Globalisation in the Geography and Citizenship Curricula for

England: An investigation into the nature of the political in a

centrally prescribed curriculum

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By

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on globalisation in the Key Stage 3 National Curriculum for Citizenship and Geography in England. The research is based on two premises: firstly, that there are numerous perspectives on globalisation and secondly, that globalisation is a politically tendentious topic.

The research is conducted in two parts. First, the content of the curriculum is investigated to ask if any perspectives on globalisation are privileged, marginalised or silenced in the curriculum. Second, the research asks why a politically loaded subject like globalisation is now included in a curriculum which consciously seeks to avoid indoctrination.

Empirical research finds that, while globalisation is welcomed as a controversial issue for its value in encouraging critical thinking and the development of liberal values and attitudes in education for democracy, the range of authentically controversial global issues raised through the curriculum is limited. Globalisation has come to be associated in the curriculum with international development. The research investigates the prevalence of this perspective and concludes that development education's distanced controversies are 'safe', compared with other global controversies that may imply a direct critique of governance.

Conceptual research indicates that globalisation is included in the curriculum, not just as content, but is promoted through curriculum policy. An analysis informed by critical theory proposes that globalisation has come to be included in the curriculum as part of the Third Way political project. Globalisation is central to this project and its inclusion in the curriculum is part of the process of gaining consent for globalisation as a taken-for-granted concept in the context of globalising policies.

The thesis explores the apparent contradiction that although fear of direct indoctrination through the curriculum leads to an anodyne account of globalisation, curriculum policy is

nonetheless being used to legitimate a Third Way version of neo-liberal economic globalisation, and concludes that the curriculum provides evidence of wider hegemonic processes.

Acknowledgements

Small sections in the literature review have previously appeared in Evans, J.E (2000) Globalisation an annotated bibliography for the readers of Assessment in Education, *Assessment in Education: Principles, Policy and Practice* Volume 7, Number 3 Pages 313-324

Dedicated to the memory of N.J Saxton

1920-1994

Cosmopolitan Citizen

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List of abbreviations and acronyms

ACT	Association of Citizenship Teachers
CAFOD	Catholic Agency for Overseas Development
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CPD	Continuing Professional Development
CRB	Criminal Records Bureau
DEA	Development Education Association
DEJ	Development Education Journal
DfES	Department for Education and Skills
DfID	Department for International Development
GA	Geography Association
NC	National Curriculum
NCTs	National Curriculum Tests
NGOs	Non-governmental Organisations
Ofsted	Office for Standards in Education
QCA	Qualifications and Curriculum Authority
SATs	Standard Assessment Tasks
SEBD	Social, emotional and behavioural difficulties

Table 1 Key events in the development of a National Curriculum

Date	Event
1976	Callaghan's Ruskin Speech
1988	Education Reform Act bringing in the first National Curriculum
1990	'Fielding report' on Geography in the NC
1991-1992	National Curriculum introduced to schools
1993	Dearing Report modifies NC especially assessment requirements
1993	Schools Curriculum and Assessment Authority established
1993	Formation of Development Education Association
1996	Education Act. Includes sections on political indoctrination
1997	Education Act. Establishes Qualifications and Curriculum Authority
May 1997	New Labour government elected
September 1998	Crick report published
1999	Revised NC published
1999	'Light touch' citizenship order published
2002	Citizenship Education made compulsory at Key Stages 3 and 4. Included with PSHE at Key stages 1 and 2
2003	Every Child Matters Green Paper
2005	Futures Curriculum consultation commences. Ongoing
2007	Key Stage 3 Review ongoing.

Chapter 1 Researching the global in a National Curriculum

> Every relationship of 'hegemony' is necessarily an educational relationship and occurs
> not only within a nation, between the various forces of which the nation is composed,
> but in the international and worldwide field, between complexes of national and
> continental civilisations (Antonio Gramsci, 1971, p.350)

This thesis was in its final stages when the government agency, the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority, announced that the initial draft of its Key Stage 3 review was ready for 'consultation' with teachers (QCA, 2007c). As Key Stage 3 of the National Curriculum was the focus of the research, I was concerned that some radical changes might have been made which would negate all of my findings and critique. I was relieved to find that, despite considerable press attention, very little had changed in the structure or rationale of the National Curriculum. It remained a curriculum which was divided into 12 discrete subjects, still heavily assessed, and most importantly, the press revealed that it remained a curriculum that was the focus of almost continuous political manipulation because

> The Qualifications and Curriculum Authority's original remit to allow teachers greater
> flexibility appears to have been undermined by a series of ministerial interventions.
> (Stewart, 2007, p.1)

This thesis hypothesises that political intervention in the curriculum takes place, not merely at ministerial level, but involves a range of interests which interact to produce certain ideologies as hegemonic. The topic of globalisation is used to show that even a highly contested topic can be incorporated into the curriculum to this effect, and that, conversely, such incorporation is part of the process by which attempts are made to construct a concept such as globalisation can become 'taken for granted'.

The significance of this research lies in the finding that the political is mediated through the curriculum on several, sometimes contradictory, levels which work together in a series of adjustments and compromises in an attempt to gain consent for a neo-liberal ideology in

which the purpose of education is to support the economic competitiveness of the UK because of 'globalisation'. Constant ministerial intervention in the curriculum to this end has been a feature since the mid 1970s, but I infer that a more subtle political manipulation is attempted through wider education policy including the National Curriculum and nearly everything associated with it. At the same time, there is continual lobbying by special interest groups to have their interests included in the state-prescribed curriculum. But school teachers are traditionally very wary of being seen to indoctrinate their students politically, and are keen to allow them to 'think for themselves' as active citizens participating in a liberal and pluralist democracy. The thesis raises questions about the authenticity of that participation and the extent to which critical thinking is actually being encouraged in the context of global issues.

The problem to be investigated arose because the theme of 'globalisation' was included in the version of the National Curriculum that the New Labour government introduced in 1999/2000. Globalisation appeared in official curriculum documents both as a topic to be studied, and as a rationale for the new Values, Aims and Purposes of the National Curriculum (QCA, 1999b, pp.10-13). Having previously studied globalisation in some detail, I found it intriguing that this extraordinarily complex topic which is often fraught with polemic, should be considered suitable or necessary subject matter for younger secondary school students. Given that there are a number of widely differing views on globalisation, it was also interesting to investigate how the government used globalisation to justify its view of the purpose of education, and how it used the education system to gain consent for its view of globalisation.

This raised two questions, which form the basis of the research in this thesis. These are:

What does the National Curriculum say about globalisation? and

Why is it considered necessary for young people to learn about globalisation?

The research is thus an investigation of the status of a political topic—globalisation—in a state-determined curriculum. The thesis contributes an exploration of the political in the curriculum in three ways. Firstly, it investigates the content of the curriculum and what a centrally prescribed curriculum might say about a concept that is frequently expressed in tendentious and contested terms. Secondly, it explores a fear of indoctrination which is widely expressed at many levels of the English school system, using globalisation as an example of a controversial issue. Thirdly, it investigates globalisation in the curriculum to consider some ways in which neo-liberal ideologies attempt to gain hegemonic consent through the curriculum (see Apple, 2004, ch1). Apple observes that

> All too often, analyses of globalisation and the intricate combination of neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism remain on a meta-theoretical level, disconnected from the actual lived realities of real schools, teachers, students, and communities. While such meta-theoretical work is crucial, its over-use has left a vacancy. (Apple, 2001, p.421)

This thesis seeks to fill that vacancy by empirical and critical research with teachers, curriculum developers and in the wider curriculum policy arena, to show how consent could be gained for neo-liberal ideologies by an attempt to construct both globalisation and the National Curriculum as ineluctable. It also seeks to demonstrate that the influence of neo-conservatism in, for example, foreign policy might be concealed by the presentation of a particular view of globalisation through the curriculum. The research argues that, although globalisation is a complex and contested topic, capable of being seen from a multiplicity of perspectives, what the curriculum actually says about globalisation is in effect limited to what it is legitimated to say.

A central finding of the research is that the field of global education is dominated by development agencies and specialists in development education. The view of globalisation

promoted by these agencies is largely an economic one that casts students as responsible consumers of, for example, fair-trade goods. This concentration on the economic relations of globalisation connects paradoxically with a neo-liberal account of globalisation in which individual choice and consumption prevail. Although these two perspectives appear contradictory, the development education perspective presents globalisation as an inevitable process in which the poor are powerless, whilst the neo-liberal perspective presents governments as powerless in the face of what they claim is the inevitability of globalisation. A Third Way perspective on globalisation builds on the neo-liberal perspective, but claims that, though inevitable, globalisation can be managed through good governance. The thesis argues, on the contrary, governments are not powerless, and globalisation is not inevitable, but that governments are party to the policy making which allows globalisation to take place. All three perspectives disregard the political aspects of globalisation in favour of the economic, although they may take differing stances on economic matters. In the context of the curriculum, these perspectives all cast students and their families as consumers rather than active citizens. There is a risk that some more challenging political implications of globalisation may be neglected by these economic perspectives. These include the issues raised by war, terrorism, international relations and migration which, I suggest, education for citizenship in England might be expected to address.

Research themes

The research synthesises three major research themes. These central themes are arranged over a literature review and three findings chapters. The themes are:

Contested and plural interpretations of globalisation

Controversy and the fear of indoctrination in the curriculum

The ideological and hegemonic character of the National Curriculum.

Globalisation is used as an example of a politically contentious topic to establish that, although the content of the curriculum avoids authentic controversies, official accounts of the curriculum such as the Values, Aims and Purposes of the Curriculum, and plans for a new *Futures Curriculum*, are unequivocal in promoting and legitimating a neo-liberal economic perspective on globalisation.

Contested and plural interpretations of globalisation

A selective review of the vast range of literature about globalisation, establishes that there is a multiplicity of views on this phenomenon. Authors writing about globalisation draw on the disciplines of economics, sociology, political theory, philosophy and cultural studies, amongst others. This leads to many different interpretations of the concept of globalisation, which I term 'perspectives'. Within those broad perspectives, for example, in economics or political theory, there are contests, debates and outright opposition, which might be termed 'perceptions'. This shows that the perspectives are not fully determined, but are contingent to the extent that overlaps and divisions may be formed. Six main perspectives were identified from the globalisation literature. These form a conceptual framework which is used empirically in Chapter 4 to compare what the curriculum *does* say about globalisation, against what it *could* say. Chapter 4 concludes that development education dominates what the curriculum says about globalisation and that this account constitutes a seventh perspective. I explore some rationales for this dominance in Chapters 5 and 6.

The literature review ascertains that writing about globalisation is not merely descriptive or theoretical, but that the concept is used to advance political, economic and philosophical values and ideologies. Writing about globalisation is frequently typified by advocacy,

protest and polemic, while some of the more balanced accounts of globalisation and its effects are difficult to access. At the same time, the historical background to the National Curriculum establishes a context in which an English pluralist, liberal democratic polity traditionally declined to intervene in the content of education. A centrally determined National Curriculum represents a significant shift from this reluctance to prescribe, and yet I found that a delicacy about indoctrination persists at many levels of the education system. This ought to pose problems for the inclusion of a tendentious and difficult subject such as globalisation at Key Stage 3. One of the major themes to be explored, therefore, is the mediation of the fear of indoctrination, which I argue is misplaced, with the level of controversy represented by globalisation.

Controversy and the fear of indoctrination in the National Curriculum

The background to the development of the National Curriculum shows that most twentieth-century governments were wary of interfering with the content of the curriculum, and traditionally, schools, teachers and education authorities were permitted considerable autonomy. In the first half of the twentieth century governments sought to distinguish themselves from totalitarian regimes which dictated the content of the curriculum. However, in Chapter 5, which explores the conflation of globalisation with international development through a long view of global education, I illustrate some of the ways in which Geography and civics lessons have been used to impart values and attitudes about Britain's role in the world. And despite interview evidence which showed that most teachers and curriculum advisers seemed to be very cautious about imposing particular values on young people, values and attitudes now appear as an important element in the curriculum materials provided by development agencies. The values being upheld in those resources often seem to represent an earlier view of global and development economics, which could be exemplified by critical or radical Geography in the 1980s, based on Marxist

economic principles, which had been excluded from previous versions of the National Curriculum. Chapter 5 explores why these values are now accepted in the curriculum and concludes that, paradoxically, their emphasis on trade relations, charity and patterns of consumption suits the economic purposes of neo-liberalism and evades a political critique of local and global policies. A cosmopolitan perspective on globalisation might provide a firmer foundation for active citizens learning and growing up in the twenty-first century.

What can be said about globalisation, and what is not said, is influenced by the ideological and hegemonic character of the National Curriculum. What can be said is often constrained by subject divisions, close monitoring and assessment requirements, but may also be constrained politically by the centralised nature of the National Curriculum. This is because the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) is a government agency, answerable for the content and assessment structures of the curriculum to the Department for Education and Skills (DfES), the Ministry of Education. A systematic review of the historical development of the National Curriculum in Chapter 2 shows that successive ministers of education and Prime Ministers have become personally involved in education debates, including debates about appropriate curriculum content. Direct critique of the government's role in global affairs would therefore be unlikely. On the other hand, the government's concern with the content of the curriculum means that it the potential to be used to advance favoured ideological positions and to discourage those which represent resistance, protest or opposition.

The ideological and hegemonic nature of the National Curriculum

The quote above from Gramsci implies that education is strongly implicated in creating hegemony. That is the process in which the dominant ideology in a society comes to be accepted as the norm, without resort to force. In this thesis, I suggest that since its inception, the National Curriculum has been used ideologically. I conclude that there are

two main ways in which it supports hegemonic beliefs. Firstly, although there are other purposes for education and other ways of organising a curriculum, the National Curriculum has, quite quickly, become an accepted part of the mechanism which legitimates the purpose of education in support of British economic competitiveness. Part of the rationale now advanced for this purpose is globalisation. This means that, secondly, the concept of globalisation must be taken for granted. Thus the content of the curriculum includes globalisation, in an attempt to make that an accepted part of knowledge. To achieve this end, it does not really matter what the curriculum says about globalisation, so long as it is accepted as inevitable. This makes the issue of what the curriculum does *not* say about globalisation significant. Although the curriculum gives the impression of covering a diversity of views on this contentious subject, there are some global topics, such as war, which are avoided as too controversial. Chapter 6 illustrates the way in which aspects of a counter-hegemonic perspective on global citizenship based on Futures Studies, (see for example, Hicks, 2001, and 2003b) have been incorporated into the proposed *Futures Curriculum* (QCA, 2005, 2007a). Far from drawing on the work of Hicks and others on Futures Studies, this proposed curriculum attempts to legitimate a neo-liberal account of globalisation, and apparently aims almost exclusively at preparing students for their part in the employment market and their role as consumers.

Research questions

What does the National Curriculum say about globalisation?

This Research Question aims to find out how this complex and contested topic could be delivered in a curriculum which is broadly prescribed by the State, within an education system that attracts government attention at the highest level. What could or should be taught about globalisation which would give a satisfactory account of this very difficult and tendentious subject? But also, what could be said about globalisation that encouraged the

critical thinking merited by a phenomenon that is said to impinge on nearly every aspect of our lives? Global issues are controversial, and work on a research project about teaching bio-medical ethics in secondary science lessons (Levinson et al, 2000, p.113) had shown me that some teachers are very cautious about controversy or imposing values. A systematic review of literature on the historical development of the curriculum also revealed a tradition of considerable hesitancy in the English education system about engaging in 'indoctrination'. To what extent would this caution shape teachers' and curriculum designers' coverage of global topics which are by their nature politically controversial? Teachers and curriculum developers were therefore interviewed to discover their views about teaching globalisation and global controversies.

From 1997, the New Labour government undertook planning and consultation for the formal addition of Citizenship as a subject in the Secondary Curriculum. Numerous organisations and special interest groups took that opportunity to petition for their particular interests to be added to the topics for inclusion in the new subject. For this reason, Citizenship is one of the two curriculum subjects selected for investigation.

Somewhat surprisingly, development and aid agencies lobbied not for the inclusion of development education, but for globalisation, global citizenship, the global dimension and other 'global' issues to be included. It is a central finding of this thesis that globalisation is closely connected with development education in the curriculum. However, knowledge about international development is necessary, but not sufficient to acquire an understanding of globalisation. This led to a subsidiary research task—the focus of Chapter 5—which was to investigate how and why this conflation of globalisation with international development had come about. The newly formed UK government Department for International Development (DfID) published a White Paper in 2000, entitled *Eliminating World poverty: making globalisation work for the poor* (DfID, 2000a) which brought the concepts

of development and globalisation together in pursuit of that government's claims to an "ethical foreign policy" (Cook, 1997). In that White Paper, the UK government promoted the idea of neo-liberal economic globalisation as ineluctable. DfID also became involved in funding development awareness projects, many of which were educational and provided by aid agencies with their new interest in globalisation. Several aid and development agencies became involved in producing curriculum materials about global issues, often with DfID funding. In order to discover what the curriculum says about globalisation, the research examined these informal resources, as well as official curriculum documents about globalisation. Additionally, curriculum designers and developers from aid agencies, subject associations, DfES and QCA were interviewed to find out how they interpreted globalisation.

What the curriculum could say about globalisation

Reading the wide-ranging literature about globalisation with this first research question in mind alerted me to the existence of many different accounts of, and positions on, globalisation. In order to investigate the question of what the curriculum says about globalisation a customised typology was drawn up to represent six different 'perspectives and perceptions' on globalisation, each of which derived from a different disciplinary, political or economic viewpoint. This typology represents an extension on other analyses of the "globalisation debate" (Giddens, 1999, p.7; Held and McGrew, 2000, p.1; Held et al 1999, p.2), which normally limit the discussion to two or three discrete categories, which may not do justice to the complexity and contingency of the topic. The typology created for this thesis assumes that the perspectives might not be mutually exclusive, and that there must be other perspectives on globalisation; indeed, a seventh perspective was discovered in the course of the empirical research. That some of these perspectives are extremely partial is significant for a curriculum which apparently eschews overt indoctrination, but

which, paradoxically, is designed, then constantly manipulated at the behest of central government.

If some perspectives on globalisation are contested and partial, then discussion of some global issues and events becomes potentially highly contentious because of the role of governments and international governmental institutions in sponsoring globalisation. Because the National Curriculum is prescribed by the state, discussing global issues that might reflect negatively on the government could be difficult. This political context may have implications for the controversial global issues that are presented in the curriculum as well as for what the curriculum does not, or cannot, say about globalisation and its causes and effects. In theory, thinking critically, especially about the future of the world, was considered an important citizenship skill to be imparted to young people, and controversial issues were seen as providing a useful vehicle for developing that skill. In practice, the range and authenticity of global controversies engaged with in the Citizenship and Geography Curricula seemed to be distinctly limited and did not include thinking critically about current conflicts.

The same New Labour government that made education central to its policy vision also promoted and developed the Third Way ideology in which globalisation forms a fundamental rhetorical premise. Globalisation is so important to this ideology that the Third Way forms one of my six main perspectives on globalisation. The discussion of the historical development of the curriculum in the literature review establishes that the National Curriculum was conceived in the 1970s and 1980s to support the favoured ideologies of a radical Conservative government and to block opposition. It may be hypothesised that New Labour would use it similarly, and that one of the ideologies to be promoted could well be the Third Way's perspective on globalisation. The second research question—addressed in Chapter 6—therefore, critically interrogates the ideologies and

interests involved in creating a National Curriculum that features globalisation, both as a topic to be studied and as a rationale for its own "Aims and Purposes".

Why is it considered necessary for young people to learn about globalisation?

Although, as Chapter 5 will show, students in the past have learnt about international affairs and Britain's role in the world through their civics, History and Geography lessons, using globalisation might be considered a distinctively new way of presenting these issues in the curriculum. However, there are some interesting paradoxes to be explored in this recent inclusion. The literature shows that during the 1980s, subjects such as World Studies, Development Education, Environmental Studies and Peace Studies were considered by some on the right to be dangerous vehicles for Marxist indoctrination (Scruton, 1985, Baker, 1993). Yet curriculum materials about globalisation, especially those produced by development agencies, now select from these predecessor subjects to produce a seventh perspective on globalisation which is allowed to predominate in the curriculum. At the same time the New Labour government's role in promoting globalisation in the curriculum attempts to legitimate a Third Way and neo-liberal account of globalisation in which it is inevitable, but can be managed in the interests of 'social justice'. This is attempted through the wording of documents of the National Curriculum, such as the Aims and Purposes and, much more explicitly, in the planning and consultation materials associated with the proposed *Futures Curriculum* (QCA, 2005, 2007a, 2007b). This view of globalisation connects with education policy overall which advances accountability, individual choice, and responsibility, in the face of a frequently stated need for Britain to compete in a global economy, and the role that education must play in fostering that competitiveness. The thesis explores the juxtaposition of these two apparently contradictory perspectives on globalisation, and concludes that since both promote a view

of globalisation as almost entirely economic they conveniently elide the many political conflicts that exist around global and international issues.

Content of the thesis

The thesis is presented in seven substantive chapters. This chapter introduces the research and its rationale. Chapter 2, the literature review is in three parts. The first part is an examination of literature about globalisation and demonstrates the range of perspectives that can be taken on the topic. This is achieved by introducing the conceptual framework of six perspectives on globalisation, which underpins the analysis in answer to research question one in Chapter 4. Secondly, literature is reviewed which gives an historical account of the development and introduction of a National Curriculum. This literature is analysed to show how the National Curriculum was created as a political and ideological tool. This analysis in part informs the inquiry in answer to research question two, which examines in detail the interests and ideologies which seek to include globalisation in the curriculum for Key Stage 3 students and which is reported in Chapter 6. Thirdly, literature is reviewed which establishes that there are a number of different ideologies and models of curriculum. Particular attention is given to the curriculum ideology of Reconstructionism because the analysis in Chapter 6 shows that the current version of the National Curriculum aspires to some of the tenets of Reconstructionism and incorporates others into a neo-liberal economic project. A short account evaluates the ideology and model of the National Curriculum. This note is intended to provide contextual information and to elucidate some constraints within the model of the National Curriculum which are raised in connection with the research in Chapter 4. These three areas of review are synthesised to support the broad central investigation into the nature of the political in a centrally prescribed curriculum.

Chapter 3, the methodology chapter, first discusses the interpretivist epistemological background to the research. This means that no definitive account of globalisation is given in this thesis. Instead the perspectives and perceptions of globalisation are interpreted in the context of the curriculum, both in its content and in terms of wider curriculum policy. The chapter explains firstly, how the research in answer to research question one was conducted empirically to discover the content of the curriculum related to globalisation. Documentary and interview data reveal some of the contradictions and tensions associated with including a global subject in a National Curriculum. These paradoxes are interrogated in research, in answer to question two, which adopts an approach informed by critical theory, in order to focus on the interests and ideologies behind the inclusion of globalisation in the National Curriculum.

Three findings chapters follow in answer to the two research questions. The organisation of the chapters is designed to move from the empirical findings of the research to the conceptual findings. The first findings chapter—Chapter 4—starts with *what* the curriculum says about globalisation. In the light of the findings in answer to research question one, which suggest that development education features in the curriculum content about globalisation, the second findings chapter—Chapter 5—goes on to investigate *how* the curriculum has come to focus on international development in the context of globalisation. Chapter 5 also explores some of the debates and contradictions arising from this focus. Chapter 6 concludes the analysis by asking *why* globalisation might be included in the curriculum and showing how the contradictions and controversies uncovered in Chapters 4 and 5 are incorporated within a Third Way version of globalisation and curriculum which informs the purpose of education in the interests of economic competitiveness.

Chapter 4 analyses the content of the Key Stage 3 (for ages 12-14) Geography and Citizenship curricula as it relates to globalisation in answer to the first research question: *'What does the National Curriculum say about globalisation?'* By content is meant the knowledge, skills, and values and attitudes contained and implied in the official documents of the National Curriculum, and in associated materials intended to present the topic of globalisation. The documents analysed include schemes of work, and other materials about globalisation. These materials have been produced by the QCA, DfES, DfID, subject associations, Non-governmental Organisations, and consortia of these and other bodies. The guidance circulars associated with *The Global Dimension* are of particular interest, because these are revealing of a dissonance between the *de facto* character of the National Curriculum and alternative aspirations to integrate the global into the curriculum. Teachers and Curriculum developers were interviewed to find out what they understood by content about globalisation in the context of the National Curriculum. The chapter argues that although globalisation is a controversial topic, global controversies in the content of the curriculum are mostly limited to those concerning the developing world. The resulting 'distanced' controversies are bland rather than challenging. The chapter concludes with an analysis of two political global controversies, which I suggest that Citizenship students need to understand, but which are rendered undisruptive or invisible by the concentration on economic matters of international development. These controversies are the Iraq War, and migration.

Chapter 5 expands on the finding from Chapter 4 that globalisation is perceived as connected with international development and explores some of the historical and political antecedents to this link as well as a possible rationale for it. The role of DfID in fostering this articulation is discussed. The chapter also discusses the inclusion of Citizenship as a

formal subject in the curriculum, and explores a controversy around the feasibility of 'global citizenship'.

The third findings chapter—Chapter 6—is informed by critical theory and asks *Why is it considered necessary for young people to learn about globalisation?'* The literature review suggests that successive British governments have attempted to use the curriculum to advance particular ideologies of education, democracy, nationality, society, and economy. This chapter argues that the way globalisation is presently construed in the National Curriculum can be viewed as a means of gaining consent for a neo-liberal, economic ideology, and investigates some apparent contradictions between content and the official policy documents of the curriculum. The role of Communitarianism in citizenship education and education policy making, which was explored by Demaine and Entwistle (Demaine and Entwistle, 1996) in the 1990s, is considered in the light of New Labour and Third Way educational ideologies such as Reconstructionism. The chapter shows how apparently counter-hegemonic accounts of globalisation, such as those in Futures Studies, become incorporated into the official version of the curriculum. The paradox suggested by the emphasis on a development education perspective on globalisation is revisited and analysed critically.

Chapter 7 concludes the thesis by arguing that the commonly held fear of indoctrination by teachers and curriculum developers is misplaced and leads to an anodyne content which limits the possibilities that could be addressed using a dynamic topic such as globalisation. At the same time the thesis suggests that governments always attempt to use the curriculum to legitimate dominant ideologies, confirming Apple's (Apple 2001,2004) claims. The selection of a complex and politically informed topic such as globalisation for the curriculum has implications which are connected to understandings about the purposes of a national, centrally prescribed curriculum. What can be said about global issues, and what is silenced in a National Curriculum, is indicative of the way in which controversial issues

could be handled in the curriculum, in the context of the newly establishing subject of Citizenship and for a long established subject such as Geography. Scope for further research is evaluated.

Terminology

Globalisation is the term used in this thesis to describe the concept written about in all the perspectives covered below in the literature review. The curriculum uses the term globalisation, but some of the perspectives described in the literature review are also referred to as global issues; global citizenship, or the global dimension, within curriculum materials and by teachers and curriculum designers. The terms are not entirely interchangeable and there are debates in the fields studied about the validity and meanings of different terms and concepts. Therefore the various connotations are discussed as part of the analysis in the three findings chapters. Hicks (2003a) in particular comments on this range of terms in use and his observations are presented in Chapter 4 in a section discussing *Global Terminology* in more detail. Table 2 is based on Hicks' model to show how global terminology appears in practice in the curriculum.

Table 2 Global terminology

Based on Hicks: Clarifying 'Global' terminology (2003a p274). See also Chapter 4 *Global Terminology*

Terminology	Who uses it	Curriculum area
Global education	As World Studies it appears in 70s and 80s critical Geographies	Known as 'world studies' in 1970s and '80s (Hicks, 2003a)
Development education	DEA, DfID	Avoided by some NGOs; used by some teachers. Education about developing countries-usually values based
Development economics	SCAA	In 1990s versions of Geography Curriculum. Students compare a Less economically developed country with a more economically developed country.
Global Dimension	QCA, DEA, DfID	Cross-curricular, whole school ethos, focuses on global interdependence
Global Citizenship	Oxfam, Schools, Ofsted,	Global Citizenship Curriculum, a cross-curricular theme and whole school ethos, designed for Primary, but also used in secondary Citizenship. Disputed by Crick (Crick, 2004)
Globalisation	QCA,	Aims of NC; Geography Schemes of Work e.g.: *Global Fashion*, DfES Geography module e.g.: *Globalisation and Inequality* (DfES, 2006), QCA Futures Curriculum
Interdependence	QCA	Geography NC (QCA, 1999b, p157)
The world as a global community	QCA	Citizenship curriculum, (QCA199b, p184) Geography Curriculum (QCA1999b, p157)
Global learning	Development education community	A new term currently under debate, but now gaining acceptance with DECs e.g. the one visited in the course of the research

Chapter 2 Literature Review: Controversy and centralisation in the curriculum

> A civilization in which there is not a continuous controversy about important issues,
> speculative and practical, is on the way to totalitarianism and death (Robert Maynard
> Hutchins, 1953)

In philosophical terms 'globalisation' fits with Gallie's definition of an "essentially contested concept" (Gallie, 1964, p.157). That is, a concept over which "we find different groups of people disagreeing about the proper use of these concepts, e.g. of art, of democracy, of the Christian tradition ... we soon see that there is no one use of any of them which can be set up as its generally accepted and therefore correct or standard use." Furthermore Gallie points out that "each party continues to defend its case with what it claims to be convincing arguments, evidence and other forms of justification" (Gallie, 1964, p.157). There are no perspectives about globalisation that should be taken for granted. The literature on globalisation is replete with controversy, opinion and argument. Similarly, the literature about the organisation of curricula is revealing of a range of contested educational concepts, ideologies and partiality. These literatures are examined in three main sections, each of which informs the analyses in answer to the two main research questions. The first section is an examination of literature relating to globalisation. This is presented to indicate the extent of debate on the theme of globalisation. As a topic of political and economic importance, there are a number of ideological interests involved in the discussion of globalisation. Because the thesis is about the presentation of globalisation—a complex and contested topic—in the school curriculum, the literature discussed is selected to demonstrate a plurality of contested and contrasting perspectives. These are categorised into six perspectives, each representing a different disciplinary position on globalisation. Within these perspectives there are sometimes overlaps or variations of perception.

Section two reviews accounts of the political history of the development of the National Curriculum to the present day, and seeks to demonstrate that this centrally prescribed curriculum has been continuously manipulated in the light of each successive government's ideological interests. The third section discusses the literature relating to theories and critiques of curriculum design and ideology, and in doing so suggests that the nature of the curriculum is not a given, but open to the influence of different ideologies in education. (Skilbeck, 1976, p.24ff) The curricula that result from the adoption of different design models, affect what can be taught and how. In the light of the preceding ideological and historical reviews of curricula, a short account of the character of the current version of the National Curriculum is given.

Literature which pertains to current research in the field of citizenship education, Geography and global issues is examined in the context of the three findings chapters, as discussion of this literature directly informs the two main research questions.

Section I: Globalisation

The geographer Massey problematises globalisation in terms of space (Massey, 2005, p.81). She says

> If space is genuinely the sphere of multiplicity, if it is a realm of multiple trajectories, then there will be multiplicities too of imaginations, theorisations, understandings, meanings. Any 'simultaneity' of stories-so-far will be a distinct simultaneity from a particular vantage point. (Massey, 2005, p.89)

This review of globalisation literature blends Massey's concepts of multiplicities and simultaneity to arrive at a framework of 'perspectives and perceptions' with which to examine a range of "vantage points" (Massey, 2005, p.89).

This section poses the question: *What could the National Curriculum say about globalisation?* as a counterpoint to research question one, which investigates what the curriculum *does* say about globalisation. I review a range of perspectives of globalisation from a selection of the vast globalisation literature to illustrate the point that there is no one interpretation of the concept of globalisation.

Held and McGrew (2000) describe the difficulties in discussing globalisation in the oppositional terms that were customary in Cold War ideological contests. Although in two books (Held et al, 1999; Held and McGrew, 2000) Held uses the term "Globalisation Debate", it is apparent from the discussion that there are "no definitive or fixed lines of contestation" (Held and McGrew, 2000, p.1), but rather "a rich diversity of intellectual approaches and normative convictions" (Held et al, 1999, p.3). They observe that "multiple conversations coexist (although few real dialogues)" (Held and McGrew, 2000, p.1). One line of enquiry for this thesis is to examine how much of this complexity is being represented in the Key Stage 3 National Curriculum and associated materials.

For the purposes of this literature review, six broad categories of globalisation literature are identified. They are termed 'perspectives' because each is intended to characterize a different view of globalisation. Examples from the literature are discussed for each perspective. These perspectives have been created as a conceptual tool with which to examine the large literature about globalisation and then to compare what is contained in curriculum materials about globalisation. The review is intended to show the range of literature about globalisation *sui generis*, rather than about globalisation as it relates to education. The aim of this part of the research is to ascertain against this framework whether one or more perspective is privileged in the curricula for Geography and Citizenship, which, if any, are marginalised or silenced or, whether other perspectives of globalisation appear in the curriculum for twelve- to fourteen-year-olds. The rationale for

this review of the literature about globalisation is firstly, to demonstrate that there are numerous perspectives of globalisation. Secondly, the review of globalisation literature demonstrates that while some perspectives presented in the literature are dispassionate, some are tendentious. I show later that the English education system makes strong claims at many levels to present an unbiased and balanced curriculum and assiduously avoids being seen to indoctrinate with any one point of view. Thus this reading of the globalisation literature has implications for the presentation of a topic which is complex and partial in a centrally determined curriculum.

Six perspectives of globalisation in the literature

The 'globalisation debate' could be presented in straightforward oppositional terms. For example, Giddens identifies just two standpoints amongst writers on globalisation: sceptics and radicals (Giddens, 1999, pp.7-9). According to Giddens sceptics "dispute the whole thing" (Giddens, 1999, p.7) and "tend to be on the political left" (Giddens, 1999, p.8), while radicals "argue that not only is globalisation very real, but that its consequences can be felt everywhere" (Giddens, 1999, p.8). Giddens asks "who is right in this debate? I think it is the radicals" (Giddens, 1999, p.9). However, Held and McGrew warn that "dualism is rather crude since it elevates two conflicting interpretations from among diverse arguments and opinions" (Held and McGrew, 2000, p.2). Held et al go further and analyse three main positions on globalisation. These are: firstly *hyperglobalists*, (Held et al, 1999, p.3) those who focus almost exclusively on the economic, financial and technological aspects of globalisation. Under this heading, Held et al (1999, p.4) appear to include both authors who are neo-liberals and those who are neo-Marxists. Writers who have either a neo-liberal or a neo-Marxist perspective may determine the most important features of globalisation to be the erosion of national state boundaries, and the decline in the control of the state over governance within its territorial borders. They point to international and multinational

bodies, both political and economic, that have powers which supersede the powers of states and elected governments. Held and McGrew's second category of authors: *Sceptics*, (Held et al, 1999, p.5) question whether globalisation is indeed a new or significantly different process. Writers in their third category, *globalisation transformationalists* (Held et al, 1999, p.7) take a more complex view of the effects of globalisation on many societal elements as well as the economic, including the social, cultural and structural changes brought about by globalisation.

Tikly observes that Held and McGrew's approaches "are not themselves homogeneous and subsume a plurality of viewpoints and ideologies" (Tikly, 2001, p.152). Therefore, this literature review makes further conceptual differentiations within Held and McGrew's three categories and is open to the possibility that other perspectives exist. In this review writers from six perspectives are characterised as:

Neo-liberals

Anti-globalisationists

Sceptics

Transformationalists

Cosmopolitans

Proponents of the Third Way

These are, firstly, presented synoptically, and secondly, analysed in the context of the literature. Perspectives of globalisation are not assumed to be limited to these six. There is sometimes overlap between the different perspectives. And some authors write about globalisation from differing perspectives at different times.

Neo-liberal is a perspective which equates with the neo-liberal variant of Held and McGrew's hyperglobalist (Held and McGrew, 2000, pp.3ff). *Anti-globalisationist* constitutes a differentiation in their category of hyperglobalist. This review treats it separately, because although there is strong focus on economic globalisation and an insistence on the erosion of the role of the state due to globalisation, anti-globalisationist writers take up a contrary position in respect of the benefits of globalisation. There is an emphasis on the role of capitalism, and anti-globalisationists often fall into rank with anti-capitalist politics (Callinicos, 2003, p.13) and sometimes anti-American, for example Roy, (Roy, 2004a, pp.105ff) although she disputes this characterisation of her views (Roy, 2004a, p.16). *Neo-liberals* have an opposing perspective on these aspects of globalisation and this contest is not fully justified by grouping the two together as Held and McGrew do.

Scepticism is a position taken by writers who dispute that globalisation is new in any way, arguing that it is simply an acceleration of existing processes of internationalisation which may date back centuries.

Transformationalist is a perspective that allows for an examination of some sociological writing about globalisation. This perspective explores complex networks of relations between structure and agency. Writing in this category can be contrasted with much of the more anecdotal literature on globalisation. Transformationalist authors give one of the most challenging but compelling accounts of globalisation.

The *cosmopolitan* perspective follows Held's work (1995, 2004) on global governance, cosmopolitan democracy and global covenant. Cosmopolitan writers address the political and institutional structures affected by globalisation, especially the international; supranational, and transnational. Possibilities for greater global political interdependence and cooperation are emphasised by this category.

The last perspective discussed is termed *"the Third Way"*. This perspective can be seen to inform New Labour government rhetoric, policy and documents. It presents a 'managerialist' view of globalisation, which claims that globalisation is inevitable and has the potential for both good and ill effects, but that it is a process which can and should be managed for the best. Some critique this perspective where it overlaps with the neo-liberal perspective (Callinicos, 2003, p.3). The Third Way perspective of globalisation is especially salient in this thesis because of its role in shaping the policy of the government which in turn formulated the education and curriculum policies being investigated.

Examination of the literature against these six headings allows some of the "multiple conversations" (Held and McGrew, 2000, p.1) to be listened to in the curriculum; in particular to hear which if any predominate. At the end of this section I begin to evaluate how the six perspectives might be used in the curriculum, and which might represent the most convincing to be taught to young people in Citizenship and Geography lessons.

Perspective 1: Neo-liberals

Authors in this perspective can often be found in the fields of management consultancy or economic journalism. They argue the case for free trade, economic liberalisation, and privatisation of industries with minimal intervention by the state, especially in the operation of markets. Magazines such as *The Economist* (2000) advance a very favourable and enthusiastic view of economic globalisation.

Ohmae is a business and management consultant who alerts corporations to the ways in which increased globalisation of the economy could change the ways in which he thinks business should be conducted locally. His book *The Borderless World: power and strategy in the global marketplace* (Ohmae, 1990) has been influential in the business world. It is conceivable that literature which is influential on the business community might also have an effect on

national governments' policies in respect of business. But ultimately, for globalisation neo-liberals, the boundaries of the nation state are irrelevant and may even be seen as a hindrance to the perceived benefits of a free global marketplace.

For Ohmae, (1990) free, uninterrupted trade and innovation of goods, processes and services is the answer to many of the world's social, economic and political problems. Unsuccessful economies are hampered by a lack of choice and consumer freedom. Efficient use of human capital is proposed as the route out of poverty for developing countries. Ohmae predicts the development of an interlinked world economy, and simplistically likens this to a duty-free shop (Ohmae, 1990, p.27)

The Economist (see, for example, 356:8189, Sept 23 2000) promotes a neo-liberal view of economic globalisation. Two *Economist* journalists wrote *A Future Perfect* (Micklethwait and Wooldridge, 2000), updating Ohmae's positive perception of globalisation. In the years since Ohmae wrote his book, dissent has arisen about what he saw as the benefits of globalisation. Not everyone has gained from economic globalisation in the way he foresaw. Micklethwait and Wooldridge acknowledge this, whilst advancing the sanguine claim that "globalisation is a savage process, but also a beneficial one in which the winners far outnumber the losers" (Micklethwait and Wooldridge, 2000, p.ix). Ohmae discusses globalisation as an *economic* process; Micklethwait and Wooldridge see it as "fundamentally a *commercial* rather than a political phenomenon, driven by currency traders and entrepreneurs rather than by politicians and bureaucrats" (Micklethwait and Wooldridge, 2000, p.xxi italics added). Writers such as Ohmae, and Wooldridge and Micklethwait call for the role of the state to be minimised in order to allow the free-play of market forces. This contrasts with the view of some writers (see Massey, 2005) from the transformationalist perspective, who argue that it is the actions of governments and institutions which create the conditions in which globalisation thrives.

This thesis enquires into the potential for persuasion in a centralised curriculum. In this context it is significant that Martin Wolf (2004) makes the following claim for disseminating this economic position on globalisation:

> If we fail to persuade the idealistic young of the merits of a liberal global economic order, it may founder before the certainties of its enemies (Wolf, 2004, p.10)

Those enemies in Wolf's terms are the anti-globalisationists, my second perspective, whose "certainties" he argues, constitute "an immense literature of complaint" (Wolf, 2004, p.8). Some of this literature is examined below.

Perspective 2: Anti-globalisationists

Held et al include writers in this perspective under their heading hyperglobalist (Held et al, 1999, p.3). This is because like Ohmae and others, anti-globalisationists see globalisation as a process driven by the economic, financial and technological. But for the purposes of this literature review, it is necessary to distinguish anti-globalisationists from the globalisation neo-liberals because of their opposition to globalisation and their emphasis on its negative effects. Similarly, they cannot be included under the heading of globalisation sceptics, as Giddens seems to (Giddens, 1999, p.8) because anti-globalisationist writers recognise globalisation as a definitively new phenomenon which is having an effect on all parts of the world. This perspective on globalisation literature has a strong popular appeal and is the perspective which influences the protesters at summits and against the World Trade Organisation (WTO) for example.

Klein is an influential writer in this perspective. Her book *No Logo* (Klein, 2000) is considered the bible of anti-globalisation protestors. Klein presents as new, and related to modern marketing techniques and economic liberalisation, that which Marxists and socialists would recognise as part of the historical trajectory of capitalism (see Harvey,

2000, p.53ff for example). The exploitation of workers in the global market and through globalised production methods is described by Klein in strong and often emotive terms through a wealth of clearly expressed anecdotes and descriptive passages. Klein critiques globalisation through an examination of the marketing and production strategies of a limited range of well-known brands. These high profile brands attract younger, individual consumers, the counterparts of those whom the book influences. There is an intense focus on The Gap, Nike, Macdonald's, Starbucks, Disney, and Wal-Mart and their perceived adverse effects on societies. According to Klein there are no advantages at all to the Export Processing Zones, garment factories or fast-food outlets she describes. Klein emphasises mainly the negative effects of globalisation. In the final chapter she goes "Beyond the Brand" (Klein, 2000, p.421) to examine the effects of a few of the powerful multinational companies which do not have a high profile brand. The analyses of this chapter become somewhat buried in the previous relentless emphasis on 'fashionable' logos. The importance of writing like this lies in its deliberate appeal to young people close to the Key Stage 3 age group. This appeal is achieved in the following ways: firstly, it plays on younger people's clearly defined appreciation of fairness and secondly, it critiques the brand names that themselves appeal to young people in their marketing. It may therefore appeal to curriculum developers and teachers who are seeking to make materials relevant. Lastly, it presents a straightforward, easily assimilated message, without the complexity or nuance delivered by some of the other perspectives. This aspect potentially makes the message of this book simple to deliver in the classroom.

A far more complex message of resistance to globalisation is delivered by those who seem to straddle the transformationalist perspective, such as Hardt and Negri (2000) who use the terms 'Empire' and 'Multitude' (see Hardt and Negri, 2000, p.393ff) to symbolise concepts of globalisation and resistance respectively. For Hardt and Negri

> The passage to Empire and its processes of globalization offer new possibilities to the forces of liberation. Globalization of course, is not one thing, and the multiple processes that we recognise as globalization are not unified or univocal. Our political task, we will argue, is not simply to resist these processes but to reorganise them and redirect them towards new ends (Hardt and Negri, 2000, p.xv)

Hardt and Negri's dense account of globalisation and empire is unlikely to form the basis of curriculum materials for 12- to 14-year-olds. Another use of the term 'Empire' is to describe what some see as American imperialism. Some anti-globalisationist writers have a perception of globalisation which is more political than economic. They see globalisation as being a negative function of America's status as the only superpower which is sometimes described as 'hegemonic' — for example Chomsky, who observes that

> High on the global agenda by fall 2002 was the declared intention of the most powerful state in history to maintain its hegemony through the threat or use of military force (Chomsky, 2003, p.11)

The Indian novelist and political activist, Roy uses the term 'Empire' to describe this American dominance in global politics, (Roy, 2004a) and accuses the United States' administration of forcibly imposing "instant-mix imperial democracy" (Roy, 2004a, p.101ff) on Iraq and Afghanistan. In economic terms she argues that "what Empire does is to further entrench and exacerbate already existing inequalities" (Roy, 2004b, p.28). In his analysis of the growth of American political and economic dominance, Harvey warns that the word imperialism "has such different meanings that it is difficult to use it without clarification as an analytic rather than a polemical term" (Harvey, 2003, p.26). Polarised perceptions of globalisation like Roy's and complex expositions like Harvey's, are unlikely to appear in a curriculum which I suggest eschews controversy.

Sen disputes the use of the term anti-globalisation, preferring to use the term "Global discontent" (Sen, 2006, p.123) because, as he suggests "the protestors come from all over

the world ... to work together to protest about what they see as serious iniquity or injustice that plagues the people of the world" (Sen, 2006, p.123). Sen asks

> Why should men and women from one part of the world worry about the fact that people in other parts of the world are getting a raw deal if there is no sense of belonging and no concern about global unfairness? (Sen. 2006, p.123)

Writers in the anti-globalisation perspective see globalisation as a definable phenomenon imposed by the West (especially America) on all parts of the world, whether economically, culturally, militarily, or politically. Sceptics are often also suspicious of America's role in globalisation, but believe the concept to be a "necessary myth" (Hirst and Thompson, 1996) promoted by Western neo-liberal economic forces for their own advantage and not, in their view, an accurate description of what is happening.

Perspective 3: Sceptics

Sceptics are sceptical about whether globalisation is happening at all, whether it is something new, or part of a continuing historical process. They may provide a wealth of statistical data to confirm their hypotheses. The critique made by Held et al is that the sceptics' approach is "unacceptably teleological" because it pre-supposes "a fully integrated global market with price and interest rate equalisation" (Held et al, 1999, p.11). This, for example, is what Ohmae (1990) posits as an ideal, but the sceptics take it as the true measure of globalisation.

Hirst and Thompson present a strongly sceptical critique of globalisation theories in their book *Globalization in Question* (Hirst and Thompson, 1996). They seek to assess whether globalisation is actually taking place by comparing two ideal types. The first is *An Inter-National Economy*. The principal entities in this ideal type are national economies. Trade and investment produce growing interconnection between these economies. In this type of economy, multinational corporations maintain clear national home bases, conducting most

of their research and development activities there. In this model, multinationals are not footloose. Hirst and Thompson argue that what is commonly known as globalisation is in reality, this type of "inter-national economy". (Hirst and Thompson, 1996, p.8) They can argue this because their other ideal type presents what they would conceive of as a truly "globalized economy" (Hirst and Thompson, 1996, p.10) in which the international economic system becomes socially disembedded and *trans*national, as opposed to *multi*national, corporations become genuinely footloose, servicing global markets through global operations, unregulated by national governments. There would be an open labour market, but one characterised by capital rather than labour mobility. Because this end stage has not been reached and it seems unlikely that it could be, Hirst and Thompson cannot apply the term globalisation to the current state of affairs (Hirst and Thompson, 1996, p.15). In a similar way, Gray disputes the perception that globalisation is "equal integration in worldwide economic activity" (Gray, 1998, p.55).

Hirst and Thompson argue that there is nothing new about the current internationalisation of trade and that this has been going on for centuries. Inequality of the spread of wealth and investment and inequality of income are especially noted. "Inequalities are dramatic, remain stubborn to change and indeed have grown since the 1970s" (Hirst and Thompson, 1996, p.69). They assert that Foreign Direct Investment remains concentrated on three wealthy regions: America, Europe and Japan, and that "nearly two-thirds of the world is virtually written off the map as far as any benefits from this form of investment are concerned" (Hirst and Thompson, 1996, p.68). However this argument does not allow for new economies emerging in the global system, often with great strength and rapidity, nor for the poverty and inequality that exists within rich countries. Transformationalists would argue that uneven effects are an intrinsic feature of globalisation, not a cause for scepticism.

Transformationalists occupy the far more complex sociological ground between the global sceptics and the hyperglobalists. Transformationalists neither propose the end of the nation state, nor do they point to the continued territorial power base of nation states and companies as grounds for contesting the extent of globalisation. Rather, they acknowledge the continued importance of the nation state, but demonstrate the way in which globalisation transforms the modalities of power within social, economic, political and military structures (Held et al, 1999, p.7). The world is interconnected, and all parts of the world are affected by this transformation of power. Because of this interconnection, what occurs in one part of the world has implications for other parts. The effects may be different or uneven; there may be advantages or disadvantages, but there is nonetheless no escape from these transformational effects. Thus, Giddens describes the process as:

> The intensification of world-wide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa. (Giddens, 1990, p.64)

In *The Consequences of Modernity,* (1990) an early work discussing the theme of globalisation, Giddens shows how the world capitalist economy; the international division of labour; the nation-state system, and world military order are distinct but interconnected in globalisation (Giddens, 1990, pp.71ff). He argues that the connecting systems are knowledge and information (Giddens, 1990, pp.77-78).

Manuel Castells also identifies knowledge and information as *transforming* features of a globalised world. His trilogy *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture* (2000a, 2000b, and 2004) addresses changes wrought on the economy, societies and cultures by the rise of globalised information capitalism. Castells argues that a new world began to emerge in the late 1960s and early 1970s and identifies three independent factors in this process. Firstly,

there were simultaneous economic crises of both capitalism and "statism" (that is, in the command economies of the communist bloc), secondly, the development of information technology and thirdly, the "blooming of cultural social movements" (for example, feminism and environmentalism) (Castells, Vol. III, 2000b, p.367). These three factors interact to produce "informational capitalism. As well as the economy, society is transformed by informationalism. Cultural movements interact with the social embeddedness of new technologies. Castells uses the example of the Zapatista in Mexico (Castells, Vol. II, 2004, pp.82ff) but this can also be seen more recently for example, in the sophisticated use which terrorist groups make of the internet. However, it could also be argued that interaction with the social embeddedness of technology is not exclusive to movements, but is integral to the lives of individuals as well. This individualisation of technology applications is used in turn in marketing, to tailor messages to consumers, for example in internet shopping sites that make personalised recommendations or can offer discounts for targeted products.

In each volume of his trilogy Castells explores the rise of 'informationalism' and traces the interaction of one of the three processes outlined above with the others. In Volume I (2000a, *The Rise of the Network Society*) the author analyses how the information technology revolution interacts with the informational economy and creates a culture of networks and radical changes in conceptions about society, work, time and space. In Volume II (2004, *The Power of Identity*) Castells considers the transformation of society, politics, culture and identity in the context of a globalising dynamic. The effects on social institutions, individual identities, and nation states are drawn out. In Volume III (2000b, *End of Millennium*) Castells analyses some of the negative effects of globalisation and informationalism. These include the globalisation of criminal activity and the polarisation, inequality, social exclusion and economic irrelevance of those parts of the world and society which are marginalised by

informational capitalism. In this volume, Castells demonstrates the unevenness that transformationalists observe as a function of globalisation. All the networks and institutional transformations explored by Castells are likely to impact upon the everyday lives of Key Stage 3 students, even though the author's language and conceptualisations are sophisticated and complex. Educational institutions such as the curriculum are likely to be affected by the sort of transformations analysed by Castells.

In 1999 Giddens made globalisation the topic of his Reith lectures for BBC radio and produced an associated book *Runaway World*. Here he observes that "We live in a world of transformations" (Giddens, 1999, p.6). In this account Giddens presents globalisation as a complex and contradictory set of processes. Unlike some other authors he does not dismiss the significance of the nation state, but instead observes that the nation becomes too small to solve the big problems and too large for the small (Giddens, 1999, p.13). This is because new economic and cultural zones are created which transcend national boundaries but at the same time, there is a revival of local cultural identities (Giddens, 1999, p.13). Significantly, Giddens describes "fundamentalism [as] a child of globalisation" (Giddens, 1999, p.49). This is prescient because, in the twenty-first century, fundamentalism increasingly figures in negative perceptions of globalisation; perceptions with which students at school are as likely to be concerned as their elders. Although complex in their conceptualisation, the multiple identities and cultural encounters emerging from globalisation, through for example, migration and information technology, observed by both Giddens and Castells are likely to be part of the experience of students' everyday lives and therefore may be of interest to curriculum developers who look to make content relevant.

Giddens addresses one of the arguments of anti-globalisationists that globalisation is a form of Americanisation (Roy, 2004a) by acknowledging that globalisation is not even-

handed and the effects could be interpreted as "Westernisation" given the dominance of the American economic, cultural, technological and military position in the global order. Globalisation creates a world of winners and losers, but globalisation is only partly Westernisation because of what he terms "reverse colonisation" (Giddens, 1999, p.16), meaning the interaction of non-Western cultures with the West. Globalisation is "a shift in our very circumstances. It is the way we now live" (Giddens, 1999, p.19). This statement makes clear Giddens' acceptance of globalisation as inevitable. It is this view of globalisation that informs his work on the Third Way which is considered below. Massey (2005) argues that "such tales of inevitability require dynamics which are beyond intervention. They need an external agent, a *deus ex machina*" (Massey, 2005, p.82). She suggests that by focusing on the roles of economy and technology in globalisation

> a further political result is achieved: the removal of the economic and the technological from political consideration. The only political questions become ones concerning our subsequent adaptation to their inevitability (Massey, 2005, p.82).

Harvey explores the uneven effects of globalisation, but from a Marxist perspective (2000). The unevenness, which many transformationalist writers observe, is for Harvey the extension of class distinctions across novel spaces (Harvey, 2000, p.45). For example, he observes that "one persistent fact within this complex history of uneven neoliberalization has been the universal tendency to increase social inequality and to expose the least fortunate elements in any society—be it in Indonesia, Mexico, or Britain" (Harvey, 2005, p.118). This can be contrasted with the approach of writers such as Klein (2000) who expresses the phenomenon as distinctively new, somewhat linear, and especially exploitative of people in poor countries. Harvey traces the development of the concept of globalisation as "a process, as a condition, [and] as a specific kind of political project" (Harvey, 2000, p.54), but chiefly as the development of capitalism transforming the social, the military and the political through "'[the annihilation] of space through time'" (Harvey,

2000, p.59, quoting Marx). Bauman (1998) discusses the effects of globalisation on geographical concepts such as space and distance noting that

> Far from being an objective, impersonal, physical 'given', 'distance' is a social product; its length varies on the speed with which it may be overcome (and in a monetary economy, on the cost involved in the attainment of that speed). All other socially produced factors of constitution, separation and the maintenance of collective or cultural barriers—seem in retrospect merely secondary effects of that speed. (Bauman, 1998, p.12)

Massey claims that "space cannot be annihilated by time" (Massey, 2005, p.90). For Massey

> Viewing space as a matter only of distance, and then in that guise only negatively as a constraint, lies behind what may be a tendency to try to escape one of its most productive/disruptive elements—one's different neighbour.. 'Conquering' distance in no way annihilates space, but it does raise new issues around the configuration of multiplicity and difference (Massey, 2005, p.95).

While it is a compelling perspective and one which is addressed by geographers such as Harvey and Massey, the conceptual complexity of the transformationalist perspective requires considerable application to grasp. This may have the effect of making it difficult to include in a curriculum for 12- to 14-year-olds, although many of the concepts analysed by transformationalists are highly relevant to students' lives. It may be that the *cosmopolitan* perspective has more appeal for this age group, as well as being applicable in a Citizenship curriculum which requires students to learn about democracy, rights and responsibilities.

Perspective 5: Cosmopolitans

Writers who adopt this perspective believe that increased global interconnectedness and interdependence is an opportunity for greater harmony and co-operation in the world, especially through the use or reform of international organisations such as the UN. Institutions can be made more accountable and democratic, human rights extended and inequities eradicated.

Held's 1995 book *Democracy and the Global Order: From Modern State to Cosmopolitan Governance* presents an almost Utopian view of the possibilities of greater political interconnection and the creation of a cosmopolitan, democratic order. Held's ideal is proposed as a way in which democracy might come to terms with three challenges from globalisation. These are, firstly, an interconnectedness within international relations that challenges the regulatory power of individual nation states; secondly, increased regional and global political interconnectedness, and thirdly, the challenge from below at the local and group level (Held, 1995, p.267). Held extends his 1995 cosmopolitan thesis with *Global Covenant* (Held, 2004). A global covenant would form the "basis of a new social compact which could link the economic processes of globalization with the core concerns of social integration and social justice" (Held, 2004, p.3).

Held's complex and ordered cosmopolitan vision could be seen as Utopian and Western in its view of human rights as it might be argued that his thesis tends to neglect vernacular or personal forms of polity, identity and social movements. Castells observes that "people increasingly organize their meaning not around what they do but on the basis of what they are, or believe they are" (Castells, 2000a, Vol. I, p.3). Castells cites several examples of localised or personal responses to globalisation. However, Held critiques the transformationalist thesis by observing that it "has so far failed to provide a convincing or coherent account of the modern state itself" (Held, 1995, p.26). I suggest that Held's cosmopolitan thesis has difficulty accounting for the possibilities of intransigence from those individuals, movements, states, corporations, and regions that see their interests as lying outside this orderly concept of cosmopolitanism. Held admits that

> against the background of 9/11, the current unilateralist stance of the US and the
> desperate cycle of violence in the Middle East and elsewhere, the advocacy of global
> social democracy may appear like an attempt to defy gravity or walk on water! (Held,
> 2004, p.169)

But he argues that this makes his proposal all the more necessary (Held, 2004, p.169). The realities of politics seem to indicate that even local agreement is difficult to come by, even when brokered by international parties. International accord is harder still; see for example the continual breakdown of the negotiations associated with the Kyoto Protocol, or the complexities of international terrorism and the responses to it. Although as Sen points out

> The point is often made, with evident justice that it is impossible to have, in the foreseeable future, a democratic global state ... yet if democracy is seen ... in terms of public reasoning, particularly the need for worldwide discussion on global problems, we need not put the possibility of global democracy in indefinite cold storage. (Sen, 2006, p.184)

Sen points to institutions already involved including "citizens' organisations, many nongovernment institutions and independent parts of the news media ... [and] a great many concerned individuals" (Sen, 2006, p.184) reflecting the "challenge from below" (Held, 1995, p.267) proposed by Held. Beck (2000) defines the tasks of cosmopolitanism

> Pragmatically ...
>
> to establish and develop basic measures of social protection;
>
> to strengthen social networks of self-provision and self-organisation; and
>
> to raise and keep alive world issues of social and economic justice in the centres of global civil society. (Beck, 2000, p.155)

Falk observes that "the rights of citizenship, including the accountability of government and leaders, are not enough to avoid adverse human effects if the political culture is violently disposed" (Falk, 1994 p.137). Falk describes four levels which extend citizenship beyond the traditional boundaries of the nation state. These are first, aspirational, to create a better world and greater unity; second, global economic integration; third, effective political responses, especially to ecological issues; and fourth, a politics of mobilisation or a transnational military. For Falk, global, rather than cosmopolitan, citizenship is a series of

projects in which time displaces space (Falk, 1994, p.139). As I show in the findings chapters, global citizenship is an important motif in the study of global issues for young people.

Cosmopolitans provide some valuable and hopeful insights on the concepts of citizenship and democracy, although it could be argued that they have an idealistic view of political and institutional globalisation. A political perspective that makes pragmatic use of ideas about globalisation and which is taken by governments in power is the Third Way. This perspective is extensively examined below because of its salience in the policy-making process of the New Labour government which created the version of the National Curriculum under discussion in this thesis, introduced Citizenship as a compulsory subject, and (2006) is consulting on the introduction of a new *Futures* Curriculum.

Perspective 6: Proponents of the Third Way

The Third Way "is about traditional values in a changed world" (Blair, 1998, p.1). It is a political and policy perspective which informs centre-left social democratic projects such as New Labour in the UK and Clinton's New Democrats in the US. The Third Way is characterised by Blair as moving "decisively beyond an Old Left preoccupied by state control, high taxation and producer interests; and a New Right treating public investment, and often the very notions of 'society' and collective endeavour, as evils to be undone" (Blair, 1998, p.1). According to Giddens "It is a third way in the sense that it is an attempt to transcend both old-style social democracy and neo-liberalism" (Giddens 1998, p.26). Fairclough (2000) observes that the reconciliation of previously incompatible political notions or antitheses (Fairclough, 2000, p.29) is a recurring motif in Third Way language. These antitheses are often presented in lists, for example, "patriotism *and* internationalism; rights *and* responsibilities; the promotion of enterprise *and* the attack on poverty and discrimination" (Blair, 1998, p.1). This early expression of the tenets of the Third Way also

demonstrates the influence of the ideological Communitarianism developed by Etzioni (1995). As Demaine (1996) points out, the political project known as Communitarianism could trace its antecedents to the moral philosophy also known as Communitarianism and which was developed "by writers such as Alasdair MacIntyre, Charles Taylor, and Michael Sandel" (Demaine, 1996, p8). But Demaine notes that "Despite the new populist spin given to it by Etzioni and his associates, they add nothing to the communitarian philosophical theory" (Demaine, 1996, p8). Indeed, in *The Spirit of Community* (1995) the first and most influential book by Etzioni on Communitarianism none of these philosophers or their theories are acknowledged. For Etzioni

> At the core of the Third Way ought to be the recognition that a good society
> combines respect for individual rights and fulfilment of basic human needs with the
> expectation that members live up to their responsibilities to themselves, their family
> and friends, and to the community at large. (Etzioni, 2000 p.29)

Demaine says "Etzioni is much more concerned with the need to establish a new communitarian *movement* for social change than with philosophical theory" (Demaine, 1996, p8). This would explain the appeal to a pragmatic political project such as the Third Way which is intensely focused on the idea of change.

At the time that the 2000 National Curriculum was developed, the Third Way was a much discussed centre-left ideology intended to constitute a new political settlement. Its critics see it as an ongoing adaptation of capitalist neo-liberal economic policies. For example Fairclough (2000) describes it

> as constituting a sharp break with the 'old' Labour party. The crucial starting point for
> the politics of New Labour is acceptance of the new international economic
> liberalism—'the new global economy' in its own terms—as an inevitable and
> unquestionable fact of life upon which politics and government are to be premised
> (Fairclough, 2000, p.15)

He sees this as a dangerous "new form of capitalism" (Fairclough, 2000, p.15). Similarly, Hill discusses "New Labour's Neo-liberalism" (Hill, 1999, p.25). He considers New Labour's discourse on education to be an extension of Thatcherite choice policies apart from "a concern to overcome 'social exclusion' by contradictory efforts to 'include' the excluded—in a system that excludes at every level" (Hill, 1999, p.26).

It could be argued that relevance of the Third Way might have declined. The Third Way was a foundational political ideology of Bill Clinton's 1990s New Democrat government in the USA; it is not shared by the succeeding Republican regime under George W. Bush. The September 11th 2001 attacks on the US might also be seen as considerably altering the global ideological landscape. However, Blair argued in 2003 for the continued validity of the Third Way agenda stating that "the philosophy of progressive politics known as the Third Way has to be renewed" (Blair, 2003, www.policy-network.net).

> Can we devise innovative ways of increasing investment in human capital as a means
> of distributing wealth more equitably in the knowledge economy (including radically
> rethinking the school curriculum, vocational and work-based training)? (Blair, 2003,
> www.policy-network.net)

Here he makes explicit a Third Way objective of allowing education, rather than welfare or taxation, to carry the main burden of distributing wealth more equitably. The Third Way is influential on the National Curriculum as it stands and Blair here demonstrates it will be a factor in future manifestations of the curriculum. More recently Blair writes of New Labour, rather than the Third Way, but essentially setting out the same ideological project:

> We must build on the big idea behind New Labour: that economic efficiency and
> social justice are entirely compatible. (Blair, 2006a, p.28)

And on public services in general he emphasises the model of the citizen as a consumer that characterises Third Way thought:

> Our model of public service reform combines ambitious national standards with diversity of providers and giving citizens a new choice or a stronger voice in shaping those services. (Blair, 2006a, p.28)

The language and rhetorical style of this article are extremely similar to that identified as Third Way by Fairclough (Fairclough, 2000) from Blair's speeches in the late 1990s. Fairclough says that

> The 'Third Way' is ... ongoingly constituted and reconstituted as a discourse in the documents, speeches, interviews etc. of New Labour. We can see it as a continuing process of representing the social world from the particular position New Labour occupies in the political field. (Fairclough, 2000, p.9)

Thus the Third Way is less referred to by name lately, but as an ideology it continues to be represented in Blair's articles and speeches. Gewirtz warns that "The potential significance and wider relevance of Third Way rhetoric, policy and practice should not ... be underestimated" (Gewirtz, 2002, p.2).

Globalisation is a central theme in Third Way thought. The earliest writer on economic globalisation in the context of this project was Robert Reich. His book *The Work of Nations* (1991) includes a critique of the contemporary suitability of the American school curriculum that was developed in the early twentieth century.

In Part one of this book: *The Economic Nation,* (Reich, 1991, p.13) Reich outlines the development of economic nationalism in which separate nations compete with each other for commerce and profit. Economic nationalism upheld the 'high volume production methods' (Reich, 1991, p.25ff) of Ford and Taylor. This placed particular demands on its workers, including obedience, conformity, punctuality and reliability. The twentieth-century American education system matched these needs. Students were educated and tested in large schools using standardised methods, following a similar linear progression to that employed in industry. Subjects, like mass-production components, were discrete and

differentiated from one another. These observations are significant in the context of the design of the current UK National Curriculum. Schools were like factories. At the end of such schooling, a well-paid factory job awaited even the least successful product of the system.

In Part Two: *The Global Web*, Reich contrasts these with the *high value* enterprise of the late twentieth-century global economy (Reich, 1991, p.81). The large hierarchical corporations of the first half of the twentieth century have broken down to become diffuse networks of outsourcing and innovation. Like the globalisation neo-liberals, Reich argues that economic nationalism becomes irrelevant. The lines between goods and services are blurred and originality becomes a valuable characteristic. The skills needed to work in high value enterprises are different to those required by high volume industries. Three "jobs of the future" (Reich, 1991, p.171) can be summarised as follows:

The routine production workers (who are decreasing in importance) (Reich, 1991, p.175)

The in-person service providers (who are increasing in numbers) (p.176)

The symbolic analysts (who are central to new ways of working) (p.177)

The symbolic analyst subdivides into three further job types which can be summarised as: the problem identifier, the problem solver and the strategic broker who brings the first two together (Reich, 1991, p.178). The skill in common to these last three roles is the ability to manipulate symbols (Reich, 1991, p.177). In the future, Reich argues these roles will be traded extensively around the world in constantly shifting networks identifying, solving and brokering problems in innovative, creative and flexible ways (Reich, 1991, p.186). According to Reich, the American public education system has failed to make the shift from the old high volume, standardised models of education, which served the economy in

the first part of the twentieth century (Reich, 1991, p.227). Wealthy Americans increasingly opt out of the public school system in favour of private education, which teaches children to think creatively, flexibly and innovatively, instead of conforming to a fixed national curriculum which dates rapidly (Reich, 1991, p.229). He argues that those who have this flexible and creative type of education will gain the jobs of the future.

Reich's work is future oriented and this is a theme which emerges from the analysis of empirical data. Teachers and curriculum developers are concerned with preparing young people for what they see as a future very different from the present and one for which they will need particular skills and grounding. The implications of this emphasis on flexibility and innovation for the National Curriculum are critiqued in Chapter 6.

Giddens writes on the Third Way and globalisation and is influential on the New Labour political project. Giddens has written two books on the Third Way: *The Third Way: The renewal of social democracy* (1998) and *The Third Way and it Critics* (2000). In the first globalisation is critiqued as a dilemma for social democracy. Giddens suggests that "globalization is often spoken of as if it were a force of nature, but it is not. States, business corporations and other groups have actively promoted its advance" (Giddens, 1998, p.33). The author goes on to describe how this promotion has been achieved. This is, for example, by funding research into information and communication technology, through entering world financial markets and through privatisation and economic liberalisation programmes. What Giddens does not explain is why this promotion of globalisation has taken place. So whilst he does not present it "as a force of nature" he nonetheless proposes it as inevitable. Alternatives to resist, ignore or change the process of globalisation remain unexamined.

In *The Third Way and its Critics,* (Giddens, 2000) one chapter is devoted to *Taking Globalization Seriously* (Giddens, 2000, p.122). Giddens observes that "As a globalizing political philosophy, third way politics should look to promote further global integration" (Giddens, 2000, p.122). The rationale or alternatives for this policy strategy remain unexamined. This type of writing is useful to politicians because it allows for governments to have an external phenomenon to point to when things go badly. On the other hand, the manageability of globalisation according to the Third Way equally allows credit to be taken in good times. As Massey points out

> World economic leaders gather (in Washington, Paris or Davos) to congratulate themselves upon, and to flaunt and reinforce, their powerfulness, a powerfulness which consists in insisting on power*lessness*—in the face of globalising market forces there is absolutely nothing that can be done. Except, of course, to push the project further. It is a heroic impotence, which serves to disguise the fact that this really is a *project* (Massey, 2005, p84).

Despite Giddens' protests to the contrary, globalisation is often reified in Third Way policies. DfID's White Paper *Eliminating World Poverty: making globalisation work for the poor* (2000a) and the accompanying pamphlet *An Introduction to the UK Government's White Paper on International Development* (2000b) indicate this reification process. Here, DfID presents a view of globalisation as incontestable, but with issues to be "tackled" (DfID, 2000b, p.23). For example, guidance is given "on the appropriate reforms to make [liberalisation] a success" and measures are described to assist countries which "are at the earlier stages of liberalisation" as well as "reforms needed to ensure orderly and sustainable liberalisation" (DfID, 2000a, p. 51-52). The issue of countries which make policy decisions not to liberalise is not addressed; they are simply assumed to be at an earlier stage of liberalisation. The articulation between the Third Way and neo-liberalism is revealed here. The Third Way approach to globalisation is to take the sanguine enthusiasm of the globalisation neo-liberals and temper it with reformist and management techniques. Thus globalisation will

be accepted, but its uneven effects can be palliated. So "The UK government will: Work to encourage corporate social responsibility by national and transnational companies, and more investment by them in poor countries" (DfID, 2000b, p.17). Massey (2005) observes the role of institutions in facilitating globalisation:

> On the one hand globalisation is presented as ineluctable—a force in the face of which we must adapt or be cast into oblivion. On the other hand some of the most powerful agencies in the world are utterly intent on its production. (Massey, 2005, p.84)

Globalisation conclusions

This review has grouped literature on globalisation into six different perspectives. This is an extension of the three categories proposed by Held et al (1999). Therefore, it should be assumed that if three can be expanded to six, there could equally be further perspectives on globalisation which this review has not exposed. Cognisance of this possibility is taken throughout the thesis, especially in interviewing teachers and curriculum designers about their views on globalisation and its place in the curriculum.

In this thesis this range of different views on globalisation are referred to as perspectives and perceptions. The term 'perspectives' indicates the discipline and category of knowledge about globalisation, and these are: economics, history, philosophy, sociology politics, and the 'perceptions' vary according to whether the writer views globalisation as good, bad, uneven or manageable, across the perspectives.

This thesis seeks to discover whether one or more of the perspectives on globalisation are privileged in the National Curriculum and associated teaching materials. There are different reasons why this might be found to be the case. For example, a straightforward position derived from Held's *Hyperglobalist* perspective might be preferred: the neo-liberal or anti-globalisation positions are often presented in simple, accessible terms, making them

potentially easy to translate into teaching materials, schemes of work and lesson plans, and relatively easy for young or less able students to understand. Klein's (2000) emphasis on well-known brand names would make this style of argument instantly recognisable to adolescents who buy and wear the brands she names. The style in which these perspectives are often presented is both informational and anecdotal, which would lend itself to straightforward (and favoured) assessment methods such as pencil and paper tests or multiple choice questions. However, these perspectives both have a tendency to be oppositional and reductionist, particularly in their emphasis on the economic. Students exclusively taught from either one of these perspectives would be likely to gain an unduly simplified perception of globalisation, in which globalisation may be either right or wrong, but always inevitable.

Teachers or curriculum designers seeking a values-based perspective likely to appeal to the natural idealism of many students at Key Stage 3, might prefer to base teaching and curriculum materials on the cosmopolitan perspective. The Citizenship curriculum states that Key Stage 3 students "learn about fairness and social justice, respect for democracy and diversity at school, local and global level" (QCA, 1999, p.184). So the cosmopolitan perspective would fit well with the subject's democratic basis.

The sceptical perspective is not likely to be used much for curriculum materials. It is clear from examining the National Curriculum and associated material, that the concept of globalisation has been embraced and that there is an expectation that it will be taught in several Key Stage 3 subjects including Geography, Citizenship, History and Modern Foreign Languages (MFL). Sceptical rejection of the concept of globalisation is not apparent in the official documents of the National Curriculum, although it may be a position adopted by individual teachers. There is room in the History curriculum to examine previous eras of internationalisation, including trade, colonisation, empire, and

international relations for example. This allows for the sceptical claim that globalisation is not new, but has strong historical antecedents.

The transformationalist perspective on globalisation, with its emphasis on the uneven nature of globalisation and the role of social movements, as well as governments and multinationals in a complex process of networks, is the most accurate portrayal of globalisation as I understand it. However, the presentation of this perspective in the literature is often complex, requiring some understanding of sociological concepts to read and understand. The Citizenship curriculum requires students to be taught about diversity, community groups and other matters which could be taught from a transformationalist perspective. Issues about identity, migration, global social movements, and cultural aspects of globalisation are directly relevant to students and pertinent to the study of both Geography and Citizenship.

DfID's perspective on globalisation can be described as Third Way. As the curriculum is centrally designed and prescribed for the government this is the perspective that might be expected. The Third Way is largely a style of political rhetoric, and as previously noted, sensitivity is exercised both by teachers and curriculum planners about political indoctrination through lesson or curriculum materials. This would act as a deterrent to using this perspective in the classroom. However, as I demonstrate in Chapter 6, the apparent inevitability of globalisation in this perspective may be behind its inclusion in the curriculum and the Third Way informs curriculum policy as a whole. The New Labour government would not be the first to use ideology to inform the National Curriculum as the following section on the background to the development of the National Curriculum suggests.

Section II: The Historical Development of the National Curriculum

The Education Reform Act of 1988 which introduced the National Curriculum is one of the twentieth century's most radical pieces of education legislation. This section establishes through a review of the development of the National Curriculum that the reasons why the Conservative government struggled to acquire central control over the curriculum in the 1980s, and why successive governments do not concede this power, are political and ideological.

The social, economic and political drivers behind the development of a National Curriculum in England are examined. The historical analysis is made with a view to understanding the increasing role of the state in the development of a centrally determined National Curriculum and what this means for teaching about the topic of globalisation, which is both international in scope and politically loaded. Traditionally, British governments were loath to intervene in the content of the curriculum for fear of appearing politically doctrinaire. In the last 30 years however, the notion of central administration of the curriculum has become accepted as the norm and this section examines the stages behind this significant shift. This review begins to indicate the ways in which (once reservations about political intervention were set aside) successive governments have used the National Curriculum to promote their own political ideologies. It also raises questions about how a *National* Curriculum can incorporate matters relating to the global.

The contested nature of the curriculum

Writing over ten years before the introduction of a National Curriculum, Eggleston (1977) observed that

> The curriculum is one of the key areas in which the values and power system of the school and society areas come together; a key mechanism of social control over the young and over those who teach them. (Eggleston, 1977, p.12)

This is an indication that power struggles, tension, conflict and factionalism have always been implicit in the curriculum. But the development of the National Curriculum has probably been an even more hotly contested site of social and political power struggle in our society than earlier school-based curricula. After nearly two decades and many modifications, the major transformation that constituted the National Curriculum is now taken for granted. As Jones (2003) points out,

> those who have supported its subsequent development have often been inclined to present it as something ineluctable, as an inevitable response on the part of education to social change. In fact . the social changes to which it responded were not pre-ordained, but were themselves the result of sharp political contestation. (Jones 2003, p.74)

For this reason, it is important to examine in more detail what has been contested in the development of the National Curriculum and why. The National Curriculum is still used by governments as a vehicle for promoting a set of ideologies. Now, after nearly two decades, its more accepted status is likely to make this process easier. But although governments throughout the twentieth century claimed to stand back from actual interference in curriculum and pedagogy, they have been responsible for significant and radical legislative reforms in the education system.

Education legislation

The Education Reform Act of 1988 which enshrined the National Curriculum in law was one of the major pieces of education legislation of the twentieth century. However, other Acts and regulations made radical reforms to the education system during the twentieth century. The 1902 Education Act abolished the School Boards and replaced them with Local Education Authorities. In 1904 the Secondary School Regulations laid out a

curriculum for students over 14 which, in terms of subject content and structure, have had a persistent influence on the National Curriculum (Gordon, 2002, p.202; Chitty, 2004, p.127).

The Education Act of 1944 is considered to be one of the corner stones of the Welfare State and the post-war welfare consensus. The 1944 Education Act provided for secondary education for all, for the first time, to be according to age, ability and aptitude; thus paving the way for a tripartite secondary education system, where children were selected for a certain model of secondary education and by implication, curriculum at age 11 (McCulloch, 2002, p.41).

After 1944, the curriculum taught in schools was not a matter of government concern, but was considered the province of the individual school. *The Observer* commented in 1968 that "The law says nothing specific about what should be taught in schools ... Legally [the head teacher] would be within his rights if he divided the curriculum between Esperanto and basketball" (*Observer* 15 September 1968, quoted in Eggleston 1977, p.22). Chitty (Chitty, 1996, p.8) observes of the 1944 Education Act that it contains only one mention of "curriculum". The previous Secondary Regulations of 1904 were allowed to lapse with this important legislation. Those regulations had determined the curriculum to be followed by students progressing to the Grammar school. The Elementary Regulations had lapsed in the late 1920s, with the rise of child-centred ideologies of primary education. From Chitty's account it is clear that ministers and civil servants at the time of the 1944 Act were convinced of the necessity for a "policy of non-intervention with regard to curriculum matters" (Chitty, 1996, p.9). Educational planners of this era were uncomfortably close to the experience of complete educational control exercised by totalitarian regimes in Fascist and Communist countries. They were aware of the opportunities for direct political manipulation and overt indoctrination of the young inherent in government control of the

curriculum (Ross, 2000, p.25). Barber explains that "At the time it was generally believed that prescribing the curriculum was something that fascists did and democrats did not" (Barber, 1996, p.16). This former political fastidiousness is pertinent to research about potentially contentious curriculum material such as globalisation. In the present day, politicians take a direct interest in education policy, not just at the level of the education ministry, but at Prime Ministerial level.

From the mid twentieth century two main types of curriculum were taught. Typically, children in Grammar schools would be taught according to an academic subject-based curriculum culminating in the externally assessed 'O' level exam. Secondary Modern school children followed a vocationally orientated curriculum with no exams until the school leaving age was raised to 16 in 1972 when a school-based CSE examination was introduced for students who would previously have left at age 15. From the 1960s dissatisfaction with the system arising from the 1944 Act started to emerge and there began to be pressure for change from a number of directions.

Social pressures on the curriculum

Ross identifies three social pressures on those curriculum arrangements. These are firstly, "the enormous growth in the amount and organization of knowledge, particularly scientific and technical knowledge" (Ross, 2000, p.25). This had an impact on university knowledge and consequently school examinations and their syllabi. Secondly, psychologists began to question previous understandings of innate abilities which had informed the development of the selective education system of the 1944 Act. The assumption that had been made by psychologists that ability could be predicted by an IQ test at age eleven was called into question by many, including parents. Similarly, sociologists questioned the social effects of the secondary school selection process. Thirdly, Ross identifies rapid changes in society and culture. Expectations and aspirations, including for education and qualifications, were

raised. Culture and society became more plural and varied. Williams comments on what was missing in the education of most children by the early 1960s in terms of culture and society. Notable deficits he includes are social studies, the history and criticism of music and art, critical understanding of modern media, and the history of scientific discovery (Williams 1961, pp.172-173). None of these studies have made it onto the compulsory, but crowded content of the National Curriculum at Key Stage 3.

From 1965, it was intended that some of these problems would be addressed by the Labour government's comprehensive education policy. State educated secondary school pupils would all attend the same type of school, without prior selection; therefore, notions that there were curricula suited to one type of pupil and not others became less applicable. Larger schools were to enable a broader range of courses to be offered (McCulloch, 2002, p.44).

Economic pressures on the curriculum

In the mid 1970s economic pressures were added to the social pressures identified by Ross. At this time the International Monetary Fund (IMF) "made the setting of monetary targets and cuts in spending a condition of the provision of loans" (Seldon, in Jones, Gray et al 1994, p.51). This is an example of the restructuring of capitalism identified by Castells (2000a Volume I, p.1) in his analysis of the rise of globalisation. The intervention of the IMF meant cuts in public spending, including on education, and a breakdown of the post-war welfare consensus, especially the belief in Keynesian economic methods. The ideology of education became more strongly imbued with notions of value for money and economic purpose. Thus, "It was in the mid -1970s that 'partnership' was replaced by 'accountability' as the dominant metaphor in discussions about the distribution of power in the education system" (Chitty, 1996, p.16).

The point of change is marked. In 1973 Conservative Prime Minister Edward Heath said:

> We try as a society to indicate to the professionals the human values, the social attitudes, the range of skills we wish them to foster in the young people we entrust to their charge. Thereafter, we leave it to their professional responsibility and expertise to decide how to translate our wishes into courses and syllabuses and methods of teaching and learning ... (Heath, E 1973 in Becher and Maclure, 1978, p.47)

At that time the curriculum was the responsibility of individual schools and teachers, and Local Education Authorities, many of whom produced curricula and materials suitable for use in the schools in their area; for example, the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA), which did its own publishing, and the Schools Council, which from 1964 took responsibility for a variety of curriculum developments and innovations described as "almost deliberately piecemeal" by Ross (Ross, 2000, p.28). It could be argued that the varied and fragmentary nature of curriculum provision at this time provided a safeguard for pluralist democracy. I show later that although the curriculum is now determined by the State, there is still an attempt to create an impression of plurality and diversity. Conservative governments may have been reluctant to establish a legally enforceable National Curriculum for fear of what Labour governments might make of it. During the Cold War, as in the post-war era, fears of indoctrination through a compulsory curriculum continued to inform a policy of non-intervention.

But in 1976 education and the curriculum became the concern not just of the Education Minister, but of the Prime Minister. This change is marked by the Ruskin College speech given by Labour Prime Minister James Callaghan in 1976. In this speech, Callaghan emphasised the need for education to prepare pupils, not just for their place in society, but for employment and especially employment in industry. The issue of funding and value in the economic climate of the time is clearly stated by Callaghan: "In the present

circumstances there can be little expectation of further increased resources being made available." And "a challenge to education is to ... secure as high efficiency as possible by the skilful use of existing resources" (Callaghan, 1976, p.333). Callaghan also pointed the way towards discussion of a common core curriculum in this speech: "It is not my intention to become enmeshed in such problems as whether there should be a basic curriculum with universal standards—though I am inclined to think there should be" (Callaghan, 1976, p.333). Indeed he claimed "a strong case for the so-called 'core curriculum' of basic knowledge" (Callaghan, 1976, p.333). Jones (2003) suggests that for Callaghan "decentralization of educational control was a problem, not a solution" (Jones, 2003, p.73).

Kenneth Baker, the creator of the National Curriculum, interprets the Ruskin speech as "the speech in which [Callaghan] questioned the quality of state education" (Baker, 1993, p.189) and this view has implications for the reasoning behind the development of the National Curriculum. Baker saw the teaching profession as, amongst other things, prey to "ludicrous political fashion" (Baker, 1993, p.190) and he was aware of the suspicion of a National Curriculum in university Departments of Education (Baker, 1993, p.190). The National Curriculum was born out of intense struggle between education professionals and politicians or bureaucrats.

Professional versus bureaucratic concepts of the curriculum

Chitty characterises this early debate about National Curriculum policy as distinguished by a "professional concept of a common entitlement curriculum" and "the bureaucratic concept of core curriculum" (Chitty, 1996, p.22). Thus, in Chitty's account the struggle for power was engaged in by professional educators, teachers, teacher trainers, and Her Majesty's Inspectors (HMI), against the bureaucratic Ministers and civil servants of the then Department of Education and Science (DES). Chitty outlines two models of National Curriculum emerging at this stage: the HMI Model (professional) and the DES Model

(bureaucratic). According to Chitty the professional model of a common curriculum "was concerned with pupils as developing individuals and opposed to any systems of assessment that resulted in large sections of the school population being written off as failures" (Chitty, 1996, p.22). On the other hand, the bureaucratic model of a core curriculum, "was concerned with the 'efficiency' of the education system and with the need to obtain precise information to demonstrate that efficiency" (Chitty, 1996, p.22). This articulates with the economic imperatives expressed by Callaghan in the Ruskin speech, which emphasised the efficient use of existing resources and the development of young people as contributors to the economy in line with the view of national and international economics promoted to Callaghan's government by the IMF.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s a contest was waged between the HMI representing the professional concept and the DES on the side of bureaucracy (Chitty, 1996, pp.22-27). Lawton identifies three factions: "1. the politicos (ministers, political advisers etc), 2. Bureaucrats (DES Officials), 3 the Professionals, (HMI)" (Lawton, 1984, p.16). Many papers and publications went back and forth at this time, each side putting their own particular emphasis on the issue. HMI (published paradoxically by the DES) favoured a common curriculum based on a checklist of areas of experience rather than on subjects indicating an integrated curriculum rather than a subject-based one. The areas of experience were:

The Aesthetic and Creative

The Ethical

The Linguistic

The Mathematical

The Physical

The Scientific

The Social and Political

The Spiritual (HMI, 1977, p.6)

The checklist was in alphabetical order to demonstrate that all the areas were of equal importance (HMI, 1977, p.6). Amongst the working papers presented in this collection is one on "Political Competence" (HMI, 1977, p.56) in the curriculum. It is interesting to note, in view of my later discussion on suspicion about the inclusion of the political in the curriculum, that this paper opens with the following observation:

> Although the idea of political education is suspect to many people, there are nevertheless compelling reasons for asserting its importance for the 11-16 curriculum (HMI, 1977, p.56)

The DES produced documents which opposed HMI's view of the curriculum as 'areas of experience', as it was instead concerned to privilege a group of subjects in a common core-curriculum. However Chitty describes one of these documents as "schizophrenic ... reflecting a lack of consensus within the DES ... between the bureaucratic and professional perspectives" (Chitty, 1996, p.27). According to Ross, the DES documents describe an "academic, subject-based curriculum as though it was a skills-based utilitarian curriculum—often with references to a child-based curriculum" (Ross, 2000, p.38).

My examination of current National Curriculum documents shows that this tension is still apparent; pointing to both a desire to monitor and account for efficiency and to provide education as an entitlement to all children. It is likely that these and other tensions, for example in presenting cross-curricular themes such as *The Global Dimension* discussed in Chapter 4, date back to these confusions inherent in the bureaucratic model observed by Chitty (1996), Ross (2000) and Lawton (1984, p.17).

Three factions in particular can be identified within the political right at the time a National Curriculum was being mooted and then developed. These have been variously influential at different stages of the National Curriculum's development. Firstly, a free-market, neo-liberal, non-interventionist faction was concerned with increasing parental choice in education, for example, by using vouchers. This faction did not favour government intervention in terms of a National Curriculum, preferring instead to let some form of market forces determine what would be taught (Barber, 1996, p.28). I discuss later the persistent effects of this neo-liberal faction on aspects of education policy such as school choice. Secondly, the faction described by Ross as Neo-conservatives-cultural restorationists (Ross, 2000, p.54), favoured the 'traditional' subject-based curriculum, like that of the grammar schools and public schools. The purposes of education according to this faction are to "reassert the traditional national values, and transmit the heritage of a golden age, when the nation was homogeneous and values were not contended" (Ross, 2000, p.54). I show in Chapter 6 how this position differs markedly from the New Labour National Curriculum, especially in respect of globalisation, although it persists a little in English literature and latterly History. Thirdly, there were what Barber calls the "industrial modernisers" (Barber, 1996, p.28) and Ross labels "Right-industrial training" (Ross, 2000, p.54). These thinkers considered education to be in the service of the British economy, favouring a technological and vocational emphasis to the curriculum to provide trained and skilled people for the benefit of economic performance. Contributing to a competitive national economy continues to be a significant factor in the purpose of the National Curriculum as I show in Chapter 6.

Duncan Graham's book *A Lesson for us All* (Graham with Tytler, 1993) provides a lively inside account of the National Curriculum Council of the difficulties in reconciling all these

factions in the power struggle within the Conservative Party that ensued in the development of the National Curriculum. As well as these, other contenders took part in the struggle for control of what children learnt and how it was taught. The teacher trade unions had been weakened by the same legislation that reduced the power of all unions in this period, only to re-emerge with vigour in the early days of the new curriculum. Local Authorities were dealt with through the 'poll tax' (Community Charge) and cuts that could be made in the government grants which accounted for the majority of their funding. Other bodies such as the National Curriculum Council and the inspectorate were headed by carefully selected personnel favourable to the government's position. So "One cynical rationale for the creation of the National Curriculum Council might be that it was very useful for a government to be able to seek advice from an independent body which would always tell the government what it wanted to hear" (Graham with Tytler, 1993, p82). Graham's account of his experiences as chair of the National Curriculum Council from 1988 to 1991 strongly implies that the National Curriculum was introduced in part to be a tool that the government could use to promote its own ideologies and that politicians were keenly aware of this possibility.

Which ideologies were to be promoted and how, was the subject of dispute at the most senior level within the Conservative government. Barber (1996 pp.33-40) illustrates that there was disagreement in the late 1980s between Margaret Thatcher, the Prime Minister, and Kenneth Baker, the Education Secretary, over what a National Curriculum should contain. Thatcher wanted a curriculum consisting of the three core subjects: English, Maths and Science only, whereas Baker was looking for a curriculum of several subjects to give pupils a breadth of learning up to age sixteen, and because of his perception that there were lazy teachers who would skimp without detailed central prescription. Baker considers himself to have won this debate and achieved a ten-subject curriculum, but featuring

English, Maths and Science as "core subjects". That this controversy took place is interesting, but what is also significant is that neither of the protagonists apparently considered any type of curriculum other than a subject-based, content driven one.

In terms of content, subjects such as History, Geography and English were designed to bolster a traditional and nationalistic view of English heritage. The emphasis in the early versions of the National Curriculum was placed on British History, British locational knowledge, and English literature, especially pre-1914 English Literature with a strong emphasis on Shakespeare. Nick Tate, the Chief Executive of the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority (the predecessor of the Qualification and Curriculum Authority), said in a speech given in 1996:

> A fundamental purpose of the school curriculum is to transmit an appreciation of, and commitment to, the best of the culture we have inherited….the curriculum must seek to introduce young people to this heritage, give them a sense of its past achievements, and help them to see the relevance of these to the present day. That is why the statutory curriculum emphasises the centrality of British history, the English literary heritage and the study of Christianity. (Tate, 1997, p.13)

Green observes that while the National Curriculum "[represents] to some extent a victory for the Conservative cultural restorationists against the multicultural movement in education" (Green, 1997, p104), but at the same time "while the national curriculum promotes cultural restorationism, policies on vocational education adopt a modernizing rhetoric that has little to do with restoring a traditional culture" (Green, 1997, p105)

The National Curriculum that resulted from the controversies described above was considered by many to have been hastily drafted, over complex, and too prescriptive, especially in its arrangements for assessment. Still in use to date, the Standard Assessment Tasks (SATs) (now known as National Curriculum Tests) are pencil and paper tests in Maths, English and Science. The results of tests in these three subjects are used for various

purposes including the compilation of school league tables. Very little consultation had taken place with teachers. There was resistance to it from the teaching unions in its early days leading to a boycott of the SATs in 1993. Even here factionalism is apparent. There was agreement on the action among the unions, but disagreement on the reasons for it. Thus for the NAS/UWT, this action was mainly on the grounds of the increase in workload resulting from the detailed assessment requirements and less about underlying ideological objections to the concept of a National Curriculum or the model adopted. The NUT on the other hand had objections to the tests because they encouraged rote learning and teaching to test (Barber, 1996, p.60, Chitty, 2004, p.130).

At a time when trades union powers were being curtailed, the success of this action was notable. Sir Ron Dearing was appointed to make modifications to the Curriculum. The resulting Curriculum in 1995 was attenuated in various ways, an approach to the issues about workload. "Dearing proposed slimming down of the content of each of the ten subjects, and a virtual abandonment of the approach for 14- to 16-year-olds so that they would be free to opt to study for vocational qualifications" (Ross, 2000, p.79). Dearing noted the controversy resulting from the use of test results to compile performance tables but commented that "The use of such tables lies outside the scope of this Review" (Dearing 1993, quoted in Barber 1996, p.128). The league tables are actually drawn up by the press from result lists published in alphabetic order. Even so the Dearing review discontinued the use of SATs for Key stage 1 and 3 in the preparation of 'league tables' at the same time as introducing the concept of 'value-added' between tests. So while ostensibly declining to comment on Attainment Targets, Dearing modified the practice of testing in ways that reinforced their use for monitoring and efficiency purposes.

Up to the 2000 model of the National Curriculum, and in the Key Stage 3 review proposed for introduction in September 2008, the test results are still being used to compile league

tables and this is a reflection of the curriculum ideology in use. The league table results are compiled and presented by the media to parents as consumers of the 'product' of schooling to enable them to 'choose' a good school or demand improvement from one down the list. These assessments are indicative of a curriculum which has as one of its purposes the monitoring and efficiency of the education system, reflecting the bureaucratic origins of its design. The possibility to produce league tables reflects a view of education as a marketable commodity for which parents and students are consumers. At each key stage the 'value added' to the students' previous averaged performance is calculated, contributing to what Kelly calls "the commercial model" (Kelly, 2004, p.184), and now 'contextual value added' can be calculated, apparently showing what 'value' the school has 'added' in the context of the social make-up of the intake. This innovation heads off arguments, described by Wolf, from "those who regard [league tables] as reflecting for the most part, nothing but the social origins of the student body" (Wolf, 2004, p.333).

The curriculum went through several changes in its content and design from 1988 to 2000 with some attention given to reducing the amount of testing originally envisaged. The basic model persists with twelve separate subjects in the Key Stage 3 curriculum, each with its own attainment targets and National Curriculum Tests for English, Science and Mathematics at the end of the Key Stage. The content of the National Curriculum has moved from a strongly nationalistic emphasis on British heritage to one which emphasises this knowledge, but adds understanding of other cultures and the study of globalisation.

The 2000 National Curriculum

A Labour government came into power in May 1997 and between then and 1999 consulted on the National Curriculum. The consultation conducted through the newly established QCA, an amalgamation between the National Curriculum Council and the School Examination and Assessment Council. The QCA is a government agency and prepares the

curriculum which is then ratified by the Department for Education and Skills. Research in different fields was conducted and particular attention was paid to the addition of a new subject: Citizenship. The National Curriculum brought in by the New Labour government remains a subject-based curriculum, covering twelve subjects at secondary level and still strongly driven by the Assessment Targets and the need to compile league tables.

Key Stage 3 review

In 2005, the Education Secretary at the time, Ruth Kelly, requested a review of the content of Key Stage 3 of the National Curriculum asking that attention be paid to its prescriptive nature and calling for a greater degree of flexibility (Stewart, 2007, p.1). The first draft of the Key Stage 3 review was published in February 2007, with time for consultation allowed until April 2007. The draft version of Key Stage 3 which was available before the submission date for this thesis still appears to be a subject-based curriculum, leading to national assessments at the end of the Key Stage, despite the QCA's claim that

> It relies less on the coverage of specific content and encourages teachers to help their pupils develop a deeper understanding of the key concepts and processes that underpin a subject. (QCA, 2007c)

Although this new version apparently privileges 'processes' and 'concepts' above knowledge, understanding and skills and content, and drops the repeated phrase: "pupils will be taught to ..." found in the 2000 National Curriculum, the changes do not appear to be radical. For example, the English curriculum continues to prescribe a list of pre-twentieth-century authors and the History curriculum specifies a list of topics to be studied. These are reputed to have been included at the request of Education Secretary Alan Johnson (Stewart, 2007, p.1). The instigation of this review and selection of its content is at the command of Education Ministers, although teachers' views are being sought. In

Chapter 4, I attend to the issue of Curriculum Dimensions introduced in this review, when I discuss *The Global Dimension.*

Futures National Curriculum

At the time of writing this thesis the *Futures National Curriculum* is the subject of planning and consultation and by implication, lobbying. The ideological framework of this curriculum as proposed in 2006 is examined in Chapter 6.

Conclusion

The history of the development and introduction of the National Curriculum suggests that both political and educational ideological aims, such as choice policies, and the monitoring of schools' performance through assessment, can be achieved through a national, centrally controlled and prescribed curriculum. This history shows that the National Curriculum established by the Education Reform Act of 1988 was used by, the Conservative government to meet ideological aims. These included a curriculum which promoted the national economy, a neo-liberal, marketised version of the education system, and the restoration of a cultural heritage that was viewed as especially British (see Tate, 1996). The first two of these ideological aims persist in New Labour's version of the National Curriculum and, in contrast, the last is now of lesser importance. Both governments' desire to have control over the curriculum, and the fear of being seen to indoctrinate, have roots in the potential power of the curriculum to shape society. Curricula, in their turn, are informed by ideologies. The next section discusses different models of curriculum ideology, especially aspects that are pertinent to the inclusion of globalisation in the National Curriculum.

Section III Models of curriculum

Curriculum decisions are underpinned by ideologies which influence what is taught. Skilbeck says of curriculum decisions that they "raise fundamental questions about the qualities of desirable experience and possible directions for future individual and social growth" (Skilbeck, 1976, p.7). This section of the review examines three different curriculum models. Which curriculum model is to be used is not a matter of routine, nor is it to be taken for granted. Goodson observes "The school curriculum is a social artifact, conceived of and made for deliberate human purposes. It is therefore a supreme paradox that in many accounts of schooling the written curriculum, this most manifest of social constructions, has been treated as a 'given'" (Goodson, 1994, p.16). Ross also notes that "defining the curriculum ... is seen by many to be part of 'common sense'" (Ross, 2000, p.8). Kelly writes that "Many people still equate a curriculum with a syllabus and thus limit their planning to a consideration of the content or body of knowledge they wish to transmit" (Kelly, 1989, p.10). Young (Young, 1971, p.24) points out that "curricula ... are no less social inventions than political parties or new towns".

Curriculum ideologies

Writers about curriculum observe different models or traditions of curriculum design. While the use of these different models in planning inevitably affects the resulting curriculum, the model of curriculum in use at any time is not fixed, but subject to changes and developments over time which become normative and taken for granted in their turn. This part of the review informs the ideological analysis of the National Curriculum in Chapter 6. In that chapter a critique of National Curriculum policy and documents is used to analyse the reasons why it is now considered important for young people to learn about globalisation, given that in a time-limited curriculum this study will take up time that could be used for teaching any number of other matters, whether centrally prescribed or not.

Educational ideologies define the way in which a curriculum is constructed and what society expects it to achieve. Skilbeck defines "An ideology [as] a system of beliefs and values held by a whole society or by social groups within that society and used by those groups to further their own interests" (Skilbeck, 1982, p.9). Apple says that "ideology is usually taken to have three distinctive features. It always deals with legitimation, power, and a special style of argument" (Apple, 2004, p.19). Apple argues that there is a "socially legitimate knowledge" (Apple, 2004, p.6) and a "selective tradition" (Apple, 2004, p.5) that ensures that a legitimated knowledge is the knowledge included in the curriculum. Apple asks the following questions of such knowledge: "Whose knowledge is it? Who selected it? Why is it organized and taught in this way? To this particular group?" (Apple, 2004, p.6). Skilbeck (1976) discusses three educational ideologies: Classical humanism, (Skilbeck, 1976, p.24) Progressivism, (Skilbeck, 1976, p.28) and Reconstructionism, (Skilbeck, 1976, p.34) and describes "each [as] a powerful force in contemporary educational thought and practice ... [and] each can be seen as a comprehensive and well-articulated perspective" (Skilbeck, 1976, p.24). These ideologies underpin the models of curriculum described below.

Three salient curriculum models are presented here. These have been influential in debates about the secondary school curriculum, and are examined by a number of writers. At the same time the underlying educational ideologies inherent in these models are examined. The three models are: models based on content, models based on objectives, and models based on process. I conclude the section with a review of Reconstructionism as a curriculum ideology, because this ideology is significant to the political analysis of the curriculum conducted in Chapter 6.

Models based on content

Ross terms this model "content-driven curricula" (Ross, 2000, pp.97ff). This curriculum separates subjects into clearly defined areas or disciplines. Ross argues that this type of

curriculum has historically been the dominant form. He examines the ways in which different subjects have become accepted as part of, and incorporated into, the content-driven curriculum, whilst also acknowledging a high degree of resistance to change in practice. Bernstein identifies this curriculum as a "collection code" (Bernstein, 1975, p.80). It is the curriculum traditionally used to impart the academic disciplines. It thus informs the curricula delivered in English public (fee-paying) schools and grammar schools. A curriculum of this type was first prescribed in the Regulations for Secondary Schools of 1904 (Ross, 2000, p.21; Goodson and Marsh, 1996 p.157) and is a model which can be seen to be influential on the National Curriculum especially up to Key Stage 3.

Ross traces the history of the academic, subject-based curriculum to the medieval codification of university disciplines—the Trivium and the Quadrivium (Ross, 2000, p.101, Williams, 1961, p.101). This consisted of seven subjects. The Trivium would be studied first and consisted of grammar, logic and rhetoric. Following this, the Quadrivium consisted of music, arithmetic, geometry and astronomy (Williams, 1961, p.101). As in the content-driven curriculum, the disciplines were studied separately. The subjects that derived from the model of Trivium and Quadrivium are commonly considered to represent a classical canon transmitting the high culture and knowledge consisting of the subjects required by the social elite. These subjects identified by Hirst as "seven forms of thought" (Hirst, 1972, p.131) are mathematical, physical scientific, religious, literary and artistic, human (social) scientific, philosophical and historical.

Kelly (Kelly, 2004) discusses this model using the terminology "Curriculum as Content and Education as Transmission" (Kelly, 2004, p.46). For Kelly "the justification for that curriculum [based on this model] is to be found in its content rather than its effects" (Kelly, 2004, p.47). Kelly considers this a simplistic view of curriculum planning based on an absolutist view of knowledge (Kelly, 2004, p.47) "which leads to loss of status, and

indeed...freedom, for the individual" (Kelly, 2004, p.47). The resulting curriculum is no more than the syllabi for a given selection of subjects and, he argues, not suitable for a democratic curriculum (2004, p.48). He asks of this absolutist epistemology "whether any body of knowledge can have an intrinsic, objective, absolute value or status" (Kelly, 1989, p.40). It seems likely that the subjects and topics included for study in the National Curriculum have been selected because of a view as to their intrinsic value. Kelly acknowledges that while "its concept of entitlement is genuine rather than rhetoric...it falls well short of offering a satisfactory basis for curriculum planning in a democratic society" (Kelly, 2004, p.48). In this ideology it is important to note that whatever is included may well imply the exclusion of another subject, and to ask whose view of value is represented in the curriculum.

In Skilbeck's analysis of ideologies of education (Skilbeck, 1976, pp.24ff), this type of curriculum is identified as classical humanism. It is the educational ideology associated with the education of elite groups, dating back to classical Athens. It is "held to confer leadership rights" (Skilbeck, 1976, p.26). This educational ideology draws social and cultural distinctions. Bantock (1963) suggests the possibility of different curricula based on different cultures for different classes of children, including a focus on the domestic for girls and the mechanical for boys (Bantock, 1963, p.217ff).

It is clear that this type of ideology cannot be promoted through a National Curriculum compulsory in all the State's schools, although Whitty (2002) notes:

> two contrasting traditions of social education in the English secondary school curriculum. The social education of an elite has usually been based on a 'liberal education' in a variety of academic subjects, while that of the masses has often taken the form of direct preparation for citizenship and work (Whitty, 2002, p.27).

Fee-paying schools do not have to follow the National Curriculum, which allows the contrast observed by Whitty to persist. The curriculum for the subject of English in the National Curriculum demonstrates an emphasis on what might be considered canonical high culture, for example, Shakespeare and pre-1914 literature. There are also opportunities to select from a range of multicultural texts should there be time after studying the literature in the prescribed lists. Content in English indicates the uneasy liaison between the classical humanist elitist curriculum and an entitlement curriculum which is intended to provide all pupils with the necessary tools of life.

The arrangement of the National Curriculum into 10-12 subjects, of which three are "core" and compulsory throughout the school career, implies the influence of this model of curriculum which dates back at least to the 1904 Secondary School Regulations. It is not clear whether this is a purposive reflection, or whether designers of the National Curriculum view the subject-based curriculum as normative. The taken-for-granted character of this type of curriculum means that the knowledge contained within its subjects might also be generally taken for granted. I show later that this propensity offers a potential to be used to gain consent for particular ideologies.

The main element of Classical Humanism retained by the National Curriculum is its division into discrete subjects, although attempts have been made in previous versions to introduce cross-curricular themes. These have tended to present problems in the curriculum and one of the reasons for this is the difficulties involved in assessing them. Chitty also notes that in the National Curriculum of the early 1990s "it was soon obvious that all cross-curricular themes would be marginalized as schools struggled valiantly to implement a seriously overloaded curriculum framework" (Chitty, 2004, p.182).

Bernstein (1975) identifies two types of curriculum, the "collection code" and the "integrated code curriculum". Bernstein writes about classification and framing in the context of the strength of the boundaries between subject. (Bernstein, 1975, p.88). Thus in a collection code curriculum such as the National Curriculum, classification and framing are strong. That is, there are strongly maintained boundaries between the contents of the curriculum. Subject areas are insulated from one another by a system of strong classification. But in the integrated code, the boundaries between contents are permeable and the differences between subjects are blurred. Framing is therefore weak.

'Framing' can be seen as determining what is legitimate to be taught at all. Thus "frame refers to the degree of control teacher and pupil possess over the selection, organization, pacing and timing of the knowledge transmitted and received in the pedagogical relationship" (Bernstein, 1975, p.89). The strength of the frames can also refer to the strength of the boundaries between "educational knowledge and everyday community knowledge of teacher and taught" (Bernstein, 1975, p.89). In a prescriptive, content-based curriculum such as the National Curriculum framing is very strong: the government decides what is taught and the Attainment Targets indicate what should have been learnt by students of a certain age. In Bernstein's terms the National Curriculum is a *visible pedagogy*. In a visible pedagogy

> an 'objective' grid exists for the evaluation of the pupils in the form of (a) clear criteria
> and (b) a delicate measurement procedure. The child receives a grade or its equivalent
> for any valued performance. Further where the pedagogy is visible, it is likely to be
> standardised and so schools are directly comparable as to their successes and failures.
> (Bernstein, 1975, p.141)

This account accurately prefigures the system of Attainment Targets and National Curriculum Tests associated with the National Curriculum and also the school league tables which arise from the NCTs. Bernstein observes that this explicit methodology means that

teachers, parents and children can be clear about their relative academic position and the comparative performance of the school. This distinguishes the National Curriculum model as one which is also based on objectives. The objective-based model of curriculum is suited to certain types of assessment because of its ability to set targets.

Models based on objectives

Ross describes the "objectives-driven curriculum" (Ross, 2000, p.115ff) as a "utilitarian, goals based curriculum" (Ross, 2000, p.114). The focus of this type of curriculum is the study of subjects which can be identified as useful or relevant to students and society. Such instrumentality is decided in advance and the curriculum planned accordingly to meet the resulting objectives. Competence in skills is often a feature. Vocational training might also be stressed in an objectives-driven curriculum. This type of curriculum might be promoted as serving the national economy and providing human capital. Ross identifies the type of curriculum laid out by Ralph Tyler in *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction* (1949) as an objectives-driven curriculum (Ross, 2000, p.119). Lawton (Lawton, 1989, p.11) describes the influence of behaviourist psychology and Taylorist production methods that informed the work of Franklin Bobbit in the 1920s in "building" an objective-based curriculum. Lawton notes that Bobbit's design reducing the behavioural objectives of education down to small components was not taken up in schools, but that Tyler's model in the 1940s was a modification of it (Lawton, 1989, p.11). Tyler asks four questions "which must be answered in developing any curriculum and plan of instruction" (Tyler, 1949 p.1) these are:

What educational purposes should the school seek to attain?

What educational experiences can be provided that are likely to attain these purposes?

How can these educational experiences be effectively organized?

How can we determine whether these purposes are being attained? (Tyler, 1949 p.1)

According to Ross "Ralph Tyler was one of the principle exponents of managing the curriculum by setting objectives that were capable of evaluation" (Ross, 2000, p.118). Tyler says, "Evaluation becomes a process for finding out how far the learning experiences ... are producing the desired outcomes" (Tyler, 1949, p.105). The desired outcomes (or objectives) are decided on in advance of the design and delivery of the curriculum. Kelly notes that "unintended learning outcomes" (Kelly, 1989, p.81) are problematic for this model "because they do not conform to our prestated short-term goals" (Kelly, 1989, p.81).

The National Curriculum is strongly influenced by the objectives models of curriculum design. One of its stated purposes is to establish standards which "can be used to set targets for improvement, measure progress towards those targets, and monitor and compare performance between individuals, groups and schools" (QCA, 1999b, p.12). Differentiated and detailed objectives are included in schemes of work. The equally detailed Attainment Targets and associated National Curriculum Tests at ages 7, 11 and 14 are used to compile league tables of schools for the purposes of accountability; demonstrating value for money to the government and the parents and pupils, who, I suggest, are seen by governments as the consumers.

Kelly is highly critical of the objectives model of curriculum design, which he discusses under the heading "Curriculum as product and education as instrumental" (Kelly, 2004 p.56). He particularly objects to the behaviourist nature of the objectives model, because if objectives refer to measurable changes in behaviour they are thus a form of behaviour modification—a psychological method which is not favoured by all (Kelly, 2004, p.60). Because of what he sees as the model's view of humanity as passive (Kelly, 2004, p.61), he argues that it "must be recognised as fundamentally at odds with the notion of education for emancipation or empowerment" (Kelly, 2004, p.61). This observation has implications

for the way Citizenship can be taught in this type of curriculum. On similar grounds Lawton calls the objectives model "philosophically and psychologically unsound and anti-humanistic" (Lawton, 1989, p.15). The process model might be considered a more humanistic model based on psychological principles of development; although it is rarely considered for the secondary curriculum

Models based on process

What Ross calls the "process-driven curriculum" (Ross, 2000, p.135) is called "progressivism" (Lawton, 1989, p.4) by Lawton and Skilbeck (Skilbeck, 1976, p.28), and "Curriculum as Process and Education as Development" (Kelly, 2004, p.76) by Kelly. They all describe a model which places theories of child development at the centre. The emphasis of this model is upon the processes of learning rather than knowledge content or objectives to be achieved. Therefore, it matters less what the child learns than how he or she learns and that he or she develops learning skills in the process.

Some writers observe the inspiration for this model in Rousseau's *Emile* and eighteenth-century romanticism (Skilbeck, 1976, p.29; Ross, 2000, p.135). Ross observes that the two main generalisations Rousseau made about children were firstly, that they are naturally curious and secondly, that they are naturally good. According to Rousseau, children do not think in the same ways as adults and therefore they have different ways of learning. The adults' ways of learning should not be imposed on children. Their natural curiosity will help them to learn about the things in which they are interested (Ross, 2000, p.134ff). But Skilbeck makes the point that, far from the child being left to his or her own devices, Rousseau's scheme allowed for constant monitoring of the learning environment by the tutor. In fact, Skilbeck observes, there was a great deal of structure in *Émile's* learning environment (Skilbeck, 1976, p.31).

For Kelly the underlying principle of this model is of "education as development" (Kelly 2004 p.84). Kelly contrasts this with what he calls the "Combined model-'mastery learning'" (Kelly, 2004, p.70) which combines the content model with the objectives model and recommends that to achieve learning objectives "content be broken down into 'bite-size' pieces" (Kelly, 2004, p.71). This he observes "is the model employed, whether by design or accident, in the National Curriculum" (Kelly, 2004, p.71). The developmental model by contrast, sees education as the means to increase the personal autonomy of the individual. Pupils learn from experience, but at different rates. Kelly cites the work of Piaget, Vygotsky and Bruner to demonstrate that individuals pass through certain cognitive stages in their learning, in a certain order, but not necessarily at the same rate (Kelly 2004, p.86). The model's political and philosophical basis can be found in the work of John Dewey (Kelly, 2004, pp.79 & -85). Kelly is supportive of this model of education and curricula informed by it. The progressivist ideology of education has been associated with the primary school and gained acceptance following the publication of the Plowden Report in 1967 where, for example, the value of play or "messing about" (CACE, 1967, p.193) as a pedagogical approach is extolled.

Kelly's citation of the work of child development specialists (Kelly, 2004, p.86) recalls Bernstein's discussion of "invisible pedagogy" (Bernstein, 1975, p.116) which has parallels with the progressivist type of educational ideology. According to Bernstein, theories of learning are carefully selected by those practising an invisible pedagogy. Bernstein describes the resulting body of theory as "the theology of the infant school" (Bernstein, 1975, p.123). The theories adopted are those which are concerned with developmental sequences. Adherence to these theories allows the teachers to decide when a child might be ready to learn something. Such developmental sequences may be seen as biologically determined. Bernstein's critique is that these practices isolate the "child's personal biography" from its

social context (Bernstein 1975, p.122). Furthermore, in such theories, "learning is a tacit, invisible act, its progression is not facilitated by explicit public control" (Bernstein, 1975, p.122) and as with Rousseau, there is a tendency to see adult socialisers as potentially dangerous to the child's development (Bernstein, 1975, p.122). In the invisible pedagogy the curriculum is more integrated. Bernstein notes that in this pedagogy "play is work and work play" (Bernstein, 1975, p.122). But as I show later, the curriculum is increasingly focused on the concept of work as paid employment rather than play.

Progressivism has now fallen into disuse; it is presented here to show that although there are compelling alternative models for the organisation of the curriculum, other models and ideologies can become normative and widely accepted as 'common sense' or ineluctable. I suggest that the curriculum ideology which has been in the process of gaining consent since the election of the New Labour government is Reconstructionism, which proposes a better society as its main objective.

Reconstructionist curricula

As will become apparent in subsequent chapters, it is a central finding of this thesis that the 2000 New Labour version of the National Curriculum, especially the inclusion of Citizenship education, aspires to a Reconstructionist ideology and that the proposed *Futures Curriculum* is even more intent on claims for a 'better future'. In National Curriculum documents the Reconstructionist ideology is predicated on the perceived changes brought about by globalisation. This prominent curriculum ideology is therefore explored in some detail below.

The preamble to the Aims of the National Curriculum makes the somewhat banal claim that:

> Education influences and reflects the values of society, and the kind of society we
> want to be. (QCA, 1999b, p.10)

This resonates with one of the earliest influences on Reconstructionism, John Dewey, who was more specific when he wrote in *Democracy and Education*:

> We are doubtless far from realizing the potential efficacy of education as a
> constructive agency of society, from realizing that it represents not only a
> development of children and youth, but also the future society of which they will be
> the constituents. (Dewey, 1916, p.92)

Skilbeck emphasises the role of Reconstructionist educational ideologies at times of crisis or great social change. The examples he gives are of the educational planning in newly independent countries (Tanzania) and the attractions of Reconstructionist principles in the USA during the economic depression of the 1930s (Skilbeck, 1976, p.38). In the National Curriculum Aims the main economic and social crisis is presented as globalisation, with change itself as an associated crisis:

> We need to be prepared to engage … with economic, social and cultural change,
> including the continued globalisation of society. (QCA, 1999b, p.10)

For Lawton, Reconstructionism is a synthesis of the best of classical humanism and progressivism; an ideology which seeks to improve "society, and at the same time [develop] individual members of society" (Lawton, 1989, p.6); "the reconstructionist curriculum lays stress upon social values; experiences appropriate for developing citizenship and social cooperation" (Lawton, 1989, p.6). Skilbeck notes that there is a "mapping out of ideal futures, culture patterns and model social situations" (Skilbeck, 1976, p.39). The ideal futures he describes have something in common with the position of writers in the cosmopolitan perspective. For example, they include "A notion of world government and the disappearance of national wars" (Skilbeck, 1976, p.39).

Skilbeck identifies seven chief characteristics of Reconstructionism as an educational ideology. These are first, that education can be a major force for planned change in society. The second is that educational processes should be distinguished from political propaganda, commercial advertising, or mass entertainment. Third, there are aspirations to form a new kind of citizen; fourth, there is a social-core curriculum; fifth, active learning is guided but not dominated by teachers; sixth, there are high status, highly trained teachers; and seventh, there is utopian thinking, which typically neglects difficulties and intransigence (Skilbeck, 1976, pp.34-35). Skilbeck notes that "modern Reconstructionists ... grandiosely envisage the progressive social and economic amelioration, and the intellectual and spiritual advance, of society as a whole" (Skilbeck, 1976 p.37). In the National Curriculum some of Skilbeck's seven characteristics are present, but others are missing. For example the Citizenship Curriculum aims to create active citizens in contrast to a perceived political apathy amongst the young. However in a highly centralised curriculum teachers do not have a high status in terms of professional autonomy. Ostensibly the curriculum avoids political propaganda, although it is open to political and ideological manipulation. In Chapter 4 I show how the curriculum avoids difficult topics and issues of intransigence.

Chitty indicates the tensions that might occur for the ambitions and claims of Reconstructionism in practice, since "What is *not* part of the philosophy is to expect education systems in societies with sharp class divisions to act directly and immediately to transform that society in any particular direction" (Chitty, 2004, p.14).

Reconstructionism has a number of elements in common with the political position of the Third Way. Some see both ideologies as having their roots in Socialist or left-leaning politics. McKernan gives this definition:

> The social reconstructionist theory of education treats schools and teachers as major
> entities that are instrumental in directing social and cultural change. Reconstructionists

believe that schools should lead in the renewal of culture and the resolution of social problems. Reconstructionist theory has always had a more successful relationship with leftist thinkers e.g. socialists, communists, and even some liberal postmodern contemporary philosophers.

(McKernan, 2004, http://www.jceps.com/?pageID=article&articleID=34)

Partington associates Reconstructionism with neo-Marxists (Partington, 2001, p.210) and explains that "Reconstructionists want the schools to become instruments by which existing imperfect societies are replaced by something very different and far better" (Partington, 2001, p.209). Although now somewhat distanced from its socialist origins, New Labour has its roots in socialist politics and is the party of government that espoused the Third Way, which also has as a main objective the amelioration of society through reform and managerialism. The tenets of Communitarianism (Etzioni, 1995) which emphasise responsibilities as well as rights can also be seen as influential on both the Third Way political philosophy and the Reconstructionist curriculum ideology. This articulation is discussed in the context of the political in the curriculum in Chapter 6.

Skilbeck concludes his discussion of Reconstructionism by warning of this model's potential to be used for indoctrination. There is a tension between the model's emphasis on educating pupils to think critically for themselves and the need to construct or promote a certain type of society by means of education (Skilbeck, 1976, p.45). This might be seen as the danger of teleological educational projects which have a particular future model of society as an objective: a population which has learnt to think critically and autonomously poses a risk to such objectives. I show later that practitioners in the English education system claim to value controversy to encourage skills of critical thinking in students, but that at the same time there are limits on what those controversies should be.

The QCA describes its mission as being "committed to building a world-class education and training framework that meets the needs of individuals, business and society" (http://www.qca.org.uk/). This implies a Reconstructionist ideology in which education is used to manage outcomes in society. Reconstructionism will be revisited in Chapter 6 which examines the ideologies involved in the inclusion of globalisation in the curriculum.

Conclusion

This review of the curriculum models and ideologies indicates that the basis of a National Curriculum is not a matter of course. Executive policy decisions are implied, although these may be lost in time until they are taken for granted, like the continuing influence of the 1904 Secondary School Regulations. The choice to apply a certain model or ideology to the curriculum is a political choice and has, as Bernstein demonstrates, implications for what can be taught, how it is taught and what counts as valid knowledge. In the case of Citizenship education this is especially pertinent. I therefore include below a brief descriptive outline establishing the ideological parameters of the National Curriculum which is the object of the empirical research of this thesis. This is extended later in Chapter 6 which uses critical research to uncover the ideologies at work in the curriculum

The Model and ideology of the National Curriculum

The National Curriculum under study in this thesis is that for England. Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland make their own curriculum arrangements. The National Curriculum is produced by the QCA for DfES.

The main official document of the National Curriculum is the Handbook for Secondary Teachers (HST) which has a number of formats for use in schools. Four copies of a ring-bound manual are sent to each secondary school. This manual contains the *Values, Aims*

and Purposes of the National Curriculum, and the *Programmes of Study* for each of the twelve subjects that are compulsory for students between 12 and 14 years at Key Stage 3. These comprise the three core subjects of English, Maths, and Science, argued for by Thatcher, followed by the foundation subjects: Design and Technology, Information and Communication Technology, History, Geography, Modern Foreign Languages, Art and Design, Music, and Physical Education, these eight required by Baker, and Citizenship added by Blunkett. This thesis focuses on Key Stage 3 because this is the last stage at which Geography is compulsory. Citizenship continues to be required into (the GCSE) Key Stage 4 of the curriculum, along with the core subjects, and RE and PE. At Key Stage 4 the rest of the curriculum loosens allowing for occupational and academic progression by means of different curriculum 'pathways'.

All subject teachers receive a copy of the programme of study for their subject. That is, the section of the Handbook which covers matters such as the importance of the subject, the knowledge, skills and understanding required and the breadth of study. Individual subject teachers do not receive a copy of the whole National Curriculum and this situation contributes towards the strong framing of individual subjects and militates against integration.

The National Curriculum is also available as a searchable website with links to schemes of work for each subject. In addition the QCA's web pages host discussion forums and consultations on the curriculum in general and for different subjects, such as the consultation undertaken for the *Futures Curriculum*.

Content and cross-curricular themes

The National Curriculum is a content-driven, objectives-based curriculum in which the subjects are discrete and regularly validated through summative assessments. This induces

tensions for some of the subjects or themes under analysis, for example Citizenship, and *The Global Dimension*, which are both designed to be studied across the curriculum. Chitty notes the attempt by the NCC to introduce cross-curricular themes in 1990,

> to compensate for some of the shallow thinking underpinning the Thatcher government's legislative proposals by identifying five cross-curricular themes that ought to appear in a curriculum claiming to be broad and balanced and one of these was education for citizenship, the other four being economic and industrial understanding, careers education and guidance, health education, and environmental education. (Chitty, 2004, p.182)

These themes have now fallen into disuse although there is still some indication in the National Curriculum of the necessity for promoting "Learning across the National Curriculum" (QCA 1999b, p.21). This learning focuses on skills such as thinking, communication and problem solving, as well as promoting pupils' spiritual, moral, social and cultural development (QCA, 1999b, p.21). Finally, Education for Sustainable Development appears to be added as an afterthought (QCA, 1999b, p.25). The Key Stage 3 Review builds on the concept of *The Global Dimension* by adding three more 'dimensions'. In Chapter 4 I demonstrate that *The Global Dimension* is, to all intents and purposes, a cross-curricular theme and is likely to suffer similar marginalisation in a content-based curriculum. In the National Curriculum where boundaries and framing of separate subjects are strong and validated by a vast programme of assessment, the prospect is poor for cross-curricular themes, or whole school 'dimensions', which are not assessed, and which are supposed to 'permeate' a singularly non-porous structure.

Ideology

The ideology of the National Curriculum is largely Reconstructionist or ameliorative, that is, it is charged with effecting social change and improvement. In the Citizenship Curriculum particularly, this draws on Communitarian principles in which responsibilities

are as important as rights (Etzioni, 1995). Paradoxically, it is partly also a curriculum which is based upon the ideology which Skilbeck calls Classical Humanism (Skilbeck, 1976, p.24). A National Curriculum which is intended to be delivered across all abilities cannot fulfil the condition of this ideology that it is used for the purpose of educating an elite group. However, official documents denote that the selection from knowledge contained within the curriculum is in some way an essential canon. The Foreword states that the curriculum needs to be "robust enough to define and defend the core of knowledge and cultural experience which is the entitlement of every pupil" (QCA, 1999b, p.3). In fact there is no reason to take as given that the knowledge content of the National Curriculum forms such a core. What is included in a curriculum is a matter of social and political selection and this would include the selection of the global topics that are the focus of this thesis. The political authors of the original National Curriculum had a view of a cultural canon of knowledge. The notion of a curriculum based on twelve 'canonical' subjects is a legacy from the 1904 Secondary School Regulations, which in their turn had been influenced by what was taught at the time in Public Schools. This view of an apparent canon of knowledge persists in the present version of the curriculum, although there are other ways of organising a curriculum.

Curriculum Conclusions

There is a tendency to accept certain models and ideologies as normative and to neglect other possibilities. For example, the National Curriculum was planned as a content-based curriculum divided into separate subjects. Despite several changes and consultation this basic model has not been altered. Wolf observes that "old style "progressivism" has vanished" (Wolf, 2004, p.335) and Alexander describes the current (primary) model as "an updated version of the Victorian elementary school curriculum" (Alexander, 2005, p.36).

The National Curriculum evolved as an uneasy composite of models and educational ideologies. As established above, it was originally conceived of in the 1980s as a content-driven, classical humanist curriculum, consisting of ten main subjects, several of which focused on British heritage. The National Curriculum's continued emphasis on attainment targets and National Curriculum Tests demonstrates that it is also predicated on an objectives model. This is based in a view of education as having an economic value and a contribution to make to the economic success of the nation. The current National Curriculum is also strongly Reconstructionist in that it is called upon to help young people create a better society and this occurs especially in the Citizenship curriculum. There is an increasing attention on 'futures', which seems to indicate a stronger push towards Reconstructionism, and this trajectory is analysed in depth in Chapter 6.

Literature review conclusions

Much of the literature reviewed in this Chapter has been concerned with contest and debate. There are many perspectives on globalisation and numerous ways of creating a curriculum. What the curriculum does, could, or should say about globalisation appears contingent and cannot be taken for granted. The methodology of this thesis reflects this contingency and contestation and is accordingly interpretivist in its approach to what the curriculum says about globalisation.

Perspectives and perceptions of globalisation are often expressed in tendentious terms and which of them might be selected for inclusion in the curriculum brings a number of interests and ideologies into play. Explicit ideas about globalisation appear in the curriculum from the 2000 version, although I show in Chapter 5 that ideas about the global in the context of both civics and Geography education are not new. The importance of the curriculum as both a social structure and an ideological tool has been established in this

review, providing a conceptual foundation with which to answer research question two: *why is it considered necessary for young people to learn about globalisation?*

Much writing on globalisation is used as a platform from which to promote or advocate particular perspectives of globalisation. Writers can hold perceptions which are sometimes strongly in favour, sometimes firmly against, and sometimes promoting a particular political or economic ideology at the same time. The inclusion of a subject with these characteristics appears to be in tension with a deeply held abhorrence of 'indoctrination' in the English education system which dates back to the early twentieth- century when the effects of Stalinism and Fascism on education systems were observed. However, the National Curriculum was designed in part to permit central control over individual schools and authorities. In the 1970s and 1980s it was a perception on the right of British politics that certain schools, for example, Hackney Downs (see Scruton 1985, p.35) had engaged in overt, probably Marxist, political indoctrination of their students, and that teachers within the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) were "dominated by the Communist Party" and "disproportionately radical"(Davis, 2002, p.9). Margaret Thatcher expressed this suspicion when she introduced the National Curriculum to the Conservative Party at its 1987 conference thus:

> In the inner cities—where youngsters must have a decent education if they are to have a better future—that opportunity is all too often snatched from them by hard left education authorities and extremist teachers. And children who need to be able to count and multiply are learning anti-racist mathematics—whatever that may be. Children who need to be able to express themselves in clear English are being taught political slogans. Children who need to be taught to respect traditional moral values are being taught that they have an inalienable right to be gay. (Thatcher, 1987)

The right-wing philosopher Scruton (1985) had specific concerns about World Studies and Peace Studies as vehicles for indoctrination, subjects that might be seen as precursors of global topics. Skilbeck observes that "The curriculum is quite naturally perceived by various

pressure-groups and special interests in society as an appropriate arena in which to exercise influence. This influence will permeate the selection of content and the teaching and learning process" (Skilbeck, 1976, p.20). It is a central concern of this research to uncover the articulation of pressure groups and special interests with a centralised curriculum. At the same time, it seems likely that a centrally determined curriculum could be used as a vehicle to promote the government's perspective on globalisation.

This review sought to identify some the ways in which ideas both about globalisation and about the curriculum could come to seem ineluctable, although both are the product of governmental and institutional intervention in policy making. Thus the operation of interests and ideologies in the National Curriculum observed in the literature review implies a methodology informed by critical theory, in order to uncover the ways in which an attempt is made to legitimate globalisation in the National Curriculum..

Chapter 3 Methodologies: Interpretations, interests and ideologies

> We all interpret, every day—we must interpret, not only language, but a whole environment in which *this* means *that*—"little green man" means cross the street, "little red man" means don't—and if we didn't interpret we'd all be dead (Margaret Atwood, 2002, p.111)

This thesis does not set out to give a definitive account of globalisation or to determine the accuracy of any of the many contested positions. Neither is there any attempt to quantify the content of the curriculum as it relates to globalisation. Instead I employ an interpretivist methodology to analyse the different ways in which the topic of globalisation is selected to appear in the curriculum and to assess what interests and ideologies are represented by that selection.

The chapter gives a theoretical; conceptual, and methodological account of research in answer to the two main research questions:

What does the curriculum say about globalisation?

Why is it considered necessary for young people to learn about globalisation?

I discuss the associated issues of epistemology and ontology; the methods of enquiry employed, and the methods of analysis.

Research question 1: What does the curriculum say about globalisation?

This question seeks to discover what is said about globalisation through the Geography and Citizenship Curricula at Key Stage 3 of the National Curriculum for England because curriculum knowledge is knowledge that is valued highly enough to be passed on to all young people. The centralised nature of the curriculum implies that decisions about what knowledge is worthwhile in that sense are made with government support at least. They

therefore reflect political ideologies about both the knowledge selected and the purposes of the curriculum. However, what is said in the curriculum about globalisation is complicated by the lack of agreement on what globalisation means and the sometimes opinionated nature of the debate. The conceptual framework is informed by the six perspectives on globalisation identified from the literature.

To recapitulate these were: *neo-liberals* who take a perspective based on neo-liberal economic principles: they perceive globalisation based on economic liberalisation and free-trade as being of universal benefit. *Anti-globalisationists* take a perspective which is also based on economics, but which perceives globalisation as part of an exploitative trajectory of capitalism and detrimental to the poor and workers. *Sceptics* perceive globalisation as nothing new but simply a variation of a longstanding historical process. *Transformationalists* have a perspective on globalisation which sees it as enmeshed in power relations and affecting the political, social and cultural as well as the economic. In this perspective actors are as important as structures and complex networks between structure and agency are emphasised. *Cosmopolitans* have a perspective which espouses a universal system of human rights, institutional reform, and a belief in social democracy as a means of bringing peace and political harmony to the world as a whole. Finally, proponents of the *Third Way* take a pragmatic political view of globalisation which is preferred by centre-left governments. This perspective acknowledges the force of globalisation as a phenomenon, and to some extent reifies it. This perspective stresses the need to manage and govern globalisation to optimal effect and to minimise its perceived deleterious effects.

The six perspectives are not intended to be absolute or discrete. There are variations and overlaps in perceptions and there may be other perspectives. This indicates a conceptual framework to the research which is based on a particular epistemology and ontology.

Ontology and epistemology

Ontology

Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000, p.3) note that

> Ontological ... assumptions ... concern the very nature or essence of the social phenomena being investigated.

The social phenomenon investigated here is globalisation in the curriculum. The idea of ontology in social research derives from the realist/nominalist debate in metaphysical philosophy. Realists view social reality as having an objectively verifiable independent existence. For nominalists, social reality is a product of thought processes (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000, p.4). This research does not posit globalisation as a social reality which has a single concrete definition. The reading of globalisation literature points instead towards a nominalist view of the social reality of globalisation. That is, it appears to be open to a multiplicity of perspectives and perceptions.

Similarly, in the context of the curriculum, the literature shows that there is no fixed way to organise a curriculum. Despite bureaucratic attempts to make definitive and objective statements about the curriculum and about education, through pupil testing and school inspection, this is not the only way to organise a curriculum and there is a debate about the 'best' way to do so. The way the curriculum is organised now, has been organised in the past and may be organised in the future, is a product of multiple understandings and numerous negotiations. The end result is contingent rather than absolute.

What is said in the curriculum about globalisation is therefore the result of the negotiation of interpretations and meanings. The research in answer to question one aims to explore the particular understandings about globalisation which are articulated in the social context

of the curriculum. The nature of this exploration is bounded by this ontological position which encompasses the epistemological position taken.

Epistemology

Cohen, Manion and Morrison claim that "ontological assumptions give rise to epistemological assumptions" (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000, p.3.) Epistemology is the branch of metaphysical philosophy which deals with the understanding of knowledge. In the context of social research, the epistemological position taken is supposed to have implications for the way in which the whole research is conducted, including the collection and analysis of data. Against the background of nominalist ontology, the epistemology of this research tends towards the subjectivist and interpretivist. Such an epistemology implies a view of "knowledge as personal, subjective and unique" (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000, p.6). This contrasts with a positivist or rationalist epistemology which sets out to obtain proof for externally verifiable, objective social realities which are amenable to large-scale or quantitative methods of enquiry, and parallel the research paradigms of the natural sciences. These two positions on epistemology are on a continuum; this research about globalisation in the curriculum also examines shared understandings beyond the personal and unique. Brown and Dowling are probably more realistic when they say:

> We have chosen not to present the choice of a particular way of collecting data as indicating a strong affiliation to a specific epistemological position. In our view these associations are commonly post-hoc and are of limited help in either the design or the interrogation of the research. (Brown and Dowling, 1998, p.59)

Because this thesis does not seek to define globalisation as an objective phenomenon whose nature can be agreed upon by all observers (See Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000, p.29) it needs to explain knowledge about globalisation as a series of subjective *interpretations*. This implies an interpretive methodological paradigm. In their discussion of interpretive paradigms Cohen, Manion and Morrison observe that "Meanings rather than

phenomena take on significance in this paradigm" (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000, p.29).

Research rationale

This research question asks which of the numerous perspectives and perceptions about globalisation are selected for inclusion or privileged, marginalised or silenced in the Key Stage 3 curriculum. The selection of knowledge about globalisation included in a curriculum could be mediated by the meanings about globalisation that are understood by curriculum developers. These developers will bring to bear their own understanding of the topic as well as their interpretations of the design of the curriculum. What the curriculum says about globalisation is further mediated by the understandings which teachers have about the topic.

The research uses globalisation as an example of a controversial issue in the terms of the Crick report; one "about which there is no fixed or universally held point of view" (Crick 1998, p.56). McLaughlin draws attention to the importance in education of controversies which are not based in "ignorance, misunderstanding, prejudice or ill will" but which "are grounded in deeper and non-trivial disagreement about matters of (say) an epistemological or ethical kind" (McLaughlin, 2003, p.150). Carr and Hartnett draw on the work of the philosopher Gallie (see Gallie, 1964 p.157) to interpret citizenship as an 'essentially contested concept',

> in the sense that the criteria governing its proper use are constantly challenged and
> disputed; such disputes are 'essential' in the sense that arguments about these criteria
> turn on fundamental political issues for which a final rational solution is not available.
> (Carr and Hartnett, 1996, p.66)

The concept of globalisation also meets their criteria of contestation and it is additionally controversial, firstly, because of the way it is often used as a political platform, and

secondly, because it is referred to by governments to justify policy decisions, which themselves may be controversial. A partial understanding of globalisation, acquired by students through exposure to one or another reductionist perspective on globalisation might be considered indoctrination. On the other hand a more complex political understanding of globalisation and the ways in which it affects both structure and agency might raise awareness and lead to questioning by students. This makes globalisation a useful tool to study an important tension for governments: the extent to which they may wish to encourage participation through Citizenship education, but at the same time, reduce the risks of direct challenge. Research question two addresses the political problematic about the involvement of governments and Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs) in the curriculum about globalisation. Research question one prepares the ground for this conceptual investigation by empirically examining the content of National Curriculum Geography and Citizenship about globalisation.

Methods of enquiry

This part of the research works with the six perspectives on globalisation arrived at in the literature review to compare what the curriculum says about globalisation with what it could say and to note what it does not say. The typology designed in the literature review provides a conceptual framework for an examination of three main elements in curriculum content. These are: documents, curriculum developers' intentions and teachers' interpretations.

Sampling

In answer to the question 'What does the Curriculum say about globalisation?' two main enquiry techniques were employed. These were documentary analysis and interview. The first part of the investigation into perspectives of globalisation in National Curriculum Key Stage 3

Geography and Citizenship consisted of an examination of as many of the curriculum and teaching materials as possible on the topic. Most of the materials sampled were selected from the many that are available to teachers at little or no cost. These include schemes of work produced in connection with the National Curriculum by the QCA, which are available through the QCA's website. Official guidance circulars to schools, in particular those on the *Global Dimension* were analysed. Additionally a large number of materials are produced by NGOs, some of which are free and others are available for a small cost. These organisations all have web pages directed at schools on their sites. These materials were collected from 2002 when Citizenship was introduced and collecting stopped in early 2006 when data analysis commenced.

A small pilot study was carried out on a limited number of textbooks. An initial finding of this exploratory study was that globalisation and global issues seemed to be portrayed as closely linked with development education. This was a finding which confirmed that development agencies and development educationalists seemed to drive the curricular agenda in terms of globalisation. Given the small and focused scale of a PhD thesis, it was decided to elaborate on the reasons why that might be, thus a detailed examination of materials produced by development agencies and development education bodies was undertaken. The scope for further research on Citizenship textbooks is indicated in the conclusion.

Some relevant newspaper articles were analysed along with the other documents, especially where these gave access to student voice. This aspect enhances research with students, which featured a small-scale participant observation with a selected global citizenship project.

The second part of the analysis involved semi-structured interviews with individuals at twelve organisations involved in creating documents or texts about globalisation for use in schools (a typical interview schedule is shown at appendix A). These include the subject advisers at the QCA for each of Geography and Citizenship, the Chair of the Association of Citizenship Teachers (ACT), a curriculum specialist from the Geography Association (GA), the Director of the Development Education Association (DEA), the coordinator of a large Development Education Centre, a Citizenship consultant from DfES, a corporate responsibility consultant, an economist with an investment bank, and education specialists from Action Aid, CAFOD and Oxfam. Attempts were made to contact Professor Sir Bernard Crick for interview, but no reply was forthcoming. The Crick Report (1998) which forms the foundation of the Citizenship Curriculum and other of his writings are analysed instead. In particular, Crick's intentions for the inclusion of the global in the citizenship curriculum are a source of disagreement in the field of Citizenship education. The nature of this controversy is conveyed in Chapter 5 by drawing on Crick's article in the *Development Education Journal* (Crick, 2004) and replies to him in a subsequent edition (Allen, 2004). Three of my respondents had been involved in this debate and gave me their views in interview.

For the third element of the investigation, some teachers were interviewed using a similar semi-structured interview to that used with curriculum developers (a typical interview schedule is shown at Appendix B). Teachers were sampled purposively—that is, they were selected because they were Geography and/or Citizenship teachers who had an interest in teaching about globalisation and global issues. They were found by the following means: canvassing teachers by questionnaire at all maintained secondary schools in one London Borough; opportunistic approaches to schools that had a reputation for interest in these issues or which indicated as much from their websites, and information from curriculum

developers. I also received helpful leads from each of the course administrators of the MA in Citizenship Education, and the MA in Geography Education at the Institute of Education. The search for interested teachers resulted in a sample of thirteen teachers and teaching assistants from a range of eight schools. These were: one inner city comprehensive co-educational school, a girls' inner city comprehensive, two suburban co-educational comprehensive schools, a school for students with Special Educational Needs or social, emotional and behavioural difficulties (SEBD), a semi-rural comprehensive school with an internationalist ethos, a girls' public day school and a comprehensive in the north of England with 'beacon' status.

Ethical considerations

The nature and purpose of the research was explained in detail when inviting participants to take part in an interview. Oral consent was given by all those who took part. No attempt was made to pursue those who did not wish to take part in an interview. When agreement was obtained, respondents were provided with the outline interview schedule, and in some cases it was a condition of their consent to interview that they could see the questions first. All interviewees were asked if they objected to the interview being digitally recorded. Only one respondent felt nervous of this idea, so notes were taken in that interview instead. The anonymity of respondents is a difficult problem; in the case of curriculum developers much of the meaning of their responses is related to their professional standing. Respondents were however told that their anonymity would be maintained as far as possible, although they might still be recognisable to others working in the field. All the teachers are anonymous and students are not quoted directly.

It would be a logical extension of this research to interview students to find out what understandings they take from the curriculum as well as what they already understand about globalisation. In the case of this research, students were not formally interviewed.

Time constraints did not allow for this, especially as I understand that the Criminal Records Bureau (CRB) requires enhanced disclosure for each discrete task with children, which may take up to six weeks to obtain. I therefore obtained a CRB certificate for just one activity which was to work as a voluntary facilitator with some very keen Year 9 and 10 students (that is, older Key Stage 3, and Key stage 4 students, aged about 14 and 15 years) on a global citizenship project called *J8*. Except in the case of the *J8* project weekend there was no work with children. The students knew that I was conducting this research and were happy for me to observe and make notes on their work on the project. That research was carried out as a small-scale participant observation. All teachers, students, and experts taking part on that weekend were aware of my research and that I might use content from the work or conversations towards my thesis. I received no pay for this work, although my accommodation, board and travel were provided, and carbon offset in keeping with the project's theme of climate change. An *Oxfam Unwrapped* gift of school dinners for African children was donated on my behalf by the organisers afterwards, which reflects the other project theme of Africa and the importance of development issues in this project (which, incidentally had nothing to do with Oxfam).

Documentary analysis

McCulloch says that

> To understand documents is to read between the lines of our material world. We need to comprehend the words themselves to follow the plot, the basic storyline. But we need to get between the lines, to analyse their meaning and their deeper purpose. (McCulloch, 2004, p.1)

This research sets out to "read between the lines" of documents associated with globalisation in the curriculum, to find out not only the words themselves, but also to uncover patterns; shared meanings, and assumptions, as well as inconsistencies and discontinuities that lie within the "deeper purpose" of these documents. Having established

that there are interacting discourses (about the curriculum and about globalisation) that articulate to create and possibly legitimate knowledge about globalisation in the curriculum, the research sets out to discover how these discourses are produced through the documents.

Fairclough, (2003, p.10) says that "there are three analytically separable elements in processes of meaning-making: the production of the text, the text itself, and the reception of the text....it seems clear that meanings are made through the interplay between them." For Prior "Fields or networks of action...engage and involve creators (agents, writers, publishers, publicists and so on), users (readers and receivers) and settings" (Prior, 2003, p.2). This confirms the use of a three part method of enquiry to evaluate the situated content of curriculum materials.

In the case of curriculum materials the producers are those who commission, publish or produce the material documents (including websites and DVDs) to be used in schools. These include the government through the QCA, DfES, DfID, as well as the Development Education Association (largely funded by the government, but through DfID rather than DfES), subject associations, charities, and relief agencies. Individual and corporate authors contribute to the production of documents. The users are those who use them in school: teachers, students and their associates. 'Setting' in the case of this research implies the National Curriculum including its model and ideology. One of the questions asked of both curriculum designers and teachers was about whether they felt the National Curriculum helped or hindered in their teaching about global issues because, as Davies observes, some of the ideas associated with global citizenship "may not sit easily with current pedagogical philosophies tied to content knowledge and passing of examinations" (Davies, 2006, p.7). The setting for curriculum materials implies the setting of their creation, in other words, the perception of the National Curriculum that informs their creators. Different

perceptions of the National Curriculum may affect the text in its production and in its use. Globalisation can also be interpreted as a "field of action" (Prior, 2003, p.2). What is being investigated in terms of curriculum documents *about* globalisation constitutes a contribution to a larger "field of action" which is the discourse of globalisation itself. In this thesis I suggest that knowledge about globalisation is legitimated by being included in the school curriculum and this contributes to a normative understanding of what globalisation is.

Prior argues that "each and every document stands in a dual relationship to the field of action. First, it enters the field as a receptacle (of instructions, commands, wishes, reports etc.). Secondly, it enters the field as an agent in its own right. And as an agent a document is open to manipulation by others" (Prior, 2003, p.3). Curriculum materials are open to manipulation by teachers and students and this is the focus of the third element of the research with some teachers.

A method with a lengthy tradition in the analysis of documents of mass communication is content analysis. Content analysis is a method which quantifies indicative themes or lexical items in the text and makes qualitative inferences from that quantification. This method was investigated in detail and found to be not suited to the purposes of this analysis, because of difficulties in dealing with ambiguities inherent in texts. Scott points out that "The approach tends to be atomistic, decomposing the text into its individual elements, rather than concerning itself with the text as a whole" (Scott, 1990, p.147).

The interrogation of documents in their social context formed one strand of the three-part method of enquiry in answer to research question one. The other two strands are fulfilled through interviewing at one level with the developers of the documents and at another with the users and interpreters of the documents. The next section details the conduct of interviews with curriculum developers and teachers.

Cohen, Manion and Morrison say of interviews that

> the interchange of views between two or more people on a topic of mutual interest,
> sees the centrality of human interaction for knowledge production, and emphasises
> the social situatedness of research data. (2000, p.267)

This makes interviewing a useful method of inquiry for generating data about social knowledge and understandings. This type of data could not be captured with questionnaires for example, which lend themselves to larger-scale survey-based enquiries and may generate data that can be analysed quantitatively. For Brown and Dowling,

> The advantages of the use of interviews to a large extent mirror the limitations of
> questionnaires ... interviews enable the researcher to explore complex issues in detail.
> (Brown and Dowling, 1998, p.72)

This research was closely concerned with interpretations and how these were constructed. This led to the use of semi-structured interviews to allow respondents freedom to respond at length and in depth about their interpretations. A schedule of questions was used in the interview for guidance, but when respondents gave especially interesting replies to the initial questions these were probed, as Brown and Dowling observe, "the use of probes is a crucial strategy in many kinds of interview" (Brown and Dowling, 1998, p.62). For example, one respondent was asked to say more about his views on controversial global issues:

> *I wanted to ask you about the challenges, particularly with a topic like globalisation*
> *which might be considered politically controversial. I mean you've talked about fox*
> *hunting and abortion, so you're quite easy with this...*

Some interviews deviated from this model. One 'interview' was conducted by email and the data collected was stilted and ultimately not very informative, confirming Cohen, Manion and Morrison's indication that interview data arises from a view of research knowledge as

"generated between humans, often through conversations"(Cohen et al, 2000, p.267). Brown and Dowling also describe "the unstructured interview ... as ... closely resembling a conversation" (Brown and Dowling, 1998, p.73). But an interview is not like other conversations, and this has to be borne in mind both during the process and during the analysis. Respondents can have unpredictable responses to the interview setting. They may sometimes say what they think is required or interpret the process in a way which is unintended. For example, some interviewees became more interested in finding out what I thought about the topic. An early interview was discarded because the respondent treated the interview like an inspection or a job interview, and extraordinarily showed me everything she knew about Japan, including her collection of kimonos. Although this was the longest interview, because I did not retain control over the structure, most of the data yielded was inapplicable to the research. Another interviewee wanted to talk about her critically ill child and I was obliged to balance this part of her talk with the data collection, returning to the situation of the baby informally, after the data collection was completed. This demonstrates the difference between an interview to gather research data and other forms of social interaction involving talk. Talk between two people can be conducted for a huge number of purposes, such as friendship, courtship, teaching, counselling, or job interviewing, but none of these would have resulted in a purposive collection of data specific to research questions. So although I was fairly unstructured in my approach to the interview process, in order to capture as much relevant data as possible, I necessarily set boundaries around the talk, and I also undoubtedly led respondents to consider aspects of the topic that may not have occurred to them without my intervention.

After a few initial interviews, the original schedule was amended in order to investigate aspects of the topic more deeply. For example, where respondents were reluctant to give their definition of globalisation it was useful to ask them what they would ideally like young

people to learn about globalisation. This also proved to be a valuable question to check their original definition of globalisation. As that was the first question asked, respondents sometimes gave a stock 'textbook'-like answer, which they were often able to expand on once they had talked and thought about the topic some more. As the interviewing process progressed it became apparent that teachers and curriculum developers regularly made strong links between development education and education about globalisation. I therefore added questions to enquire specifically into this perception with subsequent respondents.

All the interviews were recorded digitally and transcribed verbatim as soon as possible after the collection. The transcription data were then analysed as documents or texts in the same way as curriculum materials and using the same coding processes described below.

Methods of analysis

Qualitative analysis

Miles and Huberman (1994) describe the central problem of qualitative analysis as "what will get us knowledge that we and others can rely on?" (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p.1). They recommend the use of "explicit systematic methods ... to draw conclusions and to test them carefully" (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p.2). The results of such analysis should be "credible, dependable and replicable" (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p.2). They warn against a belief "that analysis is an intuitive, nearly incommunicable act" (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p.309) because then "we do not really see how the researcher got from 3600 pages of field notes to the final conclusions" (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p.2). Thus " to be taken seriously you should be explicit about what is being done each step of the way" (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p.309) This thesis therefore employs a form of qualitative analysis drawn from Miles and Huberman's source book, using coding of data and aided by the qualitative data analysis software NVivo. The research was also analysed

inductively, in that the data themselves revealed patterns, concepts and categories, which led to the development of theory. This method made available a total of one hundred and twenty coding 'nodes' within NVivo's analytical data base. These patterns, concepts and categories form the basis to the coding used in this research.

Coding

Coding is a method of categorising data according to a conceptual framework. Bazely and Richards, describing the use of NVivo in the coding process, say "Selecting text for coding [is an] interpretive analytic [process] in which thinking about the data is extended beyond the descriptive to a more abstract level" (Bazely and Richards, 2000, p.53).

Miles and Huberman recommend that coding of qualitative data is made as soon after it is collected as possible (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p.65). This is to allow for amendments to the process of collecting data and to avoid the pressures of tedium in coding large quantities of data after its collection. In the case of this research, time constraints during the data collection period meant that this was not possible. The talk data, were however, transcribed immediately after their collection wherever possible, and a loose coding framework was held in mind throughout the data collection process.

Miles and Huberman say

> Coding is analysis. To review a set of field notes, transcribed or synthesised and to dissect them meaningfully, while keeping the relations of the parts intact, is the stuff of analysis. This part of the analysis involves how you differentiate and combine the data you have retrieved and the reflections you make about the data. (Miles and Huberman 1994, p.56)

In any case "the process of coding must remain open to discovery whether researchers take an inductive or deductive approach to establishing a set of codes" (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p.69).

The "explicit systematic methods" (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p.2) used in this thesis are related to the research questions and conceptual framework. Miles and Huberman describe "conceptual frameworks and research questions as the best defense against [data] overload" (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p.55). They observe that "the initial coding scheme is usually influenced by the research questions, but it develops and iterates steadily as further coding is carried out" (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p.307). They therefore recommend commencing with a "start list of codes" (Miles and Huberman, 1994 p.58). This could be a list that "comes from the conceptual framework, list of research questions, hypotheses, problem areas, and/ or key variables that the researcher brings to the study" (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p.58). Deciding codes in advance of the analysis is a deductive method. In the case of the present research, some of the categorical codes were available from the start of the research. These were derived from the literature review and the initial research design. These included six perspectives on globalisation that related to the interpretivist nature of the research. A seventh perspective started to emerge empirically from the documentary data, in which globalisation was associated with international development in curriculum materials; this was added to the coding process at an early stage as it merited much more detailed exploration. Data were also coded inductively, in that codes were derived from the data themselves. At times the data were coded *in vivo* from issues raised directly by respondents. At other points the codes are induced from salient sections of the data, especially where these were noted to be part of a forming pattern, although views which were at odds with the general response were coded as well. Some of the deductively generated category codes, arising from the conceptualisation of the broader academic literature about globalisation were seen to be withering, whereas others flourished and yet others arose inductively which I had not foreseen originally. The analysis was carried out in accordance with Miles and Huberman's advice to work "through iterative cycles of induction and deduction" and "being ready to redefine or discard codes when they look

inapplicable, overbuilt, empirically ill-fitting or overly abstract" (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p.65).

Computer-aided qualitative research

Computer software to aid coding is recommended for a number of reasons. Firstly it makes the administrative tasks of data management much simpler. Fisher observes that

> Qualitative data analysis is a highly technical process, involving complex methods of storing and analysing data, of retrieving the relevant bits and threading them together in a coherent account ... the sensitivity of the researcher to perceive meaning is dependent on many factors, but one of them is the thoroughness of the clerical tasks. (Fisher, 1997, p.7)

Computer-aided qualitative analysis not only assists with clerical tasks, but the process of coding data is also aided by the systematic approach encouraged by the software. In addition, codes can be linked where theoretically appropriate and relationships can be indicated and explored. Similarly coded texts can readily be extracted from the mass of the data for comparison. Appendix C illustrates how, using NVivo, I moved from a deductive category—anti-globalisation—to inductive codes derived from the data, for example, anti-globalisation/anti-poverty, and shows a 'snapshot' of some data that were coded as anti-globalisation. It is possible from this example to discern the development perspective emerging.

Research question one conclusions

The process of iteration, that is, moving back and forth between the data, the research question and the conceptual framework of the research, was intended to ensure that the analysis was sensitive to the need to adapt the research to new findings while the discussion remained rooted in the empirical data. The methods of enquiry and methodology for the research in answer to question two were conceptually based and informed by critical theory

to uncover what interest and ideologies are involved in the inclusion of a political subject such as globalisation in the curriculum.

Question one of the thesis explores what is said (and what is not said or perhaps cannot be said) about globalisation in the curriculum. Question two seeks to uncover in what interests knowledge about globalisation is included in the curriculum. Findings in answer to question one seem at times to be contradictory and these contradictions are explored in greater depth in answer to question two, as they are indicative of the way in which hegemony is negotiated through the curriculum. This raises questions about how globalisation and the global dimension have been rendered acceptable in the curriculum. Only twenty years ago there was great suspicion about forerunner subjects such as World Studies and Peace Studies, because they were though to be Marxist (Scruton, 1985). Kenneth Baker strengthened the position of Geography and History in the 1988 National Curriculum to ensure that such subjects would be hard to include. Scruton accused development agencies of the "new radical impulse" of "third worldism" (Scruton, 1985, p.9) for their input into the curriculum in the late 1970s and early 1980s. It would seem to be the inclusion of Citizenship together with a new discourse about globalisation that has encouraged development agencies to return to the curriculum. In the 2000 version of the National Curriculum no suspicions about Marxism seem to have been aroused and in fact there has been encouragement for NGOs' input, which is analysed in Chapters 5 and 6. Globalisation is a relatively new topic in the curriculum. This early stage of its selection and inclusion provides an opportunity to examine how and why knowledge comes to be legitimated in the curriculum as the legitimation occurs.

Research question 2: Why is it considered necessary for young people to learn about globalisation?

Critical educational research

The curriculum is a social structure and as such requires a sociological methodology to investigate the reasons for the inclusion of globalisation. Knowledge about global issues is dealt with in the curriculum as if it were a new topic and one which students now need to learn about. The research aims to look behind this curriculum context to uncover some of the interests and ideologies implicated in the curriculum and education policies. Therefore in answer to research question two, a methodology based on critical theory is used to discover the interests involved in the inclusion of globalisation in the curriculum. Cohen and Mannion lay out the "substantive agenda" of critical educational research thus:

> The social construction of knowledge and curricula, who defines worthwhile knowledge, what ideological interests this serves, and how this reproduces inequality in society; how power is produced and reproduced through education; whose interests are served by education and how legitimate these are. (Cohen, Mannion and Morrison, 2000, p.28)

Three concepts are important in critical theory for revealing the interests involved in education policy decisions. These are ideology (Harris, 1979; Kelly 2004), hegemony, (Apple 2004; Gramsci, 1971) and discourse (Hall, 1992). Brookfield's three "learning tasks of critical theory": (Brookfield, 2005, p.39) "challenging ideology" (Brookfield, 2005, p.40), "contesting hegemony" (Brookfield, 2005, p.43) and "unmasking power" (Brookfield, 2005, p.46) are linked to the concepts of ideology, hegemony and discourse respectively and establish critical theory's role in uncovering that which otherwise may be taken for granted. The selection of knowledge for the curriculum is a preoccupation for critical educational theory and Habermas' work on *Knowledge and Human Interests* (1978) is used by Held to illustrate a critical theory approach to knowledge. Held suggests that for Habermas

experience and knowledge are "organised in terms of *a priori* interests" (Held, 1980, p.255). For Habermas, objectivity of knowledge is an illusion which "prevents consciousness of the interlocking of knowledge with interests from the life-world" (Habermas, 1978, p.305). On the other hand, humanity is capable of self-reflection, self-determination and rationality. This generates knowledge "which enhances autonomy and responsibility" (Held, 1980, p.255). According to Usher, Habermas' conception of emancipatory knowledge gives rise to "the unmasking of ideologies that maintain the status quo" (Usher 1996, p.22).

This thesis employs a critique of official documents of the National Curriculum taken together with political speeches and policy statements to suggest that the curriculum is used ideologically by government to maintain a neo-liberal status quo in which education is seen as serving the national economy and promoting global competitiveness.

Ideology

Brookfield suggests that

> Critical theory views ideology as the broadly accepted set of values, beliefs myths, explanations, and justifications that appears self-evidently true, empirically accurate, personally relevant, and morally desirable to a majority of the populace. The function of this ideology is to maintain an unjust social and political order. Ideology does this by convincing people that existing social arrangements are naturally ordained and obviously work for the good of all. (Brookfield, 2005, p.41)

Kelly expresses this more starkly as "one dominant group in society imposing its ideology on society as a whole and thus achieving political control at the expense of others" (Kelly, 2004, p.38). In educational terms this can be taken to mean that certain sections of society determine how education should be carried out and in whose interest. Harris suggests that

> education serves as a major factor in the production of *certain kinds of knowledge,* which in turn serve the particular interests of particular societies. In this way education is, first and foremost a political act. (Harris 1979, p.139)

Thus Harris, writing before the introduction of a National Curriculum, which greatly increases state control of education, argues that education is provided by the State and the State is not neutral, but itself serves certain interests which he characterises as "the ruling class" (Harris, 1979, p.140),

> Education, provided as it is by the ruling class, would stabilise the functioning of the society and help to maintain and perpetuate a *status quo* which would essentially serve the interests of the ruling class. (Harris, 1979, p.140)

To achieve this would include disguising the "real basis of social relations" (Harris, 1979, p.140) in order to maintain the liberal democratic and capitalist *status quo* and to "keep some things hidden away and transmit some things in a disguised and distorted form" (Harris, 1979, p.140).

An ideological investigation of globalisation in the curriculum would ask therefore, in whose interests this knowledge is included in the curriculum and in what ways might it help to maintain the liberal democratic and capitalist *status quo?* According to critical theory, one of the ways in which ideologies and interests can be maintained and promoted is through hegemony.

Hegemony

Hegemony is a subtle and complex concept originally developed by Antonio Gramsci who said "Every relationship of 'hegemony' is necessarily an educational relationship" (Gramsci, 1971 p.350). Brookfield notes that

> If hegemony works as it should, then there is no need for the state to employ coercive forms of control ... Instead of people opposing and fighting unjust structures and

dominant beliefs, they learn to regard them as preordained, part of the cultural air they breathe. (Brookfield, 2005, p.43)

In the context of curriculum knowledge Apple refers to what Raymond Williams calls the "selective tradition" (Apple, 2004, p.5) and shows how it works to make knowledge hegemonic. He asks "whose knowledge is it? Who selected it? Why is it organized and taught in this way? To this particular group?"(Apple, 2004, p.6). Bringing in understandings about ideology he claims that

> The knowledge that gets into schools is already a choice from a much larger universe of possible social knowledge and principles ... that often reflects the perspectives and beliefs of powerful segments of our society. (Apple, 2004, p.7)

But as Apple argues:

> The powerful are not that powerful. The politics of official knowledge are the politics of accords or compromises. They are not usually impositions, but signify how dominant groups try to create situations where the compromises that are formed favour them. These compromises occur at different levels: at the level of political and ideological discourse, at the level of state policies, at the level of the knowledge that is taught in schools, at the level of daily activities of teachers and students in classrooms. (Apple, 2000, p.10)

Brookfield also observes that "if hegemony is in constant flux and understood partly as a process of negotiation between oppressor and oppressed, then chinks and contradictions ... inevitably appear" (Brookfield, p.45).

How these negotiations and compromises are made in the context of globalisation in the National Curriculum is the subject of the empirical research of this thesis, which asks curriculum planners about their decisions, and teachers about the responses and understandings, which make up such compromises and accords.

This research rests on a body of knowledge about globalisation, which could be conceived of as a discourse. Hall summarises the concept of discourse:

> Discourses are ways of talking, thinking or representing a particular subject or topic. They produce meaningful knowledge about that subject. This knowledge influences social practices, and so has real consequences and effects. Discourses ... always operate in relation to power—they are part of the way power circulates and is contested. (Hall, 1992, p.295)

The function of the articulations between discourse, power and ideology is referred to as a "regime of truth" (Hall, 1992, pp.295, 299). Abercrombie, Hill and Turner (1988) point out that

> Within a discourse there are literally some things that cannot be said or thought. This means that discourses may have an effect similar to ideology. (Abercrombie, Hill and Turner, 1988, p.71)

These concepts of ideology, hegemony and discourse converge on the relationship between powerful groups in society and the ways in which knowledge may be selected for the curriculum. As Apple notes:

> In this way, one can begin to get a more concrete appraisal of the linkages between economic and political power and the knowledge *made available* and (and *not* made available) to students. (Apple, 2004, p.6)

The critical linguist Fairclough (2000, 2003) explains this convergence:

> In a Gramscian view, politics is seen as a struggle for hegemony, a particular way of conceptualising power which amongst other things emphasizes how power depends upon achieving consent or at least acquiescence rather than just having the resources to use force, and the importance of ideology in sustaining relations of power. (Fairclough, 2003, p.45)

Fairclough brings together the concepts of ideology, hegemony and discourse in a methodology he calls Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) which reveals through texts and language the way in which consent is gained for certain ideologies.

Critical Discourse Analysis

I found Fairclough's (2000, 2003) methods of analysis interesting in the context of the present thesis. Firstly, they have been used to help formulate the perspective on globalisation, which I am calling the Third Way (Fairclough, 2000). Secondly, I draw on some of the concepts of Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 2003) to inform a critical analysis of curriculum and policy documents in answer to research question two.

In *Analysing Discourse* (2003) Fairclough demonstrates the use of CDA as a method for examining the language of what he refers to as "New capitalism" that is "the most recent of a series of radical restructurings through which capitalism has maintained its fundamental continuity" (Fairclough, 2003, p.4). Fairclough associates globalisation with this new capitalism (Fairclough, 2003, p.22). Part of Fairclough's argument for analysing "representations of 'globalization' and especially of global economic change" (Fairclough, 2003, p.45) with CDA is that they are ideological and have "hegemonic aspirations". (Fairclough, 2003, p.45) The concepts behind CDA proved informative in the examination of documents to uncover the political in texts ostensibly produced for other purposes. Fairclough's (2003) methodology was not followed in detail, but was invaluable in showing how critical theory can be extended to documentary analysis.

Consistent with its foundation in critical theory, CDA is intended to expose the ideological interests operating in a social context. The objective of CDA is to link social analysis with the analysis of texts. Fairclough explains that

> Three primary types of meaning can be distinguished for purposes of textual analysis: Meaning which a text has as a part of the action in social events (actional), meanings which appertain to the representation of the world in texts (representational), and meanings which appertain to the textual construction of people's identities (identificatory). (Fairclough, 2003, p.225)

This thesis draws particularly on the "actional" meanings, taking the inclusion of globalisation in the National Curriculum to be a "social event". (Fairclough, 2003, p.225). "Social events, social practices, [and] social structures" (Fairclough, 2003, p.23) are pivotal in CDA, because "texts are seen ... as parts of social events" (Fairclough, 2003, p.21.) He (2003) discusses the relationship between social structures and social practices which "can be thought of as ways of controlling the selection of certain structural possibilities and the exclusion of others, and the retention of these selections over time, in particular areas of social life" (Fairclough, 2003, pp.23-24). From this point of view, it is possible to see the curriculum as a social structure, in the light of the social practice that selectively includes and excludes knowledge about globalisation to be included in the curriculum.

Curriculum as social structure

It can be argued that there is a structural articulation between a society and its educational institutions including the curriculum. Apple posits this in *Ideology and the Curriculum* (2004). Drawing on Gramsci and on Williams, Apple establishes, through reference to the curriculum, that the hegemonic principles of a society are enmeshed in its institutions. Thus he argues, in a capitalist society in which inequalities and division of labour are functions of that society, schools and their curricula reproduce those functions. Apple explains that hegemony "refers to the organised assemblage of meanings, values and actions which are lived" (Apple, 2004, p.4). And "[T]he educational, economic and social world we see and interact with, and the commonsense interpretations we put on it, becomes the world *tout court*, the only world" (Apple, 2004, p.4). The contents of the

curriculum have been selected and legitimated, and are organised and taught in a certain way (Apple, 2000, p.6). With Apple, it is necessary to ask who made these selections and decisions.

It can be seen from the literature review that the National Curriculum has included elements of an elitist subject-based curriculum ideology. But as Whitty observes, in the context of globalisation, corporate interests operate in the curriculum and the marketisation of schools "while the content of the lessons emphasises heritage and tradition, the form of their transmission is becoming increasingly commodified within the new education marketplace" (Whitty et al, 2002, p.103). Bernstein describes "the pedagogic discourse of schools [as] *retrospective*, based on a past narrative of the dominance and significance of disciplines, whereas the management structure is *prospective* pointing to the new entrepreneurialism and its instrumentalities" (Bernstein, 1990, p.61). In Chapter 6 this thesis analyses what Bernstein refers to as the "prospective" (Bernstein, 1990, p.61) which appears to orientate the curriculum towards an unspecified 'better future'.

Writers such as Apple (2004) and Whitty (2002) draw attention to the importance of economic and political structures in the model, content and ideology of a curriculum. The inclusion of a politically and economically informed topic such as globalisation in a centrally prescribed National Curriculum can be viewed as being in the interests of maintaining those political and economic hegemonic structures.

In the interviews all the respondents were asked why young people needed to learn about globalisation, and this formed an important part of the conceptual framework for the documentary and interview analysis. Interestingly, all my respondents took it for granted that it was a necessary part of a young person's education and all had to be asked 'why exactly?' The answer to this question goes beyond the scope of the empirically collected

data and involves analyses of aspects of polity and the discourses of globalisation and the curriculum. The objective of this part of the research is to uncover why, in a centrally prescribed curriculum, a politically loaded topic such as globalisation should be included. Critical analysis aims to discover what ideologies and interests are served by this selection from knowledge, which may bar the inclusion of other valuable topics, because of lack of time.

Conclusion

Research in answer to question one: *What does the National Curriculum say about globalisation?* examines the substantive content of the curriculum about globalisation, by comparing data from curriculum documents and from interviews, against the conceptual framework of six perspectives developed from the globalisation literature. But what the curriculum does or does not say about globalisation, and why globalisation is selected for inclusion in the curriculum at all, is determined by ideological factors which underpin wider education policy decisions and go to the heart of what policy makers think is the purpose of education. The second question *Why is it considered necessary for young people to learn about globalisation?* places the National Curriculum in its political and ideological context and picks up on contradictions and paradoxes from the findings in answer to research question one, to establish the hegemonic assumptions involved in including globalisation in the curriculum.

This thesis now moves on to examine the research findings in three chapters. Chapter 4 opens up the analysis by examining what the curriculum says about globalisation and as importantly, what it apparently does not say. The analysis in answer to this chapter is synthesised from the accounts found in curriculum resource documents and from interviews with curriculum developers, and teachers. Since globalisation is a complex,

contentious topic, it is perhaps not surprising that the analysis in answer to research question one is revealing of preoccupations, aspirations, contradictions and evasions. It is the task of the findings chapters to unpack these. In Chapter 4, aspirations to introduce controversy and critical thinking are scrutinised in the light of findings that although controversies are ostensibly valued by teachers and curriculum developers, when it comes to thinking about authentic controversies the curriculum falters. Chapter 5 examines the preoccupation with globalisation as international development in the curriculum. Chapter 6 focuses on the ideological articulation between globalisation and the National Curriculum and the ways in which this legitimates globalising policies.

Chapter 4 Containing the global in a National Curriculum

Listen, don't mention the war. I mentioned it once, but I think I got away with it all right. (John Cleese and Connie Booth, 1975)

In my empirical research interviewing teachers and curriculum designers about globalisation, I asked them all an open question about what they thought might be considered controversial global issues. Although it was one of the most pressing global and political events throughout the period of my research from 2003 to 2006, like the proverbial 'elephant in the room', the war in Iraq and associated protests were never mentioned by my respondents. Possible connections between globalisation and terrorism were not brought up either. Conversely, the natural disaster, the Tsunami which occurred on December 26th 2004 was regularly raised by respondents in connection with globalisation throughout 2005. Possible explanations for this paradox are explored through research into the globalisation content in the curriculum which draws some conclusions about what the curriculum may be 'permitted' to say about controversial global issues.

Globalisation content in the National Curriculum seems to be presented in two main ways. One possibility is to deliver material about globalisation through schemes of work in the Geography or Citizenship subject curricula. The QCA's website provides some detailed schemes of work, such as *Debating a Global Issue; School Linking; Global Issues, Local Action* for Citizenship, or *World Sport* and *Global Fashion,* which refers to globalisation, for Geography. The DfES Standards web site for Key Stage 3 Geography brings up a potential 271 items in response to a search for materials and schemes of work about globalisation in Key Stage 3 Geography and Citizenship. (Many of these also talk about 'global issues' and understandings about terminology are discussed below). (A Key stages 1 and 2 scheme focuses on development education issues such as *A Village in India:* a scheme that specifically uses an Action Aid resource). Key Stage 3 Schemes can be used to teach about

globalisation through either of these two separate subjects. The other possibility is to present material about globalisation for use across the curriculum, or to inform a 'whole school ethos'. The latter method of providing curriculum content about globalisation appears to be that preferred by the development education community, and is exemplified by the 'cross-curricular theme' *The Global Dimension*. The existence of two ways of delivering content about globalisation in the curriculum is an indication of differing views about curriculum model and ideology: one which accords with the official centrally prescribed model and the other which represents aspirations for an alternative way of organising global content in the curriculum. The first way, using schemes of work, fits with the *de facto* model of a content-based curriculum. The second way, a cross-curricular or whole-school method of delivering content, is likely to be in tension with some of the realities of the National Curriculum and I explore this problem in the context of *The Global Dimension*. Overall the inclusion of global content in the National Curriculum is subject to some confusion about how globalisation best fits in the curriculum. One of the confusions which surrounds the place of globalisation in the curriculum, is the terminology used about global issues. I therefore use *The Global Dimension* to examine this varied global terminology in the Citizenship and Geography curricula and to explore possible interests and aspirations involved in the promotion of a cross-curricular theme in the subject-based, assessment-heavy National Curriculum.

After analysing the uneasy fit of the global in the National Curriculum, this Chapter moves on to revisit the six perspectives on globalisation discussed in the literature review to find out how these perspectives are included in the curriculum. The analysis of documentary and interview data finds that some perspectives prevail and others are silent. An additional strong perspective of globalisation as being connected with development education is found. This is one of the central findings of the research and, as well as being discussed

here, Chapter 5 moves from a long view of global and international themes in Geography and civics curricula in England to a focus on current controversies entailed in the concept of global citizenship. Some political rationales for the prevalence of a development education perception of globalisation in the curriculum are proposed in Chapter 6 as part of the answer to the question *Why is it considered necessary for young people to learn about globalisation?'*

The present chapter is as much about what the curriculum does *not* say about globalisation as about what it does. On the one hand, empirical research reported in this chapter suggests that teachers and curriculum developers are keen to use controversial global issues to develop students' critical thinking skills. On the other, many shy away from being seen to 'indoctrinate', 'impose on' or 'brainwash'. This dilemma poses difficulties for the types of controversy that can be addressed in the curriculum and, I conclude, may lead to a limited account of globalisation being delivered; one which is mainly based on development education. DfID and the Development Education Association (DEA) are among the institutions that I suggest have contributed to the perception of globalisation as connected with international development. For example, together, they have been instrumental in publishing guidance circulars for the 'cross-curricular theme' *The Global Dimension.*

The Global Dimension

Although as discussed below, cross-curricular themes are no longer officially part of the National Curriculum, *The Global Dimension* guidance is promoted by a number of organisations as 'cross-curricular' including DfID, the Geography Association (GA), and DEA. The term 'global dimension' is one of the many 'global' terms in use within the curriculum (See Table 2). I use documents from *The Global Dimension* to investigate two

issues. Firstly, the wide range of global terminology in use in the curriculum and secondly, to discover a possible rationale for promoting global issues across a curriculum which appears to offer little space to the cross-curricular.

The term 'Global Dimensions' appears in Aim 1 of the National Curriculum:

> The school curriculum should contribute to the development of pupils' sense of identity through knowledge and understanding of the spiritual, moral, social and cultural heritages of Britain's diverse society and of the local, national, European, Commonwealth and **global dimensions** of their lives. (QCA, 1999b, p.10, Emphasis added)

However, the idea of a global dimension predates this use of the term. It is difficult to ascertain the exact origins of some of the global terms in use in the curriculum, but several, including 'global dimension', seem to date back to a critical Geography in the 1980s which I discuss in Chapter 5 (See Hicks, 1988). DEA appears to have been campaigning for a 'global dimension' to be included from the late 1990s. The term 'dimension' has gained significance because the Key Stage 3 review now adds three other "Curriculum dimensions" (QCA, 2007c) and these are: Enterprise; Creativity, and Cultural Understanding and Diversity. Chapter 6 explores the ways in which aspects of the curriculum accrete through a process of unacknowledged incorporation, until they appear natural and taken for granted, and I suggest that the extension of the concept of 'dimensions' is an example of this process.

According to Hicks 'global dimension'

> Refers to the curriculum taken as a whole and the ethos of the school; those subject elements and cross-curricular concerns that focus on global interdependence, issues and events. (Hicks, 2003a, p.274)

I go onto discuss the approaches in the global dimension to some of this complexity

The Global Dimension Circular (DfES/DfID, 2005) is one of the main officially published routes through which ideas about the global or globalisation can be included in the National Curriculum, the others being the QCA's schemes of work. The *Global Dimension* Circular covers all the Key stages, form Foundation to Key stage 4. Other Key stages are examined in the analysis below to illustrate how the global dimension works for other Key stages as well as for Key stage 3. The theme has been recommended for inclusion in the curriculum since about 2000, although examination of DEA's website shows that they have been pressing for inclusion of *The Global Dimension* in the context of various curriculum subjects since about 1998. DEA is part of a consortium that produces the global dimension circulars. DfID has also taken a lead in publishing these guidance documents and circulars for schools, being the main funder through its development awareness arm. Thus it can be seen that funding and publishing sponsorship for *The Global Dimension* comes from the field of development education and is backed by government funding. Other government departments have a potential input into the Geography and Citizenship curricula, for example the Department for Trade and Industry (DTI) and the Department of Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA), and these might have had a perception of global as related to trade and industry or to food and agriculture. However, although DEFRA makes some contribution to sustainable development education, other perceptions of the global are largely absent from the government guidance documents and circulars sent to schools and so 'global' has come by default to mean 'related to developing countries'. This meaning appears to accrue through curriculum understandings; including those mediated through official documents of the National Curriculum together with documents produced by NGOs. The development education community appears to determine how the global and globalisation are defined in the curriculum, and what is included in the curriculum under the global rubric. The lead taken by development

organisations in shaping this theme in the curriculum has resulted in certain perceptions and perspectives of globalisation prevailing while others largely remain unvoiced.

My research about globalisation in the curriculum was sometimes confounded by the sheer number of 'global' terms in use in the curriculum. For example, in the guidance circular *Citizenship Education: the Global Dimension*, DEA discusses a variety of terminologies: "global citizenship; the global dimension; the international dimension; global perspectives; global education; globalisation" adding that "the use of terminology may be an issue that teachers could discuss with their pupils" (DEA, 2001, p.3). This section examines how globalisation may have come to be associated with development education through the use of a wide and confusing range of global terminology.

Table 2 at the end of Chapter 1 describes some of the terminology discovered in the course of the research.

There seems to be some debate amongst curriculum developers about whether various terms refer to the same concept or to different concepts, and whether it is simpler to conflate them just to get the topic on the curricular agenda in any form possible, or whether they should be addressed separately. Hicks (2003a) warns that

> in their quest for wider recognition many globally minded educators in the UK have contributed to a muddying of the conceptual waters by using a number of key terms as if they were interchangeable. However, these terms have different histories and thus distinctly different meanings (Hicks, 2003a, p.274).

He outlines how the different terms used in this field have differing provenance and implications for education:

Global Education

The term used internationally to designate the academic field concerned with teaching and learning about global issues, events and perspectives. Note: during the 1970s-1980s this field was known as world studies in the UK

Development Education

Originated with the work of NGOs that were concerned about issues of development and North –South relationships. Focus of concern was widened to embrace global issues but development remains the core concept.

Global Dimension

Refers to the curriculum taken as a whole and the ethos of the school; those subject elements and cross-curricular concerns that focus on global interdependence, issues and events.

Global perspective(s)

What we want students to achieve as a result of having a global dimension in the curriculum; in the plural refers to the fact that there are different cultural and political perspectives on global matters.

International Dimension

Literally 'between countries'- as in international relationships; also refers to the study of a particular concern, e.g. education, as it manifests in different countries. NB international refers to the 'parts' and 'global' to the whole.

Global Citizenship

That part of the Citizenship curriculum which refers to global issues, events and perspectives; also of being or feeling a citizen of the global community (as well as cultural or national communities).

Globalisation

The innumerable interconnections-economic, cultural, technological, political-which bind the local and the national into a global community; the consequence of a neo-liberal economic policies which see everything, including education, as a commodity to be sold in the global market place. (Hicks, 2003, p274)

Hicks usefully demonstrates the complexity of this area for the curriculum and some of the many different conceptualisations that exist. As he shows, these terms do have different

meanings and refer to different topics, themes and approaches to the curriculum. Additionally, Hicks himself reveals the issue around different perceptions and perspectives, as he gives a particular, ultimately economic, definition of globalisation. However there has been considerable lobbying, especially by development agencies to get these terms used in the curriculum by any means. Oxfam had an early success with the term *Global Citizenship* (Oxfam, 1997), for which they have a lengthy, but precise definition, in their *Curriculum for Global Citizenship* originally designed for Keys stages 1 and 2.

Although aimed at primary schools, this project has been very influential on curriculum designers' and practioners' views of the global. The chair of the Association of Citizenship Teachers used Oxfam's definition to inform the ethos of his own secondary school. A youth outreach worker at an East London Comprehensive school thought that Global Citizenship meant

> *Just being aware that you are a citizen and you're not just a citizen of Britain but you are a citizen of the world, so your actions not only affect what's going on around you but affect what's going on around you in a global sense as well. I think that's what I think of when I think of global citizenship.*

But Oxfam recognise that

> It is a term being used increasingly in educational circles, and consequently there are a variety of views about what it is. These range from the idea that everyone is a citizen of the globe to the standpoint that in a legal sense there is no such thing as a global citizen. (Cool planet)

Possibly through an awareness that teachers and curriculum designers may have reservations about introducing a myriad of complex concepts to 14 year olds, these concepts have often been conflated, and the message is that the differences do not really matter so long as some aspect of these issues are taught. A Geography adviser at QCA viewed some of the terms as interchangeable. Asking:

Global Citizenship? Global dimension? Development education? What's the difference? They are all the same thing aren't they? All this information is coming to schools under different banners and there's a lot of duplication and I see part of my job here as a hub of that to streamline it.

Similarly the Citizenship adviser at QCA saw the terminology as closely related

I think we get very hung up on definitions and I think there's a lot of overlap between what some people would describe as global citizenship; the sustainable development agenda; the concept of interconnectedness, and globalisation. And I think there's a lot going on and also the underpinning values around social justice and the interest in that and human rights; there's a lot of stuff wrapped in together at the moment. And it's quite hard to unpick...

But she also recognised that

there's a big debate to be had about whether we should specify concepts in the NC somehow and bring those to the fore.

These overlaps and conflations between conceptually distinct positions may represent an attempt to simplify the highly complex and contested arena of global subjects in the curriculum. Students are increasingly used to acquiring their learning in 'bite size' chunks, with a view to succeeding at the National Curriculum's many paper and pencil tests and assessments. (See for example the popular revision website: GCSE bitesize). Unfortunately, this approach to teaching might not lend itself to learning about conceptually complex topics like globalisation. As one educationist at an aid agency commented

It requires the ability to analyse holistically, otherwise you don't come out with any answers that make sense and you can't put your world together.

The "quest for wider recognition" referred to by Hicks indicates a strong desire by special interest groups, including aid and development agencies, to get their subject included in the curriculum. One way interest groups such as development agencies have gained attention is

to adopt a conceptual 'scatter-gun' approach in respect of global terminology, in the hope that at least some of the global terms will reach a target. I concur with Hicks that this can be confusing and distracting.

The documentary and interview data analysed for this research revealed a number of terms in use which are listed in Table 2 at the end of Chapter 1. This thesis works with this wide range of terminology by interpreting all references to global concepts as having something to do with globalisation and as being a reflection of the complexity of the topic. Hicks points to some nuanced academic differences in the terms in use (Hicks, 2003a, p.274), but in practice the terminology converges on ideas about development education, effectively silencing several other perspectives on the global that were demonstrated in the literature review. There is a reluctance to talk about development education by name in some quarters and a preference to use 'global terminology' for what has previously been known as development education. One development agency education specialist actually said:

I don't like the term development education.

Further reasons for this disinclination are analysed in the next chapter which investigates the context of the global as development education in Geography and Civics Curricula in England. Despite this reluctance, the circular *Developing a Global Dimension in the School Curriculum* (DfES/DfID, 2005) contains several examples of the dominance of development topics.

Development Education in *The Global Dimension*

The Global Dimension is intended for use from the Foundation Phase to Key stage 4 .The pages for Key Stage 3 and 4 (DfES/DfID 2005, p.14) include five prominent yellow boxes which give examples of typical activities in schools illustrating what is intended by the global dimension. Two activities are about sustainable development, one of which involved

a link with a school in Kenya. One school conducted an RE activity through a link with a school in Mexico City. The other two involved students playing fair-trade games produced by aid agencies, one from Christian Aid on chocolate, and one from Oxfam about bananas. The benefits of school linking are promoted, but no examples are given in the circular of schools linking with a developed or transitional country. International trade is not discussed except in terms of fair trade. The possibility that trade could bring benefits to developing countries is not discussed. The arms trade is not mentioned. Throughout the circular 'global dimension' seems to mean international development, especially conceptualised as compassion towards poor people in the 'South'. To support this interpretation I give further examples from two other subjects at Key Stages 3 and 4 and one from Foundation Stage. In History "young people can explore some of the causes of world poverty, conflict and migration" which is an example of a rare mention of conflict (DfES/DfID, 2005, p.14). In Mathematics they can "apply their mathematical skills to interpreting statistics relevant to topical, international and global issues such as international debt and fair trade" (DfES/DfID, 2005, p.14). Globalisation provides some other good examples of trade and transfer involving fantastically large numbers, which might intrigue young maths students. These are not suggested. At the Foundation stage three- and four-year-old "children consider people in particular situations and whether they might be happy, sad, hungry or lonely" (DfES/DfID, 2005, p.6). This last is an early example of working with values and attitudes in the curriculum. I show later that the development education-based perspective on globalisation often works with values and attitudes. Here very young children are induced to show compassion and by implication feel some responsibility. This is one illustration of a view of development as charitable commonly found in the curriculum, that I note found favour with some teachers.

An adviser at the QCA observed that dominance of development issues in the circular had come about

> *because DfID are the sponsoring agency for the global circular and arguably their whole agenda is about development .*

However, the guidance for Citizenship in this document was written separately at the QCA and is an example of a cosmopolitan perspective on globalisation in contrast with the other subjects such as those exemplified above. In Citizenship "children and young people ... can learn about global governance and explore issues relating to human rights" (DfES/DfID 2005, p.16).

It can be seen that *The Global Dimension* is intended to be used both in different subjects and across subjects. *The Global Dimension* is promoted by DfID, DEA and the Geography Association (GA), amongst others, as 'cross-curricular': a concept that sits uneasily within the subject-based National Curriculum. In the next section I explore this difficult fit and examine possible rationales for the aspiration to work in a cross-curricular way despite the difficulties.

Fitting the global into the National Curriculum

In interviews I asked respondents where they thought globalisation best fitted into the National Curriculum. It is a reflection of the subject-based nature of the National Curriculum that most of them answered Citizenship or Geography, although amongst some development education specialists there was an aspiration to fit global topics across the curriculum:

> *Globalisation is the context in which everybody is growing up and therefore we're talking about a perspective on everything you teach.*

But the reality of dealing with the National Curriculum in practice drew this observation from a teacher:

> *We're all divided. Geography wants to focus on place and Technology wants to be looking at sustainable development and Citizenship wants to be looking at child labour. So those are all bits. And I think it's very difficult for children to bring all those bits together.*

'Cross-curricular themes' were part of the composite and negotiated nature of the 1990s' National Curriculum; they were supposed to 'permeate' through all subjects. These no longer appear to have an official place in the curriculum documents. In practice these themes were often neglected. However, *The Global Dimension* seems intended to be a cross-curricular theme: DfID's Global Gateway website asks "What is the global dimension? It is not a subject. It permeates everything we think and do" and invites teachers to "Find out more about how the global dimension can fit into every subject of your school's curriculum". The main guidance circular states that "Learning across the curriculum can be an important way of supporting children and young people to understand global issues and to make links between their learning in different subjects" (DfES/DfID, 2005, p.5). There appears to be an intention for *The Global Dimension* to be accepted as a cross-curricular theme even though there has been no official space for this since 2000 and despite the previous marginalisation experienced by cross-curricular themes in previous versions of the curriculum. Interestingly, the term 'dimension' has been chosen to describe what, to all intents and purposes, look like cross-curricular themes, in the Key Stage 3 review. "Curriculum dimensions can provide a context and focus for work within and between subjects and across the whole curriculum" (QCA, 2007c). These 'dimensions' are the original *Global Dimension*, plus *Enterprise, Creativity* and *Cultural Understanding and Diversity*. Disappointingly, there is no dimension concerned specifically with the environment and sustainability; these are merely mentioned as one of the eight Key Concepts of *The Global Dimension*. Diversity was already a Key Concept of *The Global Dimension*.

The implications of the aspirations for *The Global Dimension* (and now the other 'dimensions') to be taught across the curriculum are analysed below in the context of a curriculum that is divided into discrete subjects. The lead document on the global dimension is the guidance circular *Developing a global dimension in the school curriculum.* (DfES/DfID 2005). This covers all twelve of the National Curriculum subjects, page-by-page, although part of the document gives guidance for the "Whole School" in accordance with Hicks's definition (Hicks, 2003a, p.275). This includes auditing the whole school ethos to include the global dimension in assemblies, displays around the school, Continued Professional Development (CPD), ethical estate management and school linking (DfES/DfID, 2005, p.18). An aspiration to "embed internationalism within the whole curriculum and as part of the institutional ethos" (Longstone, 2005,) is apparent from documentary and interview data on global themes. Oxfam's *Education for Global Citizenship* (originally published in 1997 as *Curriculum for Global Citizenship*) (Oxfam, 2006) is an example of a whole school curriculum developed for primary schools. However, tension arises at secondary level when the separated subjects, heavy content base and numerous assessments pose difficulties for integrating themes across the curriculum. Indeed *The Global Dimension* circular seems most successful for the more integrated Foundation stage; where three- and four-year-olds have six interlocking 'areas of learning' rather than twelve separate subjects. For this age group, a project is described where the children did work around elephants and read *Elmer*, and so learnt about difference and diversity; they studied the Sri Lankan Perahera and so learnt about Buddhism and celebrations. They took part in dancing and drumming and made batik (DfES/DfID 2005, p.7). An integrated project like this from the early years is less possible in the Key Stage 3 curriculum where classical humanist ideologies persist (Skilbeck, 1976, p.24) together with the objectives-based model. The circular *Developing a global dimension in the school curriculum* (DfES/DfID 2005) covers all

subjects, but guidance circulars have also been produced for some separate subjects, which leads to an apparent confusion between the whole school approach and the subject involved, for example Geography.

The guidance circular *Geography: the global dimension* (DfID/GA 2004) also applies the idea that the global dimension can be covered in the whole school, even though the focus is on the specific subject of Geography:

> Developing the global dimension in the Geography classroom can impact on the whole school. For example, Geographical knowledge may influence decisions made by the school council such as work on both trade and the environment leading to an investigation of the school's purchasing and recycling policies. (DfID/GA, 2004, p.11)

The Geography document goes on to demonstrate Geography's links with each of the other separate curriculum subjects in the context of the global dimension. So even on the same page of this document, tension is apparent between the aspiration to have the global dimension permeating the whole school and the actual separation of the National Curriculum into subjects. At the QCA this view of the global dimension being central to the whole school curriculum was confirmed:

> *I think it's something about learning across the curriculum of the school, and it's something to do with the ethos of the school, and I think it's something that should cut right across the way in which the school runs.*

But in terms of fitting the global dimension into the National Curriculum, this adviser acknowledged the tensions inherent in working with a strongly framed, content-driven curriculum with its emphasis on attainment targets.

A possible interface with Citizenship is indicated in the Geography circular. Citizenship is intended to be taught as a discrete subject and/or through other subjects. In this it is supposed to be quite different from the other subjects, although the same claim should be

made for English. Thus *Citizenship: the global dimension* (DEA, 2001) implies that the global dimension should be delivered through each of the other subjects of the National Curriculum and through the whole school ethos using the vehicle of Citizenship:

> The global dimension is not only applicable where it is explicit in the framework [for Citizenship], but is relevant to all aspects of the curriculum where it has a unifying function. Most subject areas already include a global dimension that can be made Citizenship rich. (DEA, 2001, p.3)

The "unifying function" implies that the global dimension could have an even more ambitious role in integrating the curriculum as a whole. This would seem to be swimming against the tide. In the Key Stage 3 curriculum where the subjects are very distinct, but where Citizenship is compulsory, it might be a misunderstanding to refer to 'subject areas'. This perception is correct only at the Foundation Stage with its six interlocking areas of learning. On the other hand Citizenship is not compulsory at Foundation stage or key stages 1 and 2. As a 'cross-curricular theme' based on Key Concepts, rather than objectives and outcomes *The Global Dimension* is likely to find some difficulty becoming established in the content-based National Curriculum with its discrete subjects and stress on summative assessments.

The Global Dimension and assessment in the National Curriculum

In Bernstein's (1975) terms the National Curriculum is a collection code (Bernstein, 1975, p.90) curriculum with a visible pedagogy, (Bernstein, 1975, p.135) epitomised by the attainment targets, as discussed in the literature review. The hierarchical assumptions about knowledge in this type of curriculum may be partly behind the finding that several teachers and curriculum designers were concerned that globalisation was too complex for students at Key Stage 3:

Global issues are hard to teach at the simple level of key stage 3 without reducing the complexities to a simple level.

On the other hand at a Development Education Centre, Key Stage 1 teachers had worked together to develop materials for much younger pupils:

It's about how to make that complexity accessible to children rather than over simplifying it.

At Key Stage 1 (for children aged four and a half to seven years) the curriculum could be seen as more integrated (Bernstein, 1975, p.93) than at Key Stage 3. Key Stage 1 children spend the whole day with one teacher who covers the whole curriculum with them, although subjects are still studied separately with a view to success at National Curriculum Tests. Despite the character of Key Stage 3, one Geography teacher I interviewed had worked to make global issues relevant for his students who had learning disabilities. He had made substantive adaptations to the National Curriculum for Geography, which he found poorly geared to his students' special needs. His adaptation had the result of making it more integrated. The students learnt Geography, including the global dimension, through an allotment project where they grew their own produce and sold this and fair-trade products at the local farmers' market. These examples from Key Stage 1 and Special Needs Education show that in a more integrated curriculum, and with skilled teachers, the complexity of the topic is less relevant. I suggest that the perceived complexity is partly a consequence of a view of knowledge as hierarchical and amenable to formal staged assessments in a collection code-type curriculum (Bernstein, 1975, p.102). This indicates a possible rationale for offering *The Global Dimension* across the curriculum despite a marked dissonance between the model of the National Curriculum and the aspirations for *The Global Dimension*. Integrated-type curricula emphasise "ways of knowing" (Bernstein, 1975, p.102) "whilst the underlying theory of learning…may well be more group or self-

regulated" (Bernstein, 1975, p.102). The integrated type curriculum would allow students to acquire knowledge when they are ready. The National Curriculum, in contrast, has a detailed scheme of Attainment Targets detailing many levels to be achieved at certain ages and some would argue this encourages a simplified bitesize approach to learning, inappropriate to a complex topic like globalisation.

A fold-out section at the back of the *Handbook for Secondary Teachers* (QCA, 1999) has an astonishing fifty A4 pages detailing the extensive Attainment Targets for eleven of the twelve subjects. Each subject has descriptors for expected attainment levels at each age or key stage, finely graded from level 1 to level 8 with 'exceptional performance' beyond that. The National Curriculum Tests (NCTs) are pencil and paper tests in Maths, English and Science. (They were originally known as Standard Assessment Tasks and some of my respondents used the acronym SATs for that reason). The results of tests in these three subjects are used for various purposes including the compilation of school league tables.

Many schools interpret the Attainment Targets as meaning that students should be regularly tested and the levels reported to parents in a summative format. Although the QCA does not require this in foundation (non-core) subjects such as Geography, the ethos of testing and monitoring permeates the whole curriculum and such reporting may be seen as expected. This was seen as a misunderstanding at the QCA:

> *Geography, fortunately, is a foundation subject and we don't have SATs and that's*
> *another can of worms: assessment. In a lot of schools geographers are encouraged to give a*
> *level on a regular basis, and the level descriptors weren't written for that purpose.*

The emphasis on testing, both officially required or unofficially applied demonstrates an objective-based model of education. Citizenship is not assessed in quite the same way. Citizenship has no Attainment Targets, but instead has "End of key stage descriptions ... broadly equivalent to levels 5 and 6 at key stage 3" (QCA 1999b, p.49). Although the Crick

Report felt that assessment was inappropriate for Citizenship Education (Crick, 1998, p.28) it did not "see citizenship as a 'soft option' with no rigour or bite" (Crick, 1998, p.28). This position on assessment is not fully explained in the Crick Report. It seems to assume that assessment endows a subject with 'rigour', or it could be argued that it means assessment is not possible, but this may be to conflate Citizenship Education with citizenship the political status. If Citizenship Education is not assessed, this has implications for its status within a curriculum which is driven by assessment. This is why an adviser at the QCA welcomed and defended the assessment of Citizenship through the new short course GCSE:

It's not about how you behave as a citizen. You can assess knowledge and understanding and skills. It's like RE in that sense. It's not about your own personal beliefs and practices; it's about what you know and understand.

The adviser saw the GCSE assessment as a way to raise the status of Citizenship Education in an assessment-dominated curriculum, where subjects that were not tested might have less weight.

The National Curriculum is a content-based and objectives-driven model which seems to be a source of frustration to those curriculum developers and teachers who envisaged complex topics such as globalisation being delivered across the curriculum. A curriculum developer at a major aid agency aspired to have globalisation delivered across the curriculum. At the QCA a senior adviser had previously been a curriculum leader in a secondary school and this gave him an insight into the paradox of delivering Citizenship across a curriculum divided into different subjects:

part of the problem is [that] the way in which the curriculum is presented to schools is subject based, and Citizenship is being presented as a subject, but a lot of the things that are in there really need to embed right across the curriculum.

As a senior employee of the QCA, involved in the development of the revision of the National Curriculum known as the *Futures Curriculum*, it may be that he was also flagging up a potential area for change in the National Curriculum's subject-based model. He indicated to me his view that

> *Curriculum 2000 was a transition. Geography's always had the problem of the first National Curriculum because it was so content laden, with two hundred and odd statements of attainment. It's been a gradual process to move away from that and we've hopefully got the opportunity now to free it up.*

The concerns expressed by teachers, and at the QCA that students might be learning about different perspectives on globalisation in different lessons indicate that a collection code-type curriculum is operating with strong classification and framing maintaining strong insulation between subjects (Bernstein, 1975, p.88). Citizenship can be taught either as a separate subject or across the curriculum. *The Global Dimension* is intended to be 'cross-curricular'. The lack of assessment and objectives for these 'subjects' means that they are likely to be overshadowed by assessed subjects. Ofsted has criticised "a quarter of schools surveyed, [where] provision is still inadequate" (Ofsted, 2006, title page) At the Association of Citizenship Teachers I was told that

> *some of the highest performing schools are still failing under the requirement to teach Citizenship.*

No doubt they were focusing instead on their high performance in core subject tests, with a view to 'league table' success.

That this approach to teaching and learning might not lend itself to learning about complex topics is demonstrated by aspirations to have *The Global Dimension* integrated across the curriculum and embedded into the whole school ethos. Development organisations such as DfID and DEA appear to promote their subject's potential to be delivered across as many

subjects as possible in order to get it onto the curriculum at all. I suggest that this aspiration for an integrated approach in a collection-type curriculum is likely to prove problematic because of the substantive model of the National Curriculum.

Some curriculum advisers' persistence in fostering an integrated approach in the face of the way the National Curriculum actually works may also be a result of the history of global subjects in the curriculum. Radical work in this area was carried out in the 1980s before the advent of the National Curriculum. The relationship of these pioneering approaches with the current inclusion of the global, especially in Geography, is discussed in Chapter 5. As noted in the literature review, globalisation is a complex and contested topic and many interests are involved in its inclusion in the curriculum. The tensions inherent in *The Global Dimension* are an indication of this complexity. The next section evaluates the way in which curriculum content about globalisation mediates this multiplicity of perspectives. The six perspectives are revisited to assess which contribute to what the curriculum says about globalisation.

Perspectives of Globalisation in the Geography and Citizenship Key Stage 3 National Curriculum

This section examines what the curriculum says about globalisation in the Key Stage 3 Geography and Citizenship curricula, by an analysis of the documentary and interview data in the light of the six perspectives on globalisation developed in the literature review. These were: the neo-liberal perspective, the anti-globalisation perspective, the sceptical perspective, the transformationalist perspective, the cosmopolitan perspective, and the Third Way perspective. In a curricular tradition that favours balance and offering a number of perspectives, in order to allow young people to develop their own thinking and enquiry skills, the analysis seeks to discover which of these perspectives are privileged, marginalised

or silenced and also whether there is a perspective on globalisation particular to the curriculum.

The main finding of this part of the research is that amongst geographers there is some affinity with the *Transformationalist* perspective, but the prevalence of development agencies in this area of the curriculum leads to the inclusion of a strong *anti-globalisation* perspective through development education resources. This version of the anti-globalisation perspective constitutes a seventh perspective: one which is specific to curriculum materials and not just those that are produced by aid agencies. Only one example of a strong *neo-liberal* perspective was found amongst my respondents, but this was a personal view and the curriculum materials actually delivered by that respondent's consortium focused on development issues. Some *Third Way* perspectives were found in a focused study of work by students, but in general these are not found in curriculum content. I conclude by suggesting that the *cosmopolitan* perspective could be usefully substituted for the anti-globalisation perspective regularly produced by aid agencies. I consider that cosmopolitanism represents an effective engagement with globalisation which would appeal to young people's sense of fairness other than simply buying fair-trade goods, and would help to develop an understanding of participation, rights, and democracy which may be lacking in currently available curriculum materials about globalisation. I conclude that cosmopolitanism would be more appropriate to Citizenship education than perspectives which stress the economic over the political aspects of globalisation.

One of the perspectives is effectively silent in the curriculum. The *sceptical perspective* of authors such as Hirst and Thompson (1995) and Gray (1998), which questions whether globalisation is taking place at all, is absent in most of the data collected. Only one respondent made reference to this perspective and she did so in the historical sense which implies that there has always been a process that could be described as globalisation.

However, she did not deny the existence of a phenomenon called globalisation; she merely questioned whether it is new. Her reference to 'interconnection' reveals that other parts of her analysis were transformationalist:

> *We see globalisation as a late twentieth early twenty-first century phenomena and I don't buy into that at all. Because you look at the Commonwealth, you look at people's war experiences. Look at the Victorians' travel. I don't understand how they weren't globally interconnected and how it's a new phenomenon. I think actually where we are now is an evolution of where were before. Globalisation isn't a new phenomenon for me.*

In order to be included in the curriculum at all, the concept of globalisation has been made normative, in other words a given, the existence of which is taken for granted. This inevitability poses problems for the sceptical perspective on globalisation which questions the validity of the concept, seeing it as a 'myth' necessarily put forward by governments to justify neo-liberal economics and policy making (Hirst and Thompson, 1996).

Transformationalism and Geography

Some respondents, usually geographers, took a transformationalist position on globalisation. This was surprising as the ideas of transformationalism are very complex and might be considered difficult for transmission to 12- to 14-year-old students. The work of geographers such as Harvey (2000, 2003, and 2005) and Massey (2005) is likely to have had an effect on the Geography community, alerting its members to the complex, uneven nature of globalisation. The Geographical Association (GA) appears to take a lead in promoting this intellectually challenging, geographical perspective on transformationalism, for example, through a Continuing Professional Development (CPD) programme called *Valuing Places* which works with practising teachers to develop curriculum resources about globalisation.

The *Valuing Places* project has been developed by the GA together with Geography teachers. It works with the geographical concepts of space and place. One of its aims is to show how the global is integrated into local experience. The personal is incorporated into the local, privileging agency over structures. The resulting resources are transformationalist since the local is literally transformed by the global. It includes an illustration of the global dimension through a visit to the corner shop to buy breakfast, examining "the cultural context ... the context of scale ... the economic and geopolitical context ... [and] the subjective context, personal feelings and values". This type of resource is designed to help teachers and students connect their local experience with the global. This way of working seemed to be well understood by Geographers, who use Geographical Information Systems and understand concepts of place and space. An author of the *Valuing Places* project asked:

> *Where do you draw the line around your daily life? If you really think about that, you really can't, and actually it's the globe.*

What transformationalist accounts have to say about relationships of power were mentioned by some respondents. The transformationalist position on power, as noted in the literature review, is much more complex than that of the anti-globalisationist perspective, which only focuses on economic structures. The education officer at an aid agency told me that globalisation

> *includes strands apart from the economic and trade relationships, the communications, email, internet, the whole information revolution, which actually changes the relationships of time and of space, the political processes of supranational and international systems of regulation; the movements of peoples, of people across borders and the movements of labour.*

However, a Geography Curriculum resource produced by this respondent's aid agency focuses sharply on the 'economic and trade relationships' in a way that I interpret as anti-globalisation in perspective and negative in perception, although there is a laboured attempt to present 'both sides' of the argument. In this case there was an interesting dissonance between personal perceptions and public perspectives at this agency.

The importance of space and place in Geography lends itself to complex ideas of agency and interconnecting networks. One Geography teacher spoke to me about networks and fragmentation and postmodernism and analogised some of these complex ideas to the functions of Global Information Systems, one of the technological tools of the geographical trade. A curriculum adviser was attuned to the technological innovations that connect the world. He used these developments to raise geographical questions. Other geographers also mentioned the interactions of information and communication technologies with the processes of globalisation. Technological networks are important in Castells' transformationalist analysis of globalisation in *The Rise of the Network Society* in which he examines the relations between the "Net and the Self" (Castells, 2000a, Vol I p.1ff).

Respondents traced a journey in their definitions of globalisation which was both personal and, they indicated, to do with changes over time in the concept of globalisation itself. A Citizenship adviser discussed how her personal view of globalisation had changed from the economic to the transformationalist since she studied the subject for her Geography degree. This was connected to changes she observed in the process of globalisation itself:

> *So I think interconnectedness is the key here. Originally, I think it was at the economic level, then the IT technology revolution came in, and now we can see it across politics and across our social structures as well.*

A Geography adviser also noted these changes in conceptions of globalisation from a 'traditional' economic perspective to one, more suited to the twenty-first century, that has its roots in the transformationalist writings of authors such as Bauman (1998, 2004), Castells (2000a, 2000b, 2004) referring to culture, migration and technology:

> *The traditional view of it is that it's something to do with trade and with multinational companies but for me it's gone way beyond that now and technology has moved it way beyond thinking of commodities across the world. It's becoming a global culture, improvements in transportation, migration of people across the world. Satellite TV, and mobile phone technology has just opened up the whole planet.*

In Geography resources, and amongst Geography professionals, there was engagement with the transformationalist definition. On the other hand, some development agencies are involved in producing materials about globalisation that tend strongly towards an anti-globalisationist perspective, with a perception of globalisation as negative. In some examples this perspective is promoted at the expense of balance and internal consistency. Although in some resources there is an attempt to recognise that there may be several perspectives. One summarises three points of view like this: 'there is a school of thought which sees it as inevitable, another as manageable, and another as requiring outright opposition." Statements like these show that some of the agencies creating resources recognise that there are at least three perceptions of globalisation and not simply a debate for and against.

Anti-globalisation and development education

Anti-globalisation forms part of the economically determined set of perspectives which Held terms collectively "hyperglobalists" (Held et al, 1999, p.3). Some development agencies focused exclusively on the economic aspects of globalisation and often on the perceived negative effects mainly described as occurring in poor countries. I found a

development education version of anti-globalisation that I concluded constituted a seventh perspective. It was very prevalent in development agencies and in the resources produced by them.

For example at a leading organisation in the field of development education I was told that:

> *It's an economic agenda in terms of the change in economic forces in the world and the increasing concentration of power of multinational companies.*

At a faith-based aid agency the definition of globalisation was completely anti-globalisationist:

> *For [aid agency X] globalisation is fundamentally a trade issue. Trade isn't fair. Not that [X] are against trade as such, but rich countries are controlling trade and poor countries are losing out and the problem is having cumulative effects in connection with the debt problem and IMF constraints, where communities no longer have access to free education and health care. These facts combine to work against the poorest people in the world.*

This agency uses phrases in its schools' website such as "global logo inc."; "one Disney MacWorld" and points to the "inexorable rise of giant multinational corporations [that] lies at the heart of globalisation" citing "brand names from Nike to Coca-Cola". This organisation is unequivocally anti-globalisationist, reflecting the language of Klein's *No Logo* (2000). Globalisation is attributed to multinational companies rather than to governments, but is the responsibility of the West.

The Geography resource of another aid agency also reflected the view that globalisation gives power to transnational corporations, increases inequality and disadvantages the poor. The transnational corporations named in this resource are: Nike, the Gap, Coca-Cola, Sony, Wal-Mart and Toyota. In other words, the very companies singled out by Klein (2000) who writes ten pages approving "the anti-Nike movement" (Klein, 2000, p.377ff).

This imitation is made obvious in the resource by a reference to Wal-Mart, a company which has 13 index references in Klein's US-based book, but which is more familiar as ASDA in the UK. Students are encouraged to 'take a stand' in this resource, using the example of a sports professional who refused sponsorship by Nike. The introduction for teachers using the resource is unabashed about offering students "First hand accounts, mostly from people adversely affected by globalisation". This aid agency resource contrasts with the transformationalist perspective in the GA's *Valuing Places* project discussed above, which is produced by geographers for geographers. It might be argued that the more nuanced and multifaceted analysis of the transformationalist perspective is too difficult for the Key Stage 3 age group, but a Geography teacher in a North-East London comprehensive school critiqued the simplistic anti-globalisation perspective of some resources:

A lot of textbooks focus on industry and Nike and that sort of thing as the focus of globalisation, but I think there's actually far more to it than that.

She told me her Year 9 students had analysed this negative stress on well-known names in a more critical way:

We used it as a vehicle for doing work on bias and critical thinking. A lot of work on critical thinking about Nike and Reebok and their websites.

In a later lesson these students went on to critically investigate a website from a development education agency and discovered bias in this too. This shows that although resources have bias, some teachers use them to develop critical thinking skills in their pupils.

The idea of students as consumers of trainers and mobile phones was common in curriculum materials about globalisation and in responses from curriculum developers and teachers. Teachers sometimes also saw their students as materialistic, as one informed me:

> *Children are very materialistic. We have done some work with them in Geography in the past on the making of a football. If you were to say to them, if they were to pay the people that are making this the going rate, you'd need to pay another £20 pounds for your football. They wouldn't be willing to do that when you talk to them about it. On the other hand they all want to work for big businesses and make lots of money.*

This remark also illustrates that globalisation issues are complex for teachers as well as students. The going rate for making a football in Pakistan is not necessarily straightforward to calculate, and it seems easy to try to make even 'materialistic' children feel sorry for people who apparently earn very little, compared with considering what the benefits of taking part in global trade might be.

Inaccuracy or internal inconsistency in some resources can be related to bias. I consider here examples from resources produced by aid agencies. Firstly, one produced for two faith-based agencies, consists of a game about producing and marketing trainers (again) with a detailed country focus on Peru. However, trainers are not usually manufactured in Peru and the resource itself states that:

> Nike, Reebok, Adidas, Puma, Hi-Tec do not actually make the shoes. They have found that it is more profitable to subcontract production to factories in developing countries mostly in Asia ... Countries which supply shoes to the sports companies include the Philippines, Thailand, China, Indonesia and Vietnam.

It may be worthwhile for students to learn about conditions in a very poor country such as Peru, but it may not be informative to conflate learning about this country with an industry in which it is not actually involved. This resource also avoids discussion of the possible developmental advantages for countries of manufacturing for export and Foreign Direct

Investment (FDI). The end result is flawed and biased. It can be deduced that the author of this resource set out with a biased point of view and thus produced this somewhat misleading resource as a result. Many agencies seem to be producing materials that play on young people's straightforward ideas about fairness and aim to change attitudes through repeated reference to familiar consumer goods. There are no reservations about indoctrination in some of these resources.

A Christian aid agency (not Christian Aid) provides a detailed website about globalisation for use by teachers. Links are made with the National Curriculum. The aim of the activities suggested is "to examine the inequalities in our global community and to take action to make a difference". Young people are told that many of their belongings are produced to the detriment of others in developing countries so that they could own a

> Mobile phone made in the USA using a vital mineral from the Democratic Republic of Congo

> Denim jackets made in a Bangladeshi factory where working practices contravene Article 23 of the UN declaration of Human Rights

> £120 trainers made in Cambodia where the workers will receive between two and five pence of that price.

The site introduces a typical adolescent who is 'making a difference'—she has organised a petition through her church to end world debt and buys fairly traded chocolate bars. A valuable opportunity to compare the relative economic advantages of trade in primary and secondary resources for developing countries is missed, which indicates an intention to persuade rather than to educate.

Another organisation (also through a website) stresses the inequality of globalisation: "The world we live in is unfair and unequal". This resource is a good example of one which emphasises attitudinal learning. A skill to be acquired is the "Ability to challenge injustice

and inequalities—starting to challenge viewpoints which perpetuate inequality". Note that the "viewpoints" are not named. It seems to be taken for granted that it is the economic position taken by those I have described as neo-liberals, who believe that the operation of a free market could raise the standard of living of all and that this form of economy would help to promote democracy (for examples see Ohmae, 1991, Wolf, 2004; Wooldridge and Mickelthwaite, 2002). The same resource wants students to work explicitly towards certain "Values and Attitudes" and these include "concern about the effects of our lifestyles on people and the environment" and "willingness to take a stand on global issues". The global issues are not defined. This is part of the way in which it comes to be accepted that 'global' means not simply to do with the whole planet, but through unquestioned, regular association, to do with international development and economic models which are interpreted as exploitative. Not only is this biased, but I show later that this approach could be implicated in the avoidance of other global controversies.

Another development agency resource is very much in the vein of Klein's trademark-laden style. It discusses globalisation through the medium of soccer and cites a number of 'villains' such as Nike (again), a car manufacturer, London financiers, and a large television company. As in the earlier example, the issue of trainer manufacture is raised. The implications of this resource are that globalisation leads to job losses in the UK (where there are currently relatively good rates of employment), the exploitation of people in the developing world, and that mainly the bosses of Nike are benefiting. The emphasis on exploitation in these resources could be interpreted as Marxist in contrast to the emphasis on liberal democracy in the official documents of the curriculum which I discuss later.

Yet another resource involves a "game" which shows that "trade is unfair" and "logos/designer labels make more money on the world markets". Yet again Nike is shown to be the villain. Again job losses in the UK and exploitation of workers in developing

countries are a theme. Raising job losses in the UK in connection with global trade is a left-wing approach which has its roots in the protectionist traditions of some trade unions. In most parts of the UK rates of unemployment are low, but there are inequalities within the UK as well as between different countries.

The concentration on certain shoe manufacturers in some of these resources becomes tedious and starts to look like a crusade against specific companies. Many resources use this tactic of 'naming and shaming' specific trainer manufacturers, often drawing attention to the high cost of these products in the UK. As with Klein, (2000) the emphasis of these resources is on certain brands which appeal to young people's aspirations as consumers, rather than on some other companies that have a serious impact in the global economy, or on the governmental policy making that Massey (2005) for example, shows allows globalisation to thrive.. Often, although these resources call for action, the action usually recommended is buying fair-trade goods. By concentrating on the economic, such resources miss an opportunity for participation beyond economic boycotts or buying fair trade. In anti-globalisation development education resources, the student's opportunity for participation is more often presented as ethical consumption than democratically active citizenship.

The focus on trade and multinational corporations as the main drivers of globalisation, mean that the role of government policy making is neglected. At the same time, these resources all cast students as consumers; as does the neo-liberal perspective of globalisation, in which market forces and consumer choice also take precedence over democratic participation. This trade- and industry-focused economic perspective on globalisation, although apparently at odds with government's more neo-liberal stance, paradoxically, and without doubt unconsciously, acts in support of it, by presenting globalisation, first and foremost, as an inevitable economic process.

The cosmopolitan perspective on globalisation, although idealistic, appears to offer opportunities to develop an understanding of human rights and democracy that could take active citizenship beyond the reductionist consumerist model espoused by anti-globalisationist resources.

Cosmopolitanism

Many young people in the Key Stage 3 age group have a well-developed sense of fairness and fair-trade issues are a very popular way of engaging students with globalisation. Many of the teachers I interviewed detailed how they were using fair-trade products, including selling them in tuck shops, to raise awareness about globalisation. But as one teacher said:

Fair trade is personal action, but unless you put it in a broader context it's meaningless.

There is still a strong development education perception of fair trade as one Geography teacher told me:

We're doing development at the moment. We're going to do the fashion industry, looking at fair trade and so on.

I suggest that one way to develop that broader context in the curriculum is to go beyond simplistic actions such as buying and selling chocolate bars and teaching about sweat shops, to include more of the cosmopolitan perspective in curriculum materials. At the level of Key Stage 3 cosmopolitanism could be presented as a perspective on globalisation which is about fairness, especially in economics. But one of my respondents also wanted to

focus on more positive things like democracy and social justice

Not only are these "more positive things", but they also have the potential to raise some authentic political issues for students, and introduce them to concepts about human rights. Another interviewee had run a successful United Nations Association in his school for

many years. His students had the chance to learn about the international and global relations which are largely absent from the development education perspective, and raise genuinely controversial questions about governance locally and globally. A Geography and Citizenship teacher taught about child labour through a children's rights perspective. A few teachers were working with ideas associated with cosmopolitanism because they recognised that they fulfil the requirements of the Citizenship Curriculum to learn about "the world as a global community" (QCA, 1999b, p.184). Many of the central tenets of cosmopolitanism are included in *The Global Dimension's* 8 Key Concepts, however as noted above, the advice in the guidance for the different Key Stages largely concentrates on development issues. The cosmopolitan perspective of globalisation would allow students to learn about their own rights and apply their understanding to the limitations of rights experienced by others, and not just in distant countries. Cosmopolitanism presents a view of the world as interconnected, but not in a way which reduces the concept to a one-way street of exploitation on the one hand, and aid on the other. Students that I worked with expressed a cosmopolitan perspective in a communiqué that they wrote to G8 leaders in July 2005, giving a good example of Held's (1995, p.267) cosmopolitan conception of challenge from below:

> We are telling you what we want our leaders to do to ensure that we have a future to
> believe in, a society to be proud of, and a global community that respects and
> recognises the values of us all. (J8 communiqué 2005)

Students' perspectives of globalisation: J8

Students are not the focus of this research as a whole although this would be a worthwhile area for future research on globalisation in the curriculum. This small-scale participant study with students took place in the context of the *J8 Global Citizen Programme*. The programme was a collaborative venture with the Citizenship section of DfES with a corporate responsibility agency, and was lavishly funded (including carbon offset for every

participant, each of whom flew to the conference destination in Edinburgh) by the charitable trust of a major merchant bank. Demaine points out:

> No doubt such corporate expense account events are helpful in corporate image-making whilst their political opponents are seen around the world as violent street vandals. (Demaine, 2005b, p.103)

Project packs were sent to 1800 schools around England and Wales, and students entered a competition. The winners met in Edinburgh during the week of the real G8 summit and worked together with adults to prepare a communiqué to be presented to Tony Blair at Gleneagles. On this project, I interviewed a citizenship consultant from DfES; the representative from the corporate responsibility agency; and an economist from the bank. I then attended the 'J8 summit' working as a facilitator and was able to talk informally to a wide range of representatives from all three collaborators, to invited experts, to guest speakers at the summit, to teachers and to students. At the summit, students worked in groups to produce a communiqué. This involved creating 24 points, then voting to bring them down to four on Climate Change and four on Africa. They had help from adults in obtaining information from experts in various fields. They had plenary presentations from other experts including Myles Wicksteed, Chair of the Africa Commission. My initial contact with this project was based on information given me by DEA who had problems with the content of the project as did my Oxfam respondent, who also mentioned it.

My research did not discover any other curriculum resources about globalisation with a business connection. The involvement of a major bank and a corporate responsibility agency indicates a possible response to the anti-globalisation perspective. It was interesting therefore to discover what perspective was apparent in this project. The project was based around learning about all the countries of the G8 and the themes of the 2005 G8 summit, which were Africa and Climate Change. The materials were written by the consultant at DfES with advice on economics from the bank. This is one of the few resources I have

examined which gave a balanced picture of trade and presented both fair trade and free trade in an informative way and also featured topics that were not purely economic. However my informant at the corporate responsibility agency which brokered the connection between the bank and DfES expressed some exasperation with what he saw as the Naomi Klein/Oxfam view of globalisation, saying:

> *Funnily enough once teachers get over the hump of thinking [the project] was being done by a business, I think our stuff is much more in keeping with what kids are actually thinking than the stuff that Oxfam is pumping out which is talking about coffee and probably none of them drink coffee.*

It was clear throughout my contact with those involved in this project that tension existed between the corporate responsibility agency, whose main representative had an extreme neo-liberal perspective and stated an 'anti-Oxfam' position on globalisation, and the consultant at DfES who wished to present an 'unbiased' perspective and to encourage critical thinking skills for citizenship.

From several conversations, it appeared that the director of the corporate responsibility agency sought to push a particular agenda in the communiqué writing sessions, perhaps in the belief that he had to deliver a certain result to the bank. His personal belief was that students needed "to become useful individuals in terms of making money for this country, which is what we need" which as I show later is close to the government's perspective on globalisation in the curriculum. It was not apparent to me that anyone from the merchant bank had any preconceptions for the outcome of the communiqué. The press officer from DfES was also under pressure from the corporate responsibility agency to get wide publicity for the event, which was difficult for him as this was the week of Live 8, the successful Olympic bid and the London bombings, not to mention the real G8 summit. All this pressure was resisted by the other adults and disputes between the collaborating

organisations took place away from the students. The final communiqué appeared to be a fair representation of the items put forward by the students. Students I worked with had two items on climate change included in the final communiqué and the final wording reflected their own ideas.

Perhaps not surprisingly for a document intended to influence governments with policy implications, the resulting communiqué reflected a Third Way perspective. The difficult problems of Africa and climate change were seen as amenable to management with good governance. This was despite information students had been given to the contrary, for example, from a climatologist, a marine biologist, and a polar explorer that climate change was now unstoppable. There was an emphasis on partnership with developing countries rather than aid. For example G8 countries were "to [work in] partnership with Africans to support self-sufficient, sustainable economies." On climate change G8 "must create a partnership programme to share knowledge and technologies with the developing world". And in a typically Third Way construction "Climate change will be challenged, but individual lifestyles preserved."

In plans for 2006, project organisers had topics in mind for *J8* before the Russian leadership had decided what the theme of the 2006 St Petersburg G8 Summit would be. The organisers wrote:

> The topics covered will include health, poverty, trade and employment and sustainable development, and will have an added focus on the areas prioritised for next year's summit by the Russian president, Vladimir Putin. (Ford, the Guardian, Tuesday November 8, 2005)

It is interesting to note that most of these topics are those typically associated with development education. In fact the themes selected by Putin were global energy security; infectious diseases, and education and training. In 2006 selected students from G8

countries met in St Petersburg and took part in "video conferences with children from developing countries", continuing the development perspective that ran through this project in 2005.

On this project the students used a number of skills; critical thinking being probably the most important. The number and range of experts ensured that students heard a range of positions on the topics. Critical thinking was a skill that teachers and curriculum developers thought important for students to develop. Globalisation was valued as a controversial topic that would help to develop these skills, but the controversies actually available in the curriculum appear limited and are often confined to a development education perspective.

Critical thinking and controversy in the National Curriculum

Two quotations from separate interviews encapsulate the central dilemma of using globalisation as a controversial issue in the curriculum. The first quote is from a curriculum developer at a subject association and the second from a representative at the QCA:

> *You want to ensure that certain voices and perspectives are presented, but actually what's important is that the learner has the opportunity to critically reflect and come to decisions themselves.*

> *We know that most teachers are very professional and do feel quite uncomfortable about political topics. I think probably they're a little bit too uncomfortable to the extent of avoiding things which is unfortunate.*

In interviews teachers and curriculum developers alike spoke of the need to develop skills of critical thinking and of the value of globalisation as a controversial topic that would encourage the development of these skills. At the same time as welcoming this aspect of controversy, many were wary about being seen to 'indoctrinate', 'impose on' or 'brainwash'

students. In the case of global issues I conclude that this reluctance has led to the avoidance of authentic controversy.

I commence my analysis with a quote from the one teacher I found who openly confessed to brainwashing his students. This assistant head teacher told me:

> *You know I'm an old lefty so consequently I have got great reservations about globalisation. We're not going to push it back. But we've got to have some fairly rigid ethical controls. We have to make young people aware of the crisis. It is a crisis. This is a school in which a fairly large number of youngsters are feeling pretty anti-American in their sentiments so you kick off a lesson by saying "How many of you are not happy with America?" and then you say "well in that case why are you supporting them?" And they say "we're not supporting them!" And you say "well in that case what about the hat you're wearing, what about the jacket you're wearing, and what about the shoes you're wearing?" Some poor sod in some developing country is being paid 20p and a bowl of rice for making those and it's [America] flogging them to you for £120 quid.*

On the day I visited all the students in this school were wearing a uniform of black tailored trousers, maroon sweatshirts and black shoes. The school was in a poor multicultural, mainly Muslim community and I did not note any £120 trainers. In his own way this teacher avoided the authentic controversy of dealing with the reasons behind students' anti-American feelings, which I would guess were likely to be associated with the Iraq war; and it is contradictory that for this teacher anti-American sentiment could be associated with global citizenship, a concept that he warmly supported later in the interview. This teacher's understanding of globalisation in the curriculum focused on preparing for the forthcoming Comic Relief Day and he and his Teaching Assistant showed me resources they used regularly which included

> *lots of things about how the rich can help the poor.*

This suggests that even with 'old lefty' values teachers are drawn to the aspects of globalisation which relate to development education and tend to avoid other sources of global controversy.

Values and attitudes in the National Curriculum

This section analyses the tension in the National Curriculum between the liberal, democratic principles that are fundamental to the English education system and which eschew indoctrination, and the risk inherent in a centrally prescribed curriculum of the imposition of values, especially through Citizenship. The avoidance of indoctrination is enshrined in the Citizenship order which is intended to have a 'light touch'; in other words, *not* to prescribe what should be taught. As observed, globalisation and other global matters are subjects that are open to a range of interpretations—perspectives and perceptions— some of which are polemic, and some of which cover politically fraught subject matter. They can therefore be conceived of as controversial, especially if one perspective or position were to be privileged or others excluded from teaching. One of the findings of this part of the research is that there appear to be controversies that are considered to be acceptable tools for introducing students to those skills of debate and critical thinking that were cited by several respondents as a necessary skill in a democracy. However, some authentic, topical controversies have been silenced in the curriculum and one of the vehicles for doing this has been the construction of the global as articulated with international development. One of my respondents felt that

> *Controversy tends to happen where you exclude a view or perspective, and where you draw*
> *a big thick line around a perspective.*

A fairly 'thick line' appears to have been drawn around certain issues of globalisation such as oil, the arms trade, terrorism, religious fundamentalism, migration, and war (see Yamashita 2006). These are central to the transformationalist account of globalisation, for

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example in the work of Castells (2000a, 2000b, 2004), Harvey (2003) and Bauman (1998), but in the curriculum the globalisation controversies that are delivered are overwhelmingly about fair trade, the exploitation of workers in developing countries and increasing inequality between rich and poor countries. Who would dispute the argument that factory workers in developing countries should have a living wage and healthy working conditions?

Controversial issues in the Citizenship Curriculum

One of the purposes of the Citizenship curriculum is to socialise young people into their role as active participants in a liberal, democratic polity. The report of the Advisory Group on Citizenship commissioned by David Blunkett and chaired by Bernard Crick is called *Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools* (emphasis added) (Crick et al, 1998). This remains the main document for the Citizenship Education Curriculum, as the Programme of Study in the National Curriculum is so slight. The QCA's Citizenship subject web pages list this as the key document for the subject.

The Crick report (1998) acknowledges the suspicion of indoctrination at the same time as noting the importance of debate and discussion of controversial issues:

> Parents and the public generally may be worried about the possibility of bias and indoctrination in teaching about citizenship. We must recognise that teaching about citizenship necessarily involves discussing controversial issues. Above all, open and informed debate is vital for a healthy democracy ... Teachers are aware of the potential problems and are professionally trained to seek for balance, fairness and objectivity. Furthermore, safeguards in education law exist to guard against bias and unbalanced teaching or indoctrination. (Crick et al, 1998, p.8)

The report follows this with a section offering *Guidance on the Teaching of Controversial Issues* by detailing the appropriate section of legislation The Education Act of 1996, of which Section 406 "aims to ensure that children are not presented with only one side of controversial or political issues ... [and] Section 407 requires [that] where political or

controversial issues are brought to pupils' attention, they are offered a balanced presentation or opposing views" (Crick et al, 1998, p.56). The *Guidance on the Teaching of Controversial Issues* section of the Crick report distinguishes and defines the ethos of non-indoctrination that permeates the curriculum in general and Citizenship in particular. It also rationalises the importance of critical thinking in the democracy envisaged by Crick, and it informs the rationale of this thesis, which uses globalisation as an example of a controversial issue, as defined in the report: one "about which there is no fixed or universally held point of view" (Crick 1998, p.56). As will be shown below, controversial issues are considered by teachers and curriculum developers to be those which are most likely to engage students in the activities of critical thinking, debate and discussion that a citizenship curriculum imbued with liberal, democratic values would aim to foster. Along with everything else in the curriculum, the controversial issues are a selection and some controversies are not included.

The foreword of the Citizenship Order itself touches upon controversy very briefly "Education in citizenship and democracy ... [will help] pupils to deal with difficult moral and social questions that arise in their lives and in society" (Blunkett and Stubbs, in QCA, 1999a, p.4). It is notable that difficult political questions are not mentioned. This concerns the central paradox of "education in citizenship and democracy": that given the nature of democracy many of the questions raised will of necessity be both political and controversial. To what extent does a government in power want these questioned, insofar as they may reflect adversely on the context of governance?

The Crick report itself has far more to say about controversial issues than the light touch Citizenship order which seems to be avoiding them. However, controversy is not to be avoided according to the Crick report:

> Education should not attempt to shelter our nation's children from even the harsher controversies of adult life, but should prepare them to deal with such controversies knowledgeably, sensibly, tolerantly and morally. (Crick, 1998, P.56)

In 'our nation' (perhaps in contrast with some other less democratic nations) the assumption is that citizens should be enabled to view controversies in a balanced way and not give way to unreasoned dogma. The "qualities of mind which [the report believes] would be enhanced by examining controversial issues ... would include ... a willingness and ability to participate in decision making, to value freedom, to choose between alternatives, and to value fairness as a basis for making and judging decisions"(Crick, 1998, p.57).

A conviction of the need to engage with controversial issues was shared by teachers and curriculum developers. A Citizenship teacher who was also involved in a subject association said:

> *Controversial issues should not be avoided; they are part and parcel of our life.*

As a teacher he had raised the controversial issues of foxhunting, abortion and capital punishment with his own students. These issues are interesting examples politically and morally, in that they are considered so personal to the individual that MPs are given a free vote on them in the House of Commons. Using very similar words a Geography adviser told me:

> *I think it's really important that we embrace sensitive issues. Sensitive issues are part and parcel of life and [students] need to develop the skills, knowledge and understanding, and values and attitudes that are important to be able to cope with sensitive issues.*

While a teacher, this respondent's engagement with controversy had been to introduce a multicultural policy into an all-white school. This engages with the transformationalist analysis of how identities are becoming entrenched in the face of exposure to many other identities. A monocultural community may be at risk from extreme political interests which

exploit these entrenchments. The introduction of multicultural policies in this instance is intended to provide a defensive base against these extreme interests. An example is *The Global Dimension* which includes "diversity" as a key concept including

> Understanding the importance of respecting differences around the world in the context of universal human rights
>
> Understanding the importance of respecting differences in culture, customs and traditions. (DfES/DfID, 2005, p.13)

The Global Dimension balances the sometimes quite relativist principles of toleration in multiculturalism, with the context of universal human rights, providing an absolute standard, in the cosmopolitanism perspective. Whether the toleration and non-imposition policies of multiculturalism are the answer to the entrenchment of minority identities is currently the topic of debate and controversy. In 2006 the government's Community and Local Government Secretary Ruth Kelly asked:

> In our attempt to avoid imposing a single British identity and culture, have we ended up with some communities living in isolation of *(sic)* each other, with no common bonds between them? (Kelly, 2006)

I suggest that there is extreme delicacy amongst teachers and curriculum developers about dealing with the global controversies arising from migration and diversity and that this is one of the global controversies that are neglected through the overwhelming concentration on globalisation as a development education issue.

Migration as a global controversy

Most teachers and curriculum developers spoke about challenging stereotypes as part of their work about global issues. One of the effects of globalisation is increased migration which means that many students in schools in the 'West' have heritages in 'developing'

countries. In her evaluative reflection on Oxfam's *Education for Global Citizenship* Grunsell acknowledges this:

> [The students'] world is not based on the concentric circles model, which assumes a working outwards from one family, one place, one language. They are linked to distant homelands and international communities of faith. (Grunsell, 2004, p.13)

Some respondents directly acknowledged the effects of migration in the context of studying global issues. At one aid agency I was told:

> *We are living in an increasingly globalised world. They are meeting immigrants. Learning about globalisation can help to break down barriers in the community here, tackle racism and prejudice.*

Another teacher spoke of the small numbers of immigrant students in his Geography class:

> *There was a wave of Bosnians in the upper years, but it's tiny. The kids don't notice they're in the room, so they'll say something blatantly racist, and the other kids are in the room.*

One of the teachers I interviewed was teaching the "immigrants" referred to in the aid agency. He said:

> *Hopefully we've got an easier task working in the kind of school we're working in, and working with the kind of community which we actually work with, because these people can actually look to realities outside just the pure London basis.*

The assumptions behind statements like these illustrate Smith's observation that:

> One could suggest that the identification of a need to connect the local with the global actually falls prey to a false dichotomy, informed by the constructions of the world, self and 'other' that militate against identifying any connections and relationships. (Smith 2004, p.69)

So although these three interviewees recognised the impact of migration as a global issue, the way they expressed themselves and their assumptions, strongly implied that migrants

were outside of what they believed to be the 'normal' experience in schools. Smith's "false dichotomy" (Smith, 2004, p.69) is demonstrated by the way these teachers assumed that 'the kids' or 'they' who are meeting migrants and whose racism needs to be tackled are presumably white British students, and 'these people' or 'the *other* kids' are the students from migrant families and communities. But another Geography teacher valued the close connections her students had in 26 different countries rather than seeing her students as 'these people'. And parts of the curriculum are concerned with "celebrating diversity", for example *Citizenship Education: the global dimension* (DEA, 2001, p.18) is clear that "the people of the UK represent a multitude of different inheritances, backgrounds, influences, perspectives and experience. Pupils need to understand the contribution made to British society by diversity" (DEA, 2001, p.11). The main *Global Dimension* document (analysed above) also covers Diversity and Interdependence in its 8 Key Concepts (DfES/DfID, 2005). The worthwhile challenges of dealing with migration as a global issue in a safe environment rather than in a safe way were summed up by a worker in a development education centre in one of Britain's most diverse cities.

I do get worried by people's fear of tackling some of those issues. So I think it's not just about knowledge of the world, but it is about children's ability to be able to talk to each other. To be able to participate in what's going on in their own community, to be able to be honest with each other about what they think about things, without being condemned or laughed at. It's about controversial issues and saying there is a genuine fear. If you're teaching in a school that's 50% Muslim, 30% this, 20%othat, then how do you start? You can totally understand a teacher saying 'I just won't go there — we'll do something safe'. You can't expect children to discuss these things unless teachers are able to open it up themselves.

Understanding and empathising with issues of migration and diversity—"one's different neighbour" (Massey, 2005, p.95)—are vital skills for *all* students in a world which is global in both a transformative and cosmopolitan sense. Although teachers clearly felt anxious

and awkward about dealing with diversity and migration as a global controversy in the classroom, many did attempt to talk about it in interviews. Another global controversy, which I suggest is neglected through a concentration on globalisation as a development issue, is that of war and conflict. I take below the example of the Iraq war, which was in progress throughout my whole data collection period and was never raised by any of my interviewees.

The Iraq War as a global controversy

All my respondents (in twenty-two formal interviews, and several focused conversations) were asked about controversy and not one mentioned to me one of the most controversial global, political issues of recent times: the Iraq war. This is an issue that has engaged students and young people in recent years. But some students who have organised protests in their school have been disciplined or excluded (*Guardian*, March 19 2003). Yamashita found in her research that "students ... wanted to understand what was happening, the reasons for the war, the reasons for hate, and the reasons for UK involvement", but that their teachers were avoiding the issue (Yamashita, 2006, p.30). This is despite the fact that *The Global Dimension* guidance circular has as one of its eight Key Concepts "conflict resolution: knowing about different examples of conflict locally, nationally and internationally and different ways to resolve them" (DfES/DfID 2005, p.12). Another Key Concept of *The Global Dimension* guidance is Human Rights. Teachers do teach about this and examples include mock United Nations sessions or child labour. However, other serious topical human rights controversies, such as the camp at Guantanamo, were not mentioned to me as a possible curriculum topic. Neither were the extreme difficulties experienced in the United Nations over the legality of the Iraq war raised in the context of mock UN assemblies.

Anecdotally, I understand that some school students protesting about the war in school were told that if this form of political activism were to be permitted in schools, then equal freedom of expression would have to be allowed to the British National Party (BNP) or other unpalatable political views, apparently raising issues about freedom of speech. However, I would argue that the views of the BNP represent a direct threat to the school community, especially in the context of the multicultural project and the celebration of diversity, indicated in the discussion of migration above. Anti-war protests and banners, on the other hand, express a point of view with which everyone may not agree. They imply a critique of the government's actions in the international arena, but not a direct threat to the order of the school community. Indeed, such protest may bring diverse communities closer. Besley's research finds an example of students who "significantly...painted their banner on the school stage without the knowledge of teachers" (Besley, 2005, p.129). She observes that

> Many teachers were alarmed to find that youthful students took their citizenship lessons seriously enough to take action in protest against the war in Iraq. (Besley, 2005, p.133)

This again draws attention to the paradox inherent in Citizenship education in a liberal democracy. As Phipps reported in a *Guardian* article:

> When the government launched the citizenship curriculum last September, encouraging all pupils to become "active citizens", it's unlikely that what they had in mind was thousands of young people walking out of lessons in Devon, blocking Parliament Square and thronging the streets of Manchester chanting "not in our name" (Phipps, March 22 2003)

Participation and active citizenship are aims of the curriculum backed by the Crick report (1998), but there appears to be a question about how far that participation should be allowed to go for young people. Besley notes that for some schools the response to student activism was to "focus on a standard curriculum, largely ignoring the war". (Besley, 2005,

p.135) In the case of anti-war protests students may have been "Challenging opinions, actions, assumptions or policies on grounds of ethics or argument" one of the requirements for the concept of critical thinking in Citizenship according to the QCA's Key Stage 3 review (QCA, 2007c).

Globalisation and critical thinking in a liberal democracy

This section deals with what teachers and curriculum developers say about controversies relating to globalisation in curriculum materials. Although conflict resolution, human rights and social justice are amongst the eight key concepts of *The Global Dimension* circular (DfES/DfID 2005, p.17) in the tradition of the cosmopolitan perspective's potential for "challenge from below" (Held, 1995, p.267), teachers might avoid some more controversial manifestations of these concepts in their teaching. Rather than confronting genuine controversy, there was a tendency to work with 'bias' and 'addressing stereotypes'. This was done by focusing on skills which might be seen to be of importance in a liberal democracy. The skills which teachers thought were important in this context were debating skills and critical thinking skills. Curriculum materials, curriculum developers and teachers alike emphasised the importance of students developing their own values. For example, in *World Sport* a Geography scheme of work produced by the QCA requires Year 7 students to

> Evaluate critically sources of evidence; present full and coherently argued summaries of their investigations and reach substantiated conclusions.

In a Citizenship scheme of work devised by the QCA, students were asked to consider

> How their own values and attitudes affect their stance on the deforestation of the Amazon rainforest.

Year 9 students working on the QCA's Scheme of work *Global Fashion* are to

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Express their own opinion about the globalisation process and the future of world trade, supported by appropriate facts and evidence.

Across the range of interviewees I was told time and again of the importance of students critically thinking through the issues for themselves. A bank economist with no previous pedagogical background, but who was involved in the development of one resource, wanted to

get them to really think through the arguments.

A senior adviser on development education was aware of the number of perspectives about globalisation:

you want to ensure that certain voices and perspectives are presented, but actually, what's important is that the learner has the opportunity to critically reflect and come to decisions themselves.

Two main rationales for this emphasis on critical thinking were given. The first was explained by a curriculum designer:

developing skills of inquiry and communication and questioning is about feeling confident and empowered.

In the Geography Programme of Study, skills (or processes) of geographical enquiry are valued. The second rationale arises from this. The skills listed include for example "asking geographical questions" and "to analyse and evaluate evidence and draw and justify conclusions". Students will "appreciate how people's values and attitudes including their own, affect contemporary social, environmental, economic and political issues, and to clarify and develop their own values and attitudes about such issues" (QCA, 1999b, p.156). These views of education through critical thinking, enquiry and evaluation were influenced by the work of the American Pragmatist philosopher John Dewey. For Dewey knowledge is experience mediated by thought, problem solving and scientific investigation. The social

context of these activities was an important part of his educational philosophy. Skilbeck, (1970) summarises Dewey's understanding of knowledge thus:

> Knowledge is the fruit of inquiry, and we have grounds or warrants for our beliefs when they have been formulated, projected and tested by methods of science. As a consequence, we should always hold our ideas provisionally, subject to further inquiry …. Knowledge as the fruit of inquiry, is only available to inquirers, ideas cannot be directly transmitted from one person to another—from teacher to child—but must be worked through in personal experience in order to be meaningful. (1970, pp.15-16)

For Pragmatism, values, like knowledge are "tentative and subject to constant revision and modification" (Kelly, 1986, p.75), thus, "we must avoid imposing the values of the present generation on the members of the next generation" (Kelly, 1986, p.75). Teachers and curriculum designers were all concerned not to impose values and attitudes on students or, as some teachers put it, not "to brainwash them" A senior Citizenship adviser had a liberal view bordering on the laissez-faire:

> *Citizenship is not there to change values and attitudes in itself. Arguably there are underpinning values in citizenship, but we want young people to make informed decisions.*
> *If they choose **not** to act in an environmentally conscious way then that's their choice and their right.*

This reflects Berlin's liberal view that "freedom is the opportunity to act, not action itself" (Berlin, 1969, p.xlii). Environmental issues are important for the future of the planet, but choosing not to act in an environmentally conscious way may not be perceived as the most immediately controversial decision students might make. But if having been exposed to the 'underpinning values' of Education for Citizenship and Democracy, they choose instead to act in an extreme way, one that violently threatens the liberal, democratic values of British society, should the curriculum have made an effort to impose some values or not? As Davies points out, the London bombers "had attended—and in one case worked—in British schools while also operating in a context of global events or connections" (Davies,

2006, p.6). This is the inherent risk of education for active citizenship; Berlin's conceptualisation of the 'preference' "to sit still and vegetate" (Berlin, 1969, p.xlii) is possibly the safer option for governments.

In a recent reflection on the application of his recommendations, Crick remembers that "neither pupils nor teachers were to be told precisely or too prescriptively what to do" (Crick, 2004, p.7) and "the intention was ... that pupils and teachers had to learn to think for themselves what issues they thought important to discuss and advocate" (Crick, 2004, p.7). He concludes that the "lack of central direction is freedom; and the results of free men and women cannot be predicted" (Crick, 2004, p.9). However, an important finding by Yamashita is that teachers were worried about indoctrinating their students and that they had received "confusing messages" about teaching controversial issues, including that they may be breaking the law (Yamashita, 2006, p.36). The Education Officer at a leading aid agency observed that:

> *after the long sleep of Thatcherism and people's loss of autonomy, people are feeling that they don't dare say anything political in case somebody comes and snaps them up.*

By this she implied that the earlier version of the National Curriculum had taken away teachers' autonomy through its very prescriptive nature. One of the functions of the early version of the National Curriculum was to curb political intervention by teachers. This might be exemplified by Thatcher's speech to the Conservative party conference in 1987 quoted in the conclusion to the literature review. Political intervention was perceived by some to be taking place through predecessor subjects such as World Studies and Peace Studies (Scruton, 1985, Heater, 2001). The respondent's words also implied that she saw the possibility for change with the New Labour government. Her reference to Thatcherism suggests that she saw the suppression of political autonomy in the school curriculum as party political. But Hill suggests that Third Way education policies owe much to

"continuation/acceptance of ideologically neo-liberal, neo-conservative or Thatcherite polices" (Hill, 1999, p.23). Furthermore, in a discussion on pluralism Held (1987) suggests that in a liberal democracy "a degree of inaction or apathy might even be functional. Extensive participation can readily lead to increased conflict, undue disruption and fanaticism as had clearly been seen in Nazi Germany ... indeed 'democracy' does not seem to require a high level of involvement from all citizens: it can work quite well without it" (Held, 1987, pp.191-192). Halsey (1986) goes further and argues that "socialization into the [British political] culture makes for apolitical and unfanatical citizens" (Halsey, 1986, p.76). Berlin (1969) directly disputed with Crick any necessity for active participation, asserting a right to engage in "apathetic neglect of various avenues to a more vigorous and generous life" but to remain nonetheless a free citizen (Berlin, 1969, p.xlii). The Citizenship curriculum appears to maintain this refined balance between activism and apathy and so includes acceptable controversies that will fulfil this function, such as the conflation of globalisation with development education.

Conclusion

Globalisation is a topic which contains a number of controversies, some of which would involve a direct critique of governance and some which are distanced. I suggest that the development education perspective of globalisation, although apparently based on an anti-globalisation critique of neo-liberal economic forms, nonetheless fulfils this apparent requirement for a 'safe' and distanced controversy. The level of involvement required for citizens in response to development issues is voluntary and often charitable. The sympathetic focus on poverty elimination promoted by DfID and others diverts attention from wider human rights abuses that might raise questions locally as well as globally. The economic critiques contained in the development education perspective on globalisation, maintain the concept of globalisation largely as an economic phenomenon, which I suggest

later is in keeping with current policy for the curriculum and education in general. The transformationalist approach to globalisation favoured by geographers is complex and academic in tone. Although the GA produces a strong resource illustrating the global/local interdependencies of transformationalism, this resource focuses on the cultural and economic aspects of globalisation and less on the political. The eight Key Concepts of *The Global Dimension* are in the cosmopolitan perspective and as such invite a more active political engagement with the controversies associated with globalisation. However, the other pages of the guidance circular, which seek to demonstrate how the guidance could be applied in practice, make development issues the centre of advice and exemplars.

As shown in the review of literature about the history of the development of the National Curriculum, this extreme aversion to indoctrination has two historical elements. First is the element which seeks to differentiate the British democratic system from totalitarian regimes and their openly propagandising education systems. This element began in the 1930s and 1940s and persisted throughout the Cold War. The other element derives from radical experiments which took place in education in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. These introduced subjects such as Peace Studies and World Studies and the radical Geography discussed in Chapter 5. But as I seek to show later, teachers' and curriculum developers' fears about brainwashing and indoctrination are misplaced.

Literature about the National Curriculum's development demonstrates that it was designed for governments to gain control over the content and delivery of knowledge in the education system. Through this control of the National Curriculum, a government (past, present or future) can be well placed to gain consent for certain values and understandings through the curriculum as a social structure. I suggest in Chapter 6, that the understandings being legitimated through the curriculum under the New Labour government tend to be from the neo-liberal perspective of globalisation and certainly a perspective in which

globalisation is inevitable. Global controversies tend to be limited to those around issues of international development both because teachers and curriculum developers find these a safe vehicle for discussing globalisation, and because governments can avoid direct criticism by allowing a focus on poverty in distant countries. In addition, the economic emphasis on trade and consumption in development agencies' resources links, paradoxically, with ideas about the inevitability of economic globalisation in neo-liberal accounts.

Current emphases on the global in the curriculum may give the impression that this is a new contribution to curricular content, but there is a long tradition in Britain of civics education with an international or global premise. I discuss this tradition, its current manifestations and some debates associated with the global and the local in Citizenship in the next chapter.

Chapter 5 The seventh perspective

Geography is about maps, and History is about chaps.

(Quoted approvingly by Kenneth Baker, 1993, p.205)

In its earliest incarnations the National Curriculum was designed to ensure that Geography was indeed "about maps". Kenneth Baker, the Minister of Education behind its development, believed that "geography … was in danger of disappearing into the less rigorous form of environmental studies, rather than retaining its value as a more structured body of geographical knowledge starting with where Birmingham was in relation to London" (Baker, 1993, p.193). This chapter investigates the background to the inclusion of global topics in the Geography and Citizenship curricula. The original National Curriculum Geography was designed to focus on locational knowledge (maps) (DES, 1991) rather than controversies like those associated with globalisation, and the Citizenship curriculum (QCA, 1999a) was designed with a 'light touch' to avoid the difficulties of being seen to indoctrinate. How then have global issues entered the curriculum and why have they become strongly associated with development education?

A key finding of this research is that teachers and curriculum developers widely perceive globalisation as conflated with development education and that this constitutes a seventh perspective on globalisation; which, because of its emphasis on consumer goods that appeal to young people, might be termed *The Training Shoe Perspective*. The analysis of the content of the curriculum in Chapter 4 often revealed a charitable view of development in which students were encouraged to think of themselves as rich, with a responsibility towards poor people in the 'developing' world. Giddens suggests to the contrary that a view of the world as divided into core and periphery; "based upon economic criteria… [is] perhaps of questionable value" (Giddens, 1990, p.69). Although Castells points out that Africa is in danger of becoming a "fourth world" (Castells, 2000b, Vol. III, p.68ff) in

general, transformationalists argue that there is an uneven spread of wealth across the globe and there can be rich and poor both within and across countries. New economies are emerging and novel patterns of trade and aid arise as a result. Cosmopolitans stress the importance of global solidarity and empowerment with everyone addressing the same global issues, such as climate change, rather than a one-way transaction from rich Westerners to the poor in other countries.

This chapter, firstly, reviews the historical antecedents which lie behind the perspective that connects globalisation with development education. Secondly, the role of a number of protagonists in furthering this perception of globalisation today is examined. Thirdly, the controversies arsing from the prominence of this limited perception of globalisation in the curriculum are explored. The chapter concludes by examining some of the rationales and limitations involved in the conflation of globalisation with development education.

Global subjects in the curriculum

Literature which provides a historical context to the inclusion of globalisation in the curricula for the two subjects Geography and Citizenship is systematically reviewed here. As Goodson and Marsh point out:

> The school subject provides a microcosm wherein the history of the social forces
> which underpin the patterns of curriculum and schooling might be scrutinized and
> analysed. (Goodson and Marsh, 1996, p.19)

I suggest that that the inclusion of 'global education' in the two subjects of Geography and Citizenship is not a new curricular practice, but one that has been informed at various times by perceptions of Britain's role in a global context. As Green points out "Victorian and Edwardian schools were certainly not reluctant to celebrate the glories of the British Empire" (Green, 1997, p94). But it can also be seen that the nature and content of global

topics have varied in response to differing political and social influences over the past 100 years or so.

Geography as a school subject

Hopkin's analysis of Geography textbooks (1998) notes that "an historical analysis which shows changes in Geography over a number of different periods might suggest rigid distinctions; in fact ... continuity in evolution of the subject is more apparent" (Hopkin, 1998, p.34). The continuities under examination in this section are those which deal with the 'global' over about 100 years and those in which Geography connects with civic or Citizenship Education over the same period.

There are contrasting aspects to the two subjects selected for this research, and areas of similarity. One contrast is the period over which the two subjects have been accepted features of the Curriculum. Geography has at least a century of presence in school curricula; Citizenship was formally introduced to the curriculum in September 2002, although I discuss below its previous manifestations in schools. Walford traces some Geography in the curricula of "dissenting Academies", that is, schools for children from Non-conformist denominations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Walford, 2001, p.16). The 1870 Education Act made elementary education available to all, and eventually, education to 14 years old became free and compulsory. "Codes of Instruction were drawn up in 1871 and 1875 with Geography included as one of the basic subjects to be taught" (Walford, 2001, p.42). During this period, Geography was introduced to the curriculum of the Public Schools such as Eton or Harrow. Although Walford notes that "it was not until 1961 that the first specialist geography master was appointed at Eton" (Walford, 2001, p.43). With the introduction of Grammar schools from 1902, Geography became part of the curriculum of those pupils who gained a place at secondary school. The Secondary School Regulations of 1904 included Geography as one of the subjects advised

for secondary pupils. "Not less than 4 and a half hours a week must be allotted to English, Geography and History" (quoted in Walford, 2001 p.77). Late twentieth-century Cultural restorationists (Ross, 2000, p.54), like Baker or Tate, might have considered these three subjects to be suitable vehicles for imparting a national cultural heritage, but Geography can also be used to promote an internationalist ethos. A Geography syllabus covering four years was recommended in the 1904 regulations and Geography could be taken as part of the School Certificate examination.

Walford traces the progress of different influences and imperatives in the development of the school Geography Curriculum over the last hundred and fifty years. Synoptically, these are: in the early nineteenth century—"travellers' tales"; mid to late nineteenth century—"capes and bays"; late nineteenth and early twentieth century—"imperial imperatives" (Walford, 2001 pp.16-56). An interest in the Geography of the battlefield was a consequence of the Second World War (Walford, 2001, p.133), but after this, a regional approach to Geography was adopted (Walford, 2001, pp.141-143). During the 1960s and 1970s, Geography was often integrated with History and other subjects under the heading of Humanities or Social Studies, and in Scotland, Modern Studies (Walford, 2001, p.150). Environmentalism and ecological studies became important features of Geography education from the 1970s (Marsden, 2001, p.19). In the 1970s and early 1980s, Walford describes a period of radicalism in Geography education which was concerned to respond to the needs of a multicultural society and to amend for a perception of ethnocentric bias in previous Geography Curricula. I show below that this radical period remains influential on some current presentations of globalisation in the curriculum. From the late 1980s onwards the development and implementation of Geography became part of the National Curriculum. The history of the National Curriculum shows that part of the rationale for its

development was in response to this period of radicalism which was interpreted as Marxist (see Scruton, 1985).

Some past models of Geography education had a potential both for learning and teaching about 'globalisation' and for developing citizenship. Although Citizenship has only recently acquired its formal place in the curriculum, schools have always had an interest in turning out 'good citizens'. *The Daily Graphic* of 1893 observed that "the study [of colonialism and the Empire] could not fail to encourage the growth of a wholesome patriotism" (quoted in Walford 2001 p.53). Walford cites the tendency to present teaching about other parts of the world as Anglo-centric and Victorian society as imbued with a "sense of its own social superiority" (Walford, 2001, p.53). But he also portrays the ambiguity inherent in these attitudes towards the Empire and the colonies:

> This national mood is sometimes portrayed by commentators as a collective villainy in an unscrupulous past, the results of which were wholly malign. But the matter is much more complex than that. In some regards, it was a staging-post to a concept of global citizenship ... there was much altruism and idealism mixed with these attitudes, and probably as many migrants gave 'service' to their fellow human beings in the Empire (for instance, by improving their health and educational standards) as oppressed them. (Walford, 2001, p.53)

The research into the content of the curriculum in this thesis suggests the extent to which attitudes, derived from this Victorian combination of colonialism, idealism and altruism, still inform global education.

Citizenship Education through Geography

Marsden (2001) traces the development of citizenship education over the last 200 years in so far as it can be connected with Geography. He notes five stages in this relationship. Firstly, there were *Good Christian Citizens* in the early nineteenth century. The early development and expansion of elementary education in the nineteenth century was in the

hands of Christian denominations that based ideas of good citizens on the teachings of Jesus Christ and interpretations of the Christian Bible. In parallel, a movement for secular morality, or humanism, was developed. Marsden calls this phase *Good National Citizens*. Marsden observes that this "citizenship lobby was closely allied with those of health education and eugenics" (Marsden, 2001, p.13). Character training was promoted by this movement. "Its preoccupations were with education as a curative for social ills, instancing as major sources of concern the perils of the public house, problems of idleness and luxury, the evils of gambling and the preference for passive sports" (Marsden, 2001, p.14). Parallels with this are apparent in the concept of entitlement in the National Curriculum today, which through a Reconstructionist curriculum ideology places the burden for resolving society's ills on education itself. Marsden says, "Central to the thinking of British promoters of citizenship education was the premise that good national citizens would by definition also be [*good imperial citizens*]" (Marsden, 2001, p.14). He notes that between the wars

> A new proposition emerged, that of the ungrasping colonist who, while still wishing
> to spread the benefits of British values and liberties and of democratic constitution,
> would at the same time admire the heritage of other races and offer them the prospect
> of education, economic advancement and self-determination (Marsden, 2001, p.14).

This parallels Walford's observation about the two strands inherent in education about the colonies and the Empire (Walford, 2001, p.53). The stance is at once superior and altruistic. These values inform some concepts of international development today. Democracy is promoted through aid conditionality. Education and economic advancement in developing countries are central to the mission of governments, international organisations and NGOs in promoting international development.

Marsden also follows the progress of campaigns to make *"good world citizens"* (Marsden, 2001, p.15) after the First World War. These campaigns often originated in the peace movement and Marsden says that

> While imperial pride continued to characterise the work of many geographers and geographical educationalists in the inter-war years, there were many cross-currents. Some writers were, for example, more attuned to the moral ramifications of the concept of geography for international understanding. (Marsden, 2001, p.15)

The cross-currents of peace education which Marsden observes between the two world wars are not apparent in the present National Curriculum. The 1988 National Curriculum sought to suppress Peace Studies and World Studies and some other aspects of radical Geography (discussed below) because the Conservative government that designed this curriculum perceived them as indoctrinating students with left-wing views at the time of the Cold War. The Crick report highlights this:

> In the early 1980s when some attention was being given in schools to particularly sensitive issues such as Peace Studies, advisers and inspectors were required to be alert to the possibility of teachers abusing their position to persuade pupils to their point of view, and to investigate complaints. (Crick, 1998, p.58)

This describes a situation designed to induce lasting apprehension in teachers of related topics today. Addressing Peace Studies could imply a direct critique of government, something which teachers may wish to avoid for fear of complaints.

The early antecedents of global education were mediated through understandings about Britain's role as a colonial power and about altruism towards people in other countries. However despite a reluctance to be seen to indoctrinate, at different times in history, political understandings were promoted and accepted in the curriculum. The discussion below examining some radical perspectives of Geography, including political education through Geography, in the 1980s shows that at a time of great political polarisation both

nationally, between left and right, and internationally, between the West and the Communist bloc, contradictions and debates occurred around the curriculum. In a globalised post-Cold War era these political debates apparently no longer apply, but this thesis finds that some of the contradictions remain.

Critical Geography in the 1980s: Teaching Geography for a Better World

Teaching Geography for a Better World (Fien and Gerber, 1988) was first published in 1986 in Australia and was an influential text on Geography education at this time. Its publication in the UK coincided with the introduction of the National Curriculum but it encapsulates some influential themes in Geography education from the 1970s and 1980s. My analysis of both documentary data and interviews with curriculum developers from development organisations, suggests that it remains influential in development education, if not in Geography. For example, in that volume, Hicks writes that "World Studies is ... not a new subject but rather a dimension in the curriculum" (Hicks, 1988, p.16) just like *The Global Dimension* discussed above, and possibly one of the earliest expositions of the concept of a dimension in the curriculum. The book developed ideas *inter alia* about World Citizenship (p.20ff), multiculturalism (p.80ff), Third World Studies (p.117ff) and Peace Studies (p.140ff). Most influential is the idea of a 'better world' which I discuss in the next chapter, where I suggest it has been taken up by the National Curriculum and used for other political purposes.

I concur with Morgan (2002) who is critical of the way particular ideas from *Teaching Geography for a Better World* have been interpreted today: "the reader gets the distinct feeling of being caught in a 1980s time-warp" (Morgan, 2002, p.18) and "that critical Geography education tends to construct highly simplified models of how the world works" (Morgan, 2002, p.28). I would extend Morgan's critique and suggest that the perspectives of globalisation influenced by this version of Geography education are also simplified. They

may once have had a political foundation in the ideas of critical Geography, but now tend to reduce the relations of globalisation to the economic, and thereby risk neglecting some pressing political issues. I would also suggest that the increasing use of the concept of 'dimensions' in the curriculum (QCA, 2007c) and the adoption of the idea of a 'better world', twenty years after the publication of *Teaching Geography for a Better World*, provides an example of the incorporation of contradictory, and once radical, positions into the hegemony. This suggests that the simplification of the concept of globalisation serves a purpose which I discuss in more detail in Chapter 6.

Skilbeck observes that "it is just as possible to indoctrinate people with liberal views as it is to indoctrinate them with 'fascist' ones-and possibly just as common" (Skilbeck, 1976, p.47). But indoctrination is not usually the avowed purpose of education in England and I argue is not actually taking place, despite teachers' concerns. Much is made in official documents of producing autonomous citizens capable of informed and critical thought. This could not be achieved by direct indoctrination. Nonetheless, political sensitivities about indoctrination have been a recurrent theme in the development of a National Curriculum. Education planners of that era were uncomfortably close to the experience of complete educational control exercised by totalitarian regimes in Fascist and Communist countries. At the time of the development of the National Curriculum in the 1980s consideration was given to the possibility for different subjects to transmit different political positions. For example, while Kenneth Baker was in favour of Geography as a safe vehicle for instruction about location and national identity, Walford suggests Baker's dislike of "the supposed bias and possible indoctrinatory effects of Peace Studies and World Studies". Walford notes that Baker "felt that geography as a longer-standing and more traditional subject, offered a 'safer' delivery of world knowledge and issues" (Walford, 2001, p.208). Hicks (2003a) provides more detail:

> The growth of interest in global education in the 1980s did not go unnoticed by Conservative politicians. World Studies, along with initiatives such as peace education and multicultural education saw themselves under attack by the political right which saw these concerns as a form of indoctrination. (Hicks, 2003a, p.268)

Scruton's pamphlet *World Studies: education or indoctrination?* (Scruton, 1985) was particularly critical of what the author saw as the transmission of mainly Marxist propaganda through World Studies. Baker was concerned about environmental studies being taught instead of locational Geography. The influence of the Geographical Association on the development of the original National Curriculum alerted Baker to the potential of Geography as "a vehicle for the study and discussion of controversial social and environmental issues [which] therefore should be studied up to age 16 by all" (quoted in Walford, 2001 p.207). *Teaching Geography for a Better World* includes examples of politicisation through environmental studies, for example, a chapter by Huckle: *The Daintree rainforest: teaching political literacy through an environmental issue,* (Huckle, 1988, p.45) which seeks to impart citizenship education through an example of environmental activism.

Eco-citizenship

Marsden seeks to demonstrate an example of bias in an aspect of Geography and Citizenship education through the development in the 1970s, of the *Good Eco-Citizen.* Marsden's critique of this turn in Geography's interface with citizenship education is that it is pessimistic, crusading, evangelical and often extreme (Marsden, 2001, pp.19-20). In this critique of the radical concept of "education for the environment" as opposed to "education *about* and *in* the environment" (Marsden, 2001, p.20) Marsden makes the following observation:

> While such a proposition is ... by no means novel, the nature of the action has in recent times been made politically more overt, the intention being to reconstruct a sustainable socialist alternative to a corrupt and inevitably transient multinational capitalism. (Marsden, 2001, p.20)

Marsden's observation may also apply to curriculum material about globalisation. Several examples can be found in curriculum materials about globalisation and global education (especially those produced by aid agencies and other NGOs). The strong anti-globalisation perspective of some of those resources, discussed in the previous chapter, recollects a previous highly divided era in politics and the straightforward Marxist terms of some cannot engage with the complexities of globalisation such as those described by the transformationalists. Since anti-globalisationists usually reduce globalisation to its economic basis, neither can they offer the possibilities for political challenge and engagement of the cosmopolitan perspective. An example of the cosmopolitan perspective is Huckle's conception of ecological citizenship which focuses on "ecological democracy and citizenship in the context of globalisation and the need for global democracy" (Huckle, 2001, p.144) and draws on the work of Held. The idea of the eco-citizen remains an important concept in the National Curriculum, especially in Geography. The concepts of globalisation and sustainable development overlap in some curriculum resources, especially those with a cosmopolitan perspective. Sustainable Development is one of the 8 Key Concepts of *The Global Dimension* (DfES/DfID 2005). There is scope for further research which could compare and contrast the findings of this thesis about globalisation and development education, with the ways in which environmental education is used in respect of globalisation.

Another aspect of critical Geography which was first radically expressed in the 1980s by writers such as Hicks (1980) and Gill (1982) was anti-racism. Authors like these sought to uncover and critique the unconscious racism and ethnocentricity of Geography textbooks. Today these concerns are more usually represented by multiculturalism, a policy response to a requirement for social cohesion in a diverse society which seeks to celebrate and tolerate difference.

Walford traces a radical anti-racist phase in Geography education in the 1980s (Walford p.189). This started with the work of Hicks (1980) whose PhD thesis is an analysis of images of the "third world" in Geography textbooks exposing ethnocentric bias and based on interviews with Geography teachers, develops an understanding of how bias is transmitted in the classroom. The work of Gill (1982) exposes unconscious racism and ethnocentric bias in Geography Curricula. Walford (2001, p.195) observes:

> Whilst extreme radical conclusions were not generally accepted, the general analysis which lay behind them often was. The radical critics had the ability to lay bare the inadequacy of much that was being unconsciously perpetrated with good intentions. ..
> Though Gill's full-blooded reconstructionist philosophy for geographical education was not widely adopted; the essence of most of her criticisms had its effect. (Walford, 2001, p.195)

However, as indicated by Marsden (2001, pp.20-21), the more radical versions of Geography education might be considered to be indoctrination because they were teleological, being conscious of a supposed correct position on issues. The title *Teaching Geography for a Better World* itself speaks of this teleological aspect of Reconstructionism. I analyse current aspirations for a 'better world' in the next chapter in the context of curriculum ideology and the Third Way. The introduction of Citizenship to the Curriculum is an indication of the Reconstructionist ideology of the 2000 version of the National Curriculum.

The 'global' in the Geography National Curriculum

It was a perception of some of my respondents that World Studies, Peace Studies, development education, and the like, had been considered politically suspect and were discouraged in the early National Curriculum. This impression is supported in the literature (Scruton, 1985; Walford, p. 208; Heater, 2001, p116; Hicks 2003a). Yet it is difficult to find

concrete support for this perception within National Curriculum documents and, surprisingly, the Development Education Association was set up in 1993 with Overseas Development Agency (ODA—DfID's predecessor) approval. My DEA respondent advised me that the ODA minister was initially cautious in case development education could be seen as indoctrination, but changed her view subsequently. In view of my later discussion on hegemony, this perception, and contradictions to it, exemplifies the way in which the curriculum might be influenced in complex yet subtle ways. Compromise, negotiation and resistance take place, so that despite government's intentions, it may not totally determine the content and delivery of a curriculum. Perhaps as a response to such compromises, the official content of the National Curriculum has changed over time in respect of global and development education.

The Fielding Report on *Geography for ages 5-16* (DES, June 1990) stated that "Good citizenship ... requires some measure of international or global awareness, of development education" (DES, June 1990, p76). The report writes of Geography's role in developing "genuine international awareness ... and ... effective citizens of the world" (DES, 1990, p77) However, neither global awareness nor links with Citizenship education in Geography were incorporated into the 1991, or the 1995 Curricula (DES, 1991; DFE, 1995)

Early versions of the National Curriculum for Geography required the study of economically developing countries and a specific list of countries to choose from was given in the National Curriculum Council's Consultation Report (NCC, 1990, p69). This report recommends study of something resembling economic globalisation:

> Pupils should ... analyse the roles played by transnational companies in the economic development of the economically developing country selected ... [and] evaluate the ways in which the government and other organisations have attempted to stimulate economic development ... including the significance of foreign investments, loans and aid programmes. (NCC, November 1990, p69)

In contrast with earlier emphases on locations and economies, the 2000 version of the Geography curriculum focuses on cultural, political and social values, and links to the rights and responsibilities of citizenship:

> As pupils study Geography, they encounter different societies and cultures. This helps them to realise how nations rely on each other. It can inspire them to think about their own place in the world, their values, and their rights and responsibilities to other people and to the environment. (QCA 1999b, p154)

A prominent quote on the first page of the Geography Curriculum from Bill Giles says that "Geography makes us aware that we must think globally" (QCA, 1999b, p154). In the context of Knowledge and Understanding of Places, for example, students

> Explain how places are interdependent (for example through trade, aid, international Tourism, acid rain) and ... explore the idea of global citizenship (QCA 1999b, p. 157)

This contrasts with the more economically focused requirement of the Geography Curriculum published in 1991 which, for example, at the end of a long list of locational and map-based work, required pupils to be taught to:

> Analyse the patterns of trade between individual countries, including the types of commodities traded. (DES, 1991, p44)

Study of the selected economically developing country specified the understanding of matters such as occupations, landscape, weather, settlement patterns, and population distribution (DES, 1991, p 43). In contrast with the economic focus in 1991, the 2000 version links with global citizenship and issues relating to globalisation are intended to be taught from a perspective that implies a greater understanding of values.

In respect of the *Futures* Curriculum I was told at the QCA that

> *Globalisation's at the heart of what we think the subject is about*

The Key Stage 3 review programme of study for Geography includes in its importance statement the view that

> Geography inspires pupils to become global citizens by exploring their own place in
> the world, their values and responsibilities to other people (QCA 2007)

This section traced changes in the Geography National Curriculum from one which focused on technical, economic and locational knowledge, to one which uses ideas of the global and global citizenship to develop students' values. The 2007 Geography programme makes a stronger link with active Citizenship when it encourages students to

> participate in informed responsible action in relation to geographical issues that affect
> them and those around them (QCA, 2007)

Citizenship

By contrast with Geography, there is no academic discipline known as Citizenship. Instead, Citizenship might be seen as a concept encompassing individual rights and responsibilities in respect of the state and other citizens. This may be behind difficulties associated with including Citizenship as a 'subject' in the National curriculum and this is discussed later.

T.H. Marshall (1950) gave what has been considered a seminal definition of citizenship as being in tension with capital and consisting entirely of rights: legal or civil rights, political rights and social rights. Marshall has been criticised for his evolutionary approach which sees political rights as developing in the nineteenth century as a consequence of legal and civil rights in the eighteenth century. Social rights, that is, the development of the welfare state in the twentieth century, are seen as a consequence of the extension of political rights in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Heater (Heater, 1999, p.19) lists the other criticisms of Marshall's concept of citizenship as being:

> That his study was temporally and geographically too myopic; that his notion of
> citizenship was too exclusive; that his vision was too optimistic; that his triad of rights
> was too simplistic; and that his interpretation was too historical. (Heater, 1999, p.19)

Thinking about citizenship has departed from Marshall's important early contribution. It is now considered that there are other rights involved and these ideas have developed alongside changes in society since the 1950s. For example, Marshall spoke of equality of status: this has been replaced with the idea of equality of opportunity. Society is more diverse and opportunities for women have changed since 1950. Above all, the idea of civic duty and citizenship responsibilities has been added to the notions of rights first conceived of by Marshall.

Communitarianism appears to be a strong influence on recent Citizenship policy. This political philosophy developed by Etzioni proposes "A Four Point Agenda on Rights and Responsibilities" (Etzioni, 1995, p.4) which is aimed at "Correcting the current imbalance between rights and responsibilities" (Etzioni, 1995, p.4). According to Etzioni the four points required to achieve this are:

> A moratorium on the minting of most, if not all, new rights; re-establishing the link
> between rights and responsibilities; recognizing that some responsibilities do not
> entail rights; and most carefully, adjusting some rights to the changed circumstances.
> (Etzioni, 1995, p.4)

In Chapter 6 I discuss an emphasis on responsibilities in the context of a Reconstructionist curriculum ideology, wider education policy and the inclusion of globalisation in the curriculum.

The Crick Report

The Labour government came into power in 1997 and commissioned Professor Sir Bernard Crick, an eminent Professor of Politics, to head an advisory group on Citizenship education. This was in response to widely held views that young people were increasingly

apathetic about politics, evidenced by low voter turnout in the younger age groups. *Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools* was the report published in 1998 (Crick, 1998). It made recommendations to the Minister of Education for the inclusion of Citizenship Education in the revised National Curriculum. There had previously been a somewhat marginalised cross-curricular theme. This report defines citizenship as "active citizenship" (Crick, 1998, p.25). It said that Citizenship Education should be geared at educating young people not just to be recipients of rights, but also to exercise responsibilities and to be actively engaged participants in society, community and democracy.

National Curriculum Citizenship Education

In 2002 the curriculum subject Citizenship Education was introduced to all students aged 12 to 16. At primary level (Key stage 1and 2) it is taught in conjunction with Personal, Social and Health Education. The legal requirements were described as "light touch" by the then Minister of Education, David Blunkett. Compared with the level of prescription for some other subjects (especially the core subjects of Mathematics, Science and English) the "Programme of Study" for Citizenship education is slight and the balance is geared at the development of skills rather than knowledge and understanding as in other subjects. Unlike other subjects, there is no assessment but instead "End of Key Stage descriptions" (QCA 1999a, p.49). The lack of assessment and the light touch with regard to content may have led to "misunderstanding or scepticism" (Ofsted, 2005, p3) about the status of Citizenship in the curriculum. But according to Ofsted (2006, p11)

> It seems uncontentious to suggest that a subject will have a body of knowledge, its own specific organising concepts and applied skills; that these can be viewed as an entity recognised by teachers and taught; that progression in learning can be identified and achievement measured (Ofsted, 2006, p11).

David Bell, previously Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools, emphasised the importance of global citizenship in itself and as a means of strengthening the delivery of citizenship through other humanities subjects such as Geography and History (Bell, 2005, p2). The thesis goes on to examine how global issues have fared in the curriculum to date.

The history of global issues in Citizenship Education

In his analysis of the history of weak citizenship education in England, Heater concludes that lack of a tradition of citizenship education will make it difficult for schools to develop courses. According to Heater, the government will have to be cautious to avoid any taint of indoctrination. Lack of guidance from the centre will place the burden on voluntary organisations (Heater, 2001, pp.119-120), and this is why this thesis examines curriculum materials provided by voluntary organisations as well as those written by the government.

The twentieth century saw some radical attempts to include subjects such as World Studies, peace education, and development education into the curriculum. However, heater notes that war and peace aroused some controversy, especially in the twentieth century. There was very little official support for teachers wishing to undertake Peace Studies or World Studies (Heater, 2001, p.116). For example, he recalls that in the 1970s and 1980s "that the new wave of world studies in those two decades provoked some violent hostility" (Heater, 2001, p116). In particular there was a concern that education for world citizenship might lead to "indoctrination in the schools and a loss of focused standards that had always been provided by the traditional disciplines" (Heater, 2001, p.117). Furthermore, Heater states

> Behind this hostility lay a generalized concern that citizenship and world citizenship
> are incompatible; to become a citizen of the world is to leave behind one's loyalty to
> the state and essential component of national citizenship. (Heater, 2001, p.117)

This concern has been expressed by Crick (Crick 2004) and is the source of considerable debate between him and development educationalists. (This controversy is discussed in

detail below.) Heater notes the fear of indoctrination attached to World Studies. He wonders whether, given past "suspicion and hostility" (Heater, 2001, p.120), world citizenship "may be incorporated as a recognized dimension of citizenship in English schools" (Heater, 2001, p.121). However from the 1990s he draws attention to a change from this previous era of hostility to one in which

> a sense of world community was clearly burgeoning; environmental degradation, globalisation and the defence of human rights were inducing an increasing number of people to think in planetary terms. Thus if citizenship education was to be promoted in schools ... there was every chance that a world perspective would be integrated in to the consequent guidelines. (Heater, 2001, p.117)

An important factor in Heater's historical analysis of citizenship education is Empire and Commonwealth. Like Marsden, (2001) Heater explains how loyalty to and admiration of Empire has been conducive to the development of British national identity and good British citizens in the past (Heater, 2001, p.117). But Green points out that "few western governments have a clear notion of what nationhood and citizenship mean in complex and pluralistic modern societies" (Green, 1997, p.184). According to Heater, (Heater, 2001, p.118) the Commonwealth should now be an important area of study for two main reasons. Firstly, because of the "evolution of Britain as a microcosm of the Commonwealth" (Heater, 2001, p.118) due to migration in the late twentieth century, that could be seen as a feature of globalisation; secondly, "the Commonwealth has provided a bridge between national and world citizenship" (Heater, 2001, p.118). However there is a debate about the tensions between national and world or global citizenship.

Citizenship or Global Citizenship?

In the Importance Statement of the National Curriculum for Citizenship, Crick says:

> Citizenship is more than a statutory subject. If taught well and tailored to local needs, its skills and values will enhance democratic life for us all, both rights and responsibilities, beginning in school, and radiating out. (QCA, 1999b, p.183)

"Beginning in school, and radiating out" is a defining characteristic of Crick's perspective on citizenship education, which is a topic of controversy and debate in the global education field. Crick observes (2004) that, in the Citizenship Order, the 'global' is deliberately placed last in the programme of study requirements for Key Stage 3 students. For example, that pupils should be taught about the "world as a global community" is, he points out, ninth in the knowledge and understanding requirements. At Key Stage 4, they should be taught about citizenship at a "range of levels ... school, local, national and [lastly] global" (QCA, 1999b, p.185). He is clear that this tiered order is deliberate and while "teachers must reach the global (both to feel moral concern and to understand what 'interdependence' means) ... usually it is better pedagogy to build on what is immediate and familiar" (Crick, 2004, p.8). He goes on "I am unhappy when unreflective and well-meaning enthusiasts for global citizenship ignore the parish pump" (Crick, 2004, p.8). He appears to interpret global citizenship as evincing a concern for others. Further he writes that

> Strictly speaking 'global citizenship' is a contradiction in terms philosophically, and politically a far from incontestable aim. I worry that it may lead to a lack of realism in persuading our young to consider problems in some immediately perceived and sensible order of priority and realism. Toleration, love and concern for others are imperative moral values, but they are so much needed precisely because there is no global citizenship. (Crick, 2004, p.9).

Not surprisingly, these comments have caused some disagreement amongst curriculum developers working in the field of the global dimension, and especially amongst those in the development NGOs who took the opportunity of the introduction of Citizenship education to have their global interests represented in the National Curriculum. An interviewee told me Oxfam's position was

in contrast to Crick who talks about the parish pump and the wider world as two
opposite poles. The point is that the wider world is so firmly in the parish pump.

Oxfam formulated a response to Crick which was published in the next issue of *DEJ* putting this point of view that the global and the local are integrated (Allen, 2004, pp.31-33). This is in keeping with the transformationalist position on globalisation, but what Crick seems to be questioning is the legal concept of Global Citizenship itself, a concept which Oxfam took a lead in developing in 1997 and which they claim he misunderstands. This concept has been very influential and in several schools where I interviewed teachers they claimed to be developing global citizens at their school, or even to be using the Oxfam curriculum although it is intended for primary schools. The National Curriculum for Citizenship requires students to learn about 'the world as a global community' a conceptualisation which makes no claims for the possibility of citizenship of the globe or as Oxfam put it "someone who ... has a sense of their role as a world citizen" (Oxfam, 2006). In the context of identity and global citizenship Davies raises a number of compelling questions:

> National policies on immigration, refugees and asylum seekers have highly local implications. How robust is our acceptance of 'multiple identities' and 'dynamic cultures'? How far are we prepared to take action to defend the rights of those whom others see as threatening the local culture and economy? Who counts as a citizen in our own back yard? (Davies, 2006, pp.10-11)

To which I would add the question what can *global* citizenship mean to a student seeking asylum or about to be deported, whose aspirations to *national* citizenship may have been thwarted many times.

Crick raises a legalistic difficulty with the concept of global citizenship, which he implies may detract from some compelling citizenship issues which impinge locally. I would argue that the difficulty with global issues is not that they are used to teach Citizenship, but the

nature of the global issues which are used. Some of those which originate with development organisations run the risk of being used to teach about distant events which students may still not relate to their own globalised lives, despite the intentions to integrate the local with the global. Teachers I interviewed were inclined to associate global issues with charitable fundraising, a matter that education sections of development organisations were all seeking to distance themselves from.

Cosmopolitan Citizenship

Osler and Starkey favour the term 'cosmopolitan citizenship' (Osler and Starkey, 2003, p.33), extending the concept from the work of Held (1995) on cosmopolitan democracy. Osler and Starkey (2003, 2005) write about the need to educate for cosmopolitan citizenship and "suggest that educated cosmopolitan citizens will be confident in their own identities and will work to achieve peace, human rights and democracy within the local community and at the global level" (Osler and Starkey, 2003, p.246). They argue that "a re-conceptualised education for cosmopolitan citizenship [will equip] young people to make a difference at all levels, from the local to the global" (Osler and Starkey, 2003, p.245). This fits with Aim 1 of the current version of the National Curriculum which states that the curriculum "should enable children to ... make a difference for the better" (QCA, 1999b, p.11). But tensions exist for that expressed ideal of empowering young people, between the pragmatic realities of school organisation and the extent of that empowerment. One of the main motivations for the current inclusion of citizenship and global education into the National Curriculum is as a response to perceived political apathy amongst youth. Calls for Citizenship to be included in the National Curriculum often focused on the reluctance of young adults to vote. In fact, school students may not be politically apathetic in other respects. Recent events have seen older pupils taking an active role in anti-war protests to the extent of organising their own peaceful demonstrations as empowered and

cosmopolitan citizens. However, there was no evidence that schools or government considered this a legitimate participation in global politics and many students were suspended and disciplined for truancy (BBC News).

Osler and Starkey's (2003, 2005) concept of cosmopolitan citizenship avoids the difficulty that exists with global citizenship, which is open to Crick's critique that one cannot legally be a citizen of the globe. While cosmopolitan citizenship encompasses some of the positive aspects of Oxfam's formulation, Osler and Starkey's (2003, 2005) cosmopolitan citizen is specifically conceived of in the context of globalisation and works with ideas of global interconnection and solidarity; global citizenship by contrast is inevitably conceived of against a background of development education. Cosmopolitan citizenship arises from the cosmopolitan voices in Osler and Starkey's research. Yet global citizenship is the concept that prevails in the curriculum. Oxfam's primary school resource *Education for Global Citizenship* is complex and mounts a defence against all conceivable criticism, for example:

> Education for global citizenship is not
>
> • too difficult for young children to understand
>
> • mostly or all about other places and peoples
>
> • telling people what to think and do
>
> • providing simple solutions to complex issues
>
> • an extra subject to cram into a crowded curriculum
>
> • about raising money for charity. (Oxfam, 2006, p.3)

As Grunsell observes "'education for global citizenship' has caught on in a way that 'Development Education' never has" (Grunsell, 2004, p.12). This reflects the issue explored by this chapter, which is that ideas about globalisation and the global have been captured by development organisations that have been very successful with their

perspective on globalisation. In the face of a widespread desire to avoid 'indoctrination' through the curriculum it may be that the distanced controversies evoked in development education are preferred because they are presented in a 'safe' way. I found no resources which touched on the problematic role of colonialism in the past, or of the complex ethics of aid transactions in the present. The roles of aid and development agencies are by no means straightforward, either in the curriculum or in the context of their wider operations.

The roles of development organisations in the curriculum

Hicks describes the recent interest in the inclusion of global education in the curriculum as "a resurgence of interest" (Hicks, 2003a, p.265), based in a long history of similar "cross-curricular concerns" dating back to the 1920s (Hicks, 2003a, p.265). According to Hicks, the antecedents of the current interest include *The World Studies Project* directed by Richardson from 1973-1980 which involved teacher trainers and NGOs (Hicks, 2003a, p.266); A *Centre for Global Education*, (originally at the University of York and now at York St John), was set up by Selby and Pike (see for example, Pike and Selby, 1988). Hicks, Selby, Pike and Richardson are among the authors strongly critiqued by Scruton for engaging in Marxist indoctrination (Scruton, 1985, pp.37-39).

Fujikane identifies "the predecessors of global education [as] education for international understanding, development education, multicultural education, and peace education" (Fujikane, 2003, p.134). She observes a history of education about development in the UK which dates back to the 1950s and 1960s and which includes an Oxfam curriculum development project in 1966. Development education arises from earlier public information and fundraising activities on the part of aid agencies (Fujikane, 2003, p.136). Many of the organisations which were previously involved in development education are now producing curriculum materials about globalisation. Fujikane observes that "unlike

development education, discussions on multicultural education were part of the official agenda ... and primarily appeared as a government response to changing domestic circumstances", especially immigration (Fujikane, 2003, p.139).

Since the consultation process which led to the National Curriculum of 2000, there has been interest in the inclusion of a 'global dimension' across the school curriculum and the development of 'global citizens' through the school curriculum. To this end, many organisations and agencies have involved themselves in developing and producing curriculum materials, learning and teaching resources, guidelines and support programmes geared to these two aspects of the curriculum. There was also a period of lobbying by many organisations for inclusion of particular curricular agendas into the new Citizenship subject. The fact of this lobbying implies strength of support for one or another perspective. The official support of DfID for the development of a global dimension in the school curriculum provided an impetus for lobbying activity.

DfID in global education

According to Scruton (Scruton, 1985, p.50) DfID's predecessor department, the Overseas Development Agency (ODA), was providing substantial support to World Studies projects in the 1980s. There is a perception that these subjects were subsequently blocked, although, as noted above, ODA supported the establishment of the DEA in 1993.

In 1999 the Secretary of State for International Development gave a speech to Secondary Head Teachers entitled *Education and our Global Future* (Short, 1999). In that speech she raised the issue of DfID's involvement in education. She emphasised her perception of the need for development education to be part of the school and National Curricula. In terms of globalisation and the global dimension she said:

I want to look at how we can help bring international development issues more fully into the work and life of schools, in a way which prepares young people to understand and feel able to shape the globalising and increasingly interdependent world which they will inherit (Short, 1999, p.2).

Short spoke of DfID's increased support for those designing curriculum materials and activities associated with development education. Those being supported included Action Aid, Development Education Centres, and the Central Bureau of the British Council. She also specifically mentioned the curriculum, acknowledging the place of Geography in teaching development issues and welcoming the introduction of Citizenship as another important vehicle for development education and the coverage of global issues. A speech calling for the inclusion of globalisation in the school curriculum given by the Secretary of State for International Development is likely to place globalisation firmly in the context of development education. As noted above, development, aid and relief agencies are a major source of readily available teaching and curriculum materials about globalisation. DfID is the leading agency producing the advisory documents, *Citizenship education: the Global dimension* (DEA, 2001) and *Developing a global dimension in the school curriculum* (DfES/DfID, 2005) which provide guidance to teachers on including a global dimension in these aspects of teaching.

In an article entitled *Meeting the Challenge of Creating Real Understanding* Richard Calvert, then Head of Information at DfID, notes that "increased awareness is not the same as understanding" (Calvert, 2001, p.22). The nature of understanding is not fully defined in the brief article. He considers that "the real test [of the global dimension guidance] will be the extent to which this is taken up in schools" (Calvert, 2001, p.22). He identifies the main challenge as being to bring development education into the education mainstream. Calvert identifies the challenges to organisations providing development education. These are: "to talk the language of formal education" in other words "to sharpen our focus around

curriculum requirements rather than reflect a particular organisation's agenda"; "to distinguish between education and advocacy", in particular,

> There is a strong and entirely proper tradition within the NGO movement of linking awareness-raising and advocacy. But for many teachers there is a natural nervousness about bringing advocacy and campaigning messages into the classroom. There is a need to be clear about what education is and what is advocating a particular message. (Calvert, 2001, p.22)

There is a risk of indoctrination attached to advocacy and the educational and pedagogical methodologies espoused by NGOs in their materials do not fit easily within the structure of the National Curriculum. Hicks views this mismatch as leading to a lack of clarity:

> Today's DfID inspired endeavours in the UK are thus part of a long educational tradition which embodies an enormous amount of theoretical and practical expertise. What is not clear, however, is whether current initiatives and schools are actually drawing on that expertise since much of it was marginalized with the introduction of a National Curriculum. (Hicks, 2003a, p.270)

Calvert's third challenge is "to ensure our messages are made available in a user-friendly form" (Calvert, 2001, p.23). For this, there should be more involvement with government agencies such as Ofsted and the Teacher Training Agency (TTA). Finally, there should be much better organisation to deliver development education. He points to current arrangements which are piecemeal and ad hoc. He concludes, "Development agencies have often been seen as the providers of development education. But globalisation is forcing everyone involved in development education to address the issues in a new way" (Calvert, 2001, p.23). This last observation cannot be interpreted as meaning that globalisation is about development, nor that globalisation is just for development education.

Calvert's article is published in the *Development Education Journal*, published by the Development Education Association, the main non-government (but DfID-funded) body promoting development education in schools. It reads as a call from a government body to

non-governmental providers to conform to certain methods in order to increase understanding. The nature of the understanding is not made explicit, but the methods for delivering global education are specific in some areas of his article. A priority for Calvert is the need to avoid indoctrination and to work with the National Curriculum as it is, rather than appealing to an ideal type of curriculum which does not exist. Some development education agencies are clearly advocating a particular view of development and globalisation which does not resonate with that presented in QCA and DfID materials. Some development agencies also appear to be appealing for an ideal curriculum, which is not the one we have. For example, a curriculum which is more integrated is apparent in both *The Global Dimension* and Oxfam's *Education for Global Citizenship* (Oxfam, 2006).

Development education, globalisation and the curriculum

The previous chapter showed that global issues and globalisation had come to be conflated with ideas of international development in the curriculum and that development agencies were dominant in producing resources about globalisation for the curriculum. Even where resources had not been produced by development agencies, for example in a resource produced by DfES in collaboration with a bank, the prevailing understanding of globalisation was about development. Given that the literature review shows that there are many other perspectives and perceptions on globalisation, possible reasons for this predominance of a development education perspective should be considered.

At the time that the current version of the National Curriculum was being developed many organisations took the opportunity to lobby for their specific interests to be included in the curriculum. The embryonic Citizenship Education curriculum was seen as a particular target for this lobbying. Some organisations focused their lobbying around the part of the Citizenship curriculum which states that "pupils should be taught about ... the world as a global community, and the political, economic, environmental and social implications of

this, and the role of the European Union, the Commonwealth and the United Nations" (QCA, 1999, p.184). Those with a concern for the global aspect of the curriculum turn out to have been mainly development, relief and aid agencies. Smith suggests that these lobbyists were encouraged by

> the arrival of New Labour and its public statements around multiculturalism, stakeholders, citizenship and global agendas. Connected to this, the more apparently liberal climate may have led British based NGDOs [Non-Governmental development organisations] and others to feel better able to be more explicitly concerned with change and advocacy (Smith, 2004, p.72).

It should be recalled that, according to Heater (2001), and Hicks (2003a) under the Conservative government, issues-based education such as World Studies, peace education and development education, were discouraged in the National Curriculum. Ministers such as Baker and right-wing writers such as Scruton (1985) tended to regard the content of these studies as indoctrinating and Marxist. At the time of the election of the New Labour government, development agencies may have felt that a new opportunity to raise awareness about their issues opened up, especially in view of the creation of DfID, talk about ethical foreign policy and proposals in the Crick report for the inclusion of a global dimension in the new Citizenship curriculum. But Smith points out the "contrast between rhetoric and reality" (Smith, 2004, p.76) in New Labour's policy:

> For example, alongside the emergence of policies focused around development awareness and citizenship [,] education policy and practice is also being structured to suit economic competitiveness. (Smith, 2004, p.77)

DfID makes funds available for 'development awareness' which can be used for educational purposes by NGDOs amongst others. This is a source of encouragement to bring a development perspective into the Citizenship curriculum for these organisations, but does not entirely explain their dominance in producing materials about globalisation for the curriculum.

I previously considered the possibility that the conflation of globalisation and global issues with development education in the curriculum could have the effect of silencing other perspectives on globalisation and that this may be to the advantage of the government in that certain globalisation perspectives entail a more direct critique of national and international policy making. The development education perspective account of globalisation is often derived from the anti-globalisation perspective. As discussed in the literature review and demonstrated by Held who describes both under the heading of hyperglobalist, the development perspective is the other side of the neo-liberal coin which also perceives globalisation as an inevitable force that takes away the sovereign powers of individual nation states. In both these perspectives of globalisation the role of governments and international organisations in creating the policy conditions which allow globalisation to thrive are glossed over. Development education perspectives can be seen to make use of abstracted critiques of trade and the apparent footloose dissociation of multinationals from the helpless nation state. It thus fits well with the way in which the government might like students to understand globalisation as an inevitable process in which the nation state and its citizens are powerless. If employment conditions in the developing world are exploitative and beyond the control of individual nation states why should that not be the case at home?

The aid agencies and associated bodies recognise their predominance in this area, but my interview respondents, although often senior in their organisation were not always able to explain it. Development agencies have mixed motives for wanting students to learn about the focus of their work. At a faith-based aid agency I was told pragmatically:

Development agencies are always looking for ways to get their issues in the curriculum.

One respondent candidly explored the tensions between being seen to produce good educational materials and campaigning and fundraising. A writer of curriculum materials recognised the predominance in the field, but was at a loss to explain it:

Generally I think looking at globalisation through issues tends to be done by the development education sector.

But at another organisation I was told:

it's not the role of development educationalists to think that they have the sole terrain on the debates around globalisation.

Hicks casts some light on the perceived need to present issues-based education in an integrated way because "fragmentation of the effort to create a more socially and politically relevant curriculum in schools," leads to "competition for scarce resources" and "the incomprehension of many teachers when faced with terms such as peace education" (Hicks, 2004, p.1). This may explain in part the way in which NGOs have identified the government's avowed interest in globalisation, and education for and about globalisation, and decided that this is where development education could be introduced into the curriculum, when they perceived it as having been blocked by the Conservative versions of the National Curriculum. However what the government masks in its globalisation discourse is far from the message about globalisation that many NGOs would prefer to be associated with, making this a risky strategy. But they may be well aware of the risks; I was told at a major development agency (quoted *in extenso* because very revealing):

The reason that Agency Y is involved in education to start with is because education has a role in the eradication of poverty, where we know that if people are more educated they are less poor. But in terms of what's happening in the North, without the globally informed, aware, conscious, knowledgeable population we're never going to vote in the politicians and find the political and economic will to change how the world is. We've had a global education department for thirty something years since the early seventies. We

believe that it's the long haul that changes ideas and beliefs. In fact it creates them. Education creates the frameworks in which you think and feel and analyse and we need people who have a consciousness of themselves as global citizens. I mean we've moved increasingly as an organisation, not just in our education work, but in our campaigning work, to try to influence international systems of governance and mediation.

Note she talks of 'global education' and not development education, although in the last thirty years that is likely at some time to have been the term used. In effect this respondent saw the aid agency as creating counter-hegemonic beliefs through its education, campaigning and public relations work which was continued through its education work. (I discuss later, the role of hegemony in creating globalisation as normative in the context of the inclusion of globalisation in the curriculum). This agency is using education to lobby and bring political pressure to bear. The respondent did not say whether it mattered what politicians' motivations were for engaging with development aid. But as one teacher pointed out:

Gordon Brown isn't looking for a new Marshall plan for Africa just to feel a wonderful person. He's doing it to create markets abroad to keep the whole show ticking over, hopefully in a more equitable way.

In the 1980s and 1990s as Heater (2001), Hicks (2003a), Scruton (1985) and Baker (1993) all report, the right considered development and related educations to be a vehicle for indoctrination. The Crick Report writes of "particularly sensitive issues such as Peace Studies" being taught in the "early 1980s" (Crick, 1998, p.58). The report does not make clear what could be particularly sensitive about Peace Studies, and materials on this theme are minimal as either QCA- or NGO-produced resources on globalisation. But Oxfam produces a strong resource called *Making Sense of World Conflicts* for Key Stage 4 English and Citizenship (Midwinter, 2005). Interestingly, although the date of publication is 2005, it does not touch on Iraq and in just one page covers the situation in Afghanistan taking a

historical perspective of conflict in that country, but one which begins only in 1979. This resource may be of interest to Citizenship teachers, but it is likely that in English at Key Stage 4 the emphasis will be on studying set books for GCSE and writing coursework with a view to assessment in a subject that has great impact on a school's league table position.

Rather than Peace Studies materials, several resources exist which present a distinctly neo-Marxist/anti-globalisation view of international development, for example, those alleging the exploitative nature of trainer production. Although these might seem to oppose the Third Way agenda they differ from Peace Studies in that they critique economic neo-liberalism obliquely by addressing the activities of shoe manufacturers, placing the solution with students as consumers, avoiding direct critique of government and policy makers. In a time of war, when governments are involved in possibly illegal incursion and previously unknown justification for hostile engagement such as "pre-emptive strike", Peace Studies would necessarily entail direct critique of government, whether from a Marxist perspective or not. Such critique would be difficult to justify in the National Curriculum. The National Curriculum is produced by the QCA, an agency of the government, and its contents require ratification by DfES, a department of government. However, this centralisation could be seen as an inhibition of liberal democratic values such as freedom of speech and illustrates the paradox of providing Citizenship education and teaching about political issues through a centrally prescribed curriculum.

Smith raises some importance issues for the dominant presence of development agencies in this field of education:

> Whilst educating and engaging people about development is part of the remit of most major NGDOs, this needs to be located in the wider context of NGDOs range of priorities and commitments ... This has the potential for creating significant tensions and contradictions ... In terms of NGDOs' educative roles, it also presents a complex

picture since, what constitutes 'education' becomes a significant issue. (Smith, 2004, p.73)

Smith shows the increasing entry of NGDOs into education for 'global Citizenship' and suggests these organisations have two motivations. Firstly, a desire to move away from past representations of development as a charitable enterprise, showing stereotyped imagery of people in 'poor countries', coming from a model of development that presupposes the West fulfilling a deficiency found in the developing world (Smith, 2004, p.71). Secondly, they have a desire to be involved in effecting genuine change rather than simply raising charitable funding and providing relief (Smith, 2004, p.70).

Despite what I have interpreted as the neo-liberal economic presentation of the Third Way, NGOs seem to have used the National Curriculum discourses about globalisation as a Trojan horse to reinvigorate development education as global education; in interview several aid agencies sought to distance themselves from the idea of development education, perhaps because this would make their strategy apparent. Smith points out how the many roles undertaken by these organisations leads to "significant tensions and contradictions" (Smith 2004, p.73) within their educational role. Many respondents in the education departments of these organisations were wary of confusing the charitable and fundraising activities with global education. One respondent was concerned that

we had a workshop of thirty teachers and quite a majority I would say had a view of development as very closely linked with fundraising and helping

At another agency I was told that

Development education agencies are not all that keen on fundraising in schools as it creates the wrong impression of the educational aspects of the work which are about raising awareness of structural inequalities.

However, my findings from interview data concur with Smith's (2004, pp, 75, 78) that schools strongly associated the work of development agencies with the charitable impulse. Perhaps ironically, considering their critique of branded training shoe manufacturers, many development organisations are themselves now well known 'brands'— complete with logos, marketing and advertising campaigns—which are publicly linked with their fundraising and charitable activities.

Now that the agencies are also so strongly associated with ideas about globalisation and global citizenship, these have also become confusingly linked to ideas of fundraising. Furthermore, schools liked the way in which development organizations had aligned themselves with the active citizenship aspect of the curriculum. This is because they believed it enabled them to tick the participation and active citizenship boxes by running fundraising and fair-trade activities in school. One school included Comic Relief as a major part of its active citizenship learning and different teachers chose to discuss Comic Relief with me under the rubric of questions about teaching globalisation. Many of them took the 'opportunity' presented by the Tsunami in 2004 to engage their students in fundraising and schools raised this with me in interviews as examples of their teaching in respect of globalisation. Several schools were supporting a school in a developing country; some were sponsoring individual children.

A Geography teacher in a rural school, whose students commuted long distances, described fair trade, and fundraising for developing countries as a more manageable way of including active citizenship and participation, rather than helping in the local community. But a special needs teacher provided a valuable insight into possible limitations to this approach:

The only two ways that kids felt they were able to make a difference was: 1) by learning about it and 2) by fundraising. They didn't feel they could do anything else and they felt

quite disempowered .What can they do and do they have a role and who may be stopping
them? It does become quite political. There are a lot of power issues.

His students were in a marginalised group themselves, and some aid agency formulations ask that students feel sympathy for children in the South. Oxfam's *Education for Global Citizenship* (2006), on the other hand, values "all pupils and [addresses] inequality within and outside school". Similarly Osler and Starkey's (Osler and Starkey, 2003, p.252) conceptualisation of the cosmopolitan citizens discussed above is intended to address some of the issues raised by this teacher. Transformationalist authors on globalisation and global citizenship and some of my respondents observe that the 'global is local'. Despite this, most of the resources about global issues focus on distant places and the direction is how 'we' impact on 'them' rather than on how globalisation affects students' own lives. The honourable exception is probably the GA's resource *Valuing Places*. Although I was told at all aid agencies about 'interdependence' and 'interconnection', the commonly expressed view of development and aid being the responsibility of people in the West, potentially neglects the unevenness of globalisation and the blurring of boundaries highlighted by transformationalists. In the transformationalist perspective on globalisation, poverty and wealth are not delineated across geographical lines or spheres, but interlock in both the 'West' and in 'Underdeveloped' countries.

Trade is a common theme in resources, as is consumption, fair trade, trainers and so on. This is a concern that some multinational corporations have used to their advantage, for example, in the Red Revolution campaign to end the diseases of poverty, like American Express whose September 2006 poster claimed that "this card can help eliminate Aids in Africa". In the context of development activities Ilcan and Lacey are highly critical of Oxfam in that "the pursuit of free trade as a development tool, specifically challenge[s] the ability of Oxfam to uphold the voices of the poor" (Ilcan and Lacey, 2006, p.207). Ilcan

and Lacey see Oxfam's aid activities as implicated in the neo-liberal project, when perhaps Oxfam would not acknowledge that view of their role. Nonetheless, my research into educational and campaigning materials from a number of agencies (not just Oxfam) was revealing of an emphasis on the economic. Development agencies might well respond with the argument that poverty is an economic condition exacerbated by globalisation; although Massey (2005) points out the political role of governments in the policy-making that enables globalisation to thrive. I conclude by discussing some rationales for development organisations' emphasis on globalisation's economic aspects and analyse the limitations that that represents for including globalisation in the curriculum.

Conclusion

Development organisations vary in their approach to curriculum ideology. One agency has a website which directly imitates the layout of the National Curriculum in the way that it points to subject-linking opportunities. Oxfam's *Education for Global Citizenship* (2006), on the other hand, is about a whole school ethos like *The Global Dimension,* reflecting the aspiration discussed in Chapter 4, to address the complexities of development and global education in a far more integrated curriculum than the present version. Action Aid's *Get Global!* (Price, 2003) works carefully with the non-prescriptive nature of the Citizenship curriculum and allows students to decide for themselves which issues they want to explore. Despite these differences, when it comes to language and concepts, all the resources work with terms like responsibility; futures; making a difference, and active citizenship and fall in step with the notions of a better future inherent in the Reconstructionist ideology of the curriculum. In the context of the Third Way/Reconstructionist ideology discussed in the next chapter, it becomes apparent that some NGOs attempt to reflect the choice philosophies of education policy by casting students as consumers of trainers, chocolate and coffee. In this way aid and development agencies are in danger of being incorporated

into the very neo-liberal hegemony that they might, on reflection, balk at. In order to get their agenda onto the curriculum, (which they do for a number of reasons of their own including public relations and campaigning), they may have to ally quite closely with the government that produces the curriculum. They may have felt safe to do this when the government changed from Conservative to New Labour, like the respondent who referred to 'the long sleep of Thatcherism'.

There is an apparent contradiction between the position of the Third way/neo-liberal ideology of the government and the development perspective of global citizenship which sometimes derives from the anti-globalisation perspective and sometimes from the cosmopolitan perspective. However, both these perspectives could be connected to the Third Way. The anti-globalisation perspective is not distinguished by Held et al (1999) from the neo-liberal perspective as has been done in this thesis. They discuss both positions together as hyperglobalist, (Held et al, 1999, p.3). The main feature of hyperglobalism is that it focuses on the economic aspects of globalisation and points to the decline in the sovereignty of governments within their national boundaries. The development perspective based on anti-globalisation paradoxically supports many aspects of the neo-liberal perspective including the reification of globalisation and the characterisation of students as consumers. The cosmopolitan perspective is one which focuses on a better future, as do many of the global citizenship resources. The better future and global citizenship that Held or Falk propose is one based on an extension of human rights; development agencies more frequently emphasise the role of individual responsibilities. Roman proposes an alternative understanding of global citizenship through

> A reading of globalization that challenges and transforms neo-liberalism by working
> across transnational and extra-national alliances and solidarities [that] requires a focus
> on human rights. (Roman, 2003, p.286)

Without an appreciation of their own rights, I suggest that students are less likely to be able to empathise with the limitations on rights that may be part of the experience of people in developing countries.

Governments were wary of developing a National Curriculum for many years because of fear of either indoctrinating or opening the way for future governments to indoctrinate. It is clear that the Conservative government which first grasped the National Curriculum nettle was torn between the opportunities for political influence, (for example in their attitude towards the content of the History curriculum) and fearful of the possibilities that it might be used for indoctrination by others (for example in their suspicion·of World Studies). However, in reviewing the historical development of the National Curriculum I demonstrated that it was conceived for and used for political purposes and to promote and legitimate educational and wider policy ideologies.

Crick notes that he has 'met teachers who find it easier—or even safer—to talk about the problems of deforestation in Brazil or even Aids in Africa than local or even national issues" (Crick 2004, p.8). Crick's emphasis on the importance of the 'parish pump' in Citizenship education means that he considers it a priority for students to learn about the local and the national over global issues. Oxfam dispute this ordering, responding that 'global and local issues often cannot be separated' (Allen, 2004, p.31). In Oxfam's reply to Crick, Allen recommends using the opening of a chain coffee-house as an example for teaching about the links between global and local (Allen, 2004, p.31). I suggest that it is not the selection of global issues as such that constitute the easier or safer curriculum topics derided by Crick, but that the *types* of global issues selected tend to avoid authentic and problematic local and global connections. I am not aware that the sourcing of coffee beans has ever been a cause of armed conflict for example. The sourcing of oil, (which is a global issue absent from all the materials I examined in my research) is a regular *casus belli*. Besley

observes in the context of the Iraq war that "Schools must be relevant to the outside world and engage students in issues that affect them and which they care about ... When the major issues of the time become war and terrorism, understandably there are numerous questions for pupils" (Besley, 2005, p.136). By concentrating on globalisation as a development issue, these questions are less likely to be answered by the curriculum. It is a safer option to focus on how economic globalisation may affect poor people in other countries and how young people can help, than to examine some of the ways in which globalisation works on local issues, including how national and multinational institutions and interests are implicated in global conflicts. Development education also provides a useful framework for 'active citizenship' in schools because it is easier to arrange charity fundraising activities than to do something active in the local community, despite the NGOs' wish to distance their educational work from their fundraising activities. Based on Yamashita's (2006) finding that although students wished to learn about the Iraq war and current conflicts, this is avoided in the curriculum; this thesis concludes that it is less controversial to teach about remote international development issues than to cover a global issue such as war.

The New Labour Government's motives for allowing the development education perspective of globalisation to dominate in a centrally prescribed curriculum is amongst the issues examined in the next chapter where I explore the reasons why it is now considered necessary for young people to learn about globalisation.

Chapter 6 Things can only get better: The Third Way and the Reconstructionist curriculum

> Trying to predict the future is a mug's game. But increasingly it's a game we all have to
> play because the world is changing so fast and we need to have some sort of idea of
> what the future's actually going to be like because we are going to have to live there,
> probably next week. (Douglas Adams, 2003, p.102)

This chapter addresses the research question: *Why is it considered necessary for young people to learn about globalisation?* The content of the curriculum is a matter of selection. Any subject or topic for the curriculum is in competition for timetable space with other topics. Apple suggests that this selection is ideological and asks "Whose knowledge is it? Who selected it?" (Apple, 2004, p.6) The inclusion of globalisation in the National Curriculum since 2000 in Geography, and in Citizenship in 2002, and the increasing emphasis on globalisation within the proposed *Futures* curriculum, all indicate that importance is now attached to this topic which prioritises its place in the curriculum over other potential subject matter. The recent inclusion of globalisation points towards a shift in curriculum and educational ideology; previous versions of the National Curriculum such as that introduced by Kenneth Baker stressed the importance of British heritage, for example in History, and Literature, and British locational knowledge in Geography. This chapter critically investigates the global as curricular content within the subjects of Geography and Citizenship.

Through analysis of National Curriculum documents and QCA planning documents in the context of wider education policy, this chapter shows how the inclusion of globalisation in the National Curriculum is guided by political ideology and legitimated as hegemonic. The connections and contradictions arising from the association of globalisation with development education are explored with particular reference to Oxfam's campaigning, fundraising and curriculum materials, and a curriculum resource developed by Action Aid. The proposed *Futures Curriculum* is analysed in respect of its role in presenting globalisation

as normative through the curriculum and is used as an example of the way incorporation works in maintaining hegemony. The tensions and continuities implied by the strong association of development education with learning about globalisation are also analysed in terms of the ways in which globalisation is produced as hegemonic through the curriculum. Overall, the role of Communitarianism in shaping both government and NGO ideologies is examined.

Globalisation as hegemonic in the curriculum

Landrum (2002) claims that the education system in general and the Citizenship curriculum in particular are being used by New Labour in a sophisticated way to achieve acceptance of economic globalisation. He argues that

> For New Labour citizenship education offers the opportunity to simultaneously prepare people to face the challenges of globalization, whilst reinforcing the cultural conventions of the nation-state and legitimating political action. (Landrum, 2002, p.227)

The political and economic ideology espoused by New Labour, and especially by its leadership, is that of the Third Way. The influence of this ideology on the education system as a whole, the National Curriculum, Citizenship Education and on the inclusion of globalisation in the content of the curriculum is discussed below.

The Third Way

Although the Third Way account of globalisation is apparently not present in the content of curriculum materials, it appears to strongly inform curriculum policy and has an effect on the inclusion of globalisation as a topic for study in the curriculum.

Globalisation can be seen as forming the central plank of Third Way political and economic ideologies. Many consider that the Third Way is a political adaptation of neo-

liberalism in economics (Hill, 1999; Fairclough, 2000; Callinicos, 2003). The Third Way seeks to differentiate itself from earlier models of neo-liberalism by its added focus on social justice. One of the ways in which this is demonstrated is through the creation of DfID and its poverty elimination policies. It could be argued that DfID represents the most successful (and now possibly the residual) element of the New Labour Government's 'ethical foreign policy' claimed by its first Foreign Secretary on election in 1997 (Cook, 1997). Significant policy documents produced by DfID include the 2000 White Paper *Eliminating World Poverty: Making Globalisation Work for the World's Poor* and the 2006 White Paper *Eliminating World Poverty: Making Governance Work for the Poor.* Both White Papers support a view that neo-liberal globalisation can be uneven and iniquitous, but can and should be managed and engaged with (DfID, 2000a pp.51-52 and DfID, 2006, p.57).

QCA curriculum and policy documents demonstrate that the National Curriculum developed by New Labour in 2000 supports the Third Way version of neo-liberalism by presenting economic globalisation as an inevitable force (hegemonic) and as a given (normative). The wording of the National Curriculum promotes the qualities necessary for engaging positively with globalisation in the work place especially in the Aims. A flexible attitude to employment is advanced, and the society for which the curriculum is designed is presented as distinctively rapidly changing—a dubious concept historically, but one which serves a neo-liberal economic perspective in which change, innovation and continual improvement are indicators of success. In particular, the Aims and Purposes of the National Curriculum and associated policy documents can be shown to promote a human capital ideology of education. A Reconstructionist curriculum ideology is apparent, one which aims to create a better society. Ideas derived from Communitarianism (Etzioni, 1995) mostly support, but sometimes contradict, a neo-liberal basis to the Third Way.

As content in the Citizenship and Geography National Curriculum, globalisation needs to be viewed against a background in which it permeates many other aspects of the curriculum. For example, the Values, Aims and Purposes of the National Curriculum (QCA, 1999b, pp.10-11) clearly set out the ideology of the curriculum and propose economic globalisation as a normative, or taken for granted, concept. The Aims of the National Curriculum were included for the first time in the version introduced by the New Labour government in 2000. Previous versions of the National Curriculum included a single paragraph as a statement of aims described by Bramall and White as "all-but vision-less...so bland as to be useless as a guide to action" and lacking in direction (Bramall and White, 2000, p7). The three pages of the 2000 Aims might therefore be seen as an important piece of symbolism through which that recently elected government set out its ideology in respect of education in the public documents of the National Curriculum. In these Aims, ideas about globalisation are addressed for the first time in National Curriculum documents. The 1988 aims merely stated that the curriculum should

> a) Promote the spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development of pupils at school and of society; [and] b) prepare such pupils for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of adult life (Education Reform Act 1988)

It is notable that civic, global or even economic matters were not referred to. The analysis below shows how the new Aims attempt to legitimate a neo-liberal, globalised economy.

For example, part of the first Aim is to "give [pupils] the opportunity to become creative innovative, enterprising and capable of leadership to equip them for their future lives as workers and citizens" (QCA, 1999b, p.11). As noted in the literature review these are the qualities said to be needed for success in a globalising world illustrated, for example, by Reich's "Symbolic analysts"(Reich, 1991, p.177). This is the highest level of Reich's three

jobs of the future and the necessary qualities are those aspired to for students educated in English Schools. In a globalised world it can be observed that what Reich describes as "routine production" (Reich, 1991, p.176) is carried on by people in other countries when capital is moved to manufacturing processes, and what he terms "in-person services" (Reich, 1991, p.176) may be provided by immigrants to the UK when labour moves. However, these last two types of employment are not alluded to in the Aims of the National Curriculum.

The first Statement of Aims presents globalisation as inevitable. It bears extended analysis because of this emphasis:

> education must enable us to respond positively to the opportunities and challenges of the rapidly changing world in which we live and work. In particular, we need to be prepared to engage as individuals, parents, workers and citizens with economic, social and cultural change, including the continued globalisation of the economy and society. (QCA, 1999b, p.10)

It is not made clear in this statement that there is of course, considerable debate about the purpose of education. An ideology which is both Reconstructionist and focused on human capital development is presented here as undisputed. But Classical Humanists (Skilbeck, 1976, p.24) would seek an education that retained links with an *unchanging* canon of study and which valued past events. Process-focused models of education emphasise the processes of learning and the growth and development of pupils rather than the social objectives. Authors in the critical theory tradition see education as incorporated by the processes of hegemony. That is selecting, reproducing and legitimating the dominant ideology until it "becomes the world *tout court,* the only world" (Apple, 2004, p.4). Critical theory forms the basis for the following analysis.

Fairclough (2000, p.35ff e.g.) notes the way the first person plural is used in Third Way discourse, often to create a feeling of inclusion as exemplified in the statement quoted

above. It is harder to resist a statement which characterizes the reader as 'we' and 'us'. In a Socialist ideology the term 'workers' has particular connotations; in this statement it has been rehabilitated by the Third Way ideology to fit a neo-liberal discourse where work and a flexible attitude to employment are promoted.

The Statement of Aims calls upon a range of social actors, including citizens, to engage with globalisation as a means of obtaining the widest possible consent for the ideology presented. This shows that the Statement is symbolic as it appeals to a readership beyond the teachers and perhaps students who might be expected to take an interest. The world is taken for granted as rapidly changing and this, it is implied, is because of globalisation, but it might be demonstrated that any given historical period was marked by rapid change. As shown in the literature review, globalisation is also a subject which is open to debate, but in this statement globalisation is presented as a "continued" process, closing possibilities that it is either novel, historical, to be resisted rather than engaged with or even not happening. The supposedly extraordinary natures of the "opportunities and challenges" which now face us require a *positive* response, not dissent, resistance or apathy. Many authors point to the asymmetries induced by globalisation. These are not referred to. The placement of this ideological statement as a central Aim of the National Curriculum could be seen as an attempt to gain consent for a view of globalisation as inevitable and irresistible. The perspective of globalisation implied in the Aims is largely an economic one, which I argue is closely related to the neo-liberal perspective that posits the nation-state as powerless in the face of globalisation.

The curriculum is still based on the structure and subjects from 1904 and therefore has acquired a normative status that owes something to the undercurrent of Classical Humanism that persists incongruously in the National Curriculum at Key Stage 3. Because 'Whether we like it or not, curriculum talk is power talk' (Apple, 2003, p.7); including this

statement at the beginning of the National Curriculum is a powerful way of legitimating the dominant ideological discourse about globalisation, work, and change in society as a whole, not just in educational terms. I suggest that the perspective of globalisation promoted through the Statement of Aims of the National Curriculum is close to the neo-liberal in its emphasis on employment, the economic and inevitability, as well as in its emphasis on innovation and change. I now turn to the underlying ideologies which attempt to construct globalisation as hegemonic through the official documents of the curriculum.

Reconstructionism, Communitarianism and the Third Way

The three ideologies of Reconstructionism, Communitarianism and the Third Way link together in a curriculum that is designed to promote a 'better world' in which people take more responsibility and have a flexible attitude to employment. The inclusion of globalisation in and through the curriculum is one way in which these ideologies are linked. Although the Third Way and its associated discourse about economic globalisation are not overtly apparent in the content of the curriculum, the Third Way ideology is legitimated through the curriculum as a whole and is the main factor influencing the inclusion of globalisation in the content. This is especially evident in the way in which the curriculum is presented as a Reconstructionist curriculum: one which is specifically designed with a better society in view (Skilbeck, 1976, pp.34-37). The type of Reconstructionism that can be associated with this curriculum articulates with the Communitarianism that provides a philosophical basis for the Third Way ideology as it relates to social justice and citizenship.

One of my respondents believed young people need to be taught about globalisation because

We do want young people to understand what's going on in the wider world and understand that what they do and what they say has an impact on others and I suppose ultimately the world might be a better place as a result of that in the future.

This short quote exemplifies a wealth of similar data in which teachers and curriculum developers aspired to a notion of a better society to be achieved through the curriculum in general and teaching about globalisation and global citizenship in particular. Both the cosmopolitan perspective on globalisation and the Third Way each have a view on the accomplishment of a better, more equitable society. The Third Way views a better society as being one in which the economy is more liberalised and this is evidenced in the DfID White Paper of 2000. In contrast, the aspiration for a better world was often expressed by teachers and curriculum developers in cosmopolitan terms: as a fairer society which benefited the poor and which cared for the environment. While these perspectives on a better society are in a degree of tension, both the proponents of the Third Way and the cosmopolitans speak of greater equity in society. The means by which this is to be achieved however are different in the two perspectives. In the Third Way the government manages the liberalisation of the economy because of the inevitable forces of globalisation, while cosmopolitans desire more international cooperation and control of competition. Despite these differences, the discourse in both the official documents, materials produced by NGOs, and teachers' accounts frequently focused on how learning about globalisation was essential for creating a better society.

Entitlement and Reconstructionism

In the National Curriculum the burden of creating a better society is placed on the wider policy concept of entitlement in the curriculum (QCA, 1999b, p.3). Because all students are entitled to the same carefully monitored standards and centrally guided content within the curriculum it is up to them to derive equal benefit from that entitlement, thus,

> The National Curriculum secures for all pupils, irrespective of social background, culture, race, gender, differences in ability and disabilities, an entitlement to a number of areas of learning and to develop knowledge, understanding, skills and attitudes necessary for their self-fulfilment and development as active and responsible citizens.
> (QCA, 1999b, p.12)

In line with Ross's (Ross, 2000, p.115) view of Reconstructionist curricula as objectives-driven, this constitutes a statement relating to the social outcomes to be achieved through the National Curriculum. The National Curriculum states that "education is a route to equality of opportunity" (QCA, 1999b, p.10) ignoring the catch that access to the "route" may be unequal and affected by social and economic inequalities beyond the context of the curriculum and the school. Political commentators such as Hill point out the implications of seeking equality of opportunity rather than equality of outcome (Hill, 1999, p.6). But in this manifestation of a Reconstructionist curriculum model the government need not address wider social and economic inequalities because, by providing equality of entitlement, the curriculum is supposed to remedy inequalities for future generations, in particular by developing human capital. In a competitive, neo-liberal, globalised economy this allows the government to avoid policy questions such as direct redistribution or welfare provision as means of producing a more equal society, thus marking a break from previous Socialist versions of Labour policy. This provides a rationale for attempting to promote globalisation as inevitable. In a globalised world these old policies would imply an uncompetitive level of taxation and welfare provision. A neo-liberal perspective on globalisation requires governments to take a smaller role in providing 'public' services. Additionally, since education cycles are usually longer than political cycles, the better future can always be beyond the next election.

The Reconstructionist ideology of the National Curriculum is succinctly summarised within the first Aim which states:

The curriculum should enable pupils to think creatively and critically, to solve problems and to make a difference for the better. (QCA, 1999b, p.11)

This chapter now moves on to address the possible reasons given for learning about globalisation in the context of 'making a difference for the better'. The significance of promoting critical thinking in the context of a liberal democracy was discussed in Chapter 4. Thinking creatively and solving problems again recalls the work of Robert Reich, who, as Bill Clinton's first-term Labour Secretary was an early influence on Third Way thinking (Reich 1991 p.171).

It might also be argued that in its declared pursuit of social justice and social inclusion, Third Way ideology has a supplementary impact on the private sphere by individualising responsibility for active participation and promoting positive individual engagement with social and political institutions (see for example Gewirtz, 2001). This is a break from former Socialist centralised and collective responses to social problems, but also differs from a neo-liberal approach that focuses almost exclusively on the mechanisms of the market in which the individual engages only as a rational economic actor. The focus on responsibility reflects the formative influence on Third Way ideology of Communitarianism, the political philosophy developed by Etzioni (1995).

The influence of Etzioni's Communitarianism on the Third Way political ideology has in turn informed the Reconstructionist ideology of the curriculum. Third Way policies repeatedly emphasise individual responsibilities above rights. At the same time Communitarianism has been interpreted differently by development agencies in some of the curriculum materials examined. The Third Way responds to neo-liberal economic imperatives, and so emphasises the actions, choices and responsibilities of the individual in a globalised economy in which governments need to manage or reduce public provision. Development agencies work with Communitarianism in a way which emphasises shared

and institutional responsibility to a global community more in line with the cosmopolitan perspective of globalisation. However, in the case of development agencies the actual responsibility is not usually community-based, but is directed towards developing countries. So Grunsell describes global citizenship as an expression of Oxfam's policy and practice which "[acts] both from the concepts of responsibility rich nations and people have towards the world's poor and of solidarity with the poor and marginalised" (Grunsell, 2004, p.13). For example, an Oxfam resource aims

> To explore where responsibility for change in the garment industry rests and explore the role of the consumer. (Garlake, 2003, p.71)

The language of responsibility and participation is often similar, but the intentions may be different.

Third Way education policy

The context of schooling and education is often presented in terms of economic metaphors including human capital, value added and school choice. Concepts such as these have long been present in the education policy of neo-liberal governments, including the Conservative government which developed the National Curriculum, and can be traced back to Callaghan's Ruskin speech (Callaghan, 1976). These metaphors reflect a long-standing, neo-liberal, free-trade view of an education system which exists primarily in the service of the national economy and its international competitiveness. As Wolf observes: "throughout the developed world, politicians take it for granted that education and economic growth are directly linked" (Wolf, 2002, p.53). The 2000 version of the curriculum uses the concept of globalisation to promote consent for the use of education in this way. Previous models of the National Curriculum have articulated the economic competitiveness with an emphasis on British heritage and a 'canonical' syllabus.

One of the central elements of the Third Way ideology of education is the extension of choice and diversity in education. Thus, consumerist ideologies are apparent in the existence of different types of schools to choose from, like a wide range of specialist schools offering languages, business, or performance arts amongst other specialisms. City Technology Colleges, Faith schools, Grammar Schools and now 'independent trust schools' are all within the state maintained system. As Reich observes of the USA: "communities are becoming marketable goods" (Reich, 2000, p.191). According to Reich, in a globalising economy, the marketisation of communities and community facilities, such as schools, implies less commitment to those communities from those who choose to buy into them or not "because exit is so easy and the benefits are so targeted" (Reich, 2000, p.192). Whitty says:

> In a strictly economic sense, these quasi-market policies cannot be regarded as privatisation of the education system, but they do require public sector institutions to operate more like private sector ones and families to treat educational decisions in a similar way to other decisions about private consumption. (Whitty, 2002, p.80)

But "to those on the Left, it seems that individual rights are being privileged at the expense of the notion of a just social order" (Whitty, 2002, p.80). Although an ostensible (if not always *de facto*) market choice is offered with regard to schools within the state system, as a centrally prescribed curriculum, the National Curriculum up to Key Stage 3 does not admit of much freedom of choice of content or structure of learning. At all these different schools the students study the same curriculum. So in accordance with Reich's observations it may just be the school community that parents select:

> given the range of choice and ease of switching, we're sorting ourselves out into communities of people with roughly the same incomes, the same abilities, the same risks and the same needs ... People who are most buffeted by the new economy ... are ending up in the same poor communities. Their schools are among the worst. (Reich, 2000, p.192)

But this effective separation of communities differs from Communitarian intentions for community, showing how neo-liberal choice policies are in tension with the social justice aspirations of the Third Way.

Whitty observes that "such reforms have been widely criticised from the Left, because they seem to embody a commitment to creating, not a more equal society but one that is more acceptably 'unequal'" (Whitty, 2002, p80). In the Third Way project education becomes a tool for managing society on economic lines. Whitty notes that reforms offering school choice may seem to

> link to concepts of multiple identities and radical pluralism and can seem more attractive than unidimensionsal notions of comprehensive schooling and, indeed, unidimensionsal notions of citizenship.
>
> Thus the espousal of choice and diversity in education seems superficially to resonate with notions of an open, democratic society as well as with a market ideology. (Whitty, 2002, p.80)

But the economic imperatives of educational ideology in the UK are joined in the National Curriculum's Values, Aims and Purposes by a clearly stated Reconstructionist ideology. The aims of the National Curriculum also state that the school curriculum should "help [students] to be responsible and caring citizens capable of contributing to the development of a just society" (QCA, 1999b, p.11) and emphasises the need for "students to understand their responsibilities and rights" (QCA, 1999b, p.11). The combination of competition amongst schools and consumerism for parents, with the idea of a more just society, creates an uneasy pairing of ideologies that confirms Landrum's assessment of citizenship education as an "ideological kaleidoscope" (Landrum, 2002, p.223) and also analogises with the rhetorical antitheses that Fairclough identifies as a function of language of New Labour (Fairclough, 2000, p.161). It is claimed that the Third Way

> Is about an enabling government that gives people the chance of a better future in
> which all people can play their part (Blair, 1998, Quoted in Fairclough, 2000, p.10)

The language of this statement is reminiscent of the emphasis in the Citizenship curriculum on active and participatory citizenship. The idea of a 'better future' had entered the consciousness of many if not most of my interviewees. All were asked the question "why do young people need to learn about globalisation?" and the responses to this question are revealing of a view of an era of rapid change and an unquestioning acceptance of a future which will be characterised by increased global interconnectedness. This seems to indicate that both teachers and curriculum developers were influenced by the Reconstructionist ideology of the National Curriculum. This future was often associated with a vague Utopian view of things being better because young people were being educated about global issues:

> *to lay the foundations for a future in which global problems are addressed more quickly*
> *than they are now.*

This aspiration for a better world is not sufficiently formulated to be associated with Held's position on cosmopolitanism. Held (1995, 2004) does not write of a 'better future' but sets out a specific project of reform and extension of rights, which although idealistic, at least provides matter for critique. The better future mentioned in connection with the National Curriculum is often poorly defined or banal. Landrum observes of the Crick report that "it fails to posit an ideal of what a good society is" (Landrum, 2002, p.228). Some considered that students could be moulded through education to help attain the better world. One curriculum developer wrote in a newspaper article about their project:

> We will develop the kind of young people we want to be running the world in years to
> come ... Given that hopes of a politically engaged society are currently dashed by so
> many of the present adult generation, maybe we should turn to young people to
> realise this vision? (Ford, 2005)

No doubt the educators of today's world leaders had similar aspirations; the problem with assertions like these is that they neither specify exactly how the world might become a better place through global education, nor what sort of young people would be able to do it. The author of the article identifies political engagement as part of the envisioned better future in line with the Third Way and the Citizenship curriculum's requirement for active participation. But neither education nor political engagement are any guarantee of better leaders and politicians and I previously noted that a politically engaged population is not necessary to the function of a liberal democracy (Held, 1987; Halsey, 1986; Berlin, 1969).

How suitably educated students could create a better world was mostly left unclear by my respondents. Many used the mantra of skills, understanding, and values and attitudes, without specifying what any of these would be apart from critical thinking. The Key Stage 3 review has replaced these terms with 'concepts' and 'processes' (QCA, 2007c) amongst which critical thinking is again stressed. The overall impression from interviewees was a vague wish for a better future to be achieved by educating young people about global issues. What the teachers and curriculum developers expressed in interviews appears to be a somewhat trite idea that the world can become a better place, rather than any statement of specifically what is wrong with the world as it is today nor precisely how and in what way it should change. Similarly, and perhaps influentially, neither the Reconstructionist curriculum nor the Third Way prescribe exactly what they set out to achieve in societal terms. If they were over-prescriptive they would not achieve the legitimacy and taken for granted nature that makes them hegemonic. Specific moral prescriptions could cause offence or induce resistance. Instead, the ideologies operate together to gain consent for a world where people will cope flexibly with rapid change, especially "new work and leisure patterns" (QCA, 1999b, p.10), and become "creative, innovative, enterprising and capable of leadership to equip them for their future lives as workers and citizens" (QCA, 1999b,

p.11). This once more recalls Reich's 1990 formulation of the symbolic analyst (Reich, 1991 p.177). In other words they are geared to preparing future workers for the flexible employment patterns of neo-liberal globalisation. The Third Way uses Reconstructionism in the curriculum to operationalise aspirations for a better future. However, one way it does this is to tie those aspirations to neo-liberal ideas of individual agency and choice; effectively individualising the Communitarian conceptualisation of responsibility.

Responsibility

In a satirical article critiquing the way in which the concept of responsibilities is prevailing over rights, journalist Tim Dowling asks "with responsibilities like these who needs rights? Let common sense prevail!" (Dowling, 2006, p.36). It is the presentation of ideas as common sense that makes them hegemonic and one of the ways this is done is through education.

Etzioni claims that "one of the great achievements of the Communitarian approach has been curbing the language of rights that has turned every want and interest into a legal entitlement" (Etzioni, 2000, p.29). Communitarianism asserts the importance of rights *and* responsibilities, but it does not intend responsibilities to eclipse what it considers to be basic and universal human rights. No doubt the Third Way intends to preserve basic human rights as well and this is exemplified by the New Labour government's ratification of the European Human Rights Act into UK law. However, much of what is included in curriculum documents stresses responsibilities at the expense of discussion of human rights. Ideas of active citizenship and participation derive from a Communitarian view of enabling, rather than controlling, government and of social inclusion. This idea is often expressed through the concept of responsibility. 'Responsibility' is a word now more often used after 'citizenship' than 'rights' in curriculum materials from a variety of sources. Thus the definition of citizenship education in the Crick report is based on "social and moral

responsibility, community involvement and political literacy" (Crick, 1998, p.13). Rights are always paired with responsibilities in this report. This constitutes a departure from Marshall's (1950) conception of citizenship based on rights. Similarly in the Citizenship order (QCA, 1999b, p.184) students are required to "develop skills of participation and responsible action".

There may be a variety of reasons for this stress on responsibility. One may be that the fragmentary and sometimes relativist nature of multiculturalist policies means that discussion of universal human rights is potentially problematic. Another is that in a neo-liberal, globalised economy where public provision is reduced it is better for the government to have people take responsibility for their own needs in terms of education and health care than to plan for total provision as in the Keynesian post-war settlement. It appears that the social rights of citizenship that Marshall wrote of in 1950 can no longer be sustained in the face of global economic competition.

In a neo-liberal polity citizens are symbolically enabled to make many choices in the manner of consumers, including for schooling. The responsibilities of the individual stakeholder in devolved communities are valued above collective actions or rights. Apple says that "we are witnessing a process in which the state shifts the blame for the very evident inequalities in access and outcome it has promised to reduce, from itself to individual schools, parents, and children" (Apple, 2001, p.416). Jones coins the term "responsibilization" for the process in which governments seek to pass on the responsibility of repairing "social and economic damage inflicted by forces outside the control of individuals. But for New Labour ... repairing the damage is something for which individuals, even—or especially—damaged individuals must take responsibility" (Jones, 2003, p.168). A good example of this is the way in which Blair recently called for

individuals struggling with health issues such as obesity or alcoholism to take responsibility for their lifestyles:

> Above all a state that sees its role as empowering the individual, not trying to make their choices for them, can only work on the basis of a different relationship between citizen and state. Government can't be the only one with the responsibility if it's not the only one with the power. The responsibility must be shared and the individual helped but with an obligation also to help themselves. (Blair, 2006b)

In that speech Blair employs numerous concepts drawn from Communitarianism such as empowerment, responsibility, enabling, and community responsibility and subverts them in the service of reducing public expenditure and rationing health service provision. To be seen as a 'tax and spend government' is an electorally unacceptable cost in a global, liberalised economy.

The requirement for young people to take responsibility for their own and others' social position reflects a view of politics in which government claims to have a smaller role to play in than at the time of the post-war consensus: enabling rather than controlling. Olssen observes that " the notion of 'enabling', like that of 'steering' does not of itself speak to the size of the state, and conceivably, a state that 'steers' might be just as big as a state that 'rows'" (Olssen, 2005, p.150. I suggested above that this may be connected with a neo-liberal preoccupation with reducing the state's economic role in public services. But Olssen also points to a decline in citizenship rights since September 11th 2001 as " a new postliberal settlement ... premised on greater control, increased surveillance, and an eclipse of liberal rights that have prevailed since the seventeenth and eighteenth century" (Olssen, 2005, p.155). While the government makes fewer interventions into the private sphere as it connects with the economy, in terms of security (and some would argue civil liberties and freedom of speech), publicly sanctioned intervention in individual lives has increased. Such intervention is conducted in the light of global threats such as terrorism. This has

important implications for the ways in which individual citizens may be permitted to make a difference or to express outrage as required in some resources. Having been encouraged by elements in the National Curriculum to be active citizens there is a risk that young people become cynical rather than empowered.

Development agencies also make substantive use of the concepts of responsibility and empowerment in respect of global citizenship and in developing students' values and attitudes towards aid and international development like the Oxfam global citizen who "takes responsibility for their actions" (Oxfam GB, 2006, p.3). I move on to critically evaluate the role of development agencies in producing a particularly economic perspective of globalisation, one which, possibly unintentionally, also constructs students as individualised consumers and risks concealing some important political considerations arising from globalisation.

Global Citizenship, development education and responsibility

Demaine explains that both globalisation and Citizenship are "contested 'concepts' because they involve *inter alia* arguments about politics, identity, rights, status differentiation, equality and inequality" (Demaine, 2004, p.200). Nonetheless both are included in the curriculum for students at Key Stage 3, often in the development education version of globalisation characterised by 'Global Citizenship'. By seeking to elide contested elements within one simplified term, the aid agencies and schools that espouse the concept may be coming closer to the hegemonic, neo-liberal, Third Way account of globalisation than they intend.

I suggest that this is because globalisation could be used in citizenship education for constructing the citizen as an individualised consumer with responsibilities and choices, rather than previous models of the citizen (see T.H. Marshall) in receipt of rights. This

aspect of citizenship education is discussed in connection with the role of development education in materials about globalisation. Global citizenship is a version of citizenship that encourages responsibility and 'ethical' consumption. DfID policy also encourages this sense of individual responsibility, for example, in the new White Paper (2006) which has a section entitled *"what can you do?"* (DfID, 2006, pp.123ff), and its booklet *Rough Guide to a Better World: and how you can make a difference* (Wroe and Doney, 2003). In the case of some development perspectives on citizenship and globalisation, responsibility is shown towards the poor or exploited in developing countries. Consumer responsibility is focused on ethical consumption, especially of primary commodities such as coffee and chocolate, for example, through fair trade. In an Oxfam resource on globalisation students are asked "What can they, as consumers, do to bring about change?"(Garlake, 2003, p.71). I suggest that in this model of global citizenship education the student is cast mainly as an ethical consumer in a rather than an active citizen. The Third Way position on responsibility as demonstrated by Blair's *Speech on Healthy Living* (Blair, 2006), and through policies such as school choice, focuses on individuals' responsibilities for choices and decisions about the governance of their own lives, rather than others', but also in the manner of consumers. Concepts like global citizenship exemplify the use of aspects of Communitarianist philosophy to emphasise responsibilities over rights. In the case of some development organisations and aid agencies the idea of individual or community responsibility is usually closer to the intentions for Communitarianism that Etzioni describes as "a world community that would encapsulate all people" (Etzioni, 1998, p.xiv). This stresses the adoption of a particular set of moral values and attitudes that ought to include active participation and social justice. An exceptional example of this Communitarian approach to global citizenship from the curriculum resource data is *Get Global! A skills based approach to active global citizenship for Key Stages 3 and 4* (Price, 2003) which is a resource produced by a consortium of development organisations, with Action Aid in the lead and funded by

DfID. It claims that "Active global citizenship is about enabling students to participate fully in a global society" (Price, 2003, p.3). The "three core themes of *Get Global!*" (Price, 2003, p.3) are very closely linked to the wording of the Citizenship National Curriculum (QCA, 1999b, p.184) and are:

1. To provide an experience of being able to make a difference through action

2. To develop skills of enquiry, participation and reflection

3. To develop an understanding of the world as a global community, and to discuss the political, economic, environmental and social implications of this.(Price, 2003, p.3)

These themes link with some of the main themes of Communitarianism, as does the use of words such as "responsible action", "Active Global Citizens", "Participatory" and "empowering" (all taken from page 3 of the resource). Examples are given of successful community actions taken by groups in developing countries and young people are shown the skills ("empowered" in the language of the resource) to conduct their own community campaigns on both local and global issues. The view of development in this resource stands out, because people in developing countries are given as examples of community empowerment and participation, along with examples of community action taken from nearer to home. The message here is less one of taking responsibility for others' poverty; rather there is an implication that through certain forms of community action everyone can be empowered. I suggest that this resource shows what is possible in educating young people about globalisation.

More commonly though, development NGOs connected with the Reconstructionist curriculum ideology in that they took the view that young people should take responsibility for the better future. One respondent at a faith-based aid agency told me that

Finding out about how to make the world a just and fair place is essential if there is to be a future, for example in respect of the environment.

Amongst the defining characteristics of a global citizen in Oxfam's influential definition are that a global citizen is "outraged by social injustice" and one who "is willing to act to make the world a more equitable and sustainable place" (Oxfam 2006, p.3). One of the values and attitudes it encourages is a "belief that people can make a difference" (Oxfam, 2006, p.4). This is in line with the statement in the National Curriculum Aims that the curriculum should enable students to "make a difference for the better". Similarly the aims of the Key Stage 3 review include these for "Active and responsible Citizens ... who take account of the needs of present and future generations in the choices they make" and who "feel that they can change things for the better" (QCA, 2007c). The document *Futures: meeting the challenge* asks "how might the curriculum better equip pupils for the roles and responsibilities of global citizenship?" (QCA, no date, no page number). Here again, citizens are cast as having responsibilities rather than also being recipients of rights.

Examination of materials produced by NGOs show that they often stress "taking responsible action" (Price, 2003, p.3) more than rights; just as the official materials of the National Curriculum do. Like textbooks and home study materials they seek to gain acceptance and usage within the National Curriculum by reproducing its language and structures. This is an understandable way of gaining attention since a respondent at the QCA spoke of a "plethora" of citizenship curriculum resources:

> *The problem schools have in citizenship education is that they are bombarded with materials from lots of different organisations.*

In mimicking the National Curriculum language very closely however, the organisations may risk subsuming their own distinctive interests in the hegemonic position of the government. The author of one resource with DfID funding told me of her struggle to resist building an assessment structure into the resource. DfID wanted students to be assessed by teachers, but she had intentionally designed activities to be evaluated by the

students themselves. It is possible that NGOs who rely to some extent on government funding (from DfID) and approval (from the QCA) gear their proposals to what funders and policy makers want to hear and so incorporate aspects of government's own discourse into policy strategy. The QCA adviser quoted above also saw part of his job to streamline the resources aimed at schools, so it might be assumed that organisations produce materials that will escape this editing process, but in doing so they may unwittingly align with a neo-liberal perspective on globalisation.

Oxfam's influential *Education for Global Citizenship* (2006) is a resource that encourages students to be active and responsible citizens. It is Reconstructionist and influenced by Communitarianism, but Oxfam would probably seek to dissociate itself from the Third Way interpretation of Communitarianism with its associated neo-liberal and human capital discourse on education. The Reconstructionist agenda of Oxfam's *Education for Global Citizenship* is exemplified by the banal claim that

> Education is a powerful tool for changing the world because tomorrow's adults are
> the children and young people we are educating today. (Oxfam, 2006, p.1)

This assertion mirrors the vague assertions at the beginning of the National Curriculum that "education influences and reflects the values of society and the kind of society we want to be" (QCA, 1999b, p.10). It also gives an indication that Oxfam's role as a charitable fundraiser and campaigning organisation is a possible motivation for being involved in producing curriculum materials on global issues. That is their view of education in the UK. This can be distinguished from their aims for educational programmes in developing countries which are that

> all children living in poverty will achieve their right to a good quality basic education
> and adults will have access to sufficient educational opportunities to help overcome
> their poverty.

In the case of developing countries, education is cited specifically as a right and as a means of poverty eradication, but in the UK the stated aim is to change the world in an unspecified way. This is a common presentation of the order of global responsibilities in curriculum materials produced by aid agencies and development charities.

In curriculum materials, the responsibility for change in the world is frequently placed on the children of the West. This is not only because they are relatively wealthy, but also as part of an ideology of development in which the West takes on a charitable responsibility that aims to increase the economic activity of the poor and their rights and opportunities. This is a way of recognising the asymmetries that exist across the globe, but one which neglects the role of South–South aid transactions and more importantly tends to disregard the policy making part that all governments have played in perpetuating global inequity. I suggest that the governments themselves might prefer that role to be concealed by an assumption that globalisation is inevitable and the inequities can be addressed by aid transactions and charity rather than by restructuring globalising policies, for example, in respect of trade. Instead, in aid agencies' educational materials, the focus seems to be placed on making youngsters responsible for the current situation, with its historical and present causes, as well as for the 'better future', rather than on questioning governments' globalising economic policies.

A current campaign run by Oxfam on London Underground trains and elsewhere includes an advertisement depicting an 'ordinary' looking white, middle-aged man who supposedly asks "The fact is if we don't do something to end poverty who will?" In this campaign the responsibility for eradicating developing world poverty is individualised so that

You can help end poverty. The man next to you. The woman in the next carriage .

In fact close inspection of Oxfam's website reveals that they are engaged in lobbying government on a number of policy issues including the failure of the Doha agreement and the Gleneagles pledge. But they also invite individual visitors to the website to sign themselves in on these campaigns and explain their Communitarian-influenced aims thus,

> *I'm in* is a community of people who share the belief that poverty is an injustice which can be overcome and care enough to want to do something about it. A movement of people pushing in the same direction and working with Oxfam to reach the same goal ... There are so many ways to help end poverty, so many ways to make a difference, that there is something to suit everyone.

> (http://www.oxfam.org.uk/what_you_can_do/imin/imin_about.htm)

As the last sentence quoted shows, the campaign also makes use of marketing techniques that can be optimised by using the internet. It is an example of marketing where the 'customer' is required to opt-in, thus allowing a more efficiently targeted approach to those that express interest in the 'product'. In this case it is coupled with personalised marketing apparently promising a bespoke 'product'. In other words, the campaign utilises the same personalisation techniques found on shopping websites. Once 'in' a similar number of personalised emails will be received as from regular web retailers. There is a close link between the campaigning and educational functions of some NGOs despite the fact that my respondents wanted to distance themselves from that fact. Oxfam houses both functions in one friendly open plan office, as does CAFOD. Many teachers I interviewed associated globalisation and development education with putting on charitable fundraising activities in school. Development agencies' involvement in education, focusing on globalisation induces some tensions in the organisations.

Incorporating contradictions

Much development education appears to be at odds with and contesting the hegemonic neo-liberal perspective on globalisation. But Brookfield says that

> Hegemony is powerful yet adaptable, able to reconfigure itself, skilfully incorporate resistance, and give just enough away to its opponents to keep them quiescent while remaining more or less in tact. (Brookfield, 2005, p.45)

He goes on to explain how this enables "chinks and contradictions to appear" (Brookfield, 2005, p.45). In answering the research questions I have explored the contradictions between the hegemonic or taken for granted nature of globalisation as constructed in the policy documents of the curriculum and the prevalence of a development perspective on globalisation in the content of the curriculum. One of the ways in which these contradictions appear and are used by the hegemonic ideology is through incorporation. It could be argued for example, that Communitarianism has been incorporated into Third Way ideology but adapted to a more neo-liberal perspective on responsibility than that perhaps originally intended by Etzioni.

I suggest that although apparently contradictory, the way in which development agencies often appeal to students as consumers, plays into the hands of a hegemonic neo-liberal perspective of globalisation and apparently accepts the inevitability of globalisation. In the following section I explore the concept of "futures" to demonstrate a way in which one counter-hegemonic curriculum perspective is in the process of being incorporated into the official documents of the National Curriculum.

Futures

If Fairclough were to revisit the research of his 2000 book *New Labour, New Language,* one of the words to be added to his 'caucus' derived from New Labour speeches and policy documents should now be *futures:* a plural form not usually found in most dictionaries, unless referring to a high risk branch of commodities trading. A Google search revealed several government departments starting to use this word in the plural, including the QCA in their *Futures Project:* a consultation and planning process for developing a new curriculum.

In this section I consider the articulation of the emerging concept of 'futures' in the context of global education with the Reconstructionist/Third Way ideology of the National Curriculum discussed above. I argue from a critical theoretical perspective that the *Futures Project* is a continuation of the Reconstructionist/Third Way neo-liberal agenda and follow Apple's recommendation that

> Rather than taking neo-liberal claims at face value, we should want to ask about their hidden effects that are too often invisible in the rhetoric and metaphors of their proponents. (Apple, 2001, p.413)

The idea of 'futures' in the National Curriculum is worthy of interrogation on a number of levels. The use of the word 'futures' for the new curriculum must be a deliberate choice, as maybe 'planned', 'proposed', or 'new' could have been used instead. Although clearly a deliberate choice of wording, it has taken for granted connotations—naturally the education of the next generation is in part concerned with the future—although, I argue this should not be at the expense of imparting cultural heritages and values. Putting the word into the plural connotes a personalisation and atomisation of the concept of future. Each person will shape their own future experiences, rather than sharing in one collective future. This seems to reflect the concept of 'responsibilization' posited by Jones (Jones, 2003, pp.168ff). Here responsibility for learning thus rests with the individual rather than with the state as a provider of education, reflecting the Third Way agenda of an enabling government which posits the citizen as a consumer with choices of schools, curriculum pathways and lifelong learning. Failure to make it in this type of education system becomes a matter of individual responsibility, through making incorrect choices, rather than the government's for failing to address inequality of access.

The Reconstructionist ideology behind these proposals is set up by the QCA on the first page of their main consultation document (QCA no date, no page numbers) when the profound but usually ironic Douglas Adams is apparently quoted: "the best way to predict

the future is to build it". This quote has not been properly attributed and is untraceable to Adams who actually said "predicting the future is a mug's game" (Adams, 2003, p.102). The QCA *may* be misquoting technologist Alan Kay who said that "the best way to build the future is to invent it" (Kay, 1971). This all gives the disturbing impression that the QCA has invented an aphorism to fit an ideology which not only aspires to 'better future', but also seeks to control it.

Like the Aims of the 2000 National Curriculum, the QCA Futures consultation document *(Futures: meeting the challenge)* is preoccupied with change. It first examines *"Change in society and the nature of work"* (QCA no date, no page numbers). In support of the human capital ideology, a connection between society and work is legitimated by repeatedly presenting the two in an apparently obvious pairing. There could be manifestations of societies which have no connection with work, for example certain religious communities. But the section goes on to assert that "society and work have changed significantly in the last 30 years" and that the future will be uncertain (QCA no date, no page numbers). The future is, of course, uncertain and significant changes in work or society can be demonstrated in any given 30-year period in history. However, it is now considered necessary to educate students to cope with change and uncertainty. In the quite recent past, in a classical humanist (Skilbeck, 1976 p.24) model of curriculum, students were taught about perceived certainties and continuities: 'classical' literature and music was taught; tradition was defended; national heritage valued (Jones, 2003, p.121), and the education system promoted established occupational patterns. The QCA does not fully rationalise the focus on change and uncertainty, but a critical theoretical analysis would find that such ideologically informed assertions are geared to producing people for the world of work who are "flexible, adaptable and willing to learn new skills" (QCA no date, no page numbers). Fairclough notes that "the New Labour Government is quite explicit about aiming to equip people to

succeed within the 'new global economy'" (Fairclough, 2000, p.123). According to the QCA, employers are looking for "problem solvers", recalling Reich's "job of the future" – the "symbolic analyst"—with its three subdivisions of problem identifier, problem solver and strategic broker (Reich, 1991, p.177). The QCA's Futures Consultation Document includes a section on *'The need for greater personalisation and innovation'*. Personalisation is given this definition:

> Personalisation has been described as a dynamic combination of a greater choice of
> public services and a greater voice in the design of those services. (QCA no date, no
> page number)

This would effectively place responsibility on the learner as *consumer* for the content of the curriculum. Fairclough points to the obfuscatory use of the passive voice in New Labour texts (Fairclough, 2000, p.163): who describes personalisation thus is concealed. The section *'New Understanding about Learning'* might be assumed to be about psychological theories of learning, but the emphasis is again on the future of society and work and the individual's responsibility. Unattributed "research tells us that an individual's self image as a learner strongly determines their ability to maintain positive relationships and thrive in society and the workplace" (QCA no date, no page numbers). This legitimates the government's plans to have everyone in paid work, including considerable efforts to find paid employment for people with caring responsibilities or disabilities; people who might be thriving in society even though they do not attend a workplace.

This document is clear mainly in its espousal of a neo-liberal perspective of education and globalisation. For example "national economies increasingly depend on international investment" (QCA, no date, no page number). Otherwise it comes across as hastily researched and a confused jumble of terminology and ill-defined jargon. 'Futures' is one of the terms which have not been fully researched. If it had been the notable body of

education research conducted by David Hicks and colleagues would have been acknowledged.

David Hicks' Futures Perspective

The plural term 'futures' is used in another educational context, which may have influenced the QCA's choice of title for the planned curriculum, but not the content. This is in the work of David Hicks on futures education which encompasses a branch of education research, a programme of teacher education (at Bath Spa), and advocacy based on futures studies. Two respondents from subject associations and one from an aid agency spoke of the influence of David Hicks's work on futures education in interview. Neither of my respondents in the QCA did so and the use of the distinctive term 'futures' is not attributed to Hicks in any QCA documents.

Hicks' work along with that of Selby and Pike (see Pike and Selby, 1988) has been influential on the early development of global education. When this area of education was mooted by these authors in the 1980s it was considered by the political establishment to be politically dangerous, indoctrination and probably Marxist (see Scruton, 1985 who names them all disapprovingly) and was effectively suppressed in the 1988 National Curriculum. Hicks' and others' work on a futures perspective in education is a development from their work on global education. Hicks argues for the necessity to link futures studies with global issues because

> Students also need to explore the range of solutions that have been put in place or are being proposed for such issues. Not to do this can lead to a sense of alienation and despair. Doing this appropriately can lead to a growing sense of empowerment and encourage the first steps in responsible global citizenship. (Hicks, 2004, p.2)

Their research shows what young people at different ages are concerned about relating to their future. Research by Hicks and Holden (see for example, Hicks and Holden, 1995,

p.40) showed that they are raising different issues to those flagged by the QCA in its Futures documents. Students in this research do not appear to be positively engaging with globalisation in the way envisaged by the aims of the National Curriculum:

> In terms of the global future [secondary students] were worried about issues of war and peace, environmental damage, poverty and hunger, and relationships between countries. Pessimism increased with age and most felt that they had not learnt enough about these issues at school. (Hicks, 2003b, p.6)

He cites Australian research by Eckersley (1999) to indicate that young people become increasingly pessimistic as they get older and asks "whether this indicates a growing realism on the part of young people or a growing sense of disempowerment?" (Hicks, 2004, p.6). This resonates with Demaine's question:

> Will the overwhelmingly pessimistic accounts of globalisation .. become the dominant discourse and if so what effects might that have? Can space be made for accounts that do not render citizens powerless in the face of 'global forces'? It is questionable whether children are likely to be well motivated, even by well prepared material if it does little more than make them aware of their powerlessness. (Demaine, 2002, p.126)

The Third Way account *is* of globalisation as an inevitable 'global force' which "renders citizens powerless" and this inevitability is incorporated into the ideology of the curriculum. The concomitant ideological discourse which casts students as responsible for global issues, as in the materials of some aid agencies, may have the effect of making them even more pessimistic because economic globalisation is mainly a result of policies at the level of national, international and supranational institutions designed to facilitate business and capital transfer. It is not the result of the agency of individual citizens; especially not those aged 11-14 years, but a matter of structure. This political and economic reality is unwittingly masked by the curriculum materials, including those produced by aid agencies, asking children to take responsibility for poverty in developing countries or for an already irredeemably wrecked climate. Students are further cast in the role of consumers rather

than citizens by resources that simplify the emphasis to fair trade or the manufacture of trainers. The assumption may be that students are *a priori* consumers, but focus on their responsibilities in the marketplace does little to recast them as fully conscious citizens, despite the fact that I was told in several development organisations that they favoured the pedagogical model of Paulo Freire. Thus in both the development agencies' apparently anti-globalisation resources, and in the government's neo-liberal education policies the student is a consumer and globalisation inevitable.

Hicks contends that "futures education has signally failed to make an impact in schools despite a whole range of worthy initiatives" (Hicks, 2003a, p.9). One of the reasons he suggests for this is that "teachers may unwittingly resist innovative change because schools are but one of the many sites of cultural reproduction which reflect prevailing hegemonic forces" (Hicks, 2004, p.2) indicating that the ideas behind futures education are counter-hegemonic. In fact, teachers may feel overwhelmed by the many changes in education policy and practice that come through QCA and DfES, both sites that reflect and shape prevailing hegemonic forces, and which promote the idea of change itself as central to education.

As proposed by Hicks, the futures perspective is designed to raise issues in the curriculum that are not discussed elsewhere. In particular it provides a temporal critique not only of the future, but also implicitly of the present and the past. He links his work to peace education (Hicks, 2004, pp.1-12) a radical area of the curriculum which was suppressed in the 1980s, and which has not made an effective reappearance. Hicks' work is not concerned with defining success through employment and work as is the QCA *Futures Project,* but works with students' own concepts of their own and others' futures. Research he undertook with higher education students found that the future they wanted was "one which is green, convivial, sustainable and peaceful" (Hicks 2004, p.9).

Hicks is probably correct that futures education has not made its way into curricular content. But a concept of futures has been included in the curriculum, albeit not in the content nor in any way which provides an effective critique of the present. As discussed, the new work on the curriculum adumbrated by Blair in 2003 (Blair, 2003) has been labelled the *Futures Project*. Not 'new curriculum' or 'future' as one might grammatically expect for a project that deals with a new or future curriculum, but *futures* in unconscious mimicry or homage of Hicks' and others' work on the field.

From a critical theory perspective it can be argued that, like his earlier work on global education, Hicks' futures perspective in the curriculum is intended to be counter-hegemonic and emancipatory in that it seeks change and to question and challenge the dominant ideology. However, it may be that this potentially counter-hegemonic concept which implicitly critiques past, present and future has been incorporated into the curriculum in a way which renders it less disruptive by substituting its message for the Third Way/Reconstructionist neo-liberal agenda. In that agenda 'futures' seems to imply a focus on the world of work and flexible employment practices, and a taken-for-granted better future through learning about globalisation and taking individual responsibility. Hicks and colleagues were also involved in developing whole school approaches such as the global dimension; now the Key Stage 3 review plans to add three new 'dimensions' to *The Global Dimension*.. It appears that the work of David Hicks has been (perhaps unwittingly) incorporated into the QCA's policy documents, many of which are notable for not attributing research or acknowledging influential texts.

Conclusion

Why is it considered necessary for young people to learn about globalisation?

What is included in the curriculum is a matter of selection. It might be concluded that globalisation is selected for inclusion in the National Curriculum as a topic for study by Key Stage 3 Geography and Citizenship students, because it is central to the ideology of the Third Way as described by Giddens (1998, 2000). This ideology has been taken up and adapted by the New Labour Party and used in the formulation of policy, including for education. I agree with those writers who describe Third Way ideology as an adaptation of neo-liberalism (Fairclough, 2000; Hill, 1999; Callinicos, 2003). Although the neo-liberal position on globalisation does not appear in the content of the curriculum, it is supported through the official documents of the National Curriculum. The curriculum in use since 2000 and the proposed *Futures* curriculum both present globalisation as an inevitable process that should be positively engaged with. The National Curriculum emphasises the importance of work for the well-being of society and appears to be geared to developing a flexible workforce along lines which Reich (1991), for example, claims is required in a global economy.

Legitimating globalisation and its attendant opportunities and challenges as inevitable is one of the central tenets of the Third Way and this chapter investigated attempts to produce this core ideology as hegemonic by including globalisation in the curriculum. This explains why the sceptical perspective is hardly ever raised in curriculum materials; for the Third Way globalisation is not a concept to be questioned, as for example Hirst and Thompson do (1996), but to be accepted as normative and beyond question. It is useful to governments to present globalisation as an inevitable process and one over which they have little control. And as Massey demonstrates (Massey, 2005, p.84) it is government polices, nationally and internationally, for example, through the World Trade Organisation,

that create the political and economic climate in which globalisation thrives. The National Curriculum itself has come to be taken for granted as an ineluctable element of the education system and therefore represents a useful vehicle for attempting to gain wider consent for concepts such as globalisation.

This chapter showed how the curriculum deals with potentially counter-hegemonic positions on globalisation and education by incorporating them into the National Curriculum, as has been done with the concept of 'futures'. Without acknowledging him, the QCA imitates Hicks' terminology, while subverting his theory, to posit a future in which young people are prepared for flexible employment in a globalised economy. Another form of incorporation is achieved by tolerating the prevalence of economically focused, but apparently 'anti-globalisation' development messages in curriculum materials about globalisation. Because of those resources' emphasis on the student as a consumer, they avoid examining more political global issues. In that way the National Curriculum evades other serious global, political controversies such as the Iraq war as well as the government's role in creating the policy environment in which globalisation thrives.

Those antecedents of the Third Way ideology which can be traced to Communitarianism (Etzioni, 1995) emphasise the importance of responsibilities as well as rights. This is important for the teaching of Citizenship and Global Citizenship as for much of the twentieth century the concept of citizenship was based on rights alone (Marshall, 1950). However, the Third Way has adapted the Communitarian stress on responsibilities to the imperatives of neo-liberal economics. This has had the effect of individualising citizens so that they take responsibility for aspects of their own lives which were once provided by the state, in Marshall's terms, as "social rights" (Marshall, 1950, pp.27ff). In a globalised economy this individualisation of responsibility allows the government to scale back public provision. Students and their parents are characterised as consumers in respect of school

choice policies and, although it seems contradictory, development agencies' resources about globalisation add to this effect by regularly casting students as consumers of either fair-trade commodities or trainers made in exploitative conditions. Students and young people are also considered to be individually responsible for the creation of a better future by becoming 'global citizens' despite the fact that they have had very little part in creating the problems of the present. Barber observes poignantly in the context of a globalised but asymmetrical world that "Children are our terrorists-to-be because they are so obviously not our citizens-to-come" (Barber, 2003, p.xxvii). Smith (Smith, 2006, p.61) asks despairingly "what is a teacher supposed to tell her students about citizenship in today's world?" These authors counter the received wisdom about the potential for global citizenship, and challenge the Reconstructionist assumption in the curriculum that young people need to learn about globalisation and global issues in order that the world will be a better place. The conflation of globalisation with international development in the curriculum and the unexamined promotion of the highly problematic concept of global citizenship do little, I conclude, to foster an authentic engagement with the multiplicity of issues raised by globalisation.

The contradictions that exist between the presentation of globalisation in the official policy documents and the development education perspective of globalisation are partly explained by a need to maintain the impression of choice and diversity in the curriculum. This gives rise to a more complex argument which connects learning about liberal democracy through citizenship education, with its emphasis on critical thinking and debate, and educators' conscious avoidance of anything that might be construed as indoctrination, with the presentation of alternative accounts of globalisation. This gives the impression to educators and students that they are autonomous individuals able to make up their own minds and make choices, whereas the hegemonic nature of globalisation may present them with few

genuine alternatives to choose from politically or economically, because of the continuities

maintained in the neo-liberal project even though governments change.

Chapter 7 Thesis conclusion

> I would not try to be shrill or earnest. An amused tolerance always comes over best ...
> Paradox works well and mists up the windows, which is handy. 'The loss of liberty is
> the price we pay for freedom' type thing. School. That's all it is. (Alan Bennett, 2004,
> p.3)

As a politician, Bennett's character Irwin realises the importance of gaining acceptance for "tricky" (Bennett, 2004, p.3) concepts without force, but by using a combination of tolerance and paradox instead, just as he did as a teacher. His scheme is analogous to the main premise of this thesis, which is that contestable political concepts such as neo-liberal globalisation could become accepted as inevitable, without pressure, insistence or indoctrination, by their inclusion in the curriculum both as content and through policy. This illustrates the subtle and complex processes of hegemony which, I hypothesise, may lead to curricular content about the global being informed by neo-liberal economic assumptions about globalisation.

The central argument of this thesis focuses on an apparent paradox. This is that, because of the hegemonic influence of neo-liberalism, the official bodies responsible for the curriculum, and development NGOs both contribute to a commodification of citizenship. I suggest that this is a factor in the construction of perspectives of globalisation which attempt to cast students as workers and consumers competing in a global market. The thesis infers that the economic assumptions about globalisation in curricular materials produced by development organisations connect with teachers' longstanding, and probably misplaced, fears about being seen to indoctrinate. This interaction leads to a distanced account of globalisation which is politically anodyne and which avoids addressing pressing global political issues.

In this chapter I seek to summarise the main findings, the central argument and the contribution to knowledge made by the thesis. I also note some of the limitations of the

research and suggest avenues for further research. In conclusion, I suggest a possible course of action for development education specialists in the light of the finding that they are the main drivers of the global agenda in the curriculum.

In this research I aimed to answer two research questions. Firstly, I asked what the Key Stage 3 National Curriculum says about globalisation, with particular reference to the subjects of Citizenship and Geography. Secondly, I sought to uncover why the politically tendentious subject of globalisation might have been selected for inclusion in a state-prescribed curriculum, within an education system which ostensibly avoids the directly political. The answers to these two questions required an investigation of curricular practices in the past, the present and the future. The past was reviewed because the history of global topics in the curriculum continues to inform current practices. The historical background to the National Curriculum was described to illustrate ways in which successive governments use the curriculum in an attempt to gain consent for particular ideologies. Current curricular content related to global issues formed the core data set of this thesis. Between 2004 and 2006 I analysed curriculum resources, and accounts from interviews about globalisation in the curriculum. The potential future for global education was explored because the curriculum is currently (2007) being reviewed, and because political and educational preoccupations with a 'better future' are expressed in the circumstances of globalisation.

Six perspectives of globalisation

A review of globalisation literature established numerous perspectives and perceptions of globalisation, deriving from different disciplines and expressing different viewpoints. Methodologically this means that the thesis declines to draw any conclusions about a 'correct' or definitive perspective on globalisation. Instead an interpretivist methodology was used to gain an understanding of how this complex and contested topic might be

included in a National Curriculum. Held et al's allocation of positions in "the globalisation debate" (Held et al, 1999, pp.2ff) into hyperglobalists, sceptics, and transformationalists, is influential on thinking and writing which contextualises globalisation. However, following their indication that there is a "rich diversity of intellectual approaches and normative convictions" (Held et al 1999, p.3) at least six perspectives on globalisation were distinguished in the literature.

Hyperglobalism was first subdivided into neo-liberals and anti-globalisationists. Although I originally noted important differences between these two branches of hyperglobalism, I ultimately concluded that the commonalities of the two perspectives continued to be relevant. Both perspectives focus on the economic and technological drivers of globalisation. But because they disagree about the effects of globalisation, they constitute different perceptions. I suggested that the most tendentious arguments for or against globalisation are to be found in these two economically based perspectives. Both perspectives point to the declining role of the nation state and the rise of multinational capital as the driving force of the global economy. For the anti-globalisationists this results in an exploitative economic relation in which the rich, often in the West, benefit at the expense of the poor, usually in developing countries. The neo-liberals on the other hand, point to the economic benefits of globalisation for all. Neo-liberals argue that everyone is getting richer, notwithstanding increases in inequality. However, both these perspectives tend to neglect the role of nation states in promoting globalisation through a range of policies and engagements, because they portray individual nations as helpless in the face of the reified forces of global capital. These are potentially straightforward perspectives to deliver in a curriculum which demands discrete subjects in which attainment levels can be easily assessed and development education materials on global issues tended to favour a perspective based on anti-globalisation. I concluded that because of their selective focus on

the economic and technological drivers of globalisation, students encountering either of these perspectives would be likely to gain a reduced understanding of this complex topic especially as it affects political aspects of their lives.

Held and McGrew's two categories of transformationalist and sceptic strongly informed the transformationalist and sceptic perspectives developed for this thesis. Although sceptics dispute the extent and nature of globalisation, transformationalists examine the interaction of structure and agency in creating the conditions that facilitate globalisation on many levels. The sceptical perspective was found to be virtually silent in the curriculum; I suggested that this is because of normative assumptions about the inevitability of globalisation. I considered that the sociologically based transformationalist perspective was relevant to aspects of Geography education and used the work of geographers Harvey (2000, 2003 and 2005) and Massey (2005) to illustrate this. This relevance was confirmed with examples from the Geography Association's *Valuing Places* curriculum development project, Geography schemes of work from the National Curriculum, and from interviews with Geography teachers and curriculum advisers who take a transformationalist perspective.

Held (1995, 2004) has written extensively from a cosmopolitan (1995) or social democratic, (2004) perspective on globalisation. I considered this to be significant, especially in respect of education for democracy and the active engagement called for by the Citizenship Curriculum, and therefore made it my fifth perspective. Cosmopolitanism has a politically challenging perception of globalisation that proposes an ideal of a globally interconnected model of governance which privileges participatory democracy and calls for a challenge from below (Held, 1995, p.267). Held's conception of "multilevel citizenship" (Held, 2004, p.114) appears to be a meaningful and optimistic alternative to the problematic and contested concept of 'global citizenship' which has gained currency in the Citizenship

curriculum and which is commonly based on the premise that individual citizens in the West are responsible for the poor in the developing world. Some resources such as Action Aid's *Get Global!* or the eight key concepts of *The Global Dimension* are starting to work with a cosmopolitan perspective, but I suggest that this could usefully be extended as a means of integrating global topics in the Citizenship Curriculum.

Held explains how citizenship can transcend territorial boundaries in "a world increasingly defined by multiple forms of citizenship, anchored in clear and established rules and principles" (Held, 2004, p.116). It is possible to understand such rules and principles as containing concepts of both rights and responsibilities, in contrast with a common presentation of the individualised, responsible citizen who participates through consumer choices such as buying fair trade, or fiscally by engaging in charitable fundraising.

The New Labour government ostensibly made education central to its mission and designed the curriculum version central to the documentary research of this thesis. The Third Way is the defining ideology of this government and, I argued, is closely concerned with a particular neo-liberal perspective on globalisation which views globalisation as inevitable, but amenable to management in order to palliate its most iniquitous symptoms. The Third Way's management of some of the gross inequities arising from economic globalisation are manifest in its claimed emphasis on social justice, including a focus on international development and aid through DfID. The Third Way perspective on globalisation was therefore added to the typology. Fairclough's work (2000) on New Labour's use of language in creating policy was used as a model for this perspective. The New Labour government's promotion of a Third Way variant of neo-liberal globalisation through both its development and education policies, including through the official documents of the National Curriculum, was given as an example of the way in which, *pace*

the hyperglobalists, the state still functions to support hegemonic, liberalising economic principles. Multinational capital does not achieve this alone.

The seventh perspective

The central finding

A seventh perspective emerged from the research into the curriculum itself. This was concerned with presenting globalisation as being about international development. This was both a central finding of the research and informed the central argument of the thesis.

The seventh perspective arose from a combination of DfID intervention into sections of the curriculum and a renewed involvement of development and aid agencies in producing curriculum materials. The curriculum agenda for World Studies, Peace Studies and development education met with opposition from the right in the 1980s. Since 1997 development educationalists appeared to employ the more recent discourse of globalisation in order to revisit earlier radical themes. The articulation of development education with globalisation was shown to be mainly based on the anti-globalisation perspective that interprets globalisation as economically exploitative. This development education perspective firstly invites students to engage with globalisation as ethical consumers and encourages them to consider the unfavourable conditions in which their favourite goods (especially trainers) are produced. As consumers, they are directed to fair-trade commodities as a response to those aspects of globalisation that are presented as exploitative. Curriculum resources in this perspective appeared to neglect salient geographical and economic evaluations of primary goods production, manufacture and Foreign Direct Investment. Because of their emphasis on the economic, they also neglected important *political* aspects of globalisation such as the Iraq War.

Secondly, international development is customarily presented in this perspective as a 'helping' relationship in which young people in the West are assumed to be wealthy and are encouraged to take responsibility for the 'poor' in the developing world. It is not surprising, therefore, that schools often interpreted global education as related to charitable fundraising, although the education departments of development agencies generally distance themselves from this aspect. A good example of the conflation of globalisation with charity arose in interviews with teachers in 2005. This related to the frequency with which the Indian Ocean Tsunami was linked with globalisation. The Comic Relief fundraising event was also recommended as a good activity for teaching about global issues.

The research found an aspiration amongst development educationalists to have *The Global Dimension* delivered across the curriculum in ways which implied a level of integration which is far from the case in the National Curriculum. Teaching materials about global citizenship were amongst the influences for a whole-school approach to global issues. It seems likely that this aspiration has its origins in earlier process-based development education projects which were interrupted by the first National Curriculum but were returned to on the election of a New Labour Government. The 2007 Key Stage 3 review now extends the concept of 'dimensions', although the revised National Curriculum at Key Stage 3 will apparently retain most of the attributes of the content-based, assessment-oriented curriculum of 1988. The concept of whole-school dimensions has been extended despite Ofsted's observations in respect of citizenship education that "cross-curricular work ... results in an uneasy and often unsuccessful compromise" (Ofsted, 2006, p 23).

The central argument

The thesis draws attention to the possible ideological influence of a neo-liberal political, social and economic context (hegemony) in which the education system (including the

curriculum) and development agencies are both situated. Currently, neo-liberalism can be associated with the political project known as the Third Way.

I argue that, paradoxically, both the Third Way/neo-liberal concentration on responsibilities and individual choice, and some resources produced by development agencies, which posit the student as a 'responsible consumer', have the effect of commodifying the concept of citizenship, global or otherwise. Thus the development agencies' anti-globalisation perspective may appear, at first sight, to counter normative neo-liberal assumptions about globalisation. But content that constructs the student as a consumer, or a fundraiser, taking individual responsibility for a 'better future', leads NGOs effectively, but no doubt unwittingly, contribute to the dominance (or hegemony) of neo-liberal economic perspectives globalisation. Indeed Desforges (2004) argues that NGOs are

> inimical to global citizenship because their interests lie in marketing driven recruitment of support which enables the continuation of their organisation, rather than in popular participation in development issues. (Desforges, 2004, p565)

The thesis attempted to illustrate the way that the reductionist neo-Marxist and anti-globalisation nature of some development education content, which repeatedly targets very obvious patterns of consumption, may paradoxically contribute to the process of casting students as consumers and as responsible for remedying situations which have complex political and economic antecedents. Active citizenship is misconstrued through marginally effective challenges to the status quo like fair trade, while charitable and fundraising activities are used as convenient substitutes for the active citizenship implied by the Crick report (QCA, 1998). Aspects of global education that might arise from peace education or from the discussion of current conflicts are avoided.

The thesis extends this argument to infer that the development perspective's focus on consumption, fundraising, and the conditions of the poor in distant countries, could be to

the advantage of the government on several levels. Firstly, curriculum content appeals to students' purchasing power, supporting neo-liberal economic forms that rely on 'consumer booms'. Secondly, development issues are presented fiscally as being about aid and trade and ideas of individual responsibility are stressed. Thirdly, presenting employment conditions in developing countries as exploitative and insecure confirms the need for a flexible workforce in a globalised world: here, as well as there. Lastly, the distanced and largely economic focus of development resources, coupled with a misplaced fear of indoctrination, could mean that authentic global political controversies are avoided. For example, in interviews, teachers were silent on the subject of the Iraq war, a matter on which the Blair government might have been considered open to criticism.

Global citizenship

I considered the debate in the field of Citizenship education around 'global citizenship'. In comparing the concept of Global Citizenship with Osler and Starkey's (2003) conception of Cosmopolitan Citizens, I found the latter to be more relevant to a globalised world, because of its basis in the cosmopolitan perspective of globalisation, rather than on a perspective based on trade and aid connections with the developing world. Crick argues that in Citizenship education, the local should take precedence over the global (2004). While agreeing with Oxfam's counter that the local and global are inextricable concepts, I argued that political education in the existing school curriculum is diluted because the nature of global issues selected for presentation in the curriculum seemed to avoid authentic political engagement, globally or locally.

Empirical research found that the Citizenship Curriculum, citizenship advisers, and teachers all appeared to encourage skills of critical thinking and enquiry, political literacy, and active citizenship. Crick (1998) identified these as necessary skills in a liberal democracy, but others (Berlin, 1969; Halsey, 1986; Held, 1987) would argue that

widespread critical and popular participation in the polity is not a requirement for the functioning of a liberal democracy, and in certain circumstances might be conceived of as a threat. This debate indicates a significant tension for the purpose of citizenship education in a state-provided curriculum in a liberal democratic nation. It may be significant in this context that there is some evidence of a lack of effective citizenship education several years after its compulsory introduction. An ICM poll (ICM, 2004) conducted for Ofsted found that 13% of 110 randomly selected students aged 14-16 did not know what citizenship classes were. As noted in Chapter 4, a 2006 Ofsted report found that provision for citizenship education was inadequate in a quarter of schools surveyed. (Ofsted, 2006, summary). This 2006 Ofsted report found that many teachers " work far from their normal comfort zone ... especially with regard to controversial issues" (Ofsted, 2006, p1), and that "in many schools there is insufficient reference to local, national and international questions of the day and how politicians deal with them" (Ofsted, 2006, p2). This supports my findings that teachers appeared to be wary of being seen to indoctrinate their students and some were wary of genuinely controversial political issues.

Global controversies

It is a key finding of this thesis that while apparently valuing the skills of critical thinking and enquiry, teachers and curriculum developers preferred to select 'safe' and 'distanced' global controversies, especially those associated with international development. They appeared to avoid those that directly critiqued processes of governance. This research augments Yamashita's (2006) analysis of teaching about the Iraq war. Her research asked teachers and students directly about this topic in the classroom and notes teachers' unease about indoctrination in this context, alongside students' need to discuss the war in an educational setting. My research asked teachers and curriculum developers about controversial global issues and in the analysis found that the war was never mentioned,

although it might be considered the source of some pressing global controversies during the research period (2004-2006). Indeed student protests about the Iraq War provided an example of co-operative political participation that has not been facilitated in schools (see Besley, 2005) and which has even been punitively discouraged by schools and government (BBC News 2003; *The Guardian*, 2003). I suggest that teachers' persistent fear of indoctrination and of dealing with politically controversial issues is misplaced, but that the conflation of globalisation with development education in the curriculum does nothing to remedy this fear. As previously discussed, the Tory government allowed this caution to arise in respect of issues-based education. Ofsted's (2006) comment that "in general, not enough has been made of topical issues to make the study of citizenship directly relevant and to involve pupils in the issues of the day" (Ofsted, 2006, p16) shows that this caution does not appear to have abated a great deal.

The topical issues most often introduced under the rubric of globalisation in the curriculum were found to be those associated with conventional processes of international development, in which rich Western countries assume responsibility for the poor in developing countries. DfID funding has contributed to the inclusion of the topic globalisation as 'development awareness'. Global issues are presented in a relatively uncontroversial way which declines to investigate the direct role of governments, past or present, here or there, in perpetuating the inequalities that exist between and within nations. Inequality, exploitation and poverty are regularly presented in development education materials as affecting people in developing countries. However, transformationalist authors demonstrate that the unevenness associated with globalisation occurs both between and within nations, while cosmopolitans demonstrate that there are issues that should involve all humanity equally.

The research conducted within the scope of this thesis indicates that the work being undertaken by Geography professionals using the transformationalist perspective of globalisation (GA, 2005) could well be extended to Citizenship to give students a sociological understanding of globalisation. From this they would gain an understanding of how globalisation impacts across political, social, cultural, economic and military spheres and an explanation in terms of identity formation of the rise in fundamentalism, nationalism, and terrorism. However, Ofsted observed that "inspectors see a lot of geography lessons with obvious potential for citizenship that remains unexploited" (Ofsted, 2006, p27).

Politics and the National Curriculum

The literature review suggested that the National Curriculum was introduced by a radical right-wing government towards the end of the Cold War, in an endeavour to gain political and administrative control of the education system and to ensure value for money.

A critical theory approach would infer that, from its inception, the National Curriculum has been used and adapted by successive governments in order to promote their preferred ideologies, not just of education, but in general, because education is part of the construction of hegemony (Apple, 2004, p.1). Despite a professed wariness of political intervention and indoctrination, the original National Curriculum was developed for politically motivated reasons, which included an aspiration to maintain national economic competitiveness and to provide human capital. High levels of assessment from the youngest age were included to monitor schools' performance in order to support marketised choice policies. Further rationales for the creation of a centrally prescribed curriculum were to maintain a focus on British Heritage and to deflect what was seen as a Marxist attempt by schools and LEAs to influence what was taught. This meant that, for a

time, there was antagonism to 'global' subjects, although a longer view suggests that the inclusion of global and international topics in the curriculum has been used to support understandings of Britain's role in the world and the meaning of British citizenship. The foundation of the DEA in 1993 suggests that it is possible to find the "chinks" in the hegemony, that Brookfield (2005, p45) writes of.

It might be argued that the New Labour Government elected in 1997 used the National Curriculum (and plans to develop it further along the same trajectory) to attempt to promote a Third Way perception of neo-liberal globalisation as inevitable but manageable. It continues the promotion of human capital models of education in the service of global competitiveness, and choice policies in schooling short of privatisation, to create a supposed (but not actual) market for state education. The 2000 version of the National Curriculum retains high levels of assessment and monitoring and is unequivocal in its Aims about the role of the curriculum in preparing students for economic participation in a globalised world. The *Futures Curriculum* seems set to continue the emphasis on the role of education in promoting economic competitiveness. Similarly DfES promotes a vision of "equipping our children, adults and young people for life in a global society and work in a global economy" (DfES, 2004, p.5).

Society is presented as uniquely rapidly changing and there is an emphasis on the future in contrast with earlier curriculum ideologies which valued past heritages. This connects with proposals for future presentation in a *Futures Project*. Here a 'better society in the future' is constructed which is connected with a Third Way interpretation of neo-liberal economic principles that stress innovation, progress and constant improvement, but claims also to value social justice.

Indoctrination

It might be argued that one of the reasons for avoiding the more political perspectives of globalisation is a fear of indoctrinating students. The fear of indoctrination or the reluctance to impose particular views was apparent at all levels of curriculum design and delivery. This was shown to lead to content about globalisation which is consciously bland and uncontroversial. My research did not examine what takes place in classrooms, but interviews with teachers and curriculum developers indicated to me that direct indoctrination is *not* taking place through the curriculum. However, although governments are complicit in creating the economic and policy conditions which allow globalisation to thrive, there is scant content which implies any direct evaluation of the role of governments in global issues. I infer that this is because much content focuses on the economic relations of the global rather than the political. This silence contrasts with the rhetoric in teachers' and curriculum designers' accounts about the importance of controversial issues for development of skills of critical thinking for students in the context of a liberal pluralist democracy.

Despite the regularly voiced fear of indoctrination, no direct indoctrination is likely to be taking place, given the wide range of resources combined with the reticence of teachers and curriculum designers, as well as sophisticated legal proscriptions on indoctrination and controversy. Furthermore, given Ofsted's (2006) findings that "the intentions for citizenship remain contested and are sometimes misunderstood" (Ofsted, 2006, p2) it may be that global citizenship is not as widely taught as the government and NGOs might hope. However it was not an objective of this thesis to investigate classroom practice, so empirical evidence is not available to assess this possibility.

In a liberal democracy it is considered important not to impose views, but to encourage critical and independent thought. But the thesis concludes that the bland content of the

curriculum may not present sufficient challenge for students to recognise the political and social implications of globalisation, nor to develop authentic skills of critical thinking.

Human rights

I hypothesise that the National Curriculum's emphasis on responsibility and individualistic consumerism could lead to the neglect of the topic of human rights in curricular content. Furthermore, although there is no blatant indoctrination of the sort that might be conducted in totalitarian polities, I suggest that there is a subtle and complex attempt to construct and legitimate neo-liberal globalisation as hegemonic through the official documents of the National Curriculum and at the level of consumer-directed education policies. This also means that, especially in the Citizenship curriculum, responsibilities are stressed at the expense of rights. This is a distortion of some of the tenets of Communitarianism which stress a *balance* of rights with responsibilities. In a globalised economy, governments seek to make less input into tax-demanding public services and instead require individual citizens to assume responsibility for their own provision. A social-democratic perspective on globalisation such as cosmopolitanism, might ground students in an understanding of universal human rights and give them an alternative ideal which would be worth aspiring to, to replace the current uneasy and relativist manifestations of globalisation that concentrate on competition between national economies. More hopefully, despite difficulties finding appropriate resources, some teachers that I interviewed did make efforts to teach about human rights.

Limitations of the present study and scope for further research

Limitations of the present study

This research made no attempt to investigate or assess what actually takes place in Citizenship and Geography classrooms with respect to learning about global subjects. No

research was conducted which could provide evidence either for what is taught or learnt, or for the extent and effectiveness of what is taught or learnt. Furthermore, the teachers selected for interview were all enthusiastic about the topic of globalisation and other global topics. It would be worthwhile, although challenging, to trace teachers who were sceptical about the value of these topics in the curriculum. Bell, in his capacity as Chief Inspector of Schools, notes that Citizenship is "sometimes misunderstood and undervalued by head teachers" (Bell, 2005, p1) although he sounds a note of hope in respect of " new teachers with a fascinating range of backgrounds and a commitment to the development of citizenship as a National Curriculum Subject" (Bell, 2005, p1). Bell is clear about the importance of global citizenship in the curriculum and that this is "given added weight by national and global events of the past few months" (Bell, 2005, p2)

Because the research focused on the curriculum documents, and the production and the interpretation of those documents, rather than their delivery in the classroom, there is no possibility of commenting upon how such resources are actually delivered to, or received by, students. This means that it is not possible to state definitively whether the attempts of the neo-liberal hegemonic processes described above are actually effective in constructing citizens who see themselves as consumers and workers in a globalised world. These intentions seemed to be apparent in the documents and interview materials investigated, but in view of Ofsted's recent report entitled *Towards Consensus?* (Ofsted, 2006) they may be unsuccessful against a background of, as yet, uneven or weak citizenship teaching.

Scope for further research

Globalisation and the environment

The small-scale participant observation with some enthusiastic students detailed in this thesis showed that students were very interested in the implications of globalisation for the

environment and in the global impact of environmental factors such as climate change. The finding of the thesis that development agencies were overwhelmingly involved in producing curriculum materials about globalisation was surprising; an initial hypothesis suggested that the curriculum might be concerned largely with environmental studies in connection with globalisation. This was not upheld in the research conducted for this thesis. But it may be that teachers are making this connection especially in Geography lessons. Research would need to investigate this possibility in specifically directed interviews with teachers. There is considerable scope for examining the articulations in the curriculum between globalisation and environmental studies.

Textbook research

During the research for this thesis a small sample of Citizenship textbooks was examined to verify the findings from the other documentation. Citizenship textbooks were selected for analysis since Hopkin (1998, 2001); Graves (2001), and Hicks (1980) have all undertaken research on Geography textbooks. Davies and Issitt conducted research on Citizenship textbooks in Canada, Australia and the UK and found in all three nations that "most of the material contained within textbooks focuses on national rather than global issues" (Davies and Issitt, 2005, p.399). I found that several Citizenship textbooks are available, but only a few which deal with global issues. A small-scale pilot survey by questionnaire did not find that teachers claimed to use textbooks much. It was also ascertained early on in the research that development agencies led the agenda and therefore detailed consideration was given to their resources. At the time of the development of the Citizenship curriculum there was considerable lobbying from development and aid agencies for the inclusion of globalisation in the curriculum and it became a central concern of this thesis, which examines the role of special interests in the curriculum, to find out why development and aid NGOs engaged in that lobbying.

It would be an interesting question for further research to discover how textbooks are used in practice by teachers and students. This part of the research was limited because priority was given to the resources produced by development agencies which seemed to be driving the agenda and, because of the focus of the research into the roles of interests, institutions and ideologies, issues of practice have not been addressed. There is scope in the future for a more detailed and extensive analysis of Citizenship Textbooks as Citizenship education develops in the curriculum and more schools offer the subject at GCSE. This level of assessment may bring a previously "weakly framed" (Bernstein, 1975) subject more fully into the visible pedagogy of the National Curriculum. Textbooks are a vital component of a visible pedagogy and may become a more important feature of the Citizenship curriculum.

Some of the resources (see for example *Get Global!)* analysed in this research sought to be relevant to students and to give them voice in what they learnt and how they expressed that learning despite the constraints of the subject-bound and assessment-heavy National Curriculum. In a "visible pedagogy" model of curriculum (Bernstein 1975) knowledge about globalisation is imparted by experts rather than arising from students themselves.

Research with students

This thesis included a focused case study that included the work of some students on a global citizenship project. It was not sufficient to draw conclusions about what most students actually take away from global citizenship projects, especially as the students were a select group who had won a prize and were having a weekend away and therefore far from typical. There is also further scope for research with students at school level which could build on that carried out by Hicks (2003b) with Higher Education Students. This would aim to discover how young people experience globalisation to find out what they think they should learn about it and how. In the context of *Every Child Matters,* government

policy in respect of children and young people claims to give them opportunities to "make a positive contribution" (DfES, 2003, p.7).

Although this research provides no direct evidence for this, young people might be seen to be engaged with global issues. Amongst other things, they are said to be radicalised by their religious identities, they experience diverse cultural influences, they migrate, they work, they use the internet, they protest, they are concerned about climate change, and they are consumers and future voters.

It would be interesting to undertake research with groups of students and individuals on how they themselves interpret globalisation and global issues. Work with focus groups might encourage revealing and wide-ranging discussion on the topic. Mixed groups of students from different schools and areas would seem likely to stimulate a range of views for further analysis. The present research did not engage with issues of classroom practice and therefore collected no evidence to show what students actually learn about global issues. A starting hypothesis for future research could build on the conceptual findings of this research and propose that students might not learn about authentically controversial global issues because of the limitations described in curriculum content.

Teacher confidence: a recommendation

Sufficient data about teachers' lack of confidence and concerns about their competence to teach about globalisation was collected in the course of this research to form the basis of another research project. The data revealed that teachers interviewed were considerably lacking in confidence in respect of teaching about global issues. I was typically told that

More guidance is needed

Several others were worried about their unfamiliarity with the topic and personal lack of knowledge. This connects with Ofsted's findings that "for all the interest and general teaching skills [of teachers] nothing could be taken for granted about their subject knowledge" (Ofsted, 2006, p.33) and that they were "far from their normal comfort zone" (Ofsted, 2006, p1).

It was also apparent from my interviews with curriculum developers that many were aware of the lack of confidence experienced by teachers. At a major aid agency I was told that

> *Teachers feel very daunted*

At another that

> *Most teachers don't think globally because they don't see the relationship of the global to other things they are teaching*

And even from one curriculum designer that

> *in some schools there's no point in doing certain things*

However the Development Education Centre was actively involved in training and developing resources, through sharing teachers' understanding and they aimed to

> *Give teachers creative space*

The GA's *Valuing Places Project* and, to some extent, Action Aid's *Get Global!* both incorporate learning experiences for teachers, showing that this is possible. The ACT made this observation

> *Teachers are quite reluctant to pick up the glossy resources because the minute you open the packet you've got to read the instructions. So they tend to fall back on their own experience and textbooks. The model I think of is the school policeman who is an expert in the legal system and who will come in and work very effectively alongside practising*

teachers and have a real impact on kids' thinking. That would not only develop the agenda as, say, Oxfam see it, but it would also act as a stimulus to the teacher. So I think that's a move NGOs have to make.

In the light of the above, I would tentatively recommend that there is a place for development agencies to engage in more professional development work for citizenship teachers, as the GA does with *Valuing Places* and as was done at the regional DEC I visited. I would argue that the "glossy resources" (of which I now have a large collection) are sometimes little more than marketing material and appear more connected with some organisations' fundraising and campaigning activities than with engaging effective teaching and learning in classrooms.

I suggest that teachers' lack of confidence and misplaced fears of being seen to indoctrinate represent a space in which the development education community could engage with some genuinely participatory work on current global issues, rather than focusing on ethical consumption and charity. Rather than producing "glossy resources" they could "work alongside" teachers in the classroom providing learning experiences and professional development. I suggest that teachers need more support with tackling controversial global issues and as Bell argues "The best resources for lessons on global issues will often be this morning's news rather than a textbook" (Bell, 2005, p4). The glossy resources go out of date very quickly; confidence and professional development in respect of working with topical global controversies would not.

In conclusion

The research explored perspectives of globalisation partly with the aim of investigating how a controversial topic was mediated in curriculum content. The research critically investigated an attempt on the part of forces of neo-liberalism to gain consent for a particular perspective of globalisation through the curriculum. The processes involved were

found to be complex, subtle and sometimes apparently contradictory. A number of agencies support this attempt; some, such as development agencies, paradoxically. However, none of the data collected which focused on curriculum content, and on interests involved in the production of that content, can demonstrate what students actually derive from that content or what teachers are confident to teach. This represents an area for future research.

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Appendix A

Curriculum developers' interview schedule (DfES) March 1st 2005

Perspectives of globalisation in the Key Stage 3 Geography and Citizenship Curricula

First of all, please could you give me your own definition of globalisation?

Do you think globalisation is an important topic for young people to learn about? Why?

Ideally, what would you like young people to learn about globalisation?

Do you think that the National Curriculum provides a helpful framework for teaching about globalisation?

Where can learning about globalisation best fit into the National Curriculum?

Has globalisation been a straightforward issue to include in the curriculum?

Which do you think is more important when teaching about globalisation—knowledge and understanding, skills, or values and attitudes?

What difficulties do curriculum designers and advisers encounter with this topic? I'm thinking here about bias or controversy in this topic?

What challenges do you envisage teachers and students might have with the topic of globalisation?

What advantages are there for teachers and young people to learning about globalisation?

I've found that the development NGOs are very strong in producing teaching materials about globalisation. Why do you think this is?

Do you think there are strong connections between learning about international development and learning about globalisation? /What other issues are involved?

Why did DfES decide to collaborate with (commercial partners) on this particular project?

Is DfES working on any other collaborative projects in global citizenship that I should find out more about?

Do you have any contacts with schools and teachers who might be willing to take part in interviews for this research?

Do you have any comments to add?

Appendix B

Draft interview schedule for teachers.

The Global Dimension in the Geography and Citizenship Curricula at Key Stage 3

Globalisation

What is your personal definition of globalisation?

Do you think globalisation/the global dimension is an important topic for your students to learn about? Why/ Why not?

Ideally what would you like them to learn about globalisation?

National Curriculum

Is the National Curriculum (NC geography/ NC Citizenship) a useful framework for teaching about globalisation? How it helps/ hinders?

Do you think young people need to learn content about globalisation, skills or change values and attitudes?

Resources/ Learning Materials

There are quite a few resources being produced for teaching about this topic. Have you used any of them? If so which ones have you used? Which have been the most successful for your students? Why?

School links

Does your school have links with schools in other countries? What sort of links do you have?

Challenges

What are the challenges of covering this topic with your students? How do you deal with controversies?

Rewards

What have been the rewards? Any surprises?

Appendix C

Sample Data selected using NVivo

Anti-Globalisation perspective coding nodes

      8   (2) /anti-globalisation

      9   (2 1) /anti-globalisation/Westernisation

     10   (2 2) /anti-globalisation/countering AG views

     11   (2 3) /anti-globalisation/anti-poverty

     12   (2 4) /anti-globalisation/child labour

     13   (2 5) /anti-globalisation/exploitation

     14   (2 6) /anti-globalisation/trade

     15   (2 7) /anti-globalisation/multinationals bad

     16   (2 8) /anti-globalisation/World Bank~IMF bad

     17   (2 9) /anti-globalisation/increasing gap between rich and poor

Some data examples under this coding

Document Aid Agency 1, 6 passages, 1040 characters.

how purchasing has happened, whether institutions are part of marketisation or not are part of a whole thing

challenges

temporary factory somewhere in Cambodia.

how am I trapped in this situation?

stresses

if you look at our stuff on [website] that's actually stuff which compares the situation of a dairy farmer in Wales and a dairy farmer in Jamaica. The dairy farmer in Jamaica is worse off comparatively, but both of them are in the same relationship to processes of globalisation. I believe that one of the ways forward in people changing their views and their minds and understanding that we begin to need to look at how trade works is to understand that actually it's impacting on them supermarkets here. They aren't just ripping off people growing beans in Kenya, what are they doing to your high street, what are they doing to your quality of life? etc. So I think it's that holistic thing about how it impacts on everyone both with problems and issues and with opportunities.

Document 'Faith based aid agency interview qs', 4 passages, 568 characters.

For Agency X globalisation is fundamentally a trade issue. Trade isn't fair. Not that they are against trade as such but rich countries are controlling trade and poor countries are losing out and the problem is having cumulative effects in connection with the debt problem and IMF constraints where communities no longer have access to free education and health care. These facts combine to work against the poorest people in the world.

However the scales are still tipped in favour of the richer countries.

materialistic consumer society that they are growing up in.

Document development education adviser 091104', 3 passages, 689 characters.

I think globalisation is three things. One it's about, it's an economic agenda in terms of the change in economic forces in the world and that sets the increasing concentration of power of multinational companies and the increasing domination of that within certain countries in the world, so it's economic area.

And also I think there's the cultural dimension which is around the cultural domination particularly of North American and Western influences on the rest of the world

A development educationist is gonna come at it much more out of power relations between North and South and equity and social justice questions which is where development education is rooted.

Document 'interview Geography adviser, 1 passages, 53 characters.

of globalisation quite negatively as social injustice

Document JW geography/citizenship teacher, 2 passages, 310 characters.

it's got a very anti-globalisation message comes across in a lot of the stuff you get.

We reviewed a Terry Fiehn textbook and looked at one of the chapters on globalisation and one of the things I noted in it is that it had a whole chapter on fair trade in it and didn't question whether it was good or bad.

Document Aid Agency 3 101204', 1 passages, 167 characters.

And then it became very black and white it was like good and bad and poor and rich so when we rewrote we tried to avoid to look at tools to avoid that happening again.

Document QCA, C 3 passages, 354 characters.

economic driven definition it was about multinationals setting up production centres in less economically developed and developing countries and the impact that that was having on those communities

and we were taught that in some situations it was terribly negative and taking advantage minerals used in mobile phones and the impact on the Congolese people

Document MH Geography/Citizenship teacher, 9 passages, 2540 characters.

integration of economic systems on a worldwide scale and the spread of westernised culture and practices.

MH I'd like them to be taught … I'd like them to know the facts so they can make up their minds what's good and what's bad about it. I wouldn't like them to be taught that it's all bad because it's not all bad. Erm and for many countries development means that they will in the natural process of development take on aspects of the more economically developed countries' way of doing things and all the stuff about owning things and having things I mean you can't have an economy without people owing things and having things and wanting things and it's only part of the natural order of things that people in China will want what we have.

there are people in our part of the world who are exploiting including all of us who are buying things that are made in sweat shops and are quite happy that they don't cost us too much because other people are being exploited and that aspect of it yeah.

"Oh my goodness Nestle terrible, Macdonald's dreadful"

MH I think values and attitudes are the thing. Children (particularly in this part of the country) are very materialistic. If you were to say to them, and we have done some work

with them in geography in the past on the making of a football, if they were to pay the people that are making this the going rate, you'd need top pay another £20 pounds for your football. They just think that's well they wouldn't be willing to do that when you talk to them about it. Erm on the other hand they all want to work for big businesses and make lots of money.

you can take them and show them what Nestlé's done and you can show them Bhopal or things like that and that has an impact on them MacDonald's and we do we teach all of that, but you have to be careful that you're not just always showing them negative things.

the Macdonald's trial and everything they love that stuff. But it's more difficult to give them a balanced view but that's really our job isn't it?

Stuff on global trade and international finance these are really KS4?

I've got absolutely nothing that says MacDonald's thinks this, there's nothing like this produced from their point of view, So if they think we're biased it's probably because there's nothing for us to use. And we can't do that without those materials because we don't have that knowledge. You know I don't know anything about why a big car company would go to another country and leave countries like this. There's nothing from their point of view.

Document VD Citizenship coordinator', 6 passages, 3757 characters.

VD Erm well I basically got 2 kinds of globalisation here. There are those who would argue that globalisation is a useful idea of the world as a kind of economic village. On the negative side I see it as groups of large conglomerates with economies that outstrip the economies of many developing countries switching resources wherever it is cheapest to actually operate and that doesn't even apply to the developing countries. You with it? It's

happening in the UK. The classic example was some town in the midlands where people could now buy a pair of jeans for £5 because they were made in some far flung corner of the world, but, the jeans factory had closed down in the midlands so plenty of people are unemployed. So I think we have to, but it probably won't happen bearing in mind the balance of power at the moment. But ideally I think we should be looking very closely at monitoring the whole effects of globalisation.

It's stuff like the tsunami which hopefully, if anything positive comes out of it is that people are going to be actually asking what are the long term effects? What caused the tsunami in the first place? (Sic) Why have they got a tsunami alarm system in the Pacific but not in the Indian Ocean? So it's great that people are giving their pennies and pounds but we need to think about the long term effects of globalisation. You know I'm an old lefty so consequently I have got great reservations about globalisation, but I'm prepared to take the arguments that we should be getting the benefits you know we do live in this global economic village so Yeah we've got to accept that. We're not going to push it back. But we've got to have some fairly rigid ethical controls but we have to make young people aware of the crisis it is a crisis what it actually is.

Same sort of thing really I think when I think of globalisation I think of the whole world community developing but obviously not all the world is developing in the way that some countries are. I mean the G8 countries are developing ahead of their time and the poor countries are not. I guess when I think of globalisation it's unfair in a way that so many countries are pushing forward and so many are not. It makes me quite angry really. That's my definition of globalisation. That's what I think.

We have these youngsters, and this is a school in which a fairly large number of youngsters are felling pretty anti-American in their sentiments so you kick off a lesson by saying "How

many of you are not happy with America?" and then you say "well in that case why are you supporting them?" And they say "we're not supporting them!" And you say "well in that case what about the hat you're wearing, what about the jacket you're wearing, and what about the shoes you're wearing?

it's almost symbolic that they're cutting the trees down and they're also cutting the people down if you like culturally. we're all in danger of wearing Nike hats and Nike trainers and not worrying too much about the other guy and I think we have to raise young people's awareness of this and maybe, hopefully we've got an easier task working in the kind of school we're working in and working with the kind of community which err we actually work with because you know these people (sic) can actually look to realities just outside the pure London (sic) basis.

But it is a question of if we don't get grips on the big boys on the huge commercial empires and I will even use that with a capital E. If we don't get hold of these guys then you it's going to end up with a situation where a few people are getting very, very rich indeed and the vast majority of people are getting poorer. Which sadly is something that is happening in this country in an increasing level since 1997