inclusion, you cannot have the representation to begin with. Exacerbating the challenge of inclusion, the South African case presents an intricacy in that its historical race configuration, which persists today, demands us to examine race and gender in close proximity.

The nature of social contradictions in South Africa are complicated by the unique historical circumstances. Colonialism had a gendered, classed

and racial impetus to it. Explaining the genesis of racism in South Africa, Magubane (1996) argues that racism stems from the economic drive of colonialism to conquer a people so that they can take their land and force them into labour. This logic can apply to gender, but not without gaps, that the domestication of women's labour as 'duty' and not seen as work is what prioritises the contribution of men in society, and relegates women in the social hierarchy. Moreover, the apartheid state in South Africa brought a new dimension to race relations, which have a direct implication for gender inequality. For instance, the stark racial categories in South Africa meant that black, coloured, Indian and white women did not experience gendered oppression in the same way (Littrell and Nkomo, 2005). Looking at the American example Conaghan (2000) argues that feminist movements and proponents of gender transformation should guard against essentialist positions that view the subordination of women, across all races, as a homogenous experience. She argues that the varying social hierarchies within the racial contours of women meant that a nuanced approach to gender transformation was needed. Indeed, in South Africa this is true; owing to its history of gender, class and racial discrimination. Hence, we maintain that while all women are oppressed, some are more oppressed than others. Thus, a gender transformation process must attend to the historical imbalances of women's oppression as well. Ultimately, gender equity in the higher education sector of the South African context must pay attention to the race question, not to embolden its problematic existence as a social category, but to acknowledge and address the social stratification it has imposed on our present reality.

Advancing the agenda for gender equity through development education

Development education (DE) principles have unswervingly underlined the significance of encouraging the voices of the marginalised and ensuring that those that are directly affected are heard and understood (Andreotti, 2008). Skinner, Blum and Bourn (2013) assert that development education can be viewed as an education of global justice, because its interrogative and critically shrewd nature unavoidably advances a yearning amongst learners to bring about positive social change.

DE as a pedagogical method has a potential to address the challenges of gender inequality in the higher education setting. A gender-responsive pedagogy addresses this by assimilating gender into the content of teaching and learning including curriculum design and approaches to assessment (Chapin and Warne, 2020).

Chapin and Warne (2020) suggests that DE addresses gender related injustices through delivery of gender responsive pedagogy that speaks to social norms and power imbalances, in the case of higher education this can be achieved by working with faculties to build an awareness of gender stereotypes and biases in their teaching and learning, and, from there, explore new practices.

DE espouses a pedagogical approach that permits us to contest our own norms and come to understand problems from wide-ranging positions. It affords us an opportunity to acquire knowledge that can be used to challenge social exclusion and discrimination and to aid us in promoting progressive social change (Kumar, 2008).

Conclusion

The South African constitution serves as a scope for stimulating gender equality in the country. Numerous policies have been pronounced to safeguard gender equality and equity in higher education. Gender inequity is one of the fundamental factors for stifled progress, particularly so in higher education and women have a massive contribution to make in the area of higher education. However, their role continues to be constrained, undervalued and misapprehended as they continue to be regarded inferior to their male counterparts (Mhlanga, 2013). As academic leaders, we have the opportunity to change perceptions and we have a duty to create an enabling environment for future women leaders.

Data from the Council for Higher Education (2017) shows that of the 3,040 senior managers in higher education, only 44.76 per cent are females. Female academics formed 29 per cent of professors, 41 per cent of associate

professors and 46 per cent of senior lecturers. However, at the level of lecturer and junior lecturer, the majority were women. Subsequently, this data highlights two fundamental issues. Firstly, it shows that although women make up the mainstream of the staff, their representation at executive levels is relatively truncated.

Secondly, these statistics overlook the realities and lack deep interrogation and understanding of the higher education environment that women work in, which remains conducive for systemic gender prejudice. This has resulted in the failure of higher education to implement transformation and address the way in which gender injustice remains persistent in higher education. We need to guard against this becoming entrenched during the pandemic as the pandemic has illustrated starkly the inequities that still exist.

To conclude, as a pedagogical process, DE is a mode to initiate and respond to transformation. It allows us to take a proactive obligation to promote conducts and behaviours that can change organisational cultures and norms. Owing to its long history of instigating transformative educational methods with an international breadth, DE can make a strong contribution to achieving gender equity in higher education.

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THE ROLE OF GLOBAL CITIZENS IN TODAY'S WORLD

ERIC EHIGIE

Abstract: There are a lot of things that one can feel positive about in regard to how far we have come ethically as a global society. However, we are still plagued by the existence of many social issues that pierce the veil of our wellbeing. Poverty, hunger, inequality and political instability, being but a few. This requires us to work towards appreciating the role that we can play to improve this reality for ourselves, and our global community. This article highlights the necessity of conceptualising our global society in communal terms that bind us to our global counterparts, and invokes us into action to address the causes of social injustice, locally and globally. It makes the case for appealing to the common humanity that we all share in regard to approaching some of the world's most pressing issues. The piece also emphasises the importance of the 'system of self' in regard to amending the wider, societal systems that may facilitate a lot of the aforementioned social challenges. Lastly, it addresses the importance of challenging ideologies of illiberalism in the overall attempt to enhance society, particularly in the context of regressive elements that are willing to add the vulnerable to their ranks.

Key words: Global Citizenship; Activism; Social Change; Common Humanity; Equality.

Introduction

'You're living at... a time of revolution, a time when there's got to be a change. People in power have misused it, and now there has to be a change and a better world has to be built' (cited in Ambar, 2012: 36). This is a quote from a speech delivered by human rights activist Malcolm X during an Oxford Union debate in 1964. Today, I would contend, the urgency and desire in his words still resonate with great precision, but in a way that is distinct to ways of old. In recent years, the concept of social justice has suddenly crept into popular culture, and in natural tandem with this phenomenon, there has been an increase in concern for issues pertaining to inequality and the mistreatment

of humans across the globe. Testament to this are the mass protests that have occurred in recent years, which have openly repudiated social wrongs and promoted the virtuous assignment of ensuring the wellbeing of humans throughout the world- and the wellbeing of the globe itself.

This spirit of protest is, of course, not unique to contemporary times. Lest we forget the great public demonstrations that have spanned the lineage of human history which have produced ground-breaking societal developments. However, what sets today's moral climate apart is the widespread, cultural adherence to ideals of fairness and equality; this adherence, is closer to being the norm, than an anomaly. It is now generally seen as desirable to be committed to - or for better or worse, to look like you are committed to - carrying society forward in the voyage towards unflinching justice. This cultural reality can greatly be attributed to the incremental, painstaking development of the collective, human conscience throughout history. As Dr Martin Luther King Jr put it, the 'arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends towards justice' (Knight, 2021: 15). I solemnly believe it can also be attributed to the impetus that is found in the activism of many of today's young people. This impetus has enabled a significant number of today's youth, and wider society, to recognise their role as global citizens, and play their part in positively bringing the global village forward, ethically.

I vividly remember moments in my upbringing as a black immigrant in Ireland where my mother, and many other members within the African community, would provide me with stark warnings of how racism will try to greatly shape how I navigate my life in Ireland, and how I had to tirelessly work to resist it in the pursuit of my goals. To add to this matter, I was born to a Pan-Africanist mother who was adept with the history of racism and colonialism that had scourged her motherland, and with love and grace - but also a very sceptical eye - cautiously observed her surroundings as an immigrant within Ireland to ensure her son's experiences were as free from bigotry as they could be. Upon becoming fully integrated into Irish society, which I know proudly call my own, both my mother and I have observed a change in cultural attitudes towards the issue of racism and bigotry amongst

Ireland's citizens, particularly Irish, young people. There seems to be a greater sense of intolerance towards racism in the ether, and at best, more people feel the need to actionably confront it. Needless to say, there is still some way to go, but promising developments have been made up to this point and this certainly provides hope for the future.

I am the Politics Coordinator of Black and Irish; an organisation that aims to build an inclusive, equal Ireland and promote the integration of the Black and Mixed-Race community into wider, Irish society. Through my role at Black and Irish, and my experiences more broadly as a youth activist, I have had the opportunity to see young people of all backgrounds work to combat racial discrimination in a way that would have been considered unimaginable for my mother and her migrant peers when she first arrived in Ireland. This speaks to an admirable fervour amongst many young people to visualise themselves as global citizens and to act accordingly. This fervour, however, is not limited to youth, as there are many other progressive-thinking people, of all ages, who share it in today's age. The task for these people is to extrapolate the burning passion they feel for fairness and equality across our communities, and the global society at large.

The nature of global citizenship

Within the nucleus of recognising one's role as a global citizen, is the realisation of our deep, symbiotic connection with all humans within the global family. This is an epiphany that sees us viewing the problems of our neighbours, as problems of our own. The wars ravaging nations, which are cutting life short before it has the chance to blossom, are not only wars within those nations but wars within the human house that we must all attempt to quench. Poverty mercilessly keeps a significant number of the fruits within the basket of existence from many of our global counterparts, and impedes upon the buoyancy of our own existence. Racism is a social ailment that strips societal groups of their dignity and blindly downplays the value that they possess. As the former Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius once stated in regard to this human connection, 'we are made for cooperation, like feet, like hands, like eyelids, like the rows of the upper and lower teeth' (Aurelius, 2020:

15). We, as human beings, are truly bound to one another, and the job of the global citizen is to recognise this, find their place in today's world, and see where they can use their unique abilities to improve it for those who are less fortunate.

The issues that plague our civilisation such as hunger, disease and political instability, present a bitter-sweet panorama for the archetypal global citizen. On the one hand, there is a barely tolerable bitterness because of the fact that earnestly confronting the demoralising social challenges which a considerable amount of the world's population faces is very difficult to process and digest mentally. 'Change' is the mantra of the global citizen, and is uttered in activist corners so frequently that it has in itself become an emblem. However, acknowledging a bulk of the major issues that the world confronts at once, can lead to exhaustion and deceptively tempt us into dwarfing our capacity to 'change', which can result in melancholy and at times, self-defeating nihilism. Conversely, within this same context, there is also a mouth-watering sweetness. The sweetness rests in the great opportunity that the world places at our feet to actionably challenge social issues, and contribute to the advancement of our communal surroundings. There is no golden bullet when it comes to solving these issues. Within the issues - and their solution - is a complex web of political, economic, anthropological and various other factors. What is most important, is fully enabling the ethos of our common humanity to shine through when thinking of societal problems and allowing it to act as a bedrock, upon which we play whatever part we can in improving our worldly community.

The power within the 'system of self'

Although it is important for us to continually work to progressively impact the social systems around us, it is necessary to note that an unmitigated, singular focus on the wider 'systems' can sometimes lead to mental fatigue, and a sense of defeatism. The young person who may want to live more sustainably might ask, 'what is the point when corporations continue to seamlessly emit environmentally eroding emissions into the ecosystem?' The potential vegan who believes in the ethics of preserving the life of animals might question the

existence of veganism, as ‘someone, somewhere is going to eat meat anyway’. That person who might want to cease spending their money at a store which exploits those who compose its products, may wonder what impact their cessation will have, when all of their neighbours purchase from that store, completely unbothered. Although there is a deep truth embedded in these scenarios, we must never forget the deeper value that rests in the task of reforming the system of self.

Few, if any, human-made systems can truly outweigh the power of a network containing individuals who have been ‘spiritually reformed’- in other words, people who work to reform themselves, and organise to take social action. For it is individuals who manufacture the systems, and those same individuals, with the conscience and moral vigour they develop from self-reformation, can amend those systems. This is proven by the extensive voyage of the ‘moral arc’, that Dr King referred to, throughout history. It has mercilessly journeyed right through the institution of slavery in many parts of the world, has crushed the wall of legalised discrimination and repression in its stride, and left behind remnants of its progression upon the contemporary ocean, which we all enjoy today such as a better standard of living relative to our historical compatriots, and a relatively freer, and a more fruitful society than any other time in history (Easterlin, 2000). These developments emerged through toil and struggle, which was led by ‘spiritually reformed’ individuals, who took action to reform the motif of the very systems that initially barred these developments. Hence, focusing on the more immediate task of improving ourselves incrementally and acting in accordance with the aspirations we have for our local community, and the global community, is the sufficient starting point in embracing our role as global citizens. It does not mean we forget the systemic challenges that are before us. Nor does it mean that we neglect whatever role we feel we have to play in addressing those systemic challenges. But trying to be the change we wish to see in the world is both accessible and powerful, no matter how big or small one feels their contribution is.

Solidarity and a shared humanity

The key element of being an effective global citizen is appreciating our place, and the place of others, in the interwoven yarn of kinship, that encompasses all people. It is done by seeing right through the superficial elements that distract us from our shared essence. This essence transcends the superficial, and resides in each and every one of us. Charles Darwin, the founding father of the theory of evolution by natural selection, famously stated in his landmark text *On the Origin of Species*, ‘from so simple a beginning endless forms most beautiful and most wonderful have been and are being evolved’ (Darwin, 1909: 429). Here, Darwin is referring to the simple beginnings of life on earth, and how the process of evolution developed various life forms which branch away from the same starting point. This wonderful quote allegorically points to the scientific articulation of the all-encompassing link we share with all humans, and life forms, on the planet.

This axiom, of us all being cut from the same cloth, challenges any attempt to fundamentally distinguish ourselves from those around us, and implicitly calls on us to extend our solidarity to others and do as much as we can to uplift those around us. Behaviour which alienates, ostracises or isolates groups of people is an undesirable deviation from the truth of our commonality. The Irish parliamentarian and activist, Daniel O’Connell, who was referred to as ‘The Liberator’ due to his contributions to the cause of Catholic Emancipation, spoke avidly against American slavery. O’Connell once said about visiting the United States, ‘so long as it is tarnished by slavery, I will never pollute my foot by treading on its shores’ (cited in Geoghegan, 2010: 9). O’Connell clearly understood that the oppression of any man or woman, was also an indirect manifestation of oppression against him and he continually acted to rectify the presence of oppression within the domestic shores of Ireland, as well as beyond. This is the philosophy of the global citizen, and the bar that we must constantly attempt to reach in our efforts to fulfil that philosophy.

Education as a means to kick-start global citizenship

The vital prescription that follows the philosophy of global citizenship is the advancement of education. The absorbing, immediate concerns that every day people regularly face, primarily as a result of the nature of our socio-political structure, can oftentimes distract us from the fact that we are living in a global village that we all have a stake in. As a result, a lack of knowledge on the bond that we share with our global compatriots, and of the role we can play to better our immediate and global surroundings is created - or maintained - and this can open doors to unhelpful ways of thinking. Regressive political populism feeds on the lack of awareness its victims have of their connection with those around them. This is exemplified by the anti-immigrant, racialised rhetoric that is oft laden in the political arena. It is not surprising that there is a correlation between this type of rhetoric and underprivileged areas where adequate education is not always a guarantee, and where the demands of our socio-political environment uniquely places added hardship upon people. (Mondon, 2017).

A possible remedy to this issue rests in reimagining how we facilitate education, with regard to our social and civic responsibilities. Formal education, for example, could offer insights on the common humanity we share with those around us, and the work we can do to impact members of our community in positive ways. This would enable us to transcend superficial differences among ourselves and lead to social cohesion and progressive social change. This is especially true in Ireland, particularly in the context of racial discrimination and migration, as Irish history is inundated by the tragic experience of colonial racism and periods of mass migration. Education based on this historical backdrop could emphatically highlight the rubric of brotherhood that encapsulates those within Ireland, those who aim to find a home in Ireland, and those beyond our shores. This is a hidden potential within the sphere of policy and education that has not yet been adequately explored, and I hope will be tapped into at some point in the near future.

Racism and white supremacy

There is somewhat of an introspective challenge that arises for the global citizen, which certainly needs addressing. When striving to better the society within which one resides, it is not unusual for some to see as enemies those who stand in the way of progressive activism. However, as difficult as it can be, it is important to place those who arise to promote regressive ideals that may not be on the side of social progress within the context of the common humanity that we all share. Dr Martin Luther King Jr regularly cited the bible to proclaim that ‘we are all one in the eyes of God’ and that the racism promoted by white supremacists was not a blemish of King’s, or black America’s, but a deep spiritual blemish within the white supremacist, as the white supremacist intellectually departs from the oneness that they and their black and minority ethnic brethren belong to (King Jr, 2010). This departure from the reality of our interconnectedness, creates vulnerability. The bigot who believes it is a strength to reside in their morally bankrupt ideological framework is actually fundamentally weak. In fact, they are victims. Victims of a poisonous wave that carries them from the reality of their own soul to a plastic, precarious place that is not durable enough to hold its own against the tide of reality.

One of the fundamental differences between those who have been allotted an unfortunate deck of cards by society, and those who promote an ideology that paradoxically denies the humanity of others, whilst trying to validate their own, is that the former are obviously vulnerable and deserve assistance, whilst the latter are also vulnerable, but do not realise that they are vulnerable. This means, that as far as is practicable, and where it is appropriate, it is important for the global citizen to also lend a hand to those who have been victimised by undesirable ideologies, and help them to kick-start their own spiritual reformation. This is certainly not possible in all scenarios, and impossible utopianism is destined to be crushed by the toughness of reality. But there are committed elements of illiberalism within society that would gladly recruit those who are vulnerable, therefore, the extension of the ideal of brotherhood should not fall short at reaching the

oblivious victim where possible, as this too inevitably leads to a positive change for the global community.

Conclusion

To be a global citizen, is to care. It is to empathise. It requires an honest acknowledgement of the complex mixture of privileges and disadvantages with which you personally juggle, and that which your neighbour juggles; and calls on you to see how you can work cohesively with your neighbour to offset the existing disadvantages and to establish more indicators of happiness, for yourself and everyone within the global neighbourhood. It involves an appreciation for the transcendental cloak of our common humanity that encapsulates all human beings. Partaking in the instrumental voyage of the 'moral arc' is never easy, and I certainly cannot lay claim to an indestructible obedience to the ways that I have advocated in this article. But we as humans have come an incredible distance as it is, so there is no reason, especially considering how far we have come, why we cannot strongly continue our voyage into a better future.

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Resource Reviews

POLICY AND PRACTICE: A DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION REVIEW: FIFTEENTH ANNIVERSARY SPECIAL EDITION

Susanne Ress

Antonella Acinapura, Niamh Gaynor, Bernie Grummell, Su-ming Khoo, Mags Liddy, Bernie Mallon, Gabriela Martínez Sainz, Gerard McCann and Stephen McCloskey (eds.) (2021) *Policy and Practice: A Development Education Review: Fifteenth Anniversary Special Edition*, Belfast: Centre for Global Education.

To celebrate the fifteenth anniversary of the open-access journal *Policy and Practice: A Development Education Review*, eight members of the Editorial Board have each selected three (in one case four) articles to showcase the best writing on development education (DE) published in the journal between 2015 and 2020. The articles have been clustered into eight sections, covering a diverse range of topics including the general challenge of neoliberal policies, a political economy approach to DE (section one), post-colonial and global South perspectives (section two), the need for new directions (section three), policy landscapes (section four), human rights (section five), affective dimensions of environmental learning (section six), migration (section seven), and political alternatives (section eight).

The editors have compiled a compendium of articles that will serve as a highly useful source for practitioners and scholars alike. Broadly situated in a critical development studies' perspective (Peet and Hartwick, 2015), the book not only provides a comprehensive overview of all the pressing concerns in global society and DE, it also demands critical reflections on the key question of how power dynamics shape the field, and how it cannot be decoupled from broader economic analyses. Moreover, the book brings into conversation global learning and development education practices, which are

often kept somewhat separate, but which must go hand-in-hand if ‘global and development education’ (GDE, a term suggested by Gabriela Martínez Sainz, 70) is to achieve its aspirations for socio-economic and ecological transformation.

As an international and comparative educationist with almost 20 years’ experience as scholar and practitioner, I have had the great pleasure to review this impressive collection of articles that speak to each other in unique ways due to the editors’ insightful and analytically rich introductions to each of the sections. Moreover, I found it heart-warming to witness through reading, the many initiatives and great efforts put into DE in many places (e.g., Khoo and Walsh, 74ff; Cirefice and Sullivan, 128ff; Boni, 224ff; Selby et al., 255ff; Bryan, 284ff –to name a few), which serve as great testimonies to the importance of action. Collections, such as this one, are quite important because they serve as reminders that we, DE practitioners and scholars, are part of a community that strives for global justice rather than isolated individuals toiling away in our respective institutions, which are often driven by other priorities and sometimes less sympathetic to the cause and urgency of DE.

The fifteenth anniversary edition of *Policy and Practice* maps the DE field from a variety of perspectives, paying attention to the successes and the challenges. Section one, led by Mags Liddy (21ff) celebrates, literally, Freirean praxis of education for social transformation, which is always oriented towards action, and links it to feminist struggles for highlighting how the personal is always already political (Eilish Dillon, 27ff). The choice of focusing on Freirean pedagogy at the beginning of the book befits the collection as it renews the journal’s commitment to this critical framework. Section eight, led by Stephen McCloskey, picks up this theme again by drawing on insights from the context of Latin American. Section two, led by Gabriela Martínez Sainz (70ff). similarly sets the tone of the collection by foregrounding critical and postcolonial perspectives from the global South as a mechanism for shifting readers’ perceptions and providing insights into alternative approaches to DE.

Niamh Gaynor introduces at the beginning of section three (123ff) another thematic complex that echoes throughout the book; that of the need for empathy, transnational solidarity, anti-racist awareness, and ecological sensibility, all of which necessitate a radical rethinking of how humans co-exist on a planet characterised by dwindling resources. This section seems reminiscent of Anna Tsing's (2015) exploration of the possibility of life in capitalist ruins, because Gaynor and the authors whose articles she selected take the brokenness of the world and the injustices that come with it as a starting point to recognise the entanglement of capitalism, poverty, political extremism, and ecological suicide, and to call for new directions in DE.

Gerard McCann (172ff) and the articles in section four continue the sobering analysis of the contingencies and uncertainties of development by characterising DE as a shifting terrain, which depends on a greater agility on the part of policy-makers to remain responsive to the needs of the populations most vulnerable to seismic shocks such as the global COVID-19 pandemic. This also requires, as suggested by Mags Liddy and Susan Gallwey and their reflections on the applicability of results-based approaches (RBA) in DE learning (178ff), sufficient flexibility in the tools used to measure the success of DE efforts and in the interpretation of data obtained from these tools, especially since DE learning aims at attitudinal changes that cannot be easily attributed to pedagogy alone. This section finds an echo in Dillon's reflection on how DE in Ireland has changed over time (107ff), an understanding which she finds necessary for the strategic shaping of DE.

Section five, led by Su-ming Khoo (212ff), honours the journal's long-term dedication to provide an openly-accessible hybrid space for DE practitioners and researchers to jointly reflect on their practice. Alejandra Boni's (224ff) and Khoo's (232ff) articles offer particularly useful insights into the practicalities and challenges of everyday action regarding human rights education as communal-collective and professional-individual efforts of resisting otherwise destructive policy environments. This section and its articles echo the fragility of DE initiatives enunciated already in section four with the important twist of offering hope as they highlight the value in this

work. The importance of continuing the work is equally pronounced in section seven, led by Bernie Grummell (301ff), in which articles reflect on migration as a core concern of DE throughout the world. Once again, the authors speak against simplified conceptualisations of global South and global North, and instead address the economic and historical entanglements, including misguided policies in the European context, as they affect migrants' lives. Helen Avery and Salam Said (318ff) make particularly clear the need for an international educational response to prevent radicalisation and by offering prospective futures to people fleeing from oppression and violence.

Apart from continuing the somewhat pessimistic tone concerning the social inequalities that characterises much of human existence on this planet today by adding the ecological dimension and highlighting again the importance of DE as means to mitigate the situation, Benjamin Mallon, in section six (250ff) links DE to the neighbouring field of environmental education (EE) - similar to Martínez Sainz's expansion of DE to include global learning (GDE) - forging once again a much-needed alliance. By focusing on the affective dimension of EE, section six adds another facet to the DE discussion of the book. It makes explicit the role of emotions in DE. To strive for transformational learning, DE needs to address feelings of despair, disappointment, and fear that learning about social, economic, and ecological inequalities can entail. Such feelings can easily lead to disengagement on the part of the learner. However, the collection of articles in this book makes clear that distancing from DE work is not a viable alternative. Rather, this current time of neoliberal dystopias or the 'twilight of development' (a term suggested by Khoo, 243) mandates a renewed commitment.

Overall, this is an impressive compendium, leaving only small things to be remarked upon. On a technical note, this collection of articles would have benefited from an index to facilitate reading across articles on cross-cutting issues such as gender, global citizenship, sustainability, colonialism and racism. The editors could also have teased out recurring themes more explicitly (including respective hints) or provided some guidance where to find specific topics and information on geographical regions in the introduction,

which brings me to a second aspect. On the one hand, the book and the majority of articles are written from an Irish and primarily European perspective, which is understandable given the disciplinary focus and geographical location of the journal, but which nonetheless marks a particular historical, sociopolitical, and ultimately cultural location. On the other hand, the editors are quite outspoken about their and the journal's ideological grounding in a Freirean political economy approach to education, which many readers will surely appreciate as it foregrounds issues of power and avoids the depoliticisation otherwise common in DE, but which again marks a particular historical context. Furthermore, Europe has a particular relationship with Latin America (and other regions, repeatedly discussed throughout, for example, by Eten, 91ff). The editors further include lessons from Latin America, which focuses on the potentialities of left-wing governments in forging radical responses to the onslaught of neoliberal austerity policies (section eight). From where I stand, and this might only reflect my own biases towards African studies, the editors missed an opportunity to highlight other geographical contexts; something that could perhaps have been remedied with a more explicit guide in the beginning as suggested earlier. What is more, the book's geographical specificities and onto-epistemological rootedness in largely European Union (EU)-(Western)-centric frameworks of education (despite, or perhaps precisely because of the Freirean grounding) could have been more openly acknowledged in the beginning of the book. This could have helped readers less familiar with Irish development traditions to situate the writing in a field increasingly challenged by calls for postcolonial reflections of power dynamics engrained in modes of knowledge production (cf. Andreotti, 2006; Abdi, Shultz and Pillay, 2015; Castro Varela and Heinemann, 2016; Ress et al., under review), and could have made the self-conscious reflections that resonate throughout the book even more powerful.

All in all, I congratulate the editors to this very successful book, which I enjoyed reading tremendously. I already see myself picking it up as guide to my own work, especially because of the unwitting twin-commitment to critical (abstract) analysis while maintaining the urgency for (practical) action. I therefore recommend this book to all readers, who straddle the

boundaries between DE practice and scholarship, and who frequently think beyond their own (national) horizons as they put themselves into the service of One-World justice.

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technologies of power and representation. In her recent work she similarly explores policies and practices of sustainability education.

TEACHING FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT ACROSS THE PRIMARY CURRICULUM

DOUGLAS BOURN

Anne Marie Kavanagh, Fionnuala Waldron and Benjamin Mallon (eds.) (2021) *Teaching for Social Justice and Sustainable Development Across the Primary Curriculum*, Abingdon: Routledge.

This is an impressive, if somewhat ambitious, volume in bringing together a range of academics and educationalists from across Ireland, many of whom having a connection to Dublin City University, to address social justice and sustainable development themes across the primary curriculum. The book is divided into four main sections: critical enquiry; creative and relational approaches; challenging dominant frameworks; and social justice education in real contexts.

Twelve of the fifteen chapters focus on specific school subjects or themes such as race and ethical education. As well as introductory and concluding chapters by the editors there is also a chapter on a ‘whole school approach’ written by Anne Marie Kavanagh. Her chapter on a whole school approach is also different from most of the other chapters in that it has more of an empirical research focus, being based on her doctorate on intercultural education in Irish primary schools.

The importance of the volume and the increased status of development education and related areas in Ireland can be seen in the very supportive Foreword to the volume from the Irish President, Michael D. Higgins. The subject and theme-based chapters cover areas such as history, geography, science, visual arts, drama, music, language teaching and mathematics. There are also chapters on climate change, global citizenship and race and ethnicity through ethical education.

The volume is particularly strong in that whilst the various authors of the chapters have slightly different perspectives, there is a coherence to it around the themes of social justice, sustainable development and social change. Among the many challenging questions posed in the volume are the relationships of themes such as social justice to the wider purpose of education. Children throughout the chapters are seen, alongside teachers, as agents of change. Criticality is also a common term used throughout the book, for example, there is reference to critical engagement in both the word and the world. Several chapters also demonstrate the importance of multiple perspectives.

Where perhaps the volume is less explicit is on pedagogy. Whilst there is reference to differing approaches and summary of key debates relevant to specific disciplines, I think more could have been made of appropriate teaching methodologies and approaches. These are implicit rather than explicit. This for example can be seen in that whilst most of the chapters include at their end exemplars of lesson plans, there is little discussion of the relation of these examples to the earlier themes in the chapters. Also, I felt more could have been made of the interdisciplinarity of much of primary school teaching and many of the themes addressed cut across subject areas.

What I particularly enjoyed about the volume is the central place it gave to social justice education and education for sustainable development. I agree with the framing of social justice in the volume around pillars of equity, activism and social literacy. Social justice education has become increasingly influential in North America and it can provide an important conceptual basis for many of the themes addressed around development education and global citizenship education.

Finally, a minor criticism is that the specific Irish context within most of these chapters are situated could have been developed more; what are the factors that influence specific pedagogical approaches. Whilst I recognise and hope that readers from all regions of the world will read this very important

volume, the antecedents of some of the ideas and practices could have been explored more.

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INTERDEPENDENCE DAY! TEACHING THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS THROUGH DRAMA FOR ALL AGES

Norma Lowney

Mullineaux, Pete (2020) *Interdependence Day! Teaching the Sustainable Development Goals through Drama for All Ages*, Dublin: AFrI.

‘Education is a global issue; it is also a deeply personal one’. Ken Robinson’s (Robinson and Aronica, 2016: 119) quote is an appropriate way to enter into a review of Pete Mullineaux’s book *Interdependence Day! Teaching the Sustainable Development Goals through Drama for All Ages*. The author, an experienced drama practitioner and poet, advocates for an interdisciplinary, cross-curricular approach to *teaching* development education. The book is an illustration of his praxis, providing a *way-of-working*, a means of exploring the seventeen United Nations (UN) Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) using creative approaches and stimuli. Connected global focus on the achievement of the SDGs would bring about lasting change, breaking down the global mechanisms of oppression, inequality and inequity that are historically embedded. Mullineaux’s creative approach, offers multi-stimulatory approaches to engage students in Quality Education (SDG 4) by encouraging critical reflection at a grassroots level.

Interdependence Day! focusses on play and *process drama* as a vehicle for targeted learning to explore the SDGs. The author intends this publication as a resource for both primary and post-primary teachers. He hopes that the publication will aid the ‘fusing of development education with developmental learning and a fostering of emotional intelligence in helping the child become aware of both themselves and the world they live in’ (Mullineaux, 2020: 9). While acknowledging the abundance of resources available for the discussion and examination of global justice issues, this publication offers an alternative mode of investigation. Drama is proposed as a vehicle or threshold *into* the often-dense subject matter, a means of

exploration that can be supported and enhanced by existing non-drama activities. Mullineaux's book aims to reach beyond merely presenting the problems, encouraging students to explore alternative endings through out-of-the-box creative thinking. This approach, as Mullineaux suggests, 'promotes the imagination and human potential moving beyond binary notions of education and placing value on the fictional, sensory and affective' (Davis, 2016: 4).

In the opening chapter, Mullineaux reflects on the importance of, and need for, development education and critical exploration of the SDGs. He advocates for the potential of the arts in framing students' investigations of the SDGs, making links and connections between the fictional and the real. The author provides a frame to scaffold the teacher in tackling a drama-as-pedagogy methodology. Mullineaux claims that the teacher does not need any drama background. He acknowledges that within teacher practices 'there are often mixed feelings around doing drama in the classroom' (Ibid.:10). He aims to remove some of the mystique around doing drama, thus breaking the myth that 'it is beyond the reach of a regular teacher and only fit for someone who is a drama specialist' (Ibid.:11). The author breaks down learning in the classroom into four key components: imagination, cooperation, articulation and reflection. Imagination is the main driver, the nucleus or rhizome, from which the other components sprout.

The book comprises eight projects. Each project begins with a drama foundation; a creative seed or nucleus. *Freeze-frame* is a spinal device or method, that serves to link the projects and the SDGs, making the teacher and students 'experts in handling, and then apply to exploring each theme or issue' (Ibid.: 9). Mullineaux offers practical classroom layout advice and an approximated timing of eighty minutes for the process [of] drama. He begins in Project One - *Freeze-trees/ Seeds of Hope* - with an exploration of Life on Land (SDG 15) and Climate Action (SDG 13) addressing the importance of bio-diversity. The author illustrates how the project links with SDGS 10, 12 and 16. A very useful observation, particularly for an educator who may be new to the teaching of development education and global citizenship. He

explains that the methods can be extended with the material becoming more complex or in-depth depending on the age-group and abilities of the class.

The freeze-frame and teacher-in-role process drama methods, illustrated in the first project, support each project thereafter with the author offering advice and tips to help the teacher find their ‘drama feet’ (Ibid.:14). Landy and Montgomery describe process drama as ‘a methodology that empowers students to take ownership in the meaning they make of any given topic. As the drama is developed, it takes on a reflective component that impacts the unfolding action...’ (2012: 19). Essentially it is the teacher and student working in-role in an imaginary scenario. ‘Reflection-in-action drives process drama practice’ (O’Mara, 1999: 4). The method is not product-based, a show or play is not the end goal, but rather, the learning occurs through the process. The author’s methods are reminiscent of Heathcote’s Mantel of the Expert (MoE) and Rolling Role (Heathcote and Herbert, 1985), in that, an interactive, constructivist methodology is proposed. The book, therefore, avoids the didactic role of the teacher as knowledge-holder and the student as the passive recipient of knowledge, to favour a co-constructed active methodology. Thus, placing his work within what Landy and Montgomery (2012:1) describe as ‘Educational Theatre praxis’.

Although written with the Irish education system in mind, *Interdependence Day!* has universal appeal. It is intended as a resource for *any and all teachers* and *any and all classes*, from primary to post-primary and beyond. Mullineaux acknowledges that the book can be used directly as part of the primary level drama content strand: ‘Drama to explore feelings, knowledge and ideas, leading to understanding’ (Ibid.: 10). The author acknowledges that his approach works well with primary school, first year and transition year students. He encourages collaborative planning and interdisciplinary practice as a means of engaging other year groups at post-primary level who are time-poor due to constraints attributed to terminal examinations. The book provides a route map for the effective teaching of SDGs through the weaving of subjects and disciplines, linking the exploration of the (often overlapping) SDGs fluidly across the curriculum, contributing to a whole-

school approach to global citizenship education (GCE) and further underpinning Mullineaux's philosophy and understanding of interconnection and *interdependence*.

If Mullineaux's vision of interconnected learning and interdisciplinary collaboration is to be realised in post-primary schools, it would have been prudent to align his methodology with the quality framework document, *Looking At Our Schools* (Department of Education and Skills, 2016) which encompasses the Department of Education and Skills' (DES) inspectorates statements of practice for (Highly Effective) quality teaching and learning at both primary and post primary: 'Teachers plan collaboratively for learning activities that enable pupils to make meaningful and progressively more challenging connections between learning in different subjects' (Department of Education and Skills, 2016: 20). This approach would aid schools in the practicalities of embedding his whole-school approach to development education, allowing schools to link the resource to their School Development Planning (SDP) and School Self Evaluation (SSE) which are informed and supported by the *Looking at Our Schools* framework document. The Teaching Council of Ireland's (2016) *Cosán: National Framework for Teachers' Learning* would further support the embedding of such a resource, as collaborating teachers could actively engage with reflective processes, such as, Triadic Reflection, that underpin the reflective framework to review and discuss the successes and difficulties arising from interdisciplinary practice.

From a timetabling perspective at post-primary level, difficulties may arise in implementing these projects in the eighty-minute sessions that the author suggests, but creative timetabling and cross-curricular planning could overcome these time pressures and break down the individualisation of subject areas. The SDGs do not occur in isolation, they are not seventeen separate aspirations that can be achieved one by one as one might tick a to-do list. They are, rather, an ecology of interconnected issues and so looking at one will inevitably lead to looking at all. This *interdependence* should be reflected in how we plan our pedagogical approaches to teaching development education and global citizenship, offering a way in, particularly at post-primary level,

where constraints exist regarding timetabling and subjects are generally segregated. The school must become a microcosm of the world, an opportunity to demonstrate this interdependence through interdisciplinary practices.

This book is packed with information, strategies and fully formed lessons, so much so, that it may be a little daunting for the novice teacher, but not so if used, as I believe that the author intends, as a guide to the possibilities of drama and the arts for cross-curricular planning. Linking the ideas generated by the author with the standards and learning outcomes of individual subjects, create a cohesive inter-dependent, whole-school development education programme tailored to the students and their school context. This is what quality education should look like for twenty-first century learning.

The SDGs can be challenging subject matter for students to connect to as the local is often easier to probe but it can be tricky to connect the local to the global and truly understand the interwoven and embedded mechanisms of oppression that exist in our world. As educators, we must be mindful of the well-being of our students in tackling the material. We must acknowledge that to truly understand the gravitas, mechanisms of oppression, disparity, and inequity that exists in our world and the need for social justice, could be cause for cognitive and emotional overload. Mullineaux's way-of-working, using mixed methods from drama, story, allegory, fairy tale, myth and poetry, un-scripted improvised scenes and scripted plays, act as a threshold into the exploration of the SDGs. Working from creative stimulus permits students to explore topics within the safety of the fiction, providing cognitive distancing and safe-guarding their mental health, an aspect which is all the more important in our 'new normal', post-pandemic world, where students have experienced trauma and a very real challenge to their safety. The author adds notes throughout the text, sign-posting the developmental and socio-emotional learning for the teacher, layering moments *of* and *for* reflection. At the end of each section or project he offers further reflection exercises that link and connect across the curriculum, encompassing individual subjects.

Mullineaux's prose is at once personal but informative and knowledgeable. He creates an understanding with the reader, illustrating his ideas and connecting his personal journey. He demonstrates his mastery of the processes he endorses during the story-telling aspects of the projects. Simple and scripted, they provide a tangible resource into process drama for the apprentice teacher in facilitating development education, or, drama, or both. Mullineaux exercises his expertise, sharing a wealth of knowledge and activities while keeping his work attainable for the new practitioner/facilitator at whom this book is aimed. This is a huge strength of the book.

My criticism of this resource is purely aesthetic. The book is A5, a scale which does not serve it. The small scale means that the layout is impacted and compacted making it less user-friendly than the author may have intended for the time-poor teacher. A workbook layout would rectify this, quite literally, giving space to the author's lessons and ideas. This book has heart and a wealth of expertise drips from its pages. Mullineaux has lived and taught what he proposes, giving weight and validity to his ideas and guided lessons. In essence he is disseminating a lifetime of thinking and working. This book is a record of his methods and in writing it, Mullineaux passes his baton, encouraging a new generation to develop their creative praxis.

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RACE, POLITICS AND PANDEMIC PEDAGOGY: EDUCATION IN A TIME OF CRISIS

Stephen McCloskey

Giroux, Henry A. (2021) *Race, Politics and Pandemic Pedagogy: Education in a Time of Crisis*, London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Henry Giroux is the Paulo Freire distinguished scholar in critical pedagogy at McMaster University, Canada. He has developed a critical theory of education that emphasises ‘crucial intersections between the role of education in schools and universities with that of culture and public life’ (Giroux, 2021). He is a prolific author of books and articles, a public intellectual and regular media contributor. His latest book, *Race, Politics and Pedagogy*, is a reflection on the intersecting plagues of COVID-19 and neo-fascism framed in the final year of the Trump presidency in the United States (US). This is a book firmly situated in the US with only fleeting references to the impact of the pandemic in other parts of the world. The timeframe of the book begins with the declaration of the pandemic by the World Health Organisation in January 2020 and ends with Trump’s electoral defeat in November 2020. However, there is no sense of celebration at Trump’s political demise given the narrow nature of his loss and the persistent and malignant danger of the factors that brought him to power. ‘Trump’s defeat should not erase the notion’, argues Giroux, ‘that the political, economic and cultural forces that created the conditions for his presidency have disappeared’ (xviii). Far from it. ‘We are in a new historical period’, warns Giroux, ‘one that has inherited a neoliberal legacy in which every aspect of society has been transformed and corrupted by the tools of financialization, deregulation and austerity’ (x).

The book has four sections with the first, ‘Pandemic Landscapes’, providing the context to, and impact of, Trump’s disastrous handling of the pandemic which resulted in 4 percent of the world’s population having 25 percent of the world’s infections (49). ‘Pandemic pedagogy’ is the twisted language and anti-intellectualism used by Trump and his acolytes to rationalise

the horrific scale of human loss in the US as the virus overwhelmed a public health sector left unequal to the challenges of the pandemic from decades of neoliberal reform. The COVID-19 pandemic, argues Giroux, ‘has revealed with laser-beam clarity how incapable the irrationality of a profit-driven capitalism, is in dealing with a global public health crisis that has been as catastrophic as it has been deadly’ (x-xi).

Giroux cites Canadian academic, Brian Massumi, who provides a chilling neoliberal rationalisation of the carnage caused by the pandemic, particularly among the most vulnerable, as being necessary to sustain the economy. I’ve re-produced the quotation below:

“The free-market economy must be saved at all costs. We just have to push through. The most vulnerable should be good troopers and prepare to self-sacrifice to save the country from this threat worse than death: a sick economy. The old, the immuno-compromised, the homeless, and all those who tend in the best of times to fall to the bottom of the triage list (the disabled, those with autism, people with Downs, people with dementia, the poor) will be the nation’s unsung heroes. Never mind the resemblance to eugenics ...” (Massumi, 2020).

This false dichotomy that the pandemic meant saving jobs or people’s lives was part of a pandemic pedagogy, which Giroux argues, ‘functions to shape human agency, desire, nodes of identification to the logic of consumerism while privileging a hyper form of masculinity and legitimating a friend / enemy distinction’ (167).

Section two of the book – ‘Populism and the Crisis of Education’ – suggests how the pandemic was used by authoritarian leaders, including Trump, to normalise ‘elements of the fascist state under the guise of addressing the pandemic’ (38). As the pandemic exposed the failings of neoliberalism to tackle the pandemic ‘populist leaders attacked all vestiges of liberal capitalism while refusing to name neoliberal inequities in wealth and power as a basic

threat to their societies’ (85). Trump resorted to the othering of migrants, refugees and asylum-seekers to distract from the failings of neoliberalism, using ‘bigotry, nativism, racism and scapegoating foreigners for social problems’ (99). Under Trump, ‘civic illiteracy and charged emotional rhetoric’ became tools for hegemonic control (62) as language became ‘weaponised’ (63) and ‘unmoored from critical reason’ (65). A surge in military expenditure, surveillance capitalism, border closures and the suspension of civil liberties’ (42) saw a spike in deportations and growing intolerance of dissent through protest and mobilisations. This was facilitated by a ‘politics of depoliticisation’ which ‘erodes modes of critical agency, democratic values and civic institutions central to a robust democracy’ (68). Giroux identifies two key enablers for ‘the slide into authoritarianism’ in the US. The first was the ‘absence of a broad-based left movement in the United States’ (81) and the second was a slumbering majority (86) trapped in what Freire described as a ‘culture of silence’ (1993: 12) created by civic illiteracy. Giroux powerfully recalls the cruelty of Trump’s treatment of migrants. When his administration ended a humanitarian programme known as Temporary Protected Status Policy (90), 200,000 Salvadorian migrants were among those deported. Trump also used enhanced police powers to round up migrant children at the border, separate them from their parents and incarcerate them in appalling conditions (66).

Section three titled ‘The Promise of History’ laments the loss of historical consciousness as a means of framing Trump’s authoritarianism in the context of the central elements of totalitarianism captured in Hannah Arendt’s reflections on fascism (133). ‘Education is crucial as an analytical tool’, argues Giroux, ‘in making the elements of a fascist politics visible while situating the latter historically in order to gain some perspective on the real danger in the present’ (142). The absence of memory and historical consciousness in the US demands that ‘the teaching of history’ become a ‘protected space’ to teach students to ‘hold power accountable’ (129). This section argues that ignorance and depoliticisation abetted by a compliant media, a weak political opposition and what Giroux calls a ‘Vichy Republicanism’ (158) sustained Trump’s ‘culture of cruelty’ (23). Giroux is

scathing of the Republican party's 'Faustian bargain with incipient authoritarianism' (159) reserving particular criticism for Trump's 'dangerous lackeys' (162) Senators Mitch McConnell and Lindsay Graham. Short-term political expediency always appeared to override any political distaste with Trump's racist dog-whistling to far-right white supremacist groups like the Proud Boys or encouraging police repression of Black Lives Matter activists following the killing of George Floyd in Minneapolis in May 2020. Racism is the other pandemic captured by the book as Giroux finds that pandemic pedagogy 'legitimizes the language of hate in everyday exchanges' and 'Degrades people of color' (xiii).

Section four of the book - 'Thinking Beyond Plagues' – worryingly suggests that 'fascism never goes away but is always just beneath the surface of society and can erupt at any time' (199). The inequities, racism and political inertia of neoliberal capitalism remain very much in place. The book ends before the invasion of the Capitol Building by Trump supporters in January 2021, which served to underline its assessment that 'we are in the midst of a legitimization crisis and new political formations are trying to be reborn' (xi). Giroux suggests three key lessons from the pandemic:

"First and foremost, the intersecting inequalities that propagate capitalism as an economic and ideological system must be made visible and challenged. Second, we must learn from the history that created the conditions that made the pandemic and Trump's presidency even imaginable. Thirdly, we must re-think both the politics and the future we want" (193).

From an educational perspective, this demands a critical awakening and consciousness to support collective action in the social sphere. As Freire suggested: 'To surmount the situation of oppression, people must first recognise its causes so that through transforming action they can create a new situation' (1993: 29). Giroux argues that 'Agency is an educational and political issue and has to be developed through the hard work of the merging of consciousness raising and meaningful activism' (203). In the age of fake

news, media manipulation and anti-intellectualism, public education and activism remains a significant challenge amid a ‘fog of ignorance’ (174). ‘What is needed’, suggests Giroux, ‘is an anticapitalist movement that can re-direct the pain, anger and rage of the dispossessed’ (115).

There is a temptation, following the election of President Biden in November 2020, to regard the threat posed by Trump’s naked racism, authoritarianism and anti-intellectualism as having abated. The publication of *Race, Politics and Pandemic Pedagogy* is, therefore, an important warning of the fragility of democracy and how the inequities created by neoliberalism can quickly slide into fascism and the erosion of civil liberties. Using the framing of Naomi Klein’s *The Shock Doctrine* (2007), the pandemic became the ultimate cover for disaster capitalism with Trump trampling on civil liberties and using emergency COVID-19 stimulus payments as cover for ‘corporate welfare’. So, while its tempting to put Trump’s administration into the rear view mirror and carry on, we should remember that the neoliberal economic system that created the inequalities and democratic drift crucial to his assuming power, remains very much in place. *Race, Politics and Pandemic Pedagogy* is essential to us understanding how this happened and how critical education and historical consciousness are urgently needed to support transformative learning and human agency.

Given the global spread of the virus and pandemic pedagogy, I thought the book could have said more about global trends linking authoritarianism with a botched handling of the pandemic. Bolsonaro’s Brazil, Modi’s India and Johnson’s Britain all fell into COVID-induced crises accelerated by appalling leadership. These connections are only superficially drawn. I thought, too, that the book was stronger on diagnosis than prognosis, particularly in regard to how educators penetrate the ‘fog of ignorance’ created by social media, political deceit and Trump echo chambers like *Fox News*. Part of the answer appears to lie in the civil society activism of Black Lives Matter and other civil society movements that have supported community education and activism. This activism appears to be influencing a more radical active left among Congressional Democrats which, for example, criticised President

Biden's support of Israel's attack on the Gaza Strip in May 2021 (Khalid, 2021). It will be interesting to see how far this more progressive voice in Congress can influence Biden's administration going forward.

For some years now, I've been suggesting in this journal, that development educators and international non-governmental organisations have been asleep at the wheel in regards to the question of neoliberalism in Britain and Ireland (McCloskey, 2019). They have mostly ignored the correlation between neoliberalism and poverty and inequality. *Race, Politics and Pandemic Pedagogy* reveals the dangers and horrors of what awaits when we ignore this question and allow inequality to slide into authoritarianism. Development personnel of all stripes should read this book and start mobilising against the forces of neoliberalism. As Giroux suggests on the very last line of his book: 'The ghosts of fascism may have been pushed back in the shadows but they have not disappeared (2021: 209).

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