

The Values of Global Citizenship Education and Implications for Social Justice

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This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
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This thesis results entirely from my own work and has not been offered previously for any other degree or diploma.

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SignatureJ Hatley.....

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Abstract

Target 4.7 of the Sustainable Development Goals promotes Global Citizenship Education as a vehicle to develop the skills, values and attitudes of learners so that they may work towards the resolution of the interconnected challenges facing the world today. Underpinning UNESCO's approach to global citizenship education are 'Universal Values' said to apply to all people everywhere on the basis of a common humanity.

I adopt the position that values act as motivators of action and that values also enable evaluation of which actions are deemed desirable and worthwhile. Which values are promoted can motivate action in directions which may serve some agendas over others. With the critique that UNESCO furthers the dominance of western powers, the role of universal values to motivate the action of global citizens towards mutual human wellbeing or towards action that serves the powerful, becomes a key area for analysis.

Using a multimodal critical discourse analysis of 8 key documents within UNESCO's Global Citizenship Education, I argue that UNESCO exhibit a controlled narrative around values and have defined the 'appropriate' global citizen. In so doing, UNESCO influence the subjectivities of global citizens according to UNESCO's agenda and this furthers the agenda of western

powers. Further, I argue that UNESCO's values are abstract and divorced from social contexts. This denies recognition of alternative values and ways of doing global citizenship more suited to local contexts potentially engendering greater participation as global citizens. Drawing on Fraser's concept of justice as Participatory Parity, I argue that UNESCO's misrecognition of these alternatives is unjust and further that this is potentially generative of the injustices of misrepresentation and maldistribution, compounding a lack of participatory parity. I conclude that UNESCO must afford recognition to alternative values and ways of doing global citizenship such that global citizenship education becomes more socially just.

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List of Abbreviations

CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
DfID	Department for International Development
DRA	Dialectical Relational Approach
EFA	Education For All
EFE	Education for Employment
GCED	Global Citizenship Education
GEFI	Global Education First Initiative
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisation
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OVEP	Olympic Values Education Programme
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WVS	World Values Survey

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Activity Arising from the Doctoral Programme

Conference Presentations

June 2015 University of Bristol Doctoral Conference – *Global Campaign for Education: Implications for Social Justice in light of Neoliberal Influence*

June 2016 RMIT University/University of Lancaster, Spain - Social Justice in Times of Crisis and Hope Young People, Wellbeing and the Politics of Education - *Investigating the role of values in Global Citizenship Education*

Chapter 1 Introduction

The aim of this research is to analyse the role of values within global citizenship education (GCED) and to consider whether UNESCO's approach is socially just. UNESCO's approach to GCED has been selected for analysis because UNESCO sit at the forefront of efforts to achieve the education related Sustainable Development Goals until 2030 of which the promotion of GCED is a part. Not only that, but UNESCO's reach is global. Any initiatives they promote, such as GCED, have the potential to influence a vast swathe of the globe, making analysis of the justice of their approach even more important.

Values are the focus of analysis because of their influence on how we view the world. We are drawn to what we value and we will spend time, energy, money and other resources on activities that we have evaluated as worthwhile. This is underpinned by values. Values are both individual and collective, both personal and social. There is a complex interplay between values, the individual and society and this is played out in education which acts to promote, transmit and amplify values. The individual, motivated by values towards actions they deem worthwhile will act within society. Society, with its prevailing values emphasis, may socially confirm an individual's actions or modify them towards more desirable ends through social pressure to conform. The interplay between individual motivation for and evaluation of action and that from society can influence identities. When identities are influenced in certain directions the concern of whose agenda that may serve is salient. Those in positions of power may present and reinforce a particular set of values aimed at influencing

identities in certain directions that serve them and further their own agenda. I have adopted the position in this research that values act as motivators of action and that values also enable evaluation of actions deemed desirable. When considering how people may be motivated towards action as global citizens for the resolution of some of our most pressing global challenges, the role of values to motivate people towards such ends is a key area of analysis. For example, will UNESCO's universal values influence motivation and action towards the genuine mutual benefit of fellow human beings across borders – fitting the most widely agreed upon description of a global citizen – or will they influence global citizens to consider cross-border economic competition and individual self-interest as more worthwhile, particularly considering the social confirmation this may receive due to a currently dominant neoliberalism which prioritises such values? UNESCO have been critiqued as being a vehicle not for the genuine promotion of the wellbeing of a diverse humanity but for the exportation of western values and a western vision of education around the world. If UNESCO promote a particular set of values which serve this western agenda, rather than serving human wellbeing, then considering their global reach and position of global leadership this would be an important concern for social justice.

1.1 Research Questions

This research analyses the position of values within UNESCO's GCED and draws upon Fraser's concept of justice as participatory parity to respond to the concern about social justice. To do so, four questions are asked.

1. What are the values of GCED as defined by UNESCO?

2. How do texts pertaining to GCED communicate values?
3. What has a critical discourse analysis of texts revealed about participatory parity as defined by Fraser?
4. What can Fraser's theory offer for a more socially just approach to GCED?

To research these questions, 8 documents pertaining to UNESCO's GCED have been analysed, focusing on the word 'values'. This has been done using a multimodal critical discourse analysis (CDA) which has considered the linguistic as well as the visual elements of a text. CDA also asserts that the choices of these elements represent the intentions of UNESCO and reveal what the authors think are the right and proper ways to act. As such, the texts are related to the social practices and culture within UNESCO. This is called the Dialectical Relational Approach to CDA (Fairclough 2003, 2016). The resulting analysis has then been considered in light of Fraser's concept of justice as participatory parity.

An outline of each chapter and its contribution to the arguments of this thesis follows.

1.2 Outline of Chapters

Chapter 2 explores conceptions of global citizenship in order to locate UNESCO's position within this wider field. In doing so, Tully's (2014) model of top-down global citizenship is used to highlight the fact that global citizenship education has historically been and continues to be a site of political ideology. UNESCO's position is discussed in light of this and shown to further the

dominance of the West in global affairs. This is important to understand because UNESCO's values are situated within this model of global citizenship and so may themselves further western dominance.

Chapter 3 focuses on values and looks in detail at UNESCO's universal values. They are located within a wider field of different values in order to highlight the fact that UNESCO have privileged a particular set of values and not others. This is important because in prescribing a particular and closed set of universal values, UNESCO define what count and what do not count in terms of the appropriate values of a global citizen. With values both motivating action and evaluating what is considered worthwhile and with values influencing identities, UNESCO's view is privileged and identities are confirmed in UNESCO's image through universal values. With the prior discussion of UNESCO furthering western dominance in chapter 2, UNESCO's universal values are seen as a vehicle for confirming identities of global citizens in line with the agenda of the powerful. This is further discussed in light of neoliberal globalisation which adds an understanding that this position on universal values may be seen as common sense and go unquestioned, deepening the ability of the powerful to further their agenda. Neoliberal globalisation is also seen to influence values as volatile and changing. This is seen as a factor that undermines the effectiveness of UNESCO's GCED because the achievement of the aims of GCED require sustained motivation and action over time, requiring stable values that endure. Universal values may be seen as stable and enduring, but are later exposed through analysis in chapter 6 as divorced from social context to such a degree that they cannot achieve these aims, despite appearing to give the stability

needed. Additionally in this chapter, the universal nature of UNESCO's values such that they are applied indiscriminately regardless of context is discussed and shown to ignore the evidence from the World Values Survey that values exist in distinct cultural zones. Ignoring this evidence undermines UNESCO's GCED because universal values will not be accepted in countries that either perceive them as imposed western values and resist them, or consider them irrelevant to their social reality. This understanding is important because when considering the implications of UNESCO's treatment of values for social justice in chapters 4 and 7, a particular closed set of values that have denied the reality of cultural diversity results in misrecognition and constitutes a barrier to participatory parity.

In chapter 4, Fraser's concept of justice as participatory parity is discussed. Participatory parity states that all must be able to interact as peers in social life and for this to happen, the conditions of three dimensions of justice must be met. The three dimensions of justice – misrecognition, misrepresentation and maldistribution are explored. Fraser's theory is used to examine how UNESCO maintain their authority in the global space, avoid accountability to those they influence and how they are subsequently able to export their version of values and global citizenship around the globe. As mentioned in chapter 3, the main source of injustice in the texts is misrecognition. Discussion here sets the scene to understand how misrecognition is potentially generative of the injustices of misrepresentation and maldistribution, explored further in chapter 7.

Chapter 5 discusses the Dialectical Relational Approach and the multimodal critical discourse analysis that will be used for the analysis in chapter 6. The analytical tools are also explored, namely Fairclough's (2003) linguistic concepts of Classification and the texturing of Relationships of Equivalence and Difference, Kress and Van Leeuwen's (2006) visual aspects of information value, salience, framing and the significance of bullet points, lists and tables as described by Ledin and Machin (2015). Classification of values - the ways they are named - has the potential to shape people's thoughts and actions when they read 'values'. Texturing relationships of equivalence and difference has the effect of fixing meaning in texts and can contribute to changes in social identities, such as those of global citizens. The visual aspects are important because texts are not only linguistic and the full set of resources for making meaning from the texts needs to be considered. Together, these tools can analyse how UNESCO communicate values and the implications of this for participatory parity. The choices of the documents studied are then explained and put into the wider context of global efforts to achieve the SDGs as part of Education 2030.

Chapter 6 contains the analysis of the data and the discussion which uses the analytical tools and methods mentioned in chapter 5. This is presented under two themes which have come through from the discussions in chapters 2 and 3 – the privileging of western dominance and the barriers to the effectiveness of GCED. Using the tools of classification and relationships of equivalence and difference and a multimodal approach, the analysis shows that UNESCO have indeed exhibited a controlled narrative around universal values and fixed the

meaning of them within the texts. They position universal values as the only answer for resolving global challenges and the only 'appropriate' values for a successful global citizen. Universal values are also abstract and divorced from local contexts. Together, the findings then pick up the injustice of misrecognition discussed in chapter 3 and 4 and it is seen that how the discourse of values in the texts is structured constitutes an obstacle to participatory parity.

With the main discussion of the analysis occurring in chapter 6, the final chapter (7) presents shorter conclusions which are structured around the research questions asked at the start of this thesis. Misrecognition is highlighted as the main source of injustice within this study and is illustrated from the analysis and discussion in chapter 6. Misrecognition is also explained as potentially the generative source of injustice for misrepresentation and maldistribution. To consider misrepresentation, universal values are conceptualised as cult values requiring obedience and with the likelihood that discussion of alternative and contrasting opinions may be stifled, results in misrepresentation. Maldistribution is explored from the perspective of the UNESCO Associated Schools Project Network (ASPNet) with only those who ascribe to UNESCO's universal values being given access to opportunities and resources for improving pedagogy. Whilst misrepresentation and maldistribution may potentially occur as a result of UNESCO's approach to universal values, it is misrecognition that is the generative injustice.

Final thoughts are offered regarding the benefits that a critical attitude within UNESCO's approach to GCED may offer. This is discussed in terms of providing resistance to UNESCO's top-down model of global citizenship and furtherance of western dominance and, together with increased recognition

within the texts, may motivate action towards global citizenship with greater participatory parity.

1.3 Contribution to Knowledge

The contribution of this research exists in 5 areas: as a contribution to the field of research in combining values and GCED, as development of methodology in the linking of multimodal aspects with traditional linguistic CDA which overcomes traditional limitations and hegemonic voices, as conceptual development in our understanding of the universal, as a contribution combining the ideal and realistic at the level of the system but also the concrete every-day and as a contribution showing how textual discourse can be considered a structural obstacle to and a vehicle for assessing social justice. Each of these will now be explored.

A Contribution to the Field of Research

The position of transnational institutions in the global space, including UNESCO, has been the subject of previous research and some of that research has performed a critical discourse analysis. However, none have considered the specific context of global citizenship education and none have analysed the role of values. The position of values within INGOs more generally has been discussed, but with a perspective on management and not with a critical discourse analysis (Mowles 2007). To my knowledge, no studies have combined critical discourse analysis of values within the specific context of GCED. I have found just one study (Mackie and Tett 2013) which has critically analysed policy discourse and further considered Fraser's theory of social

justice, but this did not focus on values or education. My study is unique in using a critical discourse analysis to highlight values as a lens through which the social control of motivations and the development of appropriate subjectivities may be enacted by the powerful.

Development of Methodology

Methodologically, I am developing an approach to CDA which is multimodal and not just language based. Rogers et al. (2016) have highlighted that applying a multimodal approach to CDA is under-researched. In applying a multimodal approach, this research also resists the hegemony of the few dominant voices in critical discourse analysis, of which Fairclough is named as one, by 'attending to the dynamics between meaning making resources' (Rogers et al., 2016, p1215) and not relying on one method. It also helps to overcome a limitation of traditional critical discourse analysis which only focuses on language. Further, my approach combines methods from three areas – linguistic (Fairclough 2003), visual grammar (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2006) and logical (Ledin and Machin 2015) – which is thorough and goes beyond complementing the linguistic with the photographic, for example. Whilst CDA itself is generally concerned with power relations between authors and receivers, my methods take this further. For example, in considering how the logical may make discourse even more resistant to challenge than considering language alone, a deeper awareness of how the powerful may control discourse at the expense of the less powerful and as a tool of social control is gained. This takes the methods to a more nuanced level, adding robustness to the findings and

drawing the field of critical discourse analysis towards a deeper manifestation which enhances its impact and contribution to social analysis.

Conceptual Development of the Universal

Conceptually, this research debunks the 'universal' as an answer to today's global challenges. This is important because the universal carries such an appearance of unity and fits within current trends of focusing on what is common, but in fact undermines the real work necessary to engage actively with each other and with challenges in order to make concrete progress. I offer analysis to deepen understanding of the concept of 'universal' and signal a warning that the current understanding is self-defeating and counterproductive to many stated aims of 'progress' towards global human wellbeing.

Combining the Ideal and the Realistic

My desire has been to conduct research that can have benefits now as well as point the way towards a more socially just future. I have aimed to avoid only presenting an ideal which is unrealistic because my concern is that this leads to research of little practical use. The ideal is important because it enables us to ask critical questions of now in order to discern steps towards the ideal, but I also aim to combine the ideal with practical steps so that the current system may be moved towards social justice. I combine idealism with realism. The ideal (that textual discourse will contribute to a socially just approach to GCED within UNESCO) is for the future, I also offer something which can be useful now (the consideration of how a critical attitude may assist in resisting western

dominance within current efforts at GCED). My contribution is about improving the system overall, but also about seeing how this can be achieved in the day to day.

A Contribution to Theory – Understanding Structural Obstacles to Participatory Parity

Fraser situates her theory within social and institutional structures. The achievement of participatory parity is realised through the removal of concrete obstacles within structures which impede it. In this research, I consider that the way in which textual discourse is structured can act as a structural and concrete obstacle to participatory parity, and that therefore changing how discourse is structured in texts is necessary and a worthy area of research in order to increase participatory parity. This is then applied to social life through application of the DRA, but the obstacle itself lies within textual discourse. This is important because whilst social institutions and social life are not purely based in texts, linguistic and visual images do pervade culture and a consideration of their role in achieving participatory parity is salient.

Before embarking on chapter 2 with the discussion of concepts of global citizenship, I will put this study into a personal context.

1.4 Personal Attachment and Reflexivity

Taylor et al. highlight the importance of identifying how the researcher's own presence and actions may influence the research (Taylor et al., 2001). They discuss that this is recognised as particularly important for discourse analytic

research because this is usually undertaken alone, as in this study. They highlight that a special interest in and personal links to the topic are not seen as indicating bias, but they do need to be acknowledged. However, in acknowledging personal links to this topic, I also acknowledge a degree of personal bias and it is important to acknowledge my position.

I spent the years 2000-2002 working for an INGO in various positions including that of programme co-ordinator for an education project. This experience has resulted in an enduring concern for the effectiveness of international development programmes. As a result of my time with the INGO I cannot help but have an emotional reaction to a news item or story involving international aid. Usually, my reaction is one of frustration as I see yet another unruly crowd surround an aid truck distributing food, blankets or some other emergency items knowing full well that with a bit of coordination and organisation between agencies, this situation could be delivered much more effectively. This frustration belies my desire to somehow make the effectiveness of aid better. Whilst working with the INGO and liaising with donors and UN agencies, the complexities of enacting aid became clear. The desire of the agency to meet the needs of their beneficiaries versus demands from programme donors to move areas or stick to the contract were at times difficult to navigate and it opened my eyes to the practical reality of aid vs power.

On return from aid work I trained as a primary teacher. The global dimension in education is something I have always carried through my teaching and curriculum development work, although admittedly without a critical eye. It is

the doctoral programme that has trained me to approach life with criticality and be aware of whose voices are not heard.

My desire to improve the effectiveness of aid remains and it is what has led me to this study. But herein lies a tension. My experiences as a partner to UNICEF and UNESCO as an INGO employee were very positive and generally I believe in the UN's mission and am in favour of their work. I began this study expecting to be able to extol positive virtues and not wanting to become a voice which 'tore them down'. Even though I knew that criticality means seeking to improve, I could not help but feel discomfort. I have had to hold this discomfort in tension with criticality as I have undertaken this research. This feeling remained with me as I analysed the data and especially as I drew conclusions. But in spite of the discomfort, I feel that in fact this was a benefit to my research and assisted me in avoiding bias, although as House (2014) states, it is impossible to avoid bias completely. I wanted to find positive things, but in fact I had to acknowledge that the data was leading me elsewhere.

My position is best summed up by Dower (2003) who states

'A Global Citizen is however a cautious optimist. She is engaged in what she does because she feels that it is possible that the world could become a better place with less violence, poverty, environmental degradation and violation of human rights. She may not have confidence that it will become so. However, she feels it is worth the endeavour to try and bring about a better world community. In order for this to come about certain institutions in the world

need to be strengthened, reformed and improved – a reformed UN perhaps, or stronger NGOs with more access to the decision making of international bodies. This then is the aspirational component she accepts and may choose to promote.’ (Dower, 2003, p8)

It is in this spirit that I have approached this research.

Rogers et al. (2016) report that analysis of documents can result in the researcher having a distanced, outsider perspective because they have not been involved in data generation. This may assist in an unbiased approach. Whilst it is true that I have not been involved in the construction of the documents, I am personally attached to the topic as described above. I am an outsider, but I am not without insight into the topic. Nonetheless, my choice of tools for the linguistic analysis of the documents helps to minimise bias because they apply specific criteria to the analysis, minimising my own interpretation. The documents are also written in English which is also the language I speak. This aids my interpretation of the documents since I am familiar with the visual grammar (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2006) used in English texts of various kinds and can arguably interpret its meaning with greater accuracy than someone unfamiliar with this approach. I acknowledge my privileged position here. A non-native speaker, whether researcher or practitioner trying to construct the meaning of GCED, would potentially first need to decode these visual signs to interpret meaning or may miss them altogether. The danger for me is in assuming meaning because I am so familiar with how texts are designed. Again, the specific criteria I have selected for the analysis will help me to be objective.

Chapter 2 What is Global Citizenship?

This chapter will explore conceptions of global citizenship education and illustrate the top-down approach of UNESCO. The top-down approach will be discussed in light of neoliberal globalisation and will show that global citizenship education continues to be a site of political ideology, furthering the dominance of the West in global affairs. In UNESCO's case, this serves to maintain UNESCO's authority in the global space. This chapter then discusses that UNESCO's position also serves to propagate western notions of citizenship at the expense of more locally negotiated forms of global citizenship and that this is unjust. Alternatives to the top-down approach of UNESCO will be considered, but whilst they may represent an ideal, they are unrealistic in the current era of neoliberal globalisation. It is more realistic to assert a critical attitude within UNESCO's current model as a way of resisting the top-down approach and pushing GCED towards social justice.

2.1 Conceptions of Global Citizenship

Whilst a definition of global citizenship remains contested, the global community has largely agreed that being a global citizen includes three main elements: a sense of acting for peace and justice, a pluralism to be open to diverse perspectives or a common humanity and knowledge and action for global problems such as climate change. Barrow supports the wide acceptance of this definition, summarising that at its core, global citizenship recognises a shared humanity.

'It is largely agreed that global citizenship does not mean loyalty to a global government the way citizenship typically means participation in and loyalty to a country or nation-state (Noddings, 2005). At the core of global citizenship education is a recognition of our world's shared humanity' (Barrow, 2017, p164)

The acceptance of this conception of global citizenship is of particular importance today considering the rise in nationalist rhetoric which some fear will undermine global citizenship education and see a return to isolationism and national interest (Barrow, 2017). This would reduce concern for a common humanity and reduce our effectiveness at dealing with global challenges such as climate change which require a coordinated global effort. The global community has responded with alarm, for example, to decisions by President Trump to withdraw the US from the Paris climate accord and to comments made in his speeches declaring in effect that there is no global. The alarm felt underscores the global community's commitment to the widely agreed conception of global citizenship. This conception is expressed in UNESCO's approach to GCED. President Trump's recent decision to withdraw the US from UNESCO, albeit for reasons of perceived anti-Israel bias rather than global citizenship per se (McCarthy, 2017), have deepened concerns that an anti-global attitude may prevail and resistance to global citizenship education increase.

Resistance to GCED may negatively influence its implementation. Understanding reasons for resistance will assist in understanding why GCED may not be successful in certain contexts and how GCED may be used to further particular agendas over others, causing injustice. This awareness is

important in this research because this analysis examines injustice within UNESCO's GCED and an awareness of whose agendas it serves and how resistance may be overcome in order to further justice is important. Whilst the common aims of GCED are widely accepted, some resistance has occurred because each aim of GCED and the field of GCED more widely have been difficult to interpret. Leduc (2013) states that GCED's interpretation is dependent on the 'point of view and purpose of the user' (Leduc, 2013, p. 394) and Sigauke (2011) that its meaning is 'subject to differential interpretations and agendas' (Sigauke, 2011, p81). Using GCED to further certain agendas and promote particular points of view is a key attraction to those in power, such as UNESCO. Revealing the agenda of UNESCO and its potential unjust effects on global citizenship education and the subjectivities of learners is a key theme in this research.

Some of the difficulties in interpreting GCED may be seen in the many contested concepts within GCED (Morris and Oxley 2013, Sigauke 2011, Hoffman and Wang 2016). A lack of clarity in meaning leaves concepts open to being co-opted by those in power to serve their own agendas (Biccum, 2010). This is partly why engaging with global citizenship has been described as a 'struggle' (Gaudelli, 2016, p5). This is not surprising when one considers the multiple conceptions of the words - both 'global' and 'citizenship' can raise different and often competing meanings. As Tully (2014, p4) expounds

'When 'globalisation' and 'citizenship' are combined, they not only bring their contested histories of meanings with them, their conjunction brings into being a complex new field that raises new questions and elicits new answers concerning the meaning of, and relationship between, global

governance and global citizenship. When we enquire into global citizenship therefore, we are already thrown into this remarkably complex inherited field of contested languages, activities, institutions, processes and the environs in which they take place’.

When the word ‘education’ is added to this, as in ‘global citizenship education’, things become even more blurred. Peters et al. state that ‘Given the array of participants shaping the discourse, it is of little surprise that ‘there can be no dominant notion of global citizenship education; ‘global, ‘citizen’ and ‘education’ are all contested and open to further argument and revision’ (Peters et al. 2008, in Gaudelli, 2016, p5). Focusing on education specifically, Gaudelli further states that

‘Many presume that education within the phrase can be left unexamined, as inordinate attention is paid to what global and citizenship mean while assuming that education speaks for itself, as if to say that content/information matters, while the processes or pedagogy for engaging content is simply given’ (Gaudelli, 2016, p. 6).

A clue to the frustration involved in researching and working within the field of global citizenship can be seen through Gaudelli’s allusion to the ‘uncertainty, disbelief and even disorientation’ (Gaudelli, 2016, p. 9) that can come from engaging with these diverse meanings. Such frustration and uncertainty leaves global citizenship education open to being defined by those in power. UNESCO are the dominant voice in global citizenship education and as this research shows, they have indeed ascribed their own meaning to aspects of the field, namely universal values, which has contributed to injustice.

Whilst UNESCO may be the dominant voice, efforts to clarify these diverse meanings have been made by researchers and knowledge of these will help to consider conceptions which might influence UNESCO's definitions and result in a more just provision. However, these still raise questions about what it means to educate for GCED in practice. Gaudelli (2016, p6) has stated that educating for global citizenship includes:

'1. An aspirational sense of being human as a universal condition coupled with openness to the plurality of peoples and their environs.

2. all people have the capacity and access to participate in multiple communities, often simultaneously, at a wide range of scales from local to global and

3. students learning about the world they inhabit and gaining experience and reflective insight to act'.

Gaudelli (2016, p7) further states that global citizenship education must be accompanied by 'Common themes: 'expressed as desires to live peaceably, justly, sustainably and in robust, engaged communities'.

Tye (2014) states that global citizenship education tends to involve four major themes:

1. Knowledge of global issues and problems.

2.The world as a set of systems.

3. Perspective taking and

4. Preparing students to become active in working for social justice and a better world.

(Tye, 2014, p858)

Another key theme is human rights which expresses the belief that we are all global citizens because we share a common humanity – a core element of UNESCO's definition of GCED. Gaudelli (2016, p15) states that 'Human rights are in a way the public face of global citizenship, perhaps due to the transcendent quality of both discourses, imagining a civic location that is not state bound but created simply by being human'. One of the supposed benefits of a human rights approach is the ability to claim rights and seek protection, but the meaning of human rights still seems contested in practice. DeJaeghere (2014, p229) notes that '...there is much debate about which rights and for whom' even though 'protection from abuse of rights informs much citizenship education practice'. It is surprising to find such debate about which rights and for whom considering that the meaning of them seems quite clearly articulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations, 1948), but perhaps here too as universal definitions they are abstracted from social reality in some contexts, similar to the universal values of UNESCO's GCED analysed in this research.

Whilst these descriptions of global citizenship education may constitute the most widely accepted definitions, they are not without their issues. Not only are 'global', 'citizenship' and 'education' vague and contested, but the language in the above definitions is also vague, further leaving GCED open to being co-opted by those in power. 'Learning about the world' and 'gaining reflective

insight to act' could mean learning about poverty and deciding to act towards poverty alleviation, or learning about terrorism and deciding to retreat into one's own world due to feeling overwhelmed by the problems. How one should act is also not stated – should one be autocratic, democratic, individual or collective? What does it mean to be 'open to a plurality of peoples'? Does it mean passively holding an attitude of tolerance or actively engaging with each other? After all, one can hold attitudes and even emotions indicative of a global citizen, but never do anything to act (Davies, 2006). With such vague and contested meanings GCED is subject to the agenda of those in power. This research will show that UNESCO have inserted their own definitions of key concepts, namely universal values, and used education to further their own agenda which serves to maintain their position of authority in the global space. Biccum (2010, p87) has even described this as a 'common strategy' of those in power.

2.2 Western Dominance

An examination of the language of GCED and its implications for justice is the focus of this research, but GCED does not exist in a vacuum. GCED exists within the wider political climate of global society which will also influence its meaning and practices. An examination of this climate and its influence on GCED adds nuance to our understanding of UNESCO's agenda which it promotes through GCED, and reveals that UNESCO are a vehicle for the continued dominance of western global powers. The effects of a dominant political climate on global citizenship education have been apparent in initiatives prior to UNESCO's GCED. Understanding this helps to illustrate the effects of the current political climate on global citizenship education and helps to set the

context for UNESCO's GCED. The forerunner to Global Citizenship Education was 'Global Education' which had its roots in the period of the cold war and saw issues such as denuclearisation and war/peace studies included as content (Gaudelli, 2016). In the United States, the Civil Rights movement called for schools to include minorities equally and promote a respect for difference, which it was hoped would produce a more inclusive view of America (Standish, 2012). Alongside this in Europe post World War 2, efforts were focused on Peace Education which considered the interplay between nation states for the peaceful resolution of conflict and advocated mediation. The global political climate today is globalisation, which 'dominates public consciousness' (Dower, 2003, pxiii). The effect of the current era of globalisation on education is that it emphasizes the interconnections between the people of different nations and considers that individual and local actions can impact globally. Global Citizenship Education begins to include notions of action which appear to have been absent in history's predominant notion of the national.

The focus on action requires young people to act according to the views of those who set the agenda for global citizenship education. In the case of this research, this is UNESCO. Part of the problem with this is that the agenda is based on western values and ideals, mediated by UNESCO into a set of Universal Values said to apply to all people, everywhere which denies recognition to alternative forms of citizenship. The view of UNESCO as propagating the views of western nations is supported by research. Tully (2014) criticises the UN as being a vehicle for western powers to continue their dominance around the globe, enabled by globalisation, and Biccum (2010) asserts that UNESCO's Global Citizenship Education is a vehicle through which the subjectivities of young

people as global citizens are indeed moulded to serve the continuing dominance of western powers. Further, the recent instantiation of the UN's Sustainable Development Goals, within which global citizenship education finds its home, is seen as the successful institutionalisation of the West's vision of education which is then exported globally (Nordtveik, 2010). The exportation of the West's vision of education and subsequent intervention in nations viewed to be 'developing' or 'least developed' (UNDESA, 2014) is given moral authority through being conceptualised as 'progress' (Tully, 2014, p98). Alongside progress, Nordtveit (2010, p326) notes that the UN are seen to export a 'superior truth'. The western agenda, aimed at moulding the subjectivities of young people to suit the West's notion of a global citizen, seems entrenched within UNESCO, is legitimised through discourses of progress and truth and enabled by globalisation.

Tully (2014, p7) has described UNESCO's Global Citizenship Education as 'Top-Down global citizenship'. This denies recognition of alternative models of citizenship and is unjust. Top-down citizenship is underscored by the belief that other countries need to be citizenised in line with western values and has been idealised as the 'uniquely universal model for all human societies' (Tully, 2014, p7). Due to its privileging of western ideals, top-down citizenship is said to have three main effects. Firstly, all other forms of citizenship are viewed as less than ideal. Secondly, if nations do not meet the West's 'standards' they are considered less than civilised. Thirdly, people in those nations are seen as not yet having acquired citizen status and are therefore in need of the West's intervention. This underscores the belief that any model of global citizenship that may have derived from local contexts is inferior. Global Citizenship, as

defined by UNESCO, is the superior and 'acceptable' way of being a Global Citizen. This denies recognition of alternative approaches to global citizenship. Alternative approaches better suited to local contexts allow local people to see its relevance and increases the likelihood of their participation. Fraser calls this lack of recognition an injustice which she terms misrecognition (Fraser, 2010b). The critical discourse analysis of UNESCO documents in this research show how this misrecognition is manifested in the language of texts and that this forms a structural obstacle to Fraser's main criteria for justice – the achievement of participatory parity.

Another way in which top-down citizenship is divorced from local contexts and which constitutes an additional aspect of misrecognition, is through its adoption of universal values. As stated, universal values are said to apply to everyone everywhere on the basis of a common humanity. But, as I comment on further in this research, conceptualising values that apply to all humans and all nations regardless of context leaves them abstract and couched in vague language. Our previous discussion of the vague and contested nature of definitions within GCED and its vulnerability to being co-opted by those in power is also seen here, related specifically to Universal Values. Vague language leaves the values open to interpretation and allows UNESCO to define what they mean, further deepening the exportation of a western vision of education and, as I assert, serving to maintain UNESCO's authority in the global space. Being abstract, values are removed from the realities of social life and subsequently rejected by some local communities as not applicable to them (Koya, 2010). The critical discourse analysis of texts in this research show that these aspects undermine UNESCO's efforts to achieve its aims through GCED and contribute

to misrecognition.

UNESCO's efforts to achieve its aims are further undermined by the climate of neoliberal globalisation within which UNESCO operate, despite a reading of the texts in this research indicating that UNESCO do not fully embrace a neoliberal stance. Neoliberal globalisation has been said to contribute to the imposition of the top-down model of global citizenship and can be seen as in opposition to the goals of UNESCO's GCED (Novelli and Ferus-Comelo 2012, Fairclough 2010, Nordtveit 2010). Neoliberalism's contribution to rising inequality is part of what undermines GCED. Morley et al. (2014, p457) summarise Torres's conception of neoliberal globalisation as 'leading education away from the state and towards the commodification of a market-led provision. As such, the potential for exploitation, social exclusion and inequalities is increasing'.

GCED is also undermined by neoliberalism's contribution to the degrading of social bonds. This degradation is said to be due to neoliberalism's focus on economic competitiveness and individualism (Tarozzi and Torres, 2016). It is reasonable to consider that developing a concern for and acting to the benefit of fellow human beings beyond one's national borders becomes more difficult if one is encouraged to focus on the self and be in competition rather than collaboration with others. From neoliberalism's point of view, global citizenship education becomes focused on the skills needed to enhance a nation's economic competitiveness at the expense of the less powerful and economically developed. As Biccum asserts, a global citizen in this view is an entrepreneur who does not question the purpose of global citizenship as being economically successful (Biccum, 2010). Wang and Hoffman support this when considering the teaching of GCED, stating that it consists of developing

'competencies that students will need for a future global job market' (Hoffman and Wang, 2016, p3). They further state that a neoliberal view of global citizenship education, exported around the world by dominant powers, 'risks co-opting GCE as another form of western values imposition on non-western worlds' (Hoffman and Wang, 2016, p5), further supporting Tully's top-down model as the dominant approach to global citizenship. Neoliberalism's influence is considered so insidious by some that it has been described as 'one of the most perverse phenomena in contemporary culture and education' (Torres, 2009, p1) and 'the new demon of the world today' (Freire in Torres, 2009, p3). Torres (2009) also asserts that the UN promote neoliberal globalisation.

Whilst neoliberalism may well contribute to inequality, social degradation, competition and individualism, I would not ascribe Freire and Torres' descriptions to UNESCO's GCED. Whilst neoliberalism has not been a focus of detailed analysis in this research, a reading of the documents did show an emphasis on working together to resolve global challenges, which suggests that UNESCO do not fully embrace a neoliberal perspective that would focus on individualism and economic competition. This is supported by Suavé et al. (2007) who attest that 'compared with other United Nations documents, UNESCO's documents seem to carry a view of education somewhat less instrumental...and a view of development that is open to dimensions other than economic growth' (Suavé et al., 2007, p46). For some however, UNESCO's openness may still be interpreted as subservient to neoliberalism. Enslin (2011) states that a global citizen is encouraged to see themselves as an individual and, whilst potentially encouraged to develop skills of cooperation, they are to measure this cooperation with others in terms of the advantage it may afford

them personally. Her perspective brings the outward looking skill of cooperation back to a neoliberal individualism. Within the context of my research I find Enslin's to be a cynical view. I would instead say that UNESCO's GCED encourages cooperation, but the global political climate within which UNESCO operate may limit the humanistic expression of this in practice. In spite of UNESCO's openness, GCED may be co-opted in practice towards Enslin's view. With neoliberal globalisation being dominant in the public consciousness (Dower, 2003) and seen as common sense (Apple, 1999), Enslin's perspective may find itself expressed in practice, if not in UNESCO's intentions.

2.3 Resistance to the Dominant 'Western' Discourse

The dominance and so-called moral authority of the West, manifest in UNESCO, is questioned and resisted however. Resistance could pave the way for alternative forms of global citizenship that may increase recognition but efforts to do so are of limited success. A questioning of western dominance is supported by Tully (2014) who states that the control of global citizenship by the dominant West is not inevitable and both Khondker (2013) and Kent (2011) suggest that global discourse today is less dominated by western hegemony than in the past. Resistance could provide a change to the dominant discourse and with a change in discourse comes the potential for creating a different way forward. A different way forward may afford recognition to approaches to global citizenship education closer to local contexts and with the potential for greater participatory parity. The assertions by Khondker, Kent and Tully seem to be tentative though and there is disagreement over what may replace western dominance. Komlosy (2016) even suggests that western hegemony may

reassert itself in the future. This perhaps betrays a lack of confidence in the success of challenges to current western dominance. A lack of confidence would be justified. As stated, the vague language and abstract nature of universal values highlighted in this research would support continued western dominance via UNESCO and in addition, efforts at resisting that dominance have instead promoted not a genuine concern for humanity but suspicion, nationalism and deference to neoliberalism.

An example of suspicion and nationalism is Zimbabwe who, in the face of 'western' ideals, reassert their national position and almost view foreign influences with suspicion

'There is a very serious and imminent danger of producing a disenchanted generation who are not loyal to our own nation but who favour foreign influences. The need for national identity, image and patriotism is greater now than ever. Without being xenophobic we need to encourage national pride and self-confidence in our people. (Presidential Commission, 1999: 354)' (Sigauke, 2011, p. 81)

Nations taking this or a similar view of resistance go so far as to position themselves in opposition to the global and potentially become isolationist, seemingly avoiding the fact that in an era of globalisation we are all 'inextricably interconnected' (Barrow, 2017, p164). Nations may not wish to be 'xenophobic' but the focus is on the national; not to extend a nation's global competitiveness as per neoliberalism, but to engage with global education through the lens of suspicion, if at all, in order to reinforce national agendas. Global education is undermined (Goldin 2013, Barrow 2017) and becomes viewed as a political

matter. As Tye (2014) states

‘Global education was sometimes viewed as a political matter. For example, it was clear that some people in developing countries saw the movement as a western one, part of the old hegemony, and therefore not appropriate for them because they were more interested in nation building’. (Tye, 2014, p855)

Adding discourses of suspicion and nationalism may influence alternative approaches to global citizenship which are more rooted in local contexts but these discourses are counterproductive to the common aims of most approaches to GCED. These common aims are acting for peace and justice, a pluralism to be open to diverse perspectives or a common humanity, and knowledge and action for global problems such as climate change. Further, nationalism does not indicate engagement with the global space in order to influence it, but a retreat from it, leaving the dominant western discourse unchallenged. Alternative approaches to global citizenship may also appear to support the common aims but defer to neoliberalism. Enslin (2011) discusses that one purpose of global citizenship education may be to ‘foster a sense of global citizenship that includes attention to the welfare of citizens of other nation states’, while at the same time a national education policy may state the importance of education for ‘participation in a national economy fit for global competitiveness’ (Enslin, 2011, p91). Promoting the national agenda aimed at enhancing economic competitiveness has the appearance of common sense in a dominant neoliberalism. Indeed, Torres (2009, p6) comments that the degree

of common sense is 'brutal', indicating the strength with which neoliberalism has achieved hegemony. Yet when applied to GCED, this view has conflicting purposes. Competitiveness is often at the expense of the welfare of others who are less able to compete essentially undermining the qualities of global citizenship education which seek mutual human wellbeing. Further, as Sigauke states

'On the one hand, it (Global Citizenship) may mean, for some groups, a genuine concern to promote an international understanding of rights and welfare of disadvantaged groups. On the other, it may be a useful tool in meeting self-desires and extension of economic and other social advantages (Humes, 2008). Because of these underlying ideological meanings this is perhaps why Richardson (2008: 115) describes global citizenship as having 'conflicting imaginaries'.'(Sigauke, 2011, p81)

Efforts at resisting the dominant discourse of the West which is, as I assert, manifest in UNESCO via top-down global citizenship, have had limited success. This suggests that there is not yet an answer as to how to successfully resist the dominant discourse and afford recognition to alternative models of global citizenship which may demonstrate the 'genuine concern' mentioned by Sigauke (2011) and increase participatory parity. This research argues that from a textual perspective, greater participatory parity can be achieved by structuring the discourse in texts to afford recognition to alternative forms of global citizenship, rooted in local contexts and with a genuine concern for the common aims of GCED.

2.4 Alternative Approaches

Others who also believe the top-down model to be inappropriate for global citizenship argue that citizenship cannot be imposed but must be negotiated at the local level (Myers 2016, Tully 2014). However, this represents an ideal which is not realistic. The top-down model is unjust, but the 'bottom up' or 'diverse citizenship' (Tully, 2014) is unachievable within the current era of neoliberal globalisation. A more realistic path towards a more just provision of GCED in an era of neoliberal globalisation lies in emphasising a critical attitude within the current model. An example of alternative global citizenship is Tully's model of Diverse global citizenship. A 'Diverse Global Citizenship' takes place in relationships where possibilities for future action are negotiated and worked out in local contexts, enabling citizens to 'act otherwise' towards a more equal society (Tully, 2014, p48). Whilst this may provide pockets of resistance to the top-down model at a local level, Tully himself admits that Diverse citizenship struggles when inevitably having to engage with the dominant top-down approach. Honig (2011) and Bell (2014) agree.

Honig states that overcoming the top-down ideal will require a human miracle, implying that alternative ways of doing global citizenship are outside the scope of possibility. She comments, 'Like a realist, Tully sees the expansion of power, governance, and violence everywhere in the contemporary world but, like a humanist, he insists nonetheless on hoping against hope for the human miracle against it' (2011, p142). Further, Bell (2014, p205) states that Diverse Global Citizenship does not have the resources to 'resist the imperial order'.

Myers (2016, p10) takes us further towards a realistic model by stating that global citizenship should be 'based on one's beliefs and experiences in relation to broader social and political contexts' supporting engagement of the local with the global, but Osler (2016) perhaps takes us even further by prioritising the interdependence of all levels from individual, local, national and global and relating this specifically to education by stating that 'teachers don't have to choose between local and national issues on one hand and global concerns on the other. We need to prepare young people for interdependence and diversity at all scales: in the school community, neighborhood, town or city, nation, and globe' (Osler, 2016, p42).

Examining interdependence between all levels requires a critical attitude which deals specifically with questions of whose agenda is being served and how concepts relate to all members and groups within diverse societies. How do the individual and local impact the national and global, but also how does the global impact the national, local and individual? Do we believe these impacts to be socially just and what is our role within them? In this light, global citizenship education is not an either-or initiative. It is not just looking at either the global or the local, or considering whether one should dominate the other, but can encourage a consideration of how they intersect. A critical attitude which leads to the consideration of these intersections could provide resistance to the top-down model and 'could be of great value to the students of society' (Khondker, 2013, p530). This is further supported by Torres and Tarozzi who claim that 'a democratic global perspective should be based on human rights and universal values, but it should also incorporate diversity and a critical analysis of power relations and global inequalities'(Tarozzi and Torres, 2016, pxi). As this

research shows, universal values are divorced from social reality and not helpful to the achievement of GCED, but the critical analysis mentioned could challenge the dominant political climate and associated inequalities. This could contribute to a different way forward for global citizenship education in local contexts, increasing recognition.

Within UNESCO, criticality is included as part of the learning objectives for GCED. This provides potential for locally derived forms of citizenship to be examined and form the basis on which intersections with the global are explored. Indeed as Khondker (2013) reminds us, how the national and local are shaped by global forces can be an area of critique with the potential to resist one imposed global view. However, whilst including criticality may provide room to resist the imposed top-down model and consider more local forms of citizenship, this is not UNESCO's dominant message. The critique that UNESCO promote the top-down model still stands, although understanding UNESCO's inclusion of criticality provides the critique with greater nuance.

UNESCO state that people are to become 'critically literate' (UNESCO, 2015, p23) and a critical approach is included in the learning objectives for global citizenship education, albeit for 15-18+ years only where students are to undertake critical enquiries into 'connections of global and local concerns' (UNESCO, 2015, p29). Further, critical thinking is a 'a key requirement for education and learning' and a 'core skill' of global citizenship education in UNESCO's education strategy until 2021 (UNESCO, 2014c, p15, p46). It appears as though UNESCO may potentially resist the top-down model and recognise more locally derived forms of global citizenship. However, the influence of different local cultures is perceived as a restriction on the

achievement of the UN's goals. Written in light of human rights abuses in the Arab region, unqualified acceptance of universal values and universal human rights, as defined by the UN, are seen as the solution. Al-Nasser, taking his turn as head of the UN's General Assembly and commenting on the Arab region, states 'The region would once again excel if its affirmation of universal values, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, is total and unqualified by any cultural relativism or other restriction' (Al-Nasser, 2014, p23). The local in this context, the abuse of human rights, should not be ignored; but it is the position of universal values and human rights as the only and all-encompassing solution to the whole 'region' which is of import. With the view that local cultures provide obstacles to the UN's goals and universal solutions as the answer, it is unlikely that UNESCO's inclusion of criticality is intended to resist the top-down model and value local forms of citizenship. The critique that the UN devalues the local and promotes the top-down model stands, but the critique now contains increased nuance through an understanding of the positioning of criticality.

The critique also belies an assumption that the UN is supposed to resist globalisation as a vehicle for the continued dominance of western affairs and the prioritisation of the economy. The UN is somehow to insulate itself from and even actively resist dominant discourses, such as neoliberal globalisation, holding the UN to a higher standard than other institutions. The *expectation* of a higher standard can possibly be forgiven if the UN's self-description as an organisation is considered: 'The United Nations is an organization that illustrates that the yearning for peace is a universal search and that universal peace requires universal solutions' (Al-Nasser, 2014, p1) and further the UN acknowledges that the organisation is a place where the hopes of humanity find

their landing: 'It is a place where all the major problems of the world find their destination. It is a place where all the hopes of humanity converge for a better tomorrow' (Al-Nasser, 2014, p3). This certainly points towards transcendent aspirations - the UN are there to work for peace for everyone, everywhere and are the home for both global problems and humanity's hope. But the reality of whether they can achieve it is questionable, not just because of the complexities of negotiations with many member states but because they are an organisation of fallible human beings taking advantage of globalisation to further their imperfect but laudable aims.

2.5 Summary

In summary, global citizenship education is a contested concept. UNESCO's Global Citizenship Education promotes the view that there is one global community, based on an understanding of a common humanity with universal values applied to all. The use of vague and contested language leaves GCED vulnerable to being co-opted by those in power. Because of this, UNESCO's Global Citizenship Education can be seen as a vehicle to serve the agenda of powerful nations able to take advantage of globalisation for the furtherance of their national political and economic aims. This is seen as 'top-down' global citizenship which promotes western notions of citizenship, denying recognition to more locally derived forms of global citizenship and is unjust. A contrasting view of global citizenship education requires that global citizenship be negotiated within local contexts and not imposed from above. This is said to create room for people to 'act otherwise' towards a more equal society. This latter conception is seen as unrealistic by some, requiring of a human miracle

to achieve reflective of the dominance that the top-down model has achieved. A further view of global citizenship education considers the benefits of looking at the intersections between the local, national and global, using a critical attitude to examine their effects and the student's position within them. This could offer some resistance to the top-down model and provide room to recognise alternative forms of global citizenship. UNESCO include criticality as part of their education strategy and learning objectives for GCED but this is not the dominant message that UNESCO promote. This is perhaps reflective of the dominance that the top-down model is currently said to have achieved in global citizenship education, propagated by UNESCO.

An aspect that supports the top-down model is the use of universal values which are abstract, divorced from local contexts and resisted by those who feel they do not relate to them. This undermines UNESCO's efforts at achieving GCED and contributes to the misrecognition of alternative forms of citizenship potentially more suited to local contexts. Values are said to be the basis of global citizenship education (UNESCO, 2014) and learners are to enact values (UNESCO, 2016). In acting as a global citizen then, the role of values is important and central to this research. The notion of action is common to all conceptions of global citizenship education, not just UNESCO's. Whether that action is geared towards national priorities, a common humanity or is worked out in local contexts may be subject to debate; but what is not debated is the importance of action itself.

Green reminds us that 'Participation is the action dimension of global citizenship' (Green, 2012, p2). In his assessment of the changes in global citizenship education over the last 18 years, Tye (2014) notes that the one

change that has appeared in its definition involves participation. It is worth noting that participation is also mentioned by Abbott and Richardson (2009) in relation to a neoliberal conception of global citizenship education which orients participation towards accruing self-advancement, whereas the participation advocated for by Tye is one oriented towards making the world better for others. This is based on the kind of empathetic understanding for the Other that Hannah Arendt called 'an ethic of care for the world' (Arendt, 1968 in Abbott and Richardson, 2009, p378) As Tye (2014, p858) states, the addition of participation is 'Preparing students to become active in working for social justice and a better world'. Gaudelli (2016, p7) helps to deepen this description and states that global citizenship education 'explores diverse possibilities that strive towards a common understanding of a shared humanity on a fragile planet coupled with a commitment to addressing social problems through engaged public participation'.

Participation – action – is an inherent aspect of global citizenship education and values are seen as the basis upon which that action is to find its motivation. Dutt (2009, p86) asserts that 'Values are important, as they are the well-spring of human action'. Moreover, Joas (2000, p17) states that 'action orientations...result from internalised values'. Further, internalised values reside in that 'deep' place of values within which influences action (Helm, 2001, p12). In addition to motivating action (Baker, 2017), values also play a part in how people evaluate their choices for action. People's values will lean towards actions that are 'felt and considered to be justified' (Joas, 2000, p17). Values are central to the effectiveness of GCED. This research focuses on values and the next chapter examines the barriers that UNESCO's treatment of values

pose to global citizenship education.

Chapter 3 Values

UNESCO treats values as universal and applicable to everyone everywhere on the basis of a common humanity. As discussed, UNESCO's use of Universal Values serves to maintain their authority in the global space and reinforces top-down global citizenship. I will now take a closer look at Universal Values. This research shows that the UNESCO texts communicate a closed and fixed meaning of universal values. UNESCO provide a very particular set of universal values which are required to be exhibited if one is to be deemed a successful global citizen. By implication, UNESCO have defined other values as inappropriate. This contributes to privileging UNESCO's view, compounding misrecognition. Values motivate action and they form the basis of how we evaluate other actions and choices. Members of UNESCO and practitioners of GCED are influenced as, in order to be successful global citizens, they are required to subscribe to and act according to UNESCO's view of values and what makes a global citizen. Other values and ways of doing global citizenship are seen as inferior, inappropriate and illegitimate.

An exploration of the wide array of other values can help to isolate UNESCO's universal values as a particular set which privileges UNESCO's view of a successful global citizen. UNESCO's position is to treat values as 'forward looking' to try to predict future troubles and how to remedy them (Bindé, 2004, p xv). UNESCO talk of universal values as humanistic values which, in line with their future oriented approach, have been created by imagining a better alternative to situations of human misery (Spijkers, 2012). That UNESCO have

provided their own definition of values may be reflective of a situation where the meaning of values is widely contested and defining them is considered a difficult task (Joas, 2000). That it is difficult is not surprising considering the term 'values' has been used indiscriminately and in so doing has robbed values of any specific meaning entirely (Arkoun, 2004). Their meaning has often been left assumed and undefined (DeJaeghere 2014, Fairclough 2003, Davidov et al. 2008).

Nonetheless, values are said to be 'central to public discourse' (Davidov et al., 2008, p421), captivating (Joas, 2000) and the leaders of humanity (Matsuura, 2004, px). Further, Matsuura (2004, pix) describes values as 'always present and...there have never been so many values in contention in the history of humanity'. For example, UNESCO have described their universal values as humanistic but various definitions of humanistic values have been put forward not all of which are selected by UNESCO. Examples of humanistic values include sobriety, competence and mutual responsibility (Anukovich, 2013); compassion and tolerance (Ashour, 2001); overcoming oneself and a strict respect for the rules (UNDESA, 2003); human dignity and self-determination, pluralism and democracy, responsible citizenship, respect for people's cultural and social identity and responsible management of natural resources (Haynes, 2013). This list is not exhaustive. Another group is global values which have a wide array of descriptions. These include 'human rights, religious pluralism, gender equity, the rule of law, environmental protection, sustainable worldwide economic growth, poverty alleviation, prevention and cessation of conflicts between countries, elimination of weapons of mass destruction, humanitarian

assistance, and preservation of cultural diversity (Israel, 2013 in Hoffman and Wang, 2016, p8). They also include 'aesthetic creativity' and 'individual self-realisation' (Joas, 2000, p2), the 'values of democracy' such as 'civil liberties, a market economy, free enterprise and the rights of minorities' (Jelev, 2004, p190) and 'social justice and international solidarity' (Tawil, 2013, p2). Global values are further labelled as Altruistic indicating a concern for the wellbeing of others, Egoist which prioritises the self and Biospheric which accompanies an environmental concern (Roos and Hahn, 2017). There is some overlap here with UNESCO's universal values, for example the inclusion of human rights and a concern for the environment, but again UNESCO have been selective. In prescribing a specific set of universal values UNESCO have fixed their meaning and privileged their own view.

Knowing the privileged nature of UNESCO's universal values, we can explore them further and see the ways in which this reduces the effectiveness of UNESCO's GCED. This research shows that UNESCO's treatment of universal values constitutes a barrier to the effectiveness of global citizenship education in three ways. Firstly, in addition to UNESCO and GCED reinforcing western dominance as discussed, universal values further contribute to this through their role as social regulators of people's actions such that people act in ways which serve power. Secondly, in addition to neoliberal globalisation influencing the practical expression of GCED towards individualism and competition, it has also led to universal values which are relative and changing. This undermines the sustained motivation needed to achieve the aims of GCED and can treat values as passive. Thirdly, in addition to GCED functioning as top-down global

citizenship which denies recognition to local contexts, universal values are applied indiscriminately which denies evidence from the World Values Survey (WVS 2016) that values exist in distinct cultural zones. Universal values are ineffective in non-western cultures, undermining GCED. This chapter will examine each of these three barriers to the effectiveness of UNESCO's Global Citizenship Education.

3.1 Universal Values as Regulators of Social Action

Universal values within UNESCO's Global Citizenship Education can be seen as a complementary vehicle for the imposition of western dominance. Values in society are said to act as social regulators of people's actions such that people act in a way that serves power. Values influence people's actions, but can also be used by the powerful as an excuse for unjust acts which originate from a desire to dominate. A desire to dominate can be seen in the view of top-down global citizenship with its basis in neoliberal globalisation, which can be seen as imposing reprehensible ventures resulting in inequality. Arkoun (2004, p49) states that 'values become dangerous in all cultures and in all contexts when they are used as a cloak for inadmissible and reprehensible ventures motivated by the desire to dominate'. With criticism that top-down global citizenship imposes a western world view, a desire to dominate may be seen within its mission to citizenise people it considers inferior, using universal values within global citizenship education to influence the subjectivities and subsequent actions of citizens to serve the dominance of western powers (Tully 2014, Biccum 2010). Education promotes, amplifies and transmits values both within education itself and wider society (Welzel 2013, Fives 2013, Vaughn and

Walker 2012). The individual, motivated by their values towards actions they deem worthwhile will subsequently act within society. Society, with a prevailing values emphasis, may also influence an individual's actions towards those considered desirable, influenced perhaps through social pressure to conform or through social confirmation of values seen as desirable (Schwartz 2006, Welzel 2013). These values then influence how people are motivated to act as citizens and how identities and actions as global citizens are confirmed. Where the focus is on universal values within top-down citizenship, education can be used to influence not just learners but wider society towards the agenda of western powers.

As discussed, a critical attitude may resist the agenda of western powers. When a critical attitude is applied to universal values, the intersections between global, national, local and individual may create space to consider alternative values negotiated locally and seen as more relevant to local people. Alternative values may motivate people and society towards action for mutual human wellbeing that they see as relevant rather than abstract and chosen rather than imposed, increasing participatory parity. Welzel (2013) asserts that education contains a tendency towards emancipation. Emancipation through education occurs through social cross-fertilisation - the more education there is in a society, the more values will be communicated through social interaction. This has an amplifying effect on values - those more highly educated feel socially confirmed in their values and exercise them more freely. This is also reported to influence those who are less educated as they adapt their values to keep up with the changes in their societies – the 'elevator effect'(Welzel, 2013, p110). Education

both amplifies values in society through social interaction and elevates those without an education as they, as individuals, become influenced by them. Welzel asserts the emancipatory tendency in the context of an education where learners are taught to think for themselves. However, in the context of UNESCO's GCED where a particular set of universal values is promoted and criticality is not the dominant message, learners are not encouraged to think for themselves. This reduces the emancipatory potential of UNESCO's GCED and reinforces western dominance.

However, not everyone sees universal values negatively. The amplifier and elevator effects applied to universal values may be positive in nations whose values do not currently align with mutual human wellbeing. This perspective is flawed though since it is in danger of citizenising the 'other'. Vaughn and Walker (2012) see the positive aspect of universal values and acknowledge that 'communities might choose educational values that are not to the benefit of all (e.g. girls), so either there needs to be some core of universal values arising from the goal of 'human development', and/or a process that subjects a particular community's or society's reasoning about education to impartial scrutiny' (Vaughn and Walker, 2012, p497). Their perspective affirms universal values. However, this reinforces the worst of western dominance where, through global citizenship education, western nations try to citizenise those they consider inferior. Welzel (2013) would disagree because he asserts that it is only education's emancipatory tendency that is amplified and elevated and with the quest for human freedom as universal, emancipation will happen in all cultures. However, considering the interaction between education, society and

values, it would seem strange if the amplifier and elevator effects were only true of education's emancipative tendencies. Perhaps like Tully, Welzel is an idealist.

The interplay between education, society and values is complex and can be used to regulate people's actions so that they serve power. This complex interplay further influences how people are motivated to act as citizens and how identities and actions as global citizens are confirmed. But the interplay can also provide room for resistance to this top-down social regulation when values are negotiated in local contexts. This reflects Tully's Diverse global citizenship (Tully, 2014) where the ability to act otherwise can help to equalise power relations. Acting otherwise will be motivated by values that are negotiated by those directly involved and seen as relevant. Where these differ from the universal values of top-down citizenship, resistance could occur which carries the potential for change. However, as stated previously, the Diverse model is not realistic and cannot on its own resist power. The inclusion of a critical attitude towards both universal and local values within global citizenship education would provide a constructive way forward and may create space for the creation of values resistant to hegemony. As Arkoun (2004, p48) states, 'Values must be constantly reflected upon and recreated in response to the actions of the powerful such that potential oppression is resisted'.

3.2 Universal Values and Neoliberal Globalisation

In addition to universal values acting as social regulators of people's actions, privileging western dominance, the second factor that undermines the

effectiveness of UNESCO's GCED is neoliberal globalisation. GCED requires sustained motivation and action over time to achieve its aims underpinned with values which are necessarily stable and enduring. Neoliberal globalisation has resulted in values which are volatile and relative - one can go shopping for values not unlike one goes shopping for consumer goods – which undermines UNESCO's Global Citizenship Education.

A dominant neoliberal globalisation emphasises values of economic competitiveness and individualism and values have become conflated with economic success. Conflating values with the economy does not just influence which values are deemed worthwhile but has led to a perception of values which exhibit a volatility and relativity not unlike the financial markets. This is counter to the aims of GCED which require sustained action and motivation over time and, underpinning this, values which are stable and enduring. The volatility of values is supported by Bindé who, discussing the thoughts of Paul Valéry, states

‘in a world dominated by [financial] speculation, our conception of moral or ethical values was increasingly influenced by the model of the stock market. There is no longer any fixed standard of value, any stable and absolute measure, but rather all values fluctuate in a vast market’.

(Bindé, 2004, pxii)

The emergence of values as relative and volatile is additionally attributed to the prominence of the consumer (Goux, 2004). It is as if an individual can go shopping for values, deciding as they shop which to adopt and which to discard.

This has added to the volatility and relativism of all values undermining UNESCO's Global Citizenship Education. Goux states that 'all values, not only economic ones, seem driven by a kind of volatility, of relativism' (Goux, 2004, p50). The volatility and relativity of values and their link with economic success is supported in practice by the World Values Survey which notes that the volatility of values is seen to correlate with the degree of economic advancement in societies (WVS, 2016). The more economically successful a nation, the greater the volatility of values. The survey further notes that values may remain fairly consistent in countries that remained 'economically stagnant', but as an overarching principle globally, there is a correlation between the degree of economic success and values change (WVS, 2016). Not only do values change in more developed countries, but they change more quickly. This has apparently not been seen before the era of globalisation and suggests that values are transient and changing rather than enduring. The aims of global citizenship education are long term aims. They require sustained action, which requires sustained motivation, which is necessarily based upon values which are stable in their orientation towards the welfare of a common humanity. Values as relative, fluctuating with prevailing economic winds, will undermine the aims of GCED.

A further consequence of values as relative and changing is that they can become relegated to 'cultural differences' which require passive respect rather than the real engagement necessary as global citizens to resolve the world's challenges. This attitude of passivity, demonstrated through this research, further reduces the effectiveness of UNESCO's GCED. Alongside engendering

passive respect, cultural difference is a way of labelling division within society and avoiding discussion which can lead to a real understanding of change, being reduced instead to the telling of stories or of different perspectives on events (Standish, 2012). Passivity can legitimise dismissal of and disengagement from others rather than seeking the dialogue and understanding necessary to act in the global space as a global citizen. As Standish states 'In order to genuinely respect another perspective one has to engage with it and understand it, even if one disagrees' (Standish, 2012, p138). An example of values which have fallen prey to neoliberal globalisation, which UNESCO have relegated to the realm of 'cultural difference' requiring 'respect' (UNESCO, 2016) and which are also relativized to such a degree that they have become an excuse for passivity and inaction, is religious values.

Religious values are not seen as values which can motivate people to act for the benefit of others in concert with the aims of GCED despite people with religious beliefs claiming their religion as a key source of their motivation for solving global problems such as climate change (Schaefer, 2014) which is specifically listed as a problem to be tackled via GCED (UNESCO, 2015). Moreover, Bush supports the role of religion to support motivation stating that religion is a 'source of motivation and a vehicle for engagement in the global public sphere' (Bush, 2007, p1646) and Einolf notes the influence of religious values on action and states that 'people learn ideas and values of helping through the language of sermons, texts, and conversations, and internalize them into their own identity. They act on these ideas and values by helping others...' (Einolf, 2011, p451). Remaining passive may instil a non-judgemental

disposition but this can discourage students from critical engagement which, as discussed, could potentially resist unequal power relations within top-down global citizenship. UNESCO have denied religious values recognition and in treating values outside of their own definition as passive they have missed opportunities to consider sources of values that may motivate action for the benefit of others in concert with the aims of GCED. This reduces the effectiveness of UNESCO's Global Citizenship Education.

3.3 Universal Values and Cultural Zones

In addition to universal values as regulators of social action and as relative and changing, the third factor that undermines the effectiveness of UNESCO's GCED is the application of universal values indiscriminately. Evidence from the World Values Survey (WVS, 2016) shows that values exist in distinct cultural zones - different nations prioritise different values depending on the degree of physical and economic security a nation has. Denying this cultural values change risks UNESCO's GCED being ineffective. Universal values will not motivate people to act as global citizens and consider their fellow human beings beyond their immediate borders when people are focused on their immediate economic and security needs. I have seen this principle in practice during my time as an aid worker – it is people's felt needs which scream for their attention. Imposing one set of universal values via top-down global citizenship denies such cultural values change and, as this research shows, in so doing abstracts universal values from the social realities faced by citizens. In addition to economic and physical security, values are also influenced by changing political

climates and cultures. It is useful to be reminded here of the influence of politics on global citizenship education and values described previously and which can still be seen – the denuclearisation salient after the Cold War may expand to the current global value of eliminating weapons of mass destruction; global economic growth and a market economy are salient in light of neoliberal globalisation; Altruistic and Human Rights values, together with a focus on environmental concerns, are reflective of the currently most widely accepted definition of GCED, espoused by Gaudelli (2016), Tye (2014) and Tarozzi and Torres (2016). A society's political emphasis and dominant ideology (currently neoliberalism) influence values change as do physical and economic security needs. Nevitte and Cochrane (2006, p204) state that values change is 'productively explored from the vantage point of whether, and how, "clusters" of values change with the passage of time'.

The World Values Survey traces values change over time and can provide evidence of values change in relation to physical and economic security. This can aid an understanding of the nature of cultural values change around the world. The WVS represents the best evidence to date about the nature of changing cultural values on a global level. It presents general trends but it also acknowledges complexity. The WVS defines itself as

'a global network of social scientists studying changing values and their impact on social and political life, led by an international team of scholars...The WVS seeks to help scientists and policy makers

understand changes in the beliefs, values and motivations of people throughout the world' (WVS, 2016).

The WVS claims their surveys are nationally representative and have reached almost 90% of the world's population. Woods and Alemán comment that the WVS has 'become a pivotal source of data' and that it is 'tapping something tangible within societies' (2016, p1040). The main claim of the WVS is that there are distinct cultural zones in the world which can be represented by a characterization of values. The WVS positions these cultural zones into 'Eastern' (low-income) and 'Western'(high income) countries which emphasise very different values. The values of 'Eastern' and 'Western' countries are characterised across two values dimensions conceptualised by Inglehart and Welzel (WVS, 2016).

The first dimension of values is traditional versus secular-rational values. Traditional values emphasise 'the importance of religion, parent-child ties, deference to authority and traditional family values. People who embrace these values also reject divorce, abortion, euthanasia and suicide' (WVS, 2016). Secular-rational values have the opposite preferences. The second dimension of values is termed survival values versus self-expression values and places emphasis on economic and physical security. Indeed, the WVS notes that economic growth and feelings of security seem to be the two main factors influencing values change across the world, with nations exhibiting more of these tending towards self-expression values. 'Self-expression values give high priority to environmental protection, growing tolerance of foreigners, gays and lesbians and gender equality, and rising demands for participation in

decision making in economic and political life' (WVS, 2016). Survival values indicate the opposite of these. Welzel (2013) also developed a subset of self-expression values termed 'emancipative values' which he felt gave greater nuance to self-expression values by including choice, voice, equality and autonomy. Whilst the WVS presents two dimensions of values which represent general characterisations of values across the world, they do not present these two dimensions as binary options. Rather the dimensions are a continuum of values where countries are located according to the responses of their citizens to the WVS survey. Countries do not fall into neat values categories. The WVS provides the following examples of countries and their values (Figure 3.1):

Examples
Societies that have high scores in Traditional and Survival values: Zimbabwe, Morocco, Jordan, Bangladesh.
Societies with high scores in Traditional and Self-expression values: the U.S., most of Latin America, Ireland.
Societies with high scores in Secular-rational and Survival values: Russia, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Estonia.
Societies with high scores in Secular-rational and Self-expression values: Sweden, Norway, Japan, Benelux, Germany, France, Switzerland, Czech Republic, Slovenia, and some English speaking countries.

Figure 3.1 Countries and their Values from the World Values Survey, 2016

The examples show that a country is not either traditional/survival or secular-rational/self-expression (or emancipative) but can be a combination. However, in analysing cross-cultural variation as a general trend, the WVS notes that eastern world countries *typically* emphasize survival values and western countries *typically* emphasise self-expression values. This indicates that whilst

countries do exist on a continuum, there is still a distinct divide in values emphasis between 'Eastern' and 'Western' countries. The WVS states that this is because 'in a liberal post-industrial economy, an increasing share of the population has grown up taking survival and freedom of thought for granted, resulting in that self-expression is highly valued' (WVS, 2016). The WVS acknowledge that values differ within societies too but focus on the global picture, where 'living conditions differ still much more between than within societies, and so do the experiences of existential security and individual agency that shape people's values' (WVS, 2016).

As stated, Eastern countries are typically concerned with their more immediate economic and physical security needs within their own borders. Imposing UNESCO's universal values, already critiqued as being western values (Twarog, 2017), on Eastern countries which ask them to consider the needs of their fellow human beings beyond their own immediate needs and national borders is likely to be resisted and considered irrelevant to the social realities of Eastern citizens. However, a context in which values change may possibly occur in spite of poor economic and security needs is in post-conflict situations where societies may be in receipt of humanitarian aid. If there is some social uptake of universal values as a result of direct intervention by international agencies, despite the national economic or security picture, then society may perform its socialising influence and reinforce these values as desirable. In a discussion of a civic education programme in Bosnia Herzegovina, Soule (2000, p19) reports 'modest but measurable' gains in values supportive of democracy and participation, but that developing a culture which is favourable is a process

requiring 'generational replacement' (Soule, 2000, p4). A culture which is favourable arguably means the social confirmation of values deemed desirable. Soule's report suggests that achieving this is a long-term process, requiring multiple interventions including 'well designed institutions' and the development of social and political norms (Soule, 2000, p4). *Typically* then, it is the case that Eastern citizens, with predominantly survival values, are not likely to be motivated towards actions for a shared humanity or to evaluate such actions as worthwhile. Universal Values cannot achieve the global motivation towards the aims of GCED desired by UNESCO. I acknowledge discomfort in generalising to the degree of 'East' and 'West' and to a 'typical' picture, particularly in light of my arguments elsewhere in this thesis that recognition of context may lead to greater participatory parity. However, I recognise that at a global level, evidence from the survey shows that the WVS represents the most appropriate frame allowing for the most useful analysis of the trends in values change across the globe. With UNESCO's GCED also aiming to operate across this global scale, it seems an appropriate frame to consider here also.

Whilst the WVS may present the best available evidence and be the most appropriate frame, it is not perfect. However, its limitations do not detract from its usefulness as a vehicle for highlighting the need for universal values to be responsive to changing realities. A comparison between the WVS and its alternative, the European Social Survey (ESS) will illuminate this further. The WVS has greater coverage of the globe and provides more recent information regarding global values trends than the ESS. The ESS is based on 73 countries and 75,000 other responses from every continent (Schwartz, 2006). The WVS

is larger, being based on 100 countries and almost 400,000 respondents (World Values Survey, 2016). Schwartz's analysis is also taken from the ESS in 2002-3, whereas the WVS is a time series survey with the latest data from 2014 providing insight into more recent global values change. Further, Schwartz does not apply such rigorous tests of cross-cultural variance as are seen in the WVS, meaning that the WVS is likely to be more accurate in its conclusions than the ESS. Cross-cultural variance (the inaccuracy of comparisons across countries when different survey terms may carry different meanings in different countries) has been noted as an issue in surveys of this type (Woods and Alemán 2016, van Deth 2014, Billiet et al. 2014) but Inglehart assures that measures were included in the WVS to account for it (Inglehart, 2013 in Woods and Alemán, 2016). Despite his confidence however and without the expertise in statistics or cultural interpretation necessary to analyse this point for myself, I agree with Woods and Alemán who acknowledge that 'it might be the case that... cross-national equivalence is so vexing a problem for comparative research that the best scholars can do is to be aware of it' (Woods and Alemán, 2016, p1059). I acknowledge that greater efforts appear to have been made to account for this limitation within the WVS than the ESS and I continue to assert that on balance, the WVS represents the best available evidence.

A further limitation of the WVS is that it does not include the responses of those under 18 years old meaning those generally of primary and secondary school age have not had their voices heard. I acknowledge discomfort here, concerned as this thesis is with issues of participatory parity, but this omission does not detract from the usefulness of the WVS. Excluding the voices of those under 18

implies a view that adult values in a society are the ones children must aspire to embody and children's values are considered as immature and by implication unreliable as a source of data. Further, the WVS identified its samples of respondents from national registers, census data and electoral registers, said to lead to a national representative sample of a public (WVS, 2016b). However, this has missed those within a nation who may not be part of official statistics (e.g. the homeless, prisoners, the chronically poor or those with sickness or disabilities potentially unable to travel to the sites of voting or census taking) and these are also demographics who are the focus of international efforts to increase access to education. When one also considers the missing voices of those under 18, the WVS may have missed the voices of the most vulnerable.

Missing those voices raises the danger that the dimensions of values within the WVS may not be relevant to a society's most vulnerable members. Considering the interplay between society, education and the individual mentioned previously, the role of a critical attitude becomes even more important in order to consider the intersections between the global, national, local and individual and how global values may apply to the most vulnerable – an attitude which is present but not dominant within UNESCO's GCED. That said, the WVS has generalised individual survey responses to a national level in order to conceptualise general global trends. Inferences about culture will be influenced by which subgroups are studied (Schwartz, 2006), but there is no evidence to suggest that missing voices represents any greater inaccuracy than cross-national variance. I acknowledge them as part of the limitations of the WVS that the inclusion of a critical attitude within UNESCO's GCED can help to mitigate.

The WVS still presents the most relevant data available at a global scale and the addition of a critical attitude within education could help to counter this weakness. In order for universal values to motivate people to act as global citizens and consider their fellow human beings beyond their immediate borders when people are focused on their immediate economic and security needs, UNESCO's values need to be reflexive to cultural values change.

3.4 Values in Discourse and Organisational Culture

Universal values are not only prominent within GCED but are also found at the core of UNESCO's institutional culture. Defining a fixed meaning of values contributes to an impression of UNESCO as an institution which has a strict sense of institutionally defined values. Mowles asserts that such strictly defined values can be seen as cult values (Mowles, 2007). A strict sense of values delimits those deemed acceptable global citizens and those deemed not; with the implication that the subjectivity of a global citizen is defined by the powerful. Further, as I discuss in the methods chapter, because the Dialectical Relational Approach (DRA) to my analysis allows insight into organisational culture and because, as discussed previously, values can act as social regulators of action, institutionally defined values can also regulate employee behaviour. Misrecognition is seen in this research in terms of who is deemed an acceptable global citizen but the DRA also enables reflection concerning who makes an acceptable employee by subscribing to UNESCO's institutional values. This is supported by Jaakson (2010, p798) who notes that values are always present in an organisation and 'manifest themselves in organizational artefacts,

behaviors, processes, structures etc.’ (in other words, social practices) and that values are there to ‘regulate employee behaviour’. Hailey (2000) notes that organisational values are what makes NGOs distinctive and supports the notion that organisational values should manifest themselves in textual discourse. Specifically discussing the value of participation, he states that it should be ‘commonly found in mission statements and institutional objectives of the NGO, and that the philosophy of participation is articulated in other documentation and staff training materials’ (Hailey, 2000, p405). This indicates that the organisational discourse about values should be articulated through language in texts. Jaakson (2010) also notes the expression of organisational values in language. She states that ‘When values are espoused they are typically stated in writing for all members of the organization’ (Jaakson, 2010, p796). She notes further however, that this represents only those values that leaders find useful for transmitting the culture of the organisation for the purposes of agreement by members of the organisation and that this may represent only a fraction of the values in play within that organisational culture. This reinforces that the textual contribution is partial. Social practices within an organisation are not only based in language and an institution itself is only partly language based (Fairclough, 2016). However, values do form the core of organisational culture (Padaki, 2000) and an analysis of values in this research allows us to assess the extent of misrecognition at the core of UNESCO’s culture.

3.4 Summary

In summary, defining the meaning of values has been labelled a difficult task and their meaning is often left assumed. The term values has also often been

used indiscriminately such that it has been said to have been robbed of meaning almost entirely. This is a danger because it leaves the term open for those in power to ascribe their own meaning, potentially motivating towards actions that serve their own agendas. In line with their future oriented perspective, UNESCO's approach is to base values on imagining a better future than human misery. This may be a positive aim but this research shows that UNESCO have ascribed their own meaning to universal values and by implication, defined other values as inappropriate. This privileges UNESCO's view and compounds misrecognition.

Further, UNESCO's approach to universal values undermines the effectiveness of global citizenship education in three ways. Values act as social regulators of people's actions and having defined a particular set of universal values, people are potentially socialised to act according to UNESCO's agenda (both within GCED and institutionally) which furthers western dominance. Neoliberal globalisation is said to influence values change, with the criticism that values are now conflated with economic success. Values exhibit a volatility implying transience and change. A consequence of this is that values become relegated to cultural differences which require passive respect rather than real engagement. For example, in reifying religious values as part of cultural difference which should be respected, UNESCO pacify action and treat values as abstract, removed from practical reality. This limits the effectiveness of global citizenship education aimed at promoting the enacting of values. Moreover, transient and changing values is limiting on the effectiveness of global citizenship education which requires stable and long-term motivation and action

underpinned with values which endure. In this context, universal values applied indiscriminately to everyone everywhere may appear to provide stability, but this denies cultural values change and removes values from social reality further undermining UNESCO's GCED. Cultural values change is evidenced by the World Values Survey which shows that values change correlates with economic success and feelings of physical security. Focusing on general trends in values change, the WVS asserts that there is a distinct divide between eastern and western countries who prioritise different values. Eastern countries are typically concerned with their more immediate economic and physical security needs within their own borders. Imposing UNESCO's universal values, already critiqued as being western values, on eastern countries which ask them to consider the needs of their fellow human beings beyond their own immediate needs and national borders is likely to be resisted and considered irrelevant to the social realities of eastern citizens. With values as motivators and evaluators of action it is incumbent to the success of UNESCO's Global Citizenship Education to consider whether a set of western values are communicated successfully in eastern countries such that the possibility of motivation towards action as global citizens is raised. This research shows that defining a fixed meaning of universal values, treating values as passive and denying cultural values change undermines the effectiveness of UNESCO's GCED. In so doing alternative values which may motivate towards the aims of GCED in diverse contexts have been denied recognition which is unjust.

Chapter 4 Global Social Justice

Up to this point, I have considered global citizenship education and the role and

meaning of universal values. I have made reference to issues of social justice including Fraser's misrecognition and participatory parity (Fraser, 2010, 2013). This chapter recaps how global citizenship education and universal values relate to social justice and then delves more deeply into Fraser's theory to show how it can identify obstacles to participatory parity. This applies both within UNESCO's approach to GCED and, because textual discourse reflects social life within UNESCO (Fairclough, 2003), also within UNESCO institutionally; moving both towards social justice.

In terms of global citizenship education, UNESCO have set the agenda. Globalisation has emphasised the action dimension of global citizenship by highlighting that individual and local actions can impact globally. Learners are to act according to the views of those who set the agenda. Unfortunately, UNESCO's agenda is based on western values conceptualised within UNESCO as a particular set of universal values. As this research shows, universal values are couched in vague language and abstracted from social reality. They are applied indiscriminately to all people, everywhere, regardless of context and this further reinforces western dominance. The reality however, as evidenced by the WVS, is that different nations prioritise different values. Typically, 'Eastern' nations prioritise their own immediate needs for economic and physical security. This makes it unlikely that they will look beyond their borders to the needs of their fellow human beings, a hallmark of being a global citizen. Values act as regulators of people's actions such that they serve the agenda of the powerful - UNESCO. Imposing one set of abstract universal values on nations, especially 'Eastern' nations, denies recognition to alternative values, motivations for and ways of doing global citizenship that may be more suited to

local contexts.

Alternative approaches better suited to local contexts would increase the relevance of global citizenship for local people and increase the likelihood of their participation. Fraser calls this lack of recognition an injustice which she terms misrecognition (Fraser, 2010). The critical discourse analysis of UNESCO documents in this research shows how this misrecognition is manifested in the language of texts and that this forms an obstacle to Fraser's main criteria for justice – the achievement of participatory parity. The texts reflect structural obstacles both within UNESCO as an institution and within social life and I argue that from a textual perspective, structuring the discourse in texts to afford recognition to alternative values and forms of global citizenship, and with a genuine concern for the common aims of GCED, can increase both institutional and social justice.

Fraser's theory is relevant to this research in several ways. It is relevant to the current era of neoliberal globalisation and there are certain facets of Fraser's theory which bring into focus why UNESCO have gained authority in the global space and why they are able to export their version of GCED across nations. This is to do with the blurring of boundaries between the national and global which is a consequence of globalisation. Fraser's theory also examines the intersections between the levels of individual, local, national and global which, considering GCED's intentions that individuals will look beyond their national borders to global issues, makes it the appropriate theory to consider justice within UNESCO's GCED.

As Fraser notes, there are intersecting scales of justice where structural

conditions on one level can impede participation as peers at the other levels, which she deems unjust (Fraser, 2010). It is the structural obstacles to participatory parity manifest within UNESCO texts that this research examines. Obstacles to participatory parity at these different 'scales of justice' (Fraser, 2010, p2) has occurred in part because due to globalisation, the boundaries between the national and the global are less distinct (Volkmer, 2010). Before an era of globalisation, people were members of a nation through citizenship and voting and legitimate interaction took place within their national borders (Volkmer, 2014). This was enshrined within the treaty of Westphalia – nations were considered sovereign and ruled themselves and this remained the normative state of affairs. However, globalisation has called into question the legitimacy of the nation state. A global space has emerged where information and capital in its various forms can cross national borders with relative ease and where global organisations such as UNESCO are in a position to influence the national (eg. through provision of GCED). This has resulted in many of the processes that affect the lives of national citizens lying not within state borders and within the reach of citizens, but in the global space and out of their reach.

Fraser (2014, p23) supports this, noting that the 'ground rules governing trade, production and finance are set transnationally, by agencies more accountable to global capital than to any public'. The blurring of national and global boundaries that has enabled UNESCO to export GCED around the globe has also influenced public opinion. This works both ways – public opinion is potentially influenced by the global (by UNESCO through GCED) and, because of blurred boundaries, public opinion is also expressed to the global. The first instance shows the effect of globalisation to influence not just the intersections

between national and global but the influence on society as well which, as discussed, can influence an individual's values through social pressure to conform or social confirmation of values seen as desirable (Schwartz 2006, Welzel 2013). Again, education's role here is salient as a key site in the interplay between values, the society and the individual. UNESCO, through GCED and enabled by globalisation, are able to take advantage of the blurred boundaries between global and national and influence both society and the individual through global citizenship education. As discussed, this serves UNESCO's agenda since the identities of global citizens are confirmed in their image.

In the second instance, public opinion is expressed beyond national borders which reflects action as global citizens. Fraser (2014, p19) acknowledges that 'whether the issue is global warming or immigration, women's rights or terms of trade, unemployment or the 'war on terror', current mobilisations of public opinion seldom stop at the borders of territorial states'. Expressing an opinion is one thing – as long as those opinions are in line with universal values, UNESCO will deem you a successful global citizen. But if that expression seeks redress for concerns there are currently no global structures through which people may gain satisfaction. Even though GCED lists 'justice' as one of its universal values (albeit as a vague notion), how is one to claim justice in the global space? Fraser acknowledges that 'thanks to heightened awareness of globalisation, many observe that the social processes shaping their lives routinely overflow territorial borders' (Fraser, 2013, p191). If one cannot seek redress beyond territorial borders, surely one's effectiveness as a global citizen is undermined. One cannot fully embody UNESCO's universal values.

The issue according to Fraser (2014) is that national citizens engaging in the

global space do not have a political citizenship there. There is no official global citizenship afforded through which people can press their claims for justice as they might in the national space through voting and other forms of democratic participation. Globalisation has enabled UNESCO and other global organisations to exist beyond the reach of accountability and this serves to maintain their authority in the global space. The scales of justice, enabled by globalisation, bring to light why UNESCO have gained authority in the global space and why they are able to export their version of GCED across nations. The intersections of these scales of justice set the scene for Fraser's three concepts of justice that, when met, constitute participatory parity.

Fraser terms the three concepts of justice 'fundamental dimensions of justice' (Fraser, 2010, p18) which together constitute 'parity of participation' (Fraser, 2010, p16). Parity of Participation highlights that for there to be justice, people must be able to participate as peers in social life. For this to happen, the three dimensions of justice must all be satisfied (Fraser, 2010b). Firstly, the dimension of distribution says that the economic structures governing the distribution of resources and opportunities must be equally open to all such that people have independence. If this does not happen, class inequality may result. The second dimension, termed recognition, states that all people must be afforded equal status in society and have their cultural distinctiveness afforded equal respect in social interaction – institutional structures and practices must recognise their status. If this does not happen, it can result in cultural domination by more powerful groups resulting in a lack of cultural respect. The third dimension, representation, states that all people must have an equal voice in decision making. This includes having their definition of a situation regarded

and having space and capacity to act autonomously. All three dimensions relate to structures and practices within institutions and within society that may prevent people from participating equally as peers in social life (Fraser, 2013). Where there may be maldistribution, misrecognition or misrepresentation there is a lack of participatory parity and consequently, injustice.

The concept of participatory parity has proven useful for assessing social justice in a range of contexts. Participatory parity has been applied to the structures of institutions such as schools (Lynch and Lodge 2002, Keddie 2012), national policy affecting Scottish young people (Mackie and Tett 2013), rural science education (Eppley, 2017), educational access of mobile children in India (Dyer, 2010) and Lifelong Learning in light of Sustainable Development Goal 4 within UNESCO (Vargas, 2017). Fraser focuses participatory parity on the removal of concrete obstacles which exist within institutional structures. Keddie (2012) concurs, stating that 'a critical analysis of the concrete arrangements – the structures and relations of economic and cultural oppression – that impede parity' must occur (Keddie, 2012, p272). Lynch and Lodge support this further, referring to the 'institutionalised status related structures and practices' which must be addressed when attempting to resolve misrecognition (Lynch and Lodge, 2002, p181) and Fraser illustrates again that 'misrecognition is an institutionalised social relation' (Fraser, 2013, p177). All three dimensions of justice are considered structural injustices within society and within institutions which impede participatory parity. This research considers barriers to participatory parity within UNESCO as an institution and within global citizenship education.

So far in this thesis I have linked aspects of UNESCO's GCED to misrecognition. I conclude in this research that misrecognition is the generative source of injustice for misrepresentation and maldistribution so a discussion of all three is warranted. Keddie (2012) asserts that only considering one dimension of justice is a limited approach. Discussing Indigenous inclusion in Australian education, she states that

'such a focus is also recognised as limited – a purely distributive approach fails to consider how matters of cultural disadvantage constrain students' educational outcomes. Driven by concerns about the enduring educational disadvantage experienced by particular groups of students (especially on the basis of racialised difference), matters of cultural recognition, alongside matters of economic redistribution, have become important educational priorities' (Keddie, 2012, p267).

The intersection of misrecognition and maldistribution illustrate Fraser's assertion that the dimensions of justice are interrelated, even though they can be analysed separately (Fraser, 2013). Whilst I assert that misrecognition is the main source of injustice within UNESCO's GCED, I avoid a limited approach by considering how misrecognition interrelates with and is generative of the other two dimensions. As Fraser further states, 'it is not necessary to show that a given instance of misrecognition brings with it maldistribution in order to certify the claim to redress is as a genuine claim for social justice' (Fraser, 2013, p177) but in considering all three, I provide a fuller analysis. As an illustration of where all three dimensions of justice may be exemplified and which helps us to

consider the barriers to global citizenship education that may occur between the scales of justice, the protest of the National Union of Teachers and other NGOs to a global educational business concerning the privatisation of schooling in Africa is worth examining. This provides an analogy of the injustice that may be faced when a global organisation (by analogy UNESCO) tries to influence education in non-western states and has not recognised local contexts. It also provides an example showing that the national frame has failed to provide redress for the concerns of local people and highlights Fraser's assertion that national citizens do not have official structures through which to press their claims for justice. The next section will use the teacher's protest to highlight firstly maldistribution, then misrepresentation and thirdly misrecognition. The section will then highlight how misrecognition can be the generative source of injustice for the other two dimensions and analogies with UNESCO's GCED will be drawn.

4.1 Maldistribution

As stated, Fraser's dimension of distribution states that the structures governing the distribution of resources and opportunities must be equally open to all such that people have independence. The teacher's protest illustrates maldistribution because not all citizens have access to the resource and opportunity of private schooling and the presumed benefits it offers. They are further denied the increased quality of free public education as resources which could help are directed towards the private sector. Further, their protest highlights the inadequacy of the national frame for redressing their concerns. In May 2017, NGOs and teacher unions from nine countries gathered at the annual general

meeting of a global educational business to protest plans for the expansion of their for-profit business model into the privatisation of schools in Africa. The protesters claimed that the business lobbied 'various governmental and inter-governmental organisations to forward their business aims at the expense of promoting free public quality education' (NUT, 2017); the preferred option for those in the local context. Resources and opportunities became exclusive.

Both the lobbying and protest activities exemplify the blurred lines of the national and global space. The lobbying activities of the global business were aimed at both governmental (national) and inter-governmental agencies. Citizens, through their protest, were attempting to direct their claims for justice directly to the business - the global space. Fraser affirms that claims for justice are no longer just national and states that 'In the wake of transnationalised production, globalised finance and neoliberal trade and investment regimes, redistribution claims increasingly trespass the bounds of state-centred grammars and arenas of argument' (Fraser, 2010, p51). Through their protest, citizens have transcended their national borders recognising that the national frame is insufficient to bring justice on this issue. Indeed Wilson Sosioni, protester and Secretary General of the Kenyan National Union of Teachers, states that the private schools funded by the business do not meet the requirements of the law in Kenya and James Twaheyo, his Ugandan counterpart, states that they are in 'contempt of court' in Uganda because the schools have not closed when ordered to by national courts (Protesting the Pearson AGM, 2017). The national frame in this case has not proven sufficient to redress claims of injustice – laws have apparently been flouted and court orders ignored. The resources of the global business in this example have not

been distributed equally in Africa resulting in the injustice of maldistribution. UNESCO show similarities in their denial of local context through promotion of universal values and the privileging of their particular view of what makes a global citizen. Further, UNESCO provide support via materials, pedagogy and networking through their Associated Schools Programme (ASPNet, 2017). Where non-western countries may be seeking to improve their education systems and look to UNESCO for help, not ascribing to this global organisation's view of a global citizen may deny them support and resources from UNESCO which could potentially improve educational pedagogy, not just in global citizenship but more generally in education. This is especially true if they are not part of the Associated Schools Programme. Those not ascribing to UNESCO's view would be denied these resources. They would then suffer maldistribution.

4.2 Misrepresentation

In addition to maldistribution, the protest exemplifies misrepresentation. Lynch and Lodge state that 'the representation of interests is a core issue in the equalisation of power. Having political equality is about ensuring that one's definition of the situation is not disregarded, that one's voice is equal to that of others, that one is given the space and capacity to act autonomously' (Lynch and Lodge, 2002, p6). It would seem that the voices of the protesters have not been heard equally and their assessment of the situation has not been given regard – otherwise they would presumably not feel the need to protest. They have not been able to participate as peers in the decision making which has subjected them and those they represent to the actions of the global business.

Since they have felt the need to transcend their borders, the national frame has not been the effective frame within which to press their claims. They have suffered what Fraser terms a meta-political misrepresentation, and 'transborder injustice' (Fraser, 2010c, p281). This is a danger within UNESCO's GCED since in privileging their own view, other interests more rooted in local contexts have been disregarded. Communities that may express their discontent with this, such as in the case of Fijian citizenship education, found that their interests were not respected and their national authorities were not effective at handling their concerns deferring instead to the view of the global organisation (Koya, 2010). These communities have suffered meta-political misrepresentation.

4.3 Misrecognition

In addition to maldistribution and meta-political misrepresentation, the protest also exemplifies misrecognition. According to Angelo Gavrielatos of Education International, the curricula promoted by the global education business are not recognised by the countries they are operating in and were being imposed upon them (Protesting the Pearson AGM, 2017). This is similar to the perceived imposition of UNESCO's universal values and view of global citizenship which is similarly resisted by some nations. The privileging of a single view to the denial and exclusion of others is a source of misrecognition, as shown in the textual discourse of UNESCO documents in this research. This has also been seen in textual discourse found in other policy and curricula resources. It is well recognised that classroom resources and curricula can be used to marginalise, trivialise and stereotype minorities and indigenous populations (Keddie 2012, Ullah and Skelton 2013), denying them recognition. Gebregeorgis (2017)

affirms this noting that 'all forms of bias, labelling, racism, inappropriate use of language are among the potential disadvantages of textbooks' (Gebregeorgis, 2017, p56). This denial of recognition has also been seen in educational policy. Lynch and Lodge (2002) found that where groups were invisible in the discourse of policy, staff did not have the vocabulary with which to discuss the issue which led to misrecognition and prejudicial attitudes in schools. In denying them a place within texts, alternative identities are marginalised and considered inferior.

4.4 Summary

Fraser's three dimensions of justice have been illustrated highlighting areas where people may suffer the injustice of a lack of participatory parity. Whilst analytically distinct, they should be seen as interrelating (Fraser, 2013). An example of where they interrelate is revealed through a deeper look at misrecognition and maldistribution. This deeper look suggests that on the surface the injustice may be one of maldistribution or misrepresentation but the generative source of injustice is misrecognition. In the case of this research, I argue that because UNESCO do not recognise alternative values and ways of doing global citizenship, they are not represented and resources are not distributed equally. Resources and opportunities become exclusive to those ascribing to UNESCO's privileged view of what makes a global citizen. The generative injustice in this research is misrecognition.

Chapter 5 Methods

Fraser's dimensions of justice and related lack of participatory parity can be analysed in the texts using Fairclough's Dialectical Relational Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Fairclough 2003, 2016).

Firstly in this section, a discussion of CDA itself highlights its ability to reveal the often hidden intentions that may lie beneath the linguistic structure of texts which can provide insight into the author's opinions of what are the right and proper ways to act. Secondly, a discussion of the Dialectical Relational Approach (DRA) allows analysis of how these messages within texts relate to social and cultural practices within UNESCO as an institution. Thirdly, the multimodal aspects are explored to complement the DRA and consider all the resources available within the text which allows for a more precise and specific analysis than using language alone (Lemke, 2002).

I report on the specific steps and tools of the multimodal analysis I have used to set the scene for the analysis of texts which follows. These are Fairclough's linguistic concept of equivalence (particularly classification and the texturing of relations of equivalence and difference), Kress and Van Leeuwen's Information Value, Salience and Framing (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006) and the significance of Bullet Points, Lists and Tables (Ledin and Machin, 2015). Reflecting on this analysis in light of participatory parity supports my assertion that the messages within texts and subsequent insight into social and cultural practices contribute to injustice within UNESCO and GCED. Finally, I put the analysis in context through describing the choice of texts used.

5.1 Critical Discourse Analysis and the Dialectical Relational Approach

CDA reveals the often hidden intentions that may lie beneath the linguistic structure of texts and this can provide insight into the author's opinions of what are the right and proper ways to act which can reproduce a lack of participatory parity. The analysis of texts in this research reveal a misrecognition of alternative values and ways of doing global citizenship and this can be seen as UNESCO's opinion of the right and proper way to act. CDA can help us to a better understanding of the obstacles to addressing this 'social wrong' (misrecognition) and aid in a consideration of how to overcome it (Fairclough, 2016, p91). The relevance of CDA to reveal and address the social wrong is further supported by Van Dijk who states that 'critical discourse analysts want to know what structures, strategies or other properties of text, talk, verbal interaction or communicative events play a role in these modes of reproduction' (Van Dijk, 1993, p250) and Fairclough states that analysis through CDA draws out these intentions and shows 'what kinds of identities, actions, and circumstances are concealed, abstracted, or foregrounded in a text' which further reveals the ideological standpoint of the authors (Fairclough, 2003, p352). CDA provides the appropriate framework through which obstacles to justice - such as misrecognition - may be revealed in texts. However, whilst CDA focuses on language and linguistic analysis, elements cannot be reduced to purely textual components. Textual analysis is part of the overall picture - it can make a contribution but is not in itself sufficient to answer a problem in all its social complexity. I recognise that the textual analysis is a contribution, not an all-encompassing piece. In addition, an analysis of discourse can reveal the

set of possibilities that exist for constructing meaning from texts when they are read (Fairclough, 2003). This research does not consider how texts may be interpreted when read or what meaning may actually be constructed from the set of possibilities available; this is a complex area which would require a study combining analysis at the point of interpretation. This is not the focus of this study (however for a useful example see Farrelly, 2015) but a critical discourse analysis of texts can provide meaningful insight into the social life within which texts are situated.

The particular approach to CDA taken in this research is the Dialectical Relational Approach (Fairclough, 2003, 2016). It is called dialectical because its central concern is the relationship between social events, social practices and social structures. Fairclough's assertion through the DRA is that through a critical discourse analysis of the language in texts (the social event), insight can be gained into the culture of an organisation (social structure), because the choices of how to structure the text and the particular grammatical and language choices made are intentional and influenced by the social life within the organisation (it's social practices) (Fairclough, 2003). Thus social practices mediate between the social structure and the social event. This is not one way from the institution to the event however, because the event (in this case the texts) also influence social practices, which can in turn influence social structure. So using the texts to address the obstacles to the social wrong has the potential to influence social structure towards social justice and through the creation of future texts which carry that new influence, potentially impact social life. Fairclough explains that a text has been shaped by so many social practices that it becomes difficult to separate them out (Fairclough, 2003). Social

practices include people and how they relate, the ways that language is used between staff and between staff and managers, institutional style guidelines for constructing written materials and the personal style of any individual authors (within the institutional constraints imposed on them). Indeed 'any social practice is an articulation of action and interaction, social relations, persons (with beliefs, attitudes, histories etc.), the material world, discourse' (Fairclough, 2003, p25) and these all have an influence on how a text is shaped. This situation is complex however, because each person or group of people is unavoidably located within and affected by their own position in social life, which then impacts on the social practice of for example, their work place because of what they bring with them into the workplace. But despite these fluctuations, Fairclough asserts that the organisation of language is reflective of institutional structure and this remains relatively stable over time. It remains stable because as social practices are grouped together to form a network of social practices, such as the way staff talk to each other plus the way managers discuss expectations of work plus an individual's sense of attention to detail in following guidelines etc. certain elements of these things are retained over time and become part of what distinguishes the culture of an organisation. The social structure and practices within the organisation (UNESCO), revealing institutional culture, can reveal a lack of participatory parity and this is seen through the analysis of texts. The shaping is realised in texts through both language and visual aspects. The hidden intentions of UNESCO which reproduce misrecognition are thus analysed in this research through a multimodal critical discourse analysis of UNESCO texts via the dialectical relational approach.

5.2 Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis

As stated, when considering the resources available for making meaning within the discourse of texts, language is not enough and visual aspects can complement the linguistic analysis within the DRA. Lemke (2002) lists several non-linguistic features which convey meaning which should be considered

‘in print there are choices of typefaces and font, page layout, headers and footers, headings and sidebars, etc. Each of these conveys additional kinds of meaning about the historical provenance of the text, its individual authorship, the state of the author (in the case of handwriting), the conventions of the printer, which parts of the text are to be seen as more salient, how the text is to be seen as organized logically, etc. – all through non-linguistic features of the visible text’ (Lemke, 2002, p302)

These non-linguistic features become resources used for constructing meaning from texts and should be analysed alongside language. Further, Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) note that

‘what is expressed in language through the choice between different word classes and clause structures, may, in visual communication, be expressed through the choice between different uses of colour or different compositional structures. And this will affect meaning. Expressing something verbally or visually makes a difference’ (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006, p3).

There are elements of the visual that are not communicated verbally. For

example, shapes can assign size and volume to people or events which communicates meaning, but is not written into the language of the texts (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006). Linguistic and non-linguistic features assist in communicating meaning.

5.2.1 A Social Visual Grammar

In addition to the DRA which asserts that language can provide insight into social practices and structures, Kress and Van Leeuwen posit that non-linguistic visual resources are also social. They posit the concept of a 'visual grammar' (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p2) which they assert as also situated in social life and chosen intentionally, similar to Fairclough's acknowledgement of the intention behind linguistic choices. They describe a 'social definition of grammar' and situate the visual as a 'culture-specific form of visual communication' (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p4). A visual analysis complements the DRA as they both provide insights into social contexts. However, the visual and linguistic systems are not dependent on each other for the construction of meaning. Each can be read independently. As Kress and Van Leeuwen further state 'the meaning potentials of the two modes are neither fully conflated nor entirely opposed' (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006, p19). It is the relationship between text and non-text elements which is important. The visual in this research will be read alongside the linguistic and together analysed for insight into how UNESCO communicate values within GCED. This research situates visual grammar within the DRA which can further assist with determining the position of values within the social practices and social structure of UNESCO. After all, 'Visual structures do not simply reproduce the

structures of reality. On the contrary, they produce images of reality which are bound up with the interests of the social institutions within which the images are produced, circulated and read. They are ideological' (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006, p48).

The UNESCO documents chosen utilise a range of visual features including photos, diagrams, bullet points, numbered lists, text boxes, quotes and numbered points. No one approach to visual grammar can assist in analysing the meaning potential of all these elements. In order to analyse all these features for meaning, this research draws primarily on the work of Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) and compliments this with the work on bullet points, lists and tables by Ledin and Machin (2015). Each of these will now be explained in more detail.

5.2.2 Information Value, Saliency, Framing

Kress and Van Leeuwen's concepts of Information Value, Saliency and Framing will be used to consider the placement of and importance attached to visual elements. The position on the page or within the image, often in relation to textual elements, can carry different meanings. Kress and Van Leeuwen posit 8 aspects of visual grammar. Initially, during analysis, all 8 were held in mind but only 3 proved of most relevance to the particular visual elements UNESCO have used. For example, three of the eight aspects include depth, illumination and brightness, referring to the artistic expression of perspective, light, shade and colour which can be used to signal how real something is, termed the 'modality' of the image (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006, p182). The photographs used in the documents studied were primarily of people in

meetings, posed for group shots (Figure 5.1) or in workshops (Figure 5.2). For example



Figure 5.1 Group Photo of Participants at the 1st Global Capacity Building Workshop on GCED (UNESCO, 2016, p48)



Figure 5.2 Participants in a workshop at the 1st Global Capacity Building Workshop on GCED (UNESCO, 2016, p84)

It is reasonable to think that the photographer was limited in their choices for depth, illumination and brightness because of the context within which they worked. This does not represent UNESCO's position more generally though and in fact UNESCO are very aware of the emotive appeal of the visual image. In a call for proposals to provide UNESCO with photographs to garner support for the education of Syrian refugees, the professional photo-journalists were asked to use their creativity to 'Successfully capture and emotionally express the core elements of the situation' and 'Provide different visual perspectives (close-up, medium range, long distance), in both horizontal and vertical formats' (UNESCO, 2017, p4). Kress and Van Leeuwen's aspects which consider depth, illumination and brightness would be more relevant to this situation, but not to the documents studied. In general, UNESCO state that 'The aim of visuals is to liven up a page, attract as many readers as possible and awaken their interest in what is presented to them. A gripping photograph can go a long way and move far beyond the written word.' (UNESCO, 2017d).

The three aspects of most relevance to the documents studied are information value, salience and framing. These are interrelated systems but will each be considered here in turn.

'(1) Information value . The placement of elements...endows them with the specific informational values attached to the various zones of the image: left and right, top and bottom, centre and margin.'

(Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006, p177)

The placement of elements can be applied to a single image or to a page or

double page in the documents. Regarding left and right placement, Kress and Van Leeuwen state that what is presented on the left represents what is already known and what is on the right is presented as new information. What is presented as already known are the 'givens' in a culture, the largely agreed upon assumed items that are not really questioned. What is presented as new is what requires special attention. The place of the new can represent things that are perhaps not entirely new but not yet agreed upon in a culture. When considering values, the placement of elements can play a role in the social confirmation of values by representing some as given, unquestioned and others as new or in need of reinforcement. Kress and van Leeuwen clarify that 'Broadly speaking, the meaning of the New is therefore problematic, contestable, the information at issue, while the Given is presented as commonsensical, self-evident' (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p181).

Regarding the top and bottom placement of visual elements, Kress and Van Leeuwen state that the top section represents a promise of an ideal, of how things could be; while the bottom tends to show what is real and be more informational. For example, a screenshot of UNESCO's priority to foster global citizenship (Figure 5.3), cropped to illustrate the point and analysed further in the analysis chapter, illustrates that the photograph of children at a school in Uganda is the promise of an ideal – children in school, connected and through being in a circle suggestively equal, with this arguably representing a 'natural' state of affairs (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006, p59) - while the text represents reality and is informational; in this case, discussing 'Barriers to Global Citizenship'.



Figure 5.3 Illustration of ideal/real placement concerning top and bottom positions (UNESCO, 2016b)

The ideal/real placement, which is also the case when considering elements positioned at a centre with other elements placed in margins, such as in Figure 5.4 which shows GCED as central and the 'nucleus of the information to which all other elements are in some sense subservient' (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006, p196).



Figure 5.4 Illustration of ideal/real placement concerning centre and margin (UNESCO, 2016, p108)

The second aspect chosen is salience.

‘(2) Salience . The elements...are made to attract the viewer’s attention to different degrees, as realized by such factors as placement in the foreground or background, relative size, contrasts in tonal value (or colour), differences in sharpness, etc.’

(Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006, p177)

Salience can indicate which elements on a page are more important than others, creating a ‘hierarchy of importance’ (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006, p202). What is placed in the foreground is more salient than the background; what is on the top of overlapping items is more important than what is overlapped; things in focus are more salient than things not in focus; strong contrasts between colours and the relative sizes of items on the page also communicate salience. For example, Figure 5.5 again cropped for illustration and analysed more fully in the analysis chapter, illustrate that whilst the values of non-violence and tolerance are shown, the value of non-violence is out of focus compared to the rest of the image and the value of tolerance is overlapped, making them less salient.



Figure 5.5 The low salience of Non-Violence and Tolerance (UNESCO, 2016, p46 and p57)

The third aspect of analysis is framing.

‘(3) Framing . The presence or absence of framing devices (realized by elements which create dividing lines, or by actual frame lines) disconnects or connects elements of the image, signifying that they belong or do not belong together in some sense.’

(Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006, p177)

Framing emphasises connection or disconnection and there are many ways in which it can be achieved. Kress and Van Leeuwen note as examples that disconnection may be communicated through areas of white space, borders, and changes in colour; whereas connection may be signalled by elements ‘leading the eye from one element to the other’ (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006, p202) such as arms pointing in certain directions, or roads leading from foreground to background. For example, as an example of connection the most salient element in Figure 5.6 is that in focus in the foreground; but the reader’s eye is drawn to activity in the background by the table leading the eye from the

foreground to the background.



Figure 5.6 Illustration of framing showing connection between foreground and background (UNESCO, 2016, p117)

5.2.3 Bullet Points, Lists and Tables

Additional elements of the visual which communicate meaning are bullet points, lists and tables. Ledin and Machin (2015, p466) assert that these elements communicate a sense of logic, emphasise core details of a social practice and add legitimacy to an organisation's message. Adding legitimacy can make a discourse 'resistant to challenge' and using bullet points, tables and lists is one way in which managers control the discourse of an organisation and 'monitor professional practice'(2015, p469). In addition, separating out items into lists can make elements of the message into discrete units which are then seen as not overlapping, creating the impression that they are 'mutually exclusive' (Ledin and Machin, 2015, p469). This may carry the disadvantage of obscuring links between items which may be of benefit to professional practice. UNESCO

have used these elements in the documents analysed. For example Figure 5.7, which is again cropped, illustrates the presence of bullet points showing three domains of learning within GCED. It is a bulleted list, with the effect of separating out items and presenting them as core elements in the social practice of GCED and values are mentioned only in the second point.

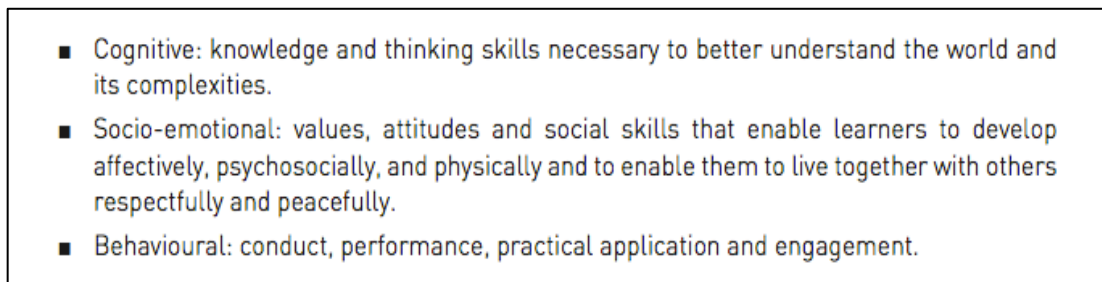
- 
- Cognitive: knowledge and thinking skills necessary to better understand the world and its complexities.
 - Socio-emotional: values, attitudes and social skills that enable learners to develop affectively, psychosocially, and physically and to enable them to live together with others respectfully and peacefully.
 - Behavioural: conduct, performance, practical application and engagement.

Figure 5.7 Bullet points separating three domains of learning within GCED (UNESCO, 2015, p22, box added)

Whilst the text also states in its narrative that the domains of learning are interlinked and should not be understood as separate learning processes, the effect of the prominent bulleted list – the visual element – will be read and taken in first with the narrative less likely to be read. Lazard and Atkinson (2015) assert that images are often more persuasive to the reader than text, even to the point that changing a font can heighten the persuasive power of a message. They further note that it is the visual elements that grab the eye and convey information at a glance. Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) substantiate this and extend it into the presence of other visual devices that lead to a text being scanned rather than read. They state ‘The more a text makes use of subheadings, emphatic devices (italics, bold type, underlining), numbered lines of typical elements or characteristics of some phenomenon, tables, diagrams and so on, the more likely it is to be scanned, skip-read, used rather than read: linear reading is gradually losing ground’ (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006,

p206). In the example given above, this potentially means that the bullet points will be read first and domains of learning will be understood as separate and values as not linked to understanding the world or to behaviour. Considering values as motivators and evaluators of action, it seems that the use of the bulleted list has potentially served to reify values and obscure the links between aspects of professional practice as posited by Ledin and Machin (2015), potentially reducing the effectiveness of GCED in practice.

This research uses Kress and Van Leeuwen's (2006) concept of a social visual grammar, complemented by Ledin and Machin (2015) to analyse the position of values within UNESCO's approach to GCED. Because they are critical and understood within the social, the visual and linguistic analyses are situated within the DRA and can provide insight into how values are communicated within UNESCO as an organisation and their potential influence on social structures, practices and events. The communication of values is analysed through 8 textual documents which represent UNESCO's approach to GCED and these will now be set in context.

5.3 The Documents in Context

Global Citizenship Education sits as target 4.7 of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and is the result of a wide array of consultations. An examination of the history of the documents in this analysis illustrates the global commitment to this target and informs about the scale of the influence of UNESCO's GCED. The 8 documents in this analysis are part of UNESCO's efforts to achieve the education related targets of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) which were ratified at the World Education Forum in Incheon, Korea, in 2015.

The SDGs are informed by a broad consultation with the UN and other international and civil society agencies. These agencies reviewed the prior Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) which were to be achieved by 2015 and decided that more needed to be done. The consultation was informed by the previous 'Education for All' (EFA) initiative which was ratified under the Dakar Framework for Action (WEF, 2000) and whose purpose was to coordinate the global commitment to the education related MDGs made at Dakar and accelerate progress towards them under the leadership of UNESCO (UNESCO, 2017c). During the 15 year period between the Dakar framework, EFA and Incheon several events, initiatives and agreements were installed which have informed the education SDG and subsequently the 8 documents analysed in this research. As the Incheon declaration states

'SDG4-Education 2030 draws on the thematic consultations on education post-2015 of 2012 and 2013 led by UNESCO and UNICEF, the Global Education for All Meeting held in Muscat, Oman, in May 2014, non-government organization (NGO) consultations, the five regional ministerial conferences organized by UNESCO in 2014 and 2015, and The E-9 meeting held in Islamabad in 2014. A key milestone in its development is The Muscat Agreement which was adopted at the Global EFA Meeting in May 2014 and which informed the global education goal and its associated targets and means of implementation as proposed by the United Nations (UN) General Assembly's Open Working Group on Sustainable Development Goals (OWG)' (WEF, 2015, p22)

The Incheon Declaration, formally ratified by 181 member states and 'the

education community' (WEF, 2015, p23), further outlines targets that will be taken to achieve the education SDGs by 2030. Target 4.7 specific to Global Citizenship Education states

'By 2030, ensure that all learners acquire knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development' (WEF, 2015, p48)

In addition to these various initiatives and agreements, a specific focus on GCED was simultaneously underway before Incheon. It was one of three priority areas under the Secretary General's Global Education First Initiative (GEFI) begun in 2012 which then became incorporated as part of UNESCO's efforts after Incheon. The 8 documents chosen for analysis are situated within this history of consultation, global commitment and agreement. They are also themselves subject to input from a wide array of people and institutions as a look at the acknowledgement pages of the documents will show, including the rather general comment that UNESCO wishes to thank 'all the academic institutions, government bodies, civil society programme staff and young people' that have helped them form their understanding of Global Citizenship Education. It is not known how far this consultation was genuinely looking for input in constructing GCED or whether it was already conceptualised and consultation merely sought passive agreement, but nonetheless the documents analysed represent the input of a wide number of consultees and a long history of previous efforts and as such UNESCO's concept of global citizenship

education and its discourse is widely known.

5.4 Choice of Texts

The 8 documents analysed were predominantly advertised on the UNESCO-GCED and GEFI websites but also include the website found through the hyperlink for GCED on the GEFI page since this also focused on GCED. They have all been published by UNESCO. This is not to suggest that these are the only materials produced by UNESCO to advocate for global citizenship, they have also produced videos and infographics, but these other materials serve to support the key messages as laid out in the core documents selected. The choice of documents thus represent the main messages that UNESCO wish to communicate in their global efforts to establish global citizenship education. It is also not the case that UNESCO are the only organisation working to establish GCED. Taking the UK as one example of a member state, UNICEF advocate for Human Rights Education which is acknowledged as a basis for GCED within the documents studied and offer schools the chance to achieve the 'Rights Respecting Schools Award' (UNICEF UK, 2017). UNICEF Education also describe the GEFI initiative as a partner to UNICEF (UNICEF, 2017). Further the Global Learning Programme, funded by the UK's Department for International Development (DfID), advocates helping students develop the 'knowledge, skills and values they need to understand the world today and to make it more just and sustainable' and 'to understand global events and the way they are portrayed' (Think Global, 2017). Additionally, OXFAM GB also advocate for GCED and produce curriculum materials and guides (OXFAM GB, 2017). Whilst similarities with UNESCO's key messages may be found within

the materials of these organisations, because they are external to UNESCO they may not represent the messages as intended and their materials are therefore not the focus of this analysis. It is the key messages related to the role of values as presented by UNESCO who have 'been entrusted to lead the Global Education 2030 Agenda' (UNESCO, 2017c) which are of relevance in this study and of relevance to global efforts in education until 2030.

My focus on core materials that represent key messages is in line with the approach adopted by Biccum (2010) in her analysis of the DfID marketing campaign for Development Education. Whilst working at the national level rather than the global, she also recognised the vast nature of material available on her topic and focused her work specifically on the 'educational directives' in a 'random cross section' of Developments Magazine recognising that these represented the key messages and first steps in the marketing campaign (Biccum, 2010, p20).

The 8 documents selected are:

- 1st Global Capacity-Building Workshop on GCED, Final Report (UNESCO, 2016)
- Second UNESCO Forum on Global Citizenship Education: Final Report (UNESCO, 2015b)
- Global Citizenship Education: Preparing learners for the challenges of the twenty-first century (UNESCO, 2014)
- Global Education First Initiative: Priority #3 Foster Global Citizenship

Education (UNESCO, 2016b)

- Global Education First Initiative AN INITIATIVE OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY-GENERAL (UNESCO, n.d.)
- Outcome document of the Technical Consultation on Global Citizenship Education - Global Citizenship Education: An Emerging Perspective (UNESCO, 2013)
- Global Citizenship Education – Topics and Learning Objectives (UNESCO, 2015)
- The ABCs of Global Citizenship Education (UNESCO, n.d b)

There are four documents listed on the website that have not been included:

- The document 'Learning to Live Together - Education Policies and Realities in the Asia-Pacific' (UNESCO, 2014b) was not included because this focused on 'Learning to Live Together' as one of four pillars of education within UNESCO and only made passing reference to GCED to support its own messages. GCED was not the focus.
- The document 'Global Education First Initiative Using the Transformative Power of Education to Build a Better Future For All' (GEFI, 2014) was not included because it does not mention values.
- The paper entitled 'Education for 'global citizenship': a framework for discussion' Tawil (2013) was also not included. This document is intended as a discussion paper on the general area of GCED rather than reflecting UNESCO's view on how GCED should be done. It will be used instead to inform the wider discussion of GCED and not as a focus for analysis.

- The document titled 'Final Report - Global Youth Advocacy Workshop on GCED' (Asia Pacific Centre for International Understanding, 2015) was also not included. This document was published online on the ISSUU site and the publisher had chosen not to permit downloads from the site. I could not therefore put it through AntConc (Anthony, 2017) for analysis. I sent emails to the advertised GCED email in an effort to obtain a copy of a pdf or a printed copy that could then be scanned but no response was received.

The 8 documents chosen for analysis represent the official position of UNESCO on global citizenship education and will provide data to analyse the role of values within GCED.

5.5 Ethics and Copyright

5.5.1 Ethics

Ethics approval has been granted for this study. The data for this study is all available online and in the public domain. As such, it is not necessary to protect the anonymity of participants. This extends to photographs of people in the documents and put into this thesis. It is not possible to identify each person within the documents. Captions have not accompanied the photos which might name them. Occasionally, for one of the key speakers or contributors their photographs were included in the documents with a biographical note which could be used to identify people in workshop photographs but again this is all in the public domain and protecting the participants in this manner is

unnecessary. Further, UNESCO allow the use and copying of material for personal, non-commercial use and only ask that images be accompanied by an acknowledgement of the source and a citation of any URL (UNESCO, 2017e). Since the images reproduced in this thesis are within the documents they are not accompanied by any additional URL or authorship and are taken as being under the copyright of UNESCO.

Copies of the documents are stored on my personal computer's hard drive and backed up on a portable drive and in cloud storage. This is all password protected.

5.5.2 Copyright

The document 'Global Citizenship Education: Preparing learners for the challenges of the twenty-first century' displayed this statement: 'The ideas and opinions expressed in this publication are those of the authors; they are not necessarily those of UNESCO and do not commit the Organization'. I was concerned about this considering that the Dialectical Relational Approach allows the text to reflect institutional structure and social practices. However, in light of the fact that the document is published by UNESCO, that their logo is on it and that UNESCO own the copyright, I decided to treat the document as reflecting UNESCO in spite of the statement. This approach was also followed by Wickens and Sandlin (2007) who found similar disclaimer statements on UNESCO documents within their study on Literacy education but who still treated the content as reflective of UNESCO.

5.6 Steps of Analysis

I completed the analysis in 8 stages.

1. Each document was converted to a text file using AntFileConverter software (Anthony, 2017b). Each text file was then read visually alongside its pdf copy to check for any missing mentions of values that had not been picked up by the programme. This proved to be a necessary step because several mentions of values were missing due to the programme not converting words within graphic images to text.
2. Each file was then placed into AntConc software which allowed the concordance of the word 'values' to be searched. I am specifically analysing the position of 'values'. The word 'value' was also searched as a check to ensure nothing of note was missed. Where the word 'value' was used as a verb these were not included.
3. Each mention of the word 'values' was then viewed in its context within AntConc and the full sentence copied into Excel. Excel is often overlooked as a data analysis tool (Taylor-Powell and Renner, 2003) and is often associated with quantitative analysis although it has been highlighted as a useful tool in qualitative research (Meyer and Avery, 2009). The format of Excel allowed me to use its column based nature to keep the text in view while analysing for the themes in the analysis. It was appropriate at times to hide columns when they proved unnecessary while not deleting them in case they became useful later on in the analysis. Excel's nature enabled me to use a separate sheet for each document, both keeping the data discrete and allowing for comparison both within and across documents. Other computer packages were

considered for this research including Atlas.ti and NVivo, but these packages seemed to add unnecessary complexity into the process and because of my existing familiarity with Excel, I knew it would allow me to do what was needed. Janesick and Defelice (2015) state that Excel is an appropriate tool for making sense of text.

4. Analysis using Excel first included making general observations and notes on the context for each statement to ensure my interpretation of the use of the word 'values' was as accurate as possible. The File View function of AntConc was used to view each statement in-situ. A line-by-line or word-by-word approach to analysis was avoided in order not to over or under-size the units of analysis which could have resulted in misinterpretation of the data (Chenail, 2012). Each statement containing values was then analysed according to the themes of analysis (Appendix 1).
5. Since this is a multimodal analysis, each statement was then analysed in relation to its visual grammar (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006). The medium became important. 'Technology enters fundamentally into the semiotic process through the kinds of means it facilitates or favours and through differential access to the means of production and reception which it provides' (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006, p217). Each document has been viewed as a pdf. Initially, I viewed the documents on a single page view because this is how my pdf viewer is set by default. However, concerning information value, Kress and Van Leeuwen discuss the meaning potential of the left and right side of a document representing information which is considered 'given' and the right side

representing 'new' information. In light of the fact that these pdfs were originally created as paper versions, this means they would probably have been designed as a double page spread. Therefore each document was analysed visually first as a double page spread in order to interpret meaning as closely as possible to that intended by the authors, then further as a single page and then within the image where this affected the meaning of what was presented. This is a reflection on the way that the medium can influence meaning. Using technology mediates the viewing of documents – I could have left my pdf viewer in single page mode and potentially missed aspects of meaning intended by the authors – and it was important to be aware of this. Whole documents rather than only the sections mentioning values were analysed in order to ascertain instances where values may have been salient but not included concurrently with textual mentions. This in itself communicates something about how values are positioned. Where this is salient, it has been included in the analysis but otherwise it is the relationship between the values statements and their related visual grammar which is the focus.

6. Data for each theme was then copied into a table in Microsoft Word to enable a comparison of the same themes across documents. This also provided an additional check that the criteria within the themes had been consistently applied and resulted in an additional search of the literature to deepen understanding and ensure correct method.
7. Frequency analysis was completed on each theme to gain statistics to support the qualitative analysis. This was done in word by using the

search bar to search, for example, for the word 'values' which I could then see had items in relations of equivalence with it. Each item was listed and a tally chart created for the number of times an item appeared.

8. At each stage of analysis, the data was viewed alongside the original pdf documents to keep ensuring that nothing was taken out of context so that the data could be as accurately interpreted as I could make it. It is easy to disappear down the proverbial rabbit hole when in the midst of your data and I wished to avoid this.

5.7 Analytical Tools.

The analysis itself is conducted using two main analytical tools. These are Fairclough's concepts of Classification and Relationships of Equivalence and Difference (Fairclough, 2003). Each tool and its relevance to this research will be explained here before the following chapters present the analysis.

5.7.1 Classification

In analysing the names given to values, I am adopting Fairclough's notion of classification. 'Classification and categorisation shape how people think and act as social agents' (Fairclough, 2003, p88). What is explicitly named as a value will shape people's thoughts and actions around values. Via the DRA, this can reflect the social practices and social structure of UNESCO. In addition, as part of the set of possibilities for constructing meaning that a text offers, classification has the potential to influence how practitioners of GCED may understand the meaning of values within GCED and by implication the subjectivity of a global

citizen. Names of values include 'universal' and 'shared' as well as 'peace', 'tolerance', 'solidarity' and 'democratic' values. The explicit naming of values is distinguished from what UNESCO may consider valuable which could be ascertained through a high degree of subjective interpretation. For example the value of inclusion can be implied by the following statements: 'therefore, it is important to consult with learners'; 'Involving teachers and learners in the monitoring, evaluation and research can help understand the obstacles'; 'Participants stressed the importance of developing youth-led and youth-centred GCED strategies'. Inferring that UNESCO find inclusion valuable with any sense of rigour could perhaps be done with some confidence if I had a background in linguistics, but I do not. Therefore, to maintain a clear focus for analysis and to link explicitly to Fairclough's classification with a good degree of confidence, this research focuses on the word 'values' and its context.

Considering classification's potential for shaping people's thoughts and actions, the way values are named may reflect UNESCO's perhaps intentional control over the narrative around values. Naming an item 'closes its meaning' (Fairclough, 2015, p126). Closing the meaning of 'values' may contribute to standardising an approach to values which can give an appearance of unity – wherever values are discussed their meaning is clear (Fairclough, 2015). An appearance of unity may be a positive thing for improving communication but in classifying what values are, UNESCO are implicitly classifying what they are not. This may obscure some values which may be better suited to different cultural contexts in favour of UNESCO's standardised meaning of values. This does not allow for a response to values change, evidenced by the WVS (2016).

As discussed, the WVS (2016) states that 'emancipative values' such as choice, voice and autonomy (Welzel, 2013) are characteristic of 'western-world countries' with high levels of physical and economic security but countries without that security tend to prioritise 'survival values' such as 'deference to authority' and 'traditional family values' (WVS, 2016). Whilst the interaction between values and society is complex as has been discussed, it is plausible to consider that trying to educate for a particular set of values through GCED is not going to be met with acceptance everywhere, hence the need to take account of values change. For example, the value of equality when particularly related to sexual and gender diversity is possibly more of a challenge in countries that value traditional family values, especially considering that they also tend to have 'low levels of tolerance' (WVS, 2016). This complexity is perhaps why UNESCO focus on universal values which they conceptualise as based on a common humanity and therefore applicable everywhere but, as this research will show, this reduces values to a high level of abstraction which is ultimately counterproductive.

5.7.2 Relationships of Equivalence and Difference

The second concept adopted for the analysis is relationships of equivalence and difference. The significance of relations of equivalence and difference lie in their ability to fix meaning. When present in relations of equivalence, items become part of the set of possibilities for constructing meaning from texts (Fairclough, 2003). Equivalence is communicated semantically through 'additive relations' (Martin and Rose, 2007, p118) where items are considered to have equal status. This is shown through being positioned in lists (Morell and

Hewison 2013, Fairclough 2003) and use of the conjunction 'and' (Martin and Rose 2007, University Wisconsin Madison, 2017). Equivalence is further communicated through a consideration of dependency which considers whether one item in the sentence may be dependent on another. If they are independent, they are equivalent; one item does not 'need' another. Equivalence can be ascertained by considering whether the order of clauses can be reversed without changing the meaning or logic of the sentence (Martin and Rose, 2007). It may be grammatically possible to reverse the order but if doing so changes the meaning or logic of the sentence, then it is not equivalent.

Structuring values in relations of equivalence has the effect of reducing the difference between values and other items. Items are of 'equal status' (Matthiessen et al., 2010, p132). This introduces a tension into these relations because two items can be equivalent but this does not mean that they are the same. They are only made equivalent by subverting the difference between them (Lapping, 2008). Subverting the difference can have the effect of foregrounding what is common and, in an effort to find commonality between different groups and nations, can make that difference invisible (Khoja-Moolji, 2016). But making difference invisible denies difference and identity (Lowrie, 2007). Denying difference and identity means that the particular has been removed creating space for the universal to dominate.

Structuring values in relationships of difference also communicates meaning because UNESCO define what values are not. Lowrie (2007, p992) confirms that 'difference from other words (or symbols) defines the meaning of each

word'. Relations of difference can include putting values in contrast, in opposition to or as opposite to other things which highlights rather than reduces that difference (Fairclough 2003, Feldman 2004). By highlighting difference, the particular is foregrounded which could help to resist the dominance of the universal and give room to identity. Equivalence and difference separately can provide insight, but it is the texturing of equivalence and difference together through texts that can illustrate how meaning is fixed and what possibilities for constructing meaning are offered to social actors.

This is partly because texturing relations of equivalence and difference in texts has the effect of fixing meaning (Renner, 2013) which can contribute to 'new configurations of discourses' that can also 'produce changes in knowledge, social relations, and social identities' (Fairclough et al., 2002). Fixing meaning in the texts can produce changes in social life and, in light of the DRA, changes in the social practices and social structures of UNESCO. Texturing equivalence and difference are processes that contribute to establishing hegemony (Rice and Bond 2013, Torfing 2005 in Varró 2014) and seeking hegemony is a 'matter of seeking to universalise particular meanings in the service of achieving and maintaining dominance', classed as 'ideological work' (Fairclough, 2003, p58). Subsequently, the relations of equivalence and difference surrounding 'values' in the UNESCO texts have the potential to fix the meaning of values, contribute to the establishment of a hegemonic view of values and, considering values' influence as motivators and evaluators of action, potentially influence identities and social behaviour in line with UNESCO's view. Further, through the DRA, the texturing of relationships of equivalence and difference in texts may also

highlight UNESCO's institutional control of, representation of and commitment to values with subsequent implications for social justice. Additionally, the fixing of meaning also influences the set of possibilities (Fairclough, 2003) that are available to practitioners of GCED when constructing the meaning of global citizenship education. And in the words of Biccum, 'how the discourse is constructed informs the 'horizon of possibilities' of what can become' (Biccum, 2010, p16). If UNESCO have achieved success in fixing meaning such that identities are influenced in line with their own view, establishing a hegemonic view of values, this may support the view that UNESCO and GCED are a vehicle for the establishment of subjectivities which continue the dominance of western powers.

Chapter 6 Analysis and Discussion

The application of the analytical tools of the classification of values and relationships of equivalence and difference across the 8 UNESCO texts has resulted in the emergence of two main themes – the privileging of western dominance and barriers to the effectiveness of GCED. While the themes overlap in places, the presentation of the analysis is organised around these two themes.

The analysis resulting in the first theme which predominantly emerged from the analysis of classification, has shown that UNESCO exert a controlled narrative around values which serves to close the meaning of values to that which they

deem make a successful global citizen. This has the potential to influence the thoughts and actions of social agents with the apparent intention for UNESCO's influence to reach the social, political, religious and cultural areas of social life. A possible diversity and flexibility in values is acknowledged, yet denied or treated as passive in favour of the closed meaning. This privileges western dominance and UNESCO's view, treats other values and forms of global citizenship as inferior and influences the subjectivities of global citizens towards UNESCO's agenda.

The analysis resulting in the second theme, predominantly from the texturing of relationships of equivalence and difference, also demonstrates that UNESCO have fixed the meaning of values. In addition, these relationships show that values are treated as abstract and are subsequently disconnected from their social reality (Davies, 2006). In privileging equivalence, the focus is on what is common and what is particular is removed. This divorces values from context and privileges the universal. In so doing, values are emptied of meaning creating space for UNESCO's own meaning which is afforded authority. Fixing meaning further establishes UNESCO's dominance and exemplifies the barriers to the effectiveness of GCED previously discussed.

The analysis is presented under the two themes of privileging western dominance and barriers to effectiveness of GCED. The analysis of each theme is followed by a discussion which interprets the analysis in light of the theme. The arguments are then brought together in a chapter summary. This is then

discussed in relation to my research questions and social justice in the following chapter.

6.1 Theme 1 – Privileging Western Dominance

6.1.1 Classification of Values

Classification is analysed using two elements.

1. The naming of values. This includes:
 - a) Directly naming the value, for example ‘universal value’, ‘life value’ and
 - b) statements where specific examples are given, including ‘values such as....’, ‘values e.g....’, ‘values (*name in brackets*)’ and ‘values of...’
2. The ‘meaning system’ (Fairclough, 2015, p115). For example, the sentence ‘...values, attitudes and skills that promote mutual respect and peaceful coexistence’ has not named a value as such but is clearly oriented towards values of peace and respect. The value is not strictly classified, but is clearly signalled. This has been taken as a reinforcement of UNESCO’s position on values.

Names of values which were excluded from analysis were Olympic Values, Life Values and Ethical and Spiritual Values. This is because these were mentioned in relation to programmes or policies named by outside organisations and not by UNESCO. Whilst they may arguably still represent intention on the part of UNESCO to include them, they are not directly classified by UNESCO.

Any mentions of values in workshop daily schedules (UNESCO, 2014), lists of references, delegate information, lists of acronyms (e.g. OVEP), lists of key words (UNESCO, n.d, b) were also omitted since they do not form part of the discourse of values constructed by UNESCO.

6.1.1.1 Results – Classification

Directly Naming Values

A frequency analysis of the names of values across the 8 documents shows that out of 140 mentions of values, values were explicitly named 56 times at the following frequencies:

Name of value	Frequency of occurrence
shared	14
universal	16
Universally shared	1
Core	7
GCED	5
Appropriate	3
Sustainability	2
Democratic	2
Personal	2

Positive	1
New	1
Fundamental	1
Cultural	1

Table 6.1 Frequency analysis of named values

The most frequent named values are ‘shared’ and ‘universal’ values (I have treated ‘universally shared’ as synonymous). Both ‘shared’ and ‘universal’ suggest that they apply to everyone regardless of differences. The next most frequent is ‘core’ values. The word ‘core’ suggests both that values hold a central place within GCED and that there are a particular set of core values – with particularity reinforced by the implication that there are other values that are not part of UNESCO’s core values. The use of ‘appropriate’ values suggests that by contrast some values are inappropriate. In context within the documents, ‘appropriate values’ relates to the values of GCED implying that values outside of GCED are not appropriate and will not lead to success as a global citizen. For example, the clause ‘...enact appropriate skills, values, beliefs and attitudes’ appears in the action plans of participants at the GCED capacity building workshop (UNESCO, 2016, p90, p108). The clause appears in groups considering curriculum design and teacher training and as a ‘key learner attribute’ for those considered to be ‘ethically responsible and engaged’ global citizens (UNESCO, 2015, p29). These cover curriculum, teacher and learner who are all to act according to values deemed appropriate by UNESCO.

Examples of Values

Classification of values is further determined by analysing specific examples given and through considering the meaning system (Fariclough, 2015).

Specific examples are given in a further 20/140 instances. These include:

‘universal values such as justice, equality, dignity and respect’
(UNESCO, 2014, p9)

‘universal values such as justice, equality, dignity and respect’
(UNESCO, 2014, p17)

‘universal values such as justice, equality, dignity and respect’
(UNESCO, 2014, p27)

‘universal values (e.g. human rights and peace)’ (UNESCO, 2014, p20)

‘values of civic engagement and global citizenship’ (UNESCO, 2014,
p19)

‘key universal values (e.g., peace and human rights, diversity, justice,
democracy, caring, non-discrimination, tolerance)’ (UNESCO, 2013,
p4)

‘universal values (e.g., human rights and peace)’ (UNESCO, 2013, p4)

‘The values of peace, human rights, respect, cultural diversity and
justice’ (UNESCO, 2016b)

‘The values of peace, human rights, respect, cultural diversity and

justice' (UNESCO, n.d, p21)

'core values...namely non-discrimination, respect for diversity and solidarity for humanity' (UNESCO, 2013, Question 10)

'values of caring for others and the environment' (UNESCO, 2015, p24)

'common values (respect, tolerance and understanding, solidarity, empathy, caring, equality, inclusion, human dignity)' (UNESCO, 2015, p36)

'values... (respect, equality, caring, empathy, solidarity, tolerance, inclusion, communication, negotiation, managing and resolving conflict, accepting different perspectives, non-violence)' (UNESCO, 2015, p37)

'Values of care and respect for ourselves, others and our environment' (UNESCO, 2015, p39)

There are several values repeated in these statements. These include justice, equality, dignity, respect, peace, human rights and caring. There are several values considered universal. These include justice, equality, dignity, respect, human rights, peace, diversity, democracy, caring, non-discrimination and tolerance. Some of those repeated and those considered universal overlap which suggests the building of a specific narrative around values.

In addition to specific examples, the 'meaning system' allows the meaning of a word to be determined through its relationship with other words (Fairclough, 2015, p115). Values are not explicitly named, as they are in the examples

above, but their meaning can be derived from other words in a sentence. This accounts for a further 31 mentions of values. For example,

‘the values, knowledge and skills that reflect and instil respect for human rights, social justice, diversity, gender equality and environmental sustainability’ (UNESCO, 2016, p4)

In this example, the values themselves are not named but they play their part in the respecting of human rights, social justice, diversity, gender equality and environmental sustainability. Values are oriented towards these outcomes and appear to play an intrinsic part in their achievement. The meaning system allows us to decide that the meaning of ‘values’ is synonymous with those outcomes. Additionally, these outcomes are each named as values in the explicit naming of values above (I have treated ‘environmental sustainability’ as synonymous to ‘care for the environment’) and this further contributes to the building of the specific narrative of values.

Other examples, with the value underlined, include:

‘Education must be transformative and bring shared values to life. It must cultivate an active care for the world and for those with whom we share it’ (UNESCO, 2016b)

It must give people the understanding, skills and values they need to cooperate in resolving the interconnected challenges of the 21st century. (UNESCO, n.d, p20)

...knowledge, skills, values and attitudes that are necessary for building peaceful and sustainable societies, based on and promoting the universal principles of human rights (UNESCO, 2015b, p11)

to promote a more democratic environment, which takes a collective commitment to embrace the values that are at the heart of GCED (UNESCO, 2015b, p7)

values, soft skills and attitudes among learners that can facilitate international cooperation and promote social transformation (UNESCO, 2014, p9)

the relevance of knowledge, skills and values for the participation of citizens in, and their contribution to, dimensions of societal development (UNESCO, 2014, p15)

the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes to enable learners to contribute to a more inclusive, just and peaceful world (UNESCO, 2015, blurb)

Learners also develop the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes to care for others and the environment and to engage in civic action. These include compassion, empathy, collaboration, dialogue, social entrepreneurship and active participation (UNESCO, 2015, p24)

'The main role of the educator is to be a guide and facilitator, encouraging

learners to engage in critical inquiry and supporting the development of knowledge, skills, values and attitudes that promote positive personal and social change'. (UNESCO, 2015, p51)

These examples possibly expand the range of items considered values by UNESCO. The meaning system as an aspect of discourse allows these additional items (underlined) to be considered values (Fairclough, 2015). Further support is given for considering them as values by Schwartz (2006) who describes values as a desirable end state or mode of conduct. For example, 'positive personal and social change' can be considered desirable end states and thus values. In the examples above, there is repetition of values which were explicitly named previously. Some additional values are then also mentioned e.g. 'dialogue', 'participation' and 'contributing' but these can be seen as skills involved with 'civic engagement' which is previously explicitly named as a value. Moreover, 'collaboration', 'social entrepreneurship' and 'active participation' are mentioned, but these are intended to result in 'care for others and the environment' and engagement in civic action – which are also explicitly named values and thus reinforce these rather than adding additional values. Further, 'international cooperation' and 'social transformation' are mentioned but the explicit values of 'communication, negotiation, managing and resolving conflict, accepting different perspectives, non-violence' (UNESCO, 2015, p37) which are already named would facilitate these end states. Rather than being seen as expanding the range of values, additional values mentioned reinforce the naming of values and still build the specific narrative defined by UNESCO.

A multimodal analysis also adds insight into the classification of values. These photos illustrate the naming of values. 'Non-Violence', 'tolerance', 'human rights', 'democracy' and 'peace' are all examples of values given which remain within UNESCO's specific narrative. Analysis of the information value, salience and framing now follows.



Figure 6.1 Photos illustrating named values (UNESCO, 2016, p46 and p57)

In the first photo of figure 6.1 (UNESCO, 2016, p46), 'non-violence' is out of focus compared to the man. The value is in the foreground indicating high salience, but being out of focus subverts that as the eye is drawn to the man in focus, indicating the man is more important. This photo is also arranged in the document as a full page photo on the left hand side of a double page but since the right hand side is a title page for the next section, this placement has no meaning potential.

The second photo (UNESCO, 2016, p57) is taken from the larger version in figure 6.2 below. In this the value 'tolerance' is overlapped by fingers on both

hands suggesting the low salience afforded to this value. It is overlapped twice. In both the photos people are holding the value suggesting connection and that these values are understood as personal. Whilst the meaning of the value is still left vague and from a textual perspective the values are still abstract, it is possible that attendance at the workshop may have provided some personal context; however it is the textual meaning that is of interest here and the values are given low salience.



Figure 6.2 Position of named values on a double page (UNESCO, 2016, p57)

In the context of Figure 6.2 the photo naming tolerance is positioned on the right-hand side of a double page spread. On the left-hand side, represented as given according to information value, is a full page photo of a man in a position of authority – he is standing and has a microphone. On the right-hand side, representing new according to information value, is a collage of much smaller

photos all of women (bar one where this cannot be seen). It is inferred that it is a given that a man will stand in a position of authority but the entry of women is 'new'. Positioning the named values on the right-hand side also suggests these are new. The named values of 'tolerance' and 'justice' are in the smaller collage and are both overlapped by fingers suggesting low salience.

At this point I will take a moment of reflection. I confess a certain discomfort in reading images. The level of intention behind visual choices I am asked to attach feels at times a bit of a stretch. However, Tinkler (2013) quoting Bull (2010) notes that 'The power of a photograph, according to Barthes, is that it 'reproduces ideology while apparently showing what is merely obvious and natural' (Bull 2010: 36) ' (Tinkler, 2013, p27). Perhaps subconsciously I am so used to seeing these sorts of relationships, being from arguably the same dominant cultural paradigm as UNESCO, that I consider them obvious and natural rather than ideological. Sticking to the rules of the analytical tools will help here and so I continue.



Figure 6.3 Framing connects background and foreground in the image (UNESCO, 2016, p117)

In Figure 6.3 the framing in the form of the continuous line of the table takes the reader from the foreground to the background activity in the image. The reader is to notice the background activity and see this as connected and related to that in the foreground. The activities belong together, providing a sense of a larger workshop in progress and a greater hive of activity than just looking at the foreground alone. The writing in the foot states 'participants will create democratic and peaceful environments that promote human rights, peace education and GCED' suggesting that we are to think of the hive of activity as focusing on values and creating environments conducive to GCED.

In summary, the photos show that explicitly named values predominate and reinforce UNESCO's specific narrative around values. That values are included, rather than other aspects of GCED, communicates that they are seen as important. But values are in a position of low salience compared to other elements in the photos. This represents a hierarchy of salience, with values as important yet subverted. This may show that they have achieved a concrete position within GCED, but they are placed in a controlled position. They still exist within the narrative as named and defined by UNESCO.

A fuller analysis can be obtained by considering instances where values are mentioned but not named.

Values without Names

An additional 24 mentions of values are more ambiguous. They do not directly name values, they cannot be interpreted by the meaning system, yet they still concern the role of values within GCED. In analysing each of the remaining mentions of values, two further themes emerged. These are 'values situated

within GCED but left undefined' and 'a recognition of diversity in values'. This analysis shows that whilst flexibility in values and some openness to difference is acknowledged, it is denied reinforcing the closure of meaning. Analysis also shows that diversity in values is acknowledged but treated as passive, while the only values that can achieve progress are those within GCED, further reinforcing a specific narrative.

Values Situated Within GCED but Left Undefined

The following six statements mention values but do not name them:

'It is important that assessment goes beyond learners' knowledge of facts to also include assessment of skills, values and attitudes'.
(UNESCO, 2015, p56)

'The monitoring and measurement of GCE can also be implemented in different ways taking into consideration ...the outcomes (e.g. knowledge, values, attitudes, skills, impact on communities)' (UNESCO, 2014, p35)

'Learning outcomes describe the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes that learners can acquire and demonstrate as a result of global citizenship education' (UNESCO, 2015)

'Other issues to consider in the assessment and evaluation of global citizenship education learning outcomes include ... and outcomes (e.g. individual and group knowledge, skills, values and attitudes and achievements)' (UNESCO, 2015, p57)

'ongoing monitoring and assessment... outcomes (e.g. knowledge,

skills, values and attitudes, transformative effect' (UNESCO, 2015, p58)

These five statements sit within the sections of the documents dealing with the monitoring and assessment of GCED. As such it can be expected that the mentions of values relate to the particular values named within GCED. They are referring to GCED-specific values. In the statements, values are described as outcomes of GCED and there is a specific focus on assessing values. On the one hand, requiring that values be assessed as outcomes raises the status of values which is arguably a positive step. On the other hand, whilst these statements do not name particular values explicitly, they reinforce UNESCO's narrative around values because they are specific to GCED and since UNESCO assert a particular set of values to the exclusion of alternatives, this is reinforced. Further, focusing on them as an outcome of assessment potentially draws more attention to them reinforcing the narrative even further.

The sixth statement, whilst not related to assessment, further suggests a fixed set of values related to GCED:

'Young people are a driving force in promoting the values underlying global citizenship...' (UNESCO, 2014, p23)

According to Fairclough, use of the definite article ('the') is used to give significance to a noun, indicating something specific rather than general (Fairclough 2003). The use of the definite article in this statement further emphasises values specific to GCED.

The next four statements also still situate values within GCED:

'Tables B.1 to B.9 elaborate on each topic and learning objective,

providing more details about...the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes they are expected to develop at different stages of learning'. (UNESCO, 2015, p26)

'GCED in sum needs to be linked to...key pedagogical principles in transformative education for a culture of peace, such as holism, dialogue, values formation and critical empowerment'. (UNESCO, 2016, p58)

'The most challenging dimension to address among the three dimensions of global citizenship education is the socio-emotional dimension that has to do with the formation of attitudes and values'. (UNESCO, n.d b, Question 9)

'The complex and challenging nature of GCE should be seen as a strength rather than as a weakness, as it obliges those engaged in GCE to continuously re-examine perceptions, values, beliefs and world views'. (UNESCO, 2014, p18)

There is an implicit recognition in these statements that values can change and may exist in a state of flux. Values are to be 'formed', 'developed' and 'continuously re-examined'. This may exemplify literature which asserts that values are indeed changeable (WVS, 2016) and at first glance may suggest a flexibility regarding values rather than a fixed definition of them and a specific and controlled narrative. However, which values are expected to be developed and formed, and to what end are they to be continuously re-examined? As may be expected, all of these statements sit explicitly within the context of GCED

and this context points towards a specific set of values. None of the statements – across all the analysis so far - point towards alternative values or alternative ways of looking at values. Examining what is not there in discourse can be just as revealing as analysing what is. Rice and Bond (2013, p224) discussing Fairclough (2003) note that ‘what does not appear in the discourse is an important finding, for it shows possibilities that were not discursively articulated due to hegemonic processes’. For example, instead of being expected to develop or form a specific set of values, they could have been asked to critically reflect on the purpose of values, to specifically examine values opposing their own, to learn about other models of citizenship and the values underpinning those; or other types of values could have been espoused and presented as an alternative route to engaging with the global. For example, in addition to emancipative values already mentioned, Burmeister et al (2011) have argued that freedom is also a universal value. What engagement with freedom as a value could add to classroom conversations on global citizenship and the meaning of freedom is an interesting idea. Additionally, the World Values Survey has been in operation since 1981 which, as discussed, covers a wide range of values across 90% of the world’s population yet it is not once referred to by UNESCO. Instead, all the mentions of values are oriented towards UNESCO’s definition of values. This lack of inclusion of alternative values in the texts has the effect of increasing the dominance of one view which is a hegemonic process. A possible flexibility in values is implicitly acknowledged, yet denied in favour of one view.

Recognition of Diversity in Values

However, there are further mentions of values in the documents that do not appear to fit this narrative. For example

‘Training to promote...pedagogic practices that...recognize cultural norms, national policies and international frameworks that impact on the formation of values’

and ‘values formation’ (UNESCO, 2014, p22)

This recognises that there are influences on values outside the institution - culture and national policy - that could introduce diversity into values. This illustrates the complex interplay between values and society, discussed previously.

From a multimodal perspective, the linguistic text is ‘elaborated in’ a diagram (Figure 6.7) which states a consensus of universal values as part of values formation.

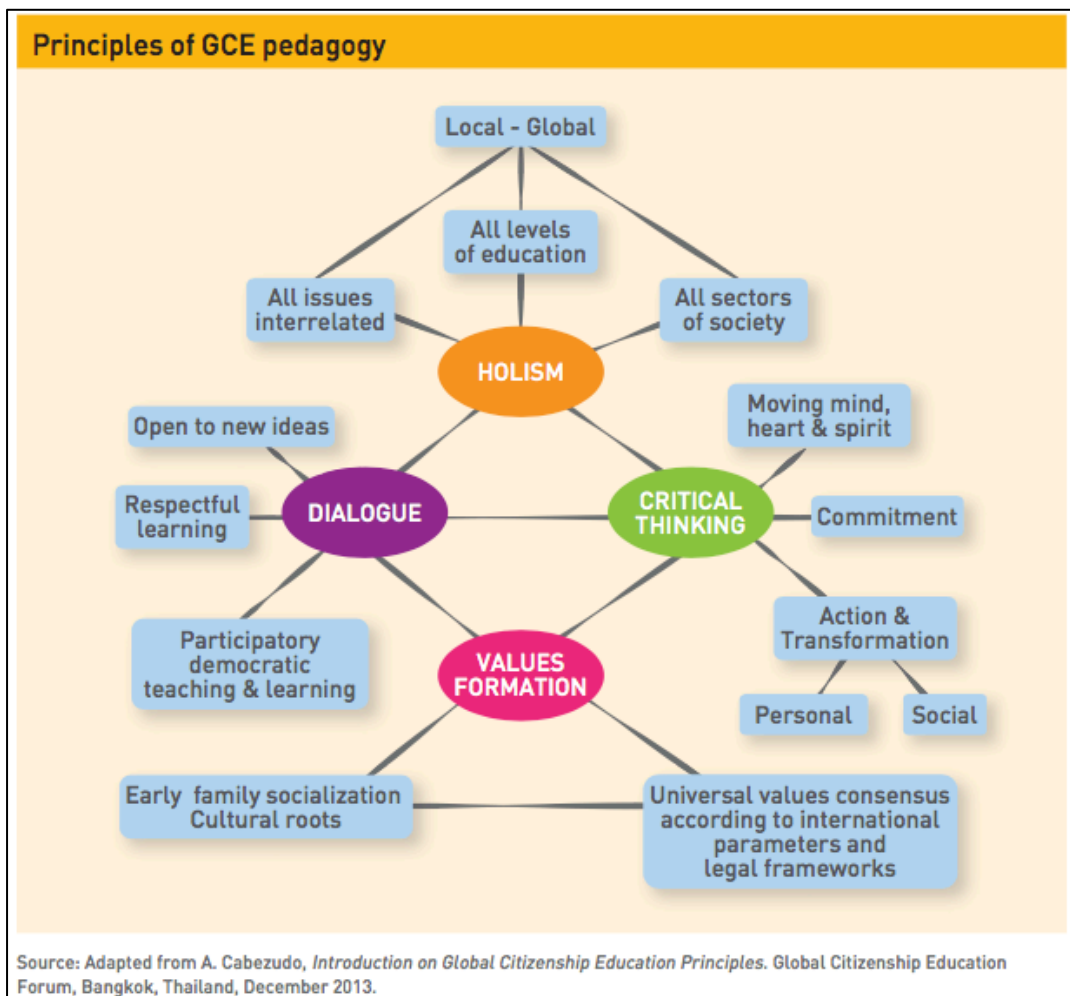


Figure 6.4 'Values' represented visually elaborating the written text (UNESCO, 2014, p22)

This consensus on universal values is to draw on 'international parameters and legal frameworks'. Arguably, these frameworks may refer to the Dakar framework for action and the Incheon Declaration to name but two which have been coordinated by UNESCO and the international parameters may also refer to their apparently wide acceptance by UNESCO member states, thus reinforcing UNESCO's view of universal values as the basis of consensus. Not only does the 'universal' nature of the values remove values from context and deny difference, but Lowrie (2007) states that reaching a consensus denies

difference and identity as well. This also denies cultural values change revealed in practice by the World Values Survey and abstracts values from reality. This would seem to counter UNESCO's previous acknowledgement of the outside influence of culture and national policy on values. But taking Kress and Van Leeuwen's (2006) notion of information value, particularly centre and margin, values formation is placed as a central element which appears based equally upon universal values consensus and both family and cultural influences ('early family socialisation and cultural roots') which would introduce difference – the blue boxes are connected by a line and placed at the same level in the document, communicating equal importance. Difference is at the same time subverted and highlighted.

It is necessary to draw on further resources to assist in interpreting this tension. A closer analysis of 'early family socialisation and cultural roots' will help. This phrase appears in the diagram but not in the accompanying text. Since the visual can carry greater persuasion than the linguistic, diversity may carry the greater weight. Analysing a possible diversity in values in other parts of the documents though adds further insights.

There is recognition of additional influences that could introduce diversity into values.

'Information and knowledge can be acquired through classroom learning, but values, belief systems and attitudes are formed through accumulated experiences and socialization processes.' (UNESCO, n.d b, Question 9)

'They understand how beliefs and values inform social and political

decision-making at local, national, regional and global levels, and the challenges for governance of contrasting and conflicting beliefs and values' (UNESCO, 2015, p24)

'Global citizenship education aims to enable learners to: ...recognise and examine beliefs and values and how they influence political and social decision-making, perceptions about social justice and civic engagement' (UNESCO, 2015, p16)

'Learners develop an understanding of...how beliefs and values influence people's views about those who are different' (UNESCO, 2015, p24)

'Learners explore their own beliefs and values and those of others'. (UNESCO, 2015, p24)

'Different perspectives about social justice and ethical responsibility in different parts of the world, and the beliefs, values and factors that influence them' (UNESCO, 2015, p39)

These statements indicate that values can form but also be formed by factors outside of GCED, once more illustrating the complex interplay between society and values. Values can inform views, social and political decision making, perspectives; values are formed by national policy, international legal frameworks, experience, socialisation and the family. Values can contrast and conflict, be different in different parts of the world (confirmed in practice by the World Values Survey) and a learner's own values may be different to those around them. There is a recognition here that values may be diverse. Plus the

only statement above which uses the definite article to signal a particular set of values is the last one, suggesting that the other statements do indeed refer to values in general rather than a specific set of values. The last statement, whilst signalling a certain set of values through the use of 'the' (Fairclough, 2003), also places this in the context of values that influence 'different perspectives' suggesting those that may lie outside of GCED.

A recognition of diversity in values appears to reduce the specificity of the narrative and the subsequent closure of the meaning of values by UNESCO. However, this sense of diverse values occurs when learners are looking to the world as it is. They recognise, examine, understand and explore personally. They are largely an observer of the world and arguably passive. When the learner is required to act – to 'participate', 'engage', 'contribute', 'demonstrate' and 'take an active care for the world' – then the values are named, the meaning closed. Thus while diversity in values 'out there' in the world may be recognised, when the learner is required to act they are to do so with the values of GCED as defined by UNESCO. The values of GCED are seen as the only ones that can substantively make the difference and build societies towards peace and sustainability. Diversity in values is acknowledged but treated as passive, whilst the values of GCED are the only ones that can achieve progress. This further reinforces the dominant position of UNESCO's narrative around values. Diversity is acknowledged, but passive. Diversity of values is seen as a challenge and a source of conflict, particularly for governance, whilst the values of GCED are positioned as the answer.

On balance with the visual, the pacifying of diversity would appear to be the most persuasive interpretation. This judgement is an intuitive judgement made

by weighing the balance between the linguistic and visual. As Kress and Van Leeuwen state, for visual compositions the relative salience as judged by the viewer 'is not objectively measurable, but results from complex interaction, a complex trading-off relationship between a number of factors (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006, p203). I have considered the relationship between the visual and linguistic.

6.1.1.2 Discussion of Classification

This discussion will draw together the main points of the analysis and examine them in light of the theme of western dominance. Analysis of the classification of named values showed that UNESCO assert a specific narrative around values. While values have a definite presence within GCED (albeit one which may be subverted as shown by their low salience and treatment as 'new' in the multimodal analysis) this presence consists of a particular set of values. These are universal and shared, applying to all people everywhere on the basis of a common humanity. Flexibility in values is recognised yet denied in favour of UNESCO's narrative. Influences that could introduce diversity into values is also acknowledged, yet treated as passive. These results further reinforce UNESCO's narrative and close the meaning of values still further. UNESCO also define what make 'appropriate' values. Drawing a boundary which indicates what is appropriate and not has the effect of policing what constitutes legitimate forms of global citizenship. To be a successful global citizen you must enact the values of GCED. This sends an implicit message that anything outside of this is deemed unsuccessful. UNESCO are defining what makes acceptable

citizenship in the global space. In so doing, they implicitly class any other forms of citizenship which may be based on different values as inferior. This contributes to closing the meaning of values which will influence how people think and act as social agents (Fairclough, 2003). As such, global citizens are confirmed in UNESCO's image. This supports Tully's (2014) notion that UNESCO's GCED is a model of top-down global citizenship which privileges western ideals and can be seen as a vehicle for the furtherance of western dominance around the globe.

Analysis of the classification of values has also highlighted that UNESCO's universal values are abstract notions that have been left undefined. Biccum (2010) describes the use of vague language as a key tactic of those in power since it enables them to ascribe meaning which serves their own agenda and influence subjectivities in directions that suit them. The vague nature of universal values is illustrated by considering the various ways each could be interpreted. There are several ways of considering 'justice' for example (Smith, 2012) and 'equality' can mean variously equal access to resources or equality of opportunity, to name but two. An absence of definitions can signal that meanings are assumed and considered to be common sense. As Martin and Rose state 'Definitions are a sure sign that we are moving from common sense into uncommon sense knowledge' (Martin and Rose, 2007, p35). Since definitions of values are not given and meaning is assumed, UNESCO arguably consider these values to be common sense. Common sense tends not to be questioned and is another vehicle for the agenda of the powerful (Apple, 1999). It is not that these values as named are somehow bad or antisocial, moving towards more peaceful societies is normatively considered a common good, but

that they provide a very particular set of values which are required to be exhibited if one is to be deemed a successful global citizen. Assumptions of a common sense understanding of a specific set of named values contributes to the closure of meaning and the control of a narrative around values. This is used by UNESCO to further their own meaning and again furthers the dominance of western ideals. Additionally, in the documents UNESCO state that values are intended to be applied to all of cultural, social, political and religious dimensions of life (UNESCO 2013, UNESCO 2014) and are important for winning the mind space and changing the mind set of teachers and students. As stated earlier in this thesis, the DRA enables the reflection that with these representing the intentional choices of UNESCO, this is also reflective of social practices and institutional structure within UNESCO, plausibly inferring that staff within the institution are also to adopt an 'acceptable' mind-set and due to the nature of values also evaluate other's actions in this vein. In addition, as part of the set of possibilities for constructing meaning that a text offers, classification has the potential to influence how practitioners of GCED may understand the meaning of values within GCED. With one specific set of values in mind as those which are acceptable and denying other values, influencing the mind and multiple dimensions of life speaks to influencing the very identity of participants in one particular direction and signals the relevance of Fairclough's assertion that 'Classification and categorisation shape how people think and act as social agents' (Fairclough, 2003, p88).

In summary, the texts exhibit a closure of meaning around values revealing a controlled narrative by UNESCO. This is shown by a repeated set of named

values which must be enacted to be a successful global citizen. Whilst flexibility in values is acknowledged, it is denied. Whilst a wider diversity of values is acknowledged it is treated as passive, while the only values that can contribute to progress are those named within GCED. This contributes to a 'standardised approach to values' (Fairclough, 2003, p88), constructing identities in a particular direction. This direction serves the interests of UNESCO by defining what makes an appropriate or successful global citizen, with implications for deciding who is and who is not. This casts other conceptions of values and global citizenship as inferior. This represents a hegemonic narrative within the UNESCO texts which will potentially shape the way people think and act as social agents (Fairclough, 2003). This supports Tully's (2014) conception of top-down global citizenship and serves to continue the dominance of western ideals around the globe.

6.2 Theme 2 – Barriers to the Effectiveness of GCED

6.2.1 Relationships of Equivalence and Difference

An additional tool for analysing the meaning of values lies with relationships of equivalence and difference. As stated, equivalence is determined by additive relations which show whether items are of equal status shown through being positioned in lists and use of the conjunction 'and'. Dependency also communicates equivalence and considers whether the order of clauses can be reversed without changing the meaning or logic of the sentence. Relationships of difference include putting values in contrast, in opposition or as opposite to

other things. As stated, texturing equivalence and difference are processes that contribute to establishing hegemony (Rice and Bond 2013, Torfing 2005 in Varró 2014) and seeking hegemony is a 'matter of seeking to universalise particular meanings in the service of achieving and maintaining dominance', classed as 'ideological work' (Fairclough, 2003, p58).

Out of 128 sentences that structure 'values' with other items, values are placed in relationships of equivalence 100 times. Values are placed in relationships of difference 11 times. Remaining statements that mention values either do not meet the criteria for assessing equivalence and difference or values are mentioned alone. These statements do not contribute to the texturing of equivalence and difference that fixes the meaning of values with its subsequent implications for social identities, institutional structure and social justice. They have been omitted from the analysis.

Any mentions of values in workshop daily schedules (UNESCO, 2014), lists of references, delegate information, lists of acronyms (e.g. OVEP), lists of key words (UNESCO, n.d b) or as the names of programmes (e.g. 'Inter-American Program on Education for Democratic Values and Practices' (UNESCO, 2014, p32); 'Olympic Values Education Programme' (UNESCO, 2014, p30)) were not included because these do not represent the discourse used by UNESCO when considering the position of values within GCED.

Mentions of values in blurbs within three of the documents (UNESCO 2014, UNESCO 2015, UNESCO 2016) were included. Blurbs have been used in discourse analysis – Gea Valor (2005) recognises that blurbs can be informational. The statements included from the UNESCO blurbs give

information about GCED. The statements used are also repeated in the documents themselves and therefore represent a repeated mention of the same statement. Since discourse reflects the intentional choices of authors, it is as important to consider what is included in blurbs as it is in the rest of a text.

A difficult choice to make has concerned the voices external to UNESCO included in the text. It has been decided that external voices will be included as representative of the intentions of UNESCO when constructing discourse. UNESCO have included external voices in the texts by referring to outside organisations such as the Olympic Values Education Programme, Education for Employment, and the Inter American Programme on Democratic Values. In some cases, UNESCO have written a description of the organisation's influence. The voice has been included because UNESCO have structured the discourse in their description. For example

‘Since 2005, the International Olympic Committee has initiated the Olympic Values Education Programme (OVEP), which uses sport for values-based learning and mainstreaming education on and off the field of play, both in the classroom and in life’. (UNESCO, 2014, p30)

UNESCO have constructed the discourse concerning the OVEP. Other cases are not so clear. In the example of the organisation ‘Education for Employment’ (EFE) the document contains a direct quote from the Director, which is not constructed by UNESCO:

‘competition that stimulates, cooperation that strengthens, and solidarity that unites. If you take these three values and bring them together at the

individual level you have global citizenship education' (UNESCO, 2014, p19).

But this is not straightforward. On the one hand, it is a direct quote from EFE, which is discourse as structured by their director and not UNESCO. On the other hand, this director is an invited speaker suggesting UNESCO consider him authoritative and have arguably chosen to include this quote, implicitly suggesting agreement with this discourse. The second point has proven persuasive due to the DRA which posits that choices in constructing discourse are intentional and reflective of social practices and structure of the organisation. External voices will be included in the analysis of values. External voices also signal dialogicality in the text (Fairclough, 2003) which opens the text up to possible alternative conceptions of values, indicating that UNESCO may be open to plurality of values and could decrease a potential hegemony of one view.

6.2.1.1 Results - Relationships of Equivalence

Analysis was conducted by considering additive relations (which include mentions of 'values' in lists, using the conjunction 'and') and by considering dependency (Fairclough 2003, Martin and Rose 2007, Morell and Hewison 2013, University Wisconsin Madison 2017).

Analysis has shown that Equivalence can be considered under two themes: 'Reducing Difference and Privileging Commonality' and 'Being Disconnected from Social Reality'.

Overall, across the 100 statements that placed 'values' in relations of equivalence with other items in the texts, a frequency analysis of equivalence revealed that there are 45 items structured as equivalent to values. In order of frequency from left to right, these are:

Attitudes, skills (Including soft, communication, social and emotional), knowledge, behaviour, beliefs and belief systems, views, acceptance of universal human rights, principles (including of communication), ideas, goals, competencies, identities, diversity of people, culture, ways of life, critical thinking (including critical empowerment), factors, perceptions, world views, ethics, transformation, respect, responsibilities, teamwork, achievements, impact on community, sharing, dialogue, equality, sustainable development, awareness of living together, practical capacities, common humanity, social context (including structure, cohesion), role of young people/support for youth, global issues, global identity, practices, emerging issues, spirit, holism, nation building, willingness to help others, mainstreaming education, interests

Figure 6.5 List of items in equivalence with Values in order of frequency

Equivalence will now be analysed under the two themes.

Theme 1 - Reducing Difference and Privileging Commonality

Analysis has shown that the most common items in relations of equivalence with values are skills, attitudes and knowledge. What skills, attitudes, or knowledge are required is left undefined. Their meaning is left vague. In fact, with the possible exception of the acceptance of universal human rights whose details are enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations, 1948), all of these items in the above box are arguably vague in meaning.

Placing values in relations of equivalence has the effect of reducing difference between values and other items. Placing values in relations of equivalence with so many different items dilutes that difference even more to the point of eliminating difference almost completely, arguably leaving nothing unique about values – reducing the difference between values and skills is one thing, reducing difference even further by also claiming it equivalent to attitudes, competencies, goals and social context etc. further removes values' uniqueness. It is like describing a chocolate cake in terms of the ingredients it has borrowed from other cakes. Eventually, the borrowing would happen to such a degree that there would be nothing that inherently belongs to the chocolate cake, it is merely a collection of other things. Such a reduction of difference suggests that equivalence has been privileged to the extent that difference is almost completely gone (Lapping, 2008, p75). Without uniqueness, values can be applied regardless of context.

Applying values in any context can be illustrated with this example:

'In conflict and in post-conflict settings, GCE can support nation-building, social cohesion and positive values in children and youth.' (UNESCO, 2014, p16)

Notwithstanding the controversial and contested nature of nation building which has been seen as a vehicle for states to pursue national self-interest rather than a genuine desire to assist nations to build competent self-governance (Shrimpton and Smith, 2011), values are linked to the national and social. The relationship of equivalence between 'nation building, social cohesion and

positive values' arguably raises the status of values, placing them as an equal factor to be considered in conflict and post conflict reconstruction. In addition to being linked to the national and social, elsewhere in the documents, universal values are structured as equivalent to both local context and global issues. Placing values as equal in status to the global, national, social and local reduces the difference between them and assists in instantiating the universal nature of values, applied everywhere.

However, UNESCO does recognise difference in the influence of national policies, cultural norms and values – these are not ignored - and assert that this should be considered within GCED for GCED to be effective:

'...training on participatory and transformative pedagogical practices that...recognize cultural norms, national policies and international frameworks that impact on the formation of values; (UNESCO, 2014, p22)

The work here is simply to recognise the impact, not to challenge it or critique it. UNESCO then go on to say that it is the 'core values of global citizenship education' that should be placed within education policy, suggesting that whilst the aforementioned difference is recognised, it is the core values that should be emphasised and by implication impact on the formation of values

'While the modality of delivery may not be a major issue, the core values of global citizenship education must be reflected in and supported by

education policy and the curriculum in order to deliver global citizenship education effectively'. (UNESCO, n.d b, Question 10)

This privileges commonality over a recognition of difference and can be seen as a way of minimising or avoiding the national and local complexities associated with values in favour of a universal view.

Theme 2 - Disconnected from Social Reality

Privileging commonality and the universal can offer an appearance of unity, reinforced further by the abstract nature of the majority of the 45 equivalent items in the box above. Laclau and Mouffe (2001) describe abstract entities as having a surface level appearance of unity but this disconnects them from their underlying reality in society. For example, 'Belief Systems' as an abstract item does not acknowledge the reality of working out how to achieve harmonious interactions between different religious groups. Values as an abstract item does not acknowledge the challenges of dealing with conflicting values. Values become disconnected from their social reality.

There is an indication that UNESCO acknowledge a disconnection between universal values and the reality of their implementation in social practice, but view it as largely a problem with policy:

'During the Forum, it was acknowledged that often there is a gap between teacher policies and practice. This is due to the lack of conceptual clarity in policy formulation, lack of coherence in policy

implementation and lack of appropriate support for teachers’.

(UNESCO, 2015b, p7)

However, considering the following statement

‘While the modality of delivery may not be a major issue, the core values of global citizenship education must be reflected in and supported by education policy and the curriculum in order to deliver global citizenship education effectively’. (UNESCO, n.d b, Question 10)

UNESCO’s answer to this disconnect is more values. But in values’ abstract state this will not solve the problem but merely contribute to it further because they are disconnected from social reality. It would be difficult for values to motivate and evaluate action within real life If they are abstracted from that life.

An implication of the abstract nature of values and their disconnection from social reality concerns whether values can in fact achieve the purposes (or motivate and evaluate action towards them) within GCED that they have been set. These purposes are:

- To ‘resolve interconnected challenges of the 21st century and establish peaceful and sustainable societies’ (UNESCO, 2015b, p10, p11),
- To ‘secure a just and sustainable world’ (UNESCO, 2014, p7),
- To ‘secure a world which is more just, peaceful, tolerant, inclusive, secure and sustainable’ (UNESCO, 2014, p9)

- To 'facilitate international cooperation and promote social transformation' (UNESCO, 2014, p9)
- To 'build a more just, peaceful and sustainable world' (UNESCO, 2014, blurb)
- To 'promote social transformation and build cooperation between nations' (UNESCO, 2014, blurb)
- To 'contribute to a more inclusive, just and peaceful world' (UNESCO, 2015, p15)
- To 'live together peacefully' (UNESCO, 2015, p37).

Values are to contribute to achieving peace, sustainability, justice, tolerance, inclusion and security on a global scale. Values are also to contribute to enabling resolution of challenge, facilitating international cooperation and achieving a measure of social transformation. The use of verbs, as underlined, positions values as active, not passive – they are expected to have an effect and achieve. Yet these purposes are themselves abstract. They are 'vague yet powerful social ideals that cannot be clearly defined but are normatively charged'(Laclau and Mouffe in Renner, 2013, p267).

6.2.1.2 Results - Relationships of Difference

Having analysed relationships of equivalence, analysis now turns to relationships of difference. Relationships of difference can include putting values in contrast, in opposition or as opposite to other things which, in contrast to relations of equivalence, highlights rather than reduces that difference (Fairclough 2003, Feldman 2004).

Analysis of relationships of difference throughout the texts position values as doing something 'new'. In so doing, UNESCO imply that any prior conception of values is old suggesting they are not fit for modern times. This leaves values open for a new definition. This creates space for UNESCO to ascribe their own meaning to values. Relations of difference create this space in three ways: by implicitly contrasting with an 'old' education, placing values in opposition to cognitive skills and situating values as the solution to unresolved global challenges such as school violence. In so doing, values prior to GCED are positioned as invisible, outdated and their lack as the cause of global problems. Whilst values in relations of difference are given authority, they do not challenge the privileged commonality of equivalence and serve instead to reinforce it.

A 'new' Education (Values as outdated)

Values are placed in a relationship of difference to what UNESCO imply is the old way of doing education. UNESCO Director-General, Irina Bokova, states:

'GCED is increasingly important in today's world. "We need new skills for new times – to foster greater respect and understanding between cultures, to give learners tools to make the most of diversity, to develop new values and behaviours of solidarity and responsibility, to harness the energy of young women and men for the benefit of all" (UNESCO, 2015b, p5)

Stating that the world is in 'new times' which require 'new values' positions GCED and values as something new implicitly in contrast with something 'old'. This positions GCED and its values in a relationship of difference to 'old' styles of education and creates space for UNESCO to define what is needed for these new times. There is space for UNESCO to ascribe their own meaning to 'values'.

From a multimodal perspective, UNESCO provide further emphasis through the positioning of this quote in a box. Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) consider this an element of framing, giving the quote salience. The eye is drawn to the box and the quote is in italics, adding additional emphasis. So not only do UNESCO pave the way for something new through contrasting it with the old through relationships of difference, they add importance to the message through use of visual grammar (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006).

Knowledge and Cognitive Skills (Values as invisible)

In addition to being placed in relationships of difference to an 'old' education, Values are further placed in relationships of difference to knowledge, reading, writing, counting and cognitive skills:

'It [GCED] also acknowledges that education has a role to play in moving beyond simply developing cognitive skills – i.e. reading, writing and mathematics – towards building learners' values, social and emotional skills that can promote social transformation and build cooperation between nations'. (UNESCO, 2014, blurb)

'It is not enough for education to produce individuals who can read, write and count. Education must be transformative and bring shared values to life' (UNESCO 2016b and UNESCO, n.d, p20)

'Against this background [of global challenges], the goal of education moves beyond mere transmission of knowledge towards development of non-cognitive skills (e.g. tolerance, respect, and empathy), which are necessary to build core values, soft skills and attitudes amongst leaders who can, in turn, facilitate international cooperation and social transformation'. (UNESCO, 2016, p8)

'It [GCED] also acknowledges the role of education in moving beyond the development of knowledge and cognitive skills to build values, soft skills and attitudes among learners that can facilitate international cooperation and promote social transformation. (UNESCO, 2014, p9)

The role of education is moving beyond the development of knowledge and cognitive skills to the building of values, soft skills and attitudes among learners. (UNESCO, 2014, p11)

In moving beyond transmission of knowledge and cognitive skills UNESCO implicitly position them as part of the old education. GCED has new goals - the development of values, soft skills and attitudes for the purposes of international cooperation and social transformation. This does not suggest that cognitive skills and knowledge are not to be included in current education, but they are not enough.

Values are only mentioned as part of the new educational goals. At no point are values mentioned as part of the old education even though values, in particular those stemming from Human Rights, have formed part of UNESCO's educational efforts for decades. Values are rendered invisible. This arguably represents a denial of values, further allowing UNESCO to position values as new and ascribe their own meaning – there is, after all, apparently no prior or alternative meaning of values to contend with.

Values as the Answer to Global Challenges

In addition to situating values as part of a 'new' education and rendering values invisible, values are situated as the solution to global challenges so far unresolved. This implies that values can achieve resolution where previous attempts have failed, additionally suggesting something 'new' will occur.

For example, values are implied as an answer to school violence:

The values of peace, human rights, respect, cultural diversity and justice are often not embodied in the ethos of schools. Instead of empowering students to learn and thrive, schools often replicate social inequalities and reinforce social pathologies by tolerating bullying and gender-based violence and subjecting children to physical and psychological punishment. (UNESCO, n.d, p21)

The statement implies that an absence of values in a school's ethos bears some responsibility for the occurrence of school violence. Bullying, physical and psychological harm are all aspects of school violence, described as a 'global problem' which impacts upon educational outcomes, quality, and the physical, emotional and mental health of pupils (UNESCO, 2017b). Values are implicitly linked to empowerment and thriving, which are the opposite of school violence, and are posited as a solution to this global challenge. This is the only relation of difference where values are explicitly named, leaving no doubt about what is meant by values and what UNESCO consider can solve the problem of school violence. The meaning of values here is not left vague but illustrates that these particular values, defined by UNESCO, are the ones that will bring the solution. Additionally, values in this statement are not placed in equivalence with any other items, adding further emphasis to the suggestion that it is values alone that are the answer.

A Multimodal Perspective

Relations of equivalence and difference can also be shown from a multimodal perspective.

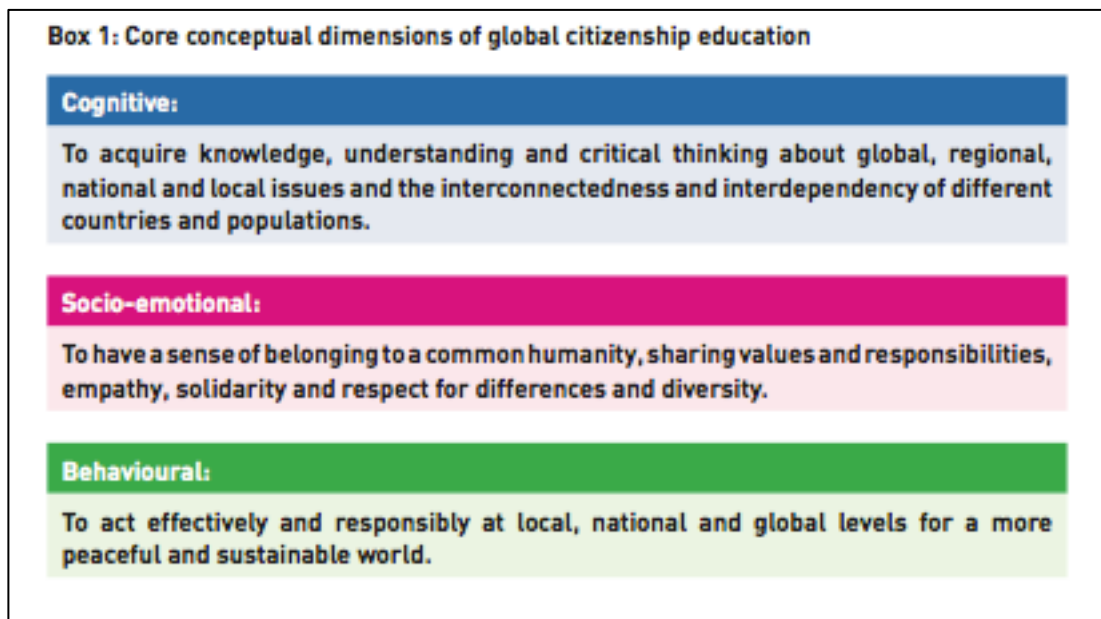


Figure 6.6 Framing devices contribute to relationships of equivalence and difference (UNESCO, 2015, p15)

Placing elements in a box, as in figure 6.6, frames them as standing out from the text and this will draw the eye. The use of colours additionally helps to draw the eye distracting from a linear reading of the text and contributing to scan reading, taking in the salience of this image first and not reading the detail of the text (Lazard and Atkinson 2015, Kress and Van Leeuwen 2006). 'Values' is mentioned once as part of the socio-emotional dimension. That the dimensions have been separated out makes these elements into discrete units potentially obscuring links between them which may be useful for professional practice (Ledin and Machin, 2015). This sets up a relation of difference between values and other dimensions of learning suggesting that values do not have a place in cognitive or behavioural learning of global citizenship. They are purely to be understood in the social and emotional domains. Further, considering

information value, the image is placed on the left-hand side of a double page spread indicating that this is communicated as a given, an unquestioned norm. This denies possible fruitful links and adds legitimacy to UNESCO's narrative making it resistant to challenge (Ledin and Machin, 2015). For example, placing values in the cognitive domain could assist in resisting the top-down model of global citizenship (Khondker, 2013) and create space for a critical reflection on motivations and actions as global citizens. This link is recognised on the next page as linguistically, values are placed with critical analysis suggesting some flexibility in UNESCO's view. However, this is subsumed by the visual. With the visual carrying more persuasive impact than language (Lazard and Atkinson, 2015) and with the added emphasis of colour in the left-hand image, the overall impression due to the visual grammar is that UNESCO's narrative has legitimacy and authority and values are reified from possible fruitful links, potentially reducing the effectiveness of GCED. Additionally, the use of colour forms a connective device between sections of text. The colours in this image for the domains of learning represent a theme through the document (UNESCO, 2015) which provides a link for the reader, further communicating UNESCO's control of the narrative and the separating of values from other domains of learning.

6.2.1.3 Discussion of Relationships of Equivalence and Difference

This discussion will draw together the main points of the analysis and examine them in light of the theme of barriers to the effectiveness of global citizenship education. The barriers are firstly that values act as social regulators of action such that people serve power. Secondly, universal values are abstract, denying

the need to take account of local context and divorcing them from social reality. And thirdly, values are volatile and changing which undermines the sustained motivation necessary to achieve the aims of GCED.

Analysis showed that values are placed in relations of equivalence with many other items, effectively diluting difference to the degree where there is almost nothing unique about values. In leaving nothing unique about values they have been emptied of meaning. This has created space for UNESCO to fill 'values' with their own meaning. Analysis of relationships of difference has reinforced this. UNESCO position their universal values as 'new' and prior values are outdated and invisible. Through creating space for something new and emptying values of meaning, UNESCO have created a conception of values that can be applied in any context, creating space for values to be considered universal. Not only does this structuring of relationships of equivalence and difference provide further evidence for the controlled nature of UNESCO's narrative around values and the furthering of western dominance discussed above in theme 1, but it also exemplifies the first barrier to the effectiveness of GCED. As discussed earlier in this thesis, values act as social regulators of people's actions such that they serve the agenda of the powerful. In this case, having defined a particular set of universal values, people are potentially socialised to act in ways which serve UNESCO's agenda. This then furthers western dominance even more and carries the accusation of attempting to citizenise those not considered as meeting UNESCO's 'standards', a criticism of top-down global citizenship. GCED becomes not a vehicle for mutual human

wellbeing as espoused, but one for the continued dominance of western powers through the social regulation of action.

The second barrier (universal values are abstract, denying the need to take account of local context and divorcing them from social reality) is exemplified through analysis that showed the privileging of commonality. Reducing difference almost completely and making values universal privileges commonality at the expense of difference. UNESCO may possibly desire to 'discover commonality' as a way to move forwards in their global work in the face of complex differences between cultures and nations (Khoja-Moolji, 2016, p761). However, whilst commonality may give an appearance of unity and on the surface orient global citizenship education towards mutual human wellbeing, the analysis also showed that commonality was privileged to such a degree that values are abstract and disconnected from their social reality. The abstract nature of universal values through a lack of definitions seen in theme 1 is reinforced here through relations of equivalence. Considering that GCED promotes the enacting of values, this disconnect has resulted in values which are self-defeating because they cannot achieve their aims. As stated earlier in this thesis, being abstracted from social reality has also led to resistance from local communities who perceive that universal values are being imposed rather than chosen and are not relevant to them.

An example in practice of the danger of abstract values disconnected from social reality is the case of Fiji, where citizenship education is resisted partly on the grounds of being divorced from their social reality and imposed by

international institutions, resulting in conflicts and potential resistance to implementation. Thaman (2004 in Koya, 2010, p7) describes the situation:

‘ A few weeks ago, when I inquired about citizenship education in Fiji for example, I was told that UNDP recently commissioned a feasibility study for a Fiji Citizenship Education Project whose aim it is to ensure that every school child acquires key knowledge, attitudes and values in both human rights and civics. Upon closer examination of the expatriate consultant’s report, it was obvious that the study failed to problematise the notions of human rights and citizenship education from the perspectives of the so-called beneficiaries of the Project; Fijian school students, teachers, parents and the wider community. This is typical of the fact that local educators and curriculum planners, although critical of international aid agencies’ policies towards the way educational aid is delivered, continue to be ignorant of, or be silent on, the conflicts between the way citizenship education is normally interpreted by school authorities and that of their local, and indigenous communities (2004, p 4-5).

The disconnect between the abstract ‘key values’ within citizenship education and the social reality of Fijian lives is considered a result of education being positioned within international movements (UNDP is mentioned) that have not taken account of social reality (Koya, 2010).

Further, values in the abstract and not taking account of social reality denies evidence from the World Values Survey that values exist in distinct cultural zones around the world (generalised by them into ‘Eastern’ and ‘Western’

nations) and taking account of context is essential if resistance is to be avoided and support garnered. Abstract values cannot act as motivators towards action in favour of the purposes of GCED.

The purposes of GCED shown in this analysis serve as 'social ideals' (Laclau and Mouffe in Renner, 2013, p267) which privilege an 'idealised future' (Mowles, 2007, p407). Promoting social ideals and an idealised future may not be problematic in itself - this is after all the mission of UNESCO who describe their purpose as 'building peace in the minds of men and women' (UNESCO, 2018) and who began their work, and established values, based on imagining a future better than human misery (Spikjers, 2012). Also as stated, if the ideal is not there then a critical edge may be lost. But promoting these abstract items can be a way of avoiding the challenge and complexities involved in every-day reality (Mowles, 2007), which as mentioned is perhaps UNESCO's way forwards. An appearance of unity is maintained whilst disconnecting from the underlying social reality. The purposes ascribed to values cannot be achieved in reality. Positioning values in the abstract and privileging commonality as ways of avoiding difference is counterproductive to achieving the purposes of GCED, resulting in a position on values which is self-defeating. As stated, in light of the DRA this is suggestive of social practices and social structures within UNESCO that do not recognise alternative values and motivations towards global citizenship, whilst also offering an appearance of institutional unity which may not be the reality within social practices. With values in the abstract and when taken together with values as regulators of social action, staff may be required to aim for something which is out of reach.

The third barrier is that values are volatile and changing which undermines the sustained motivation necessary to achieve the aims of GCED. Earlier in this thesis, this barrier to the effectiveness of GCED was based on neoliberal globalisation. Neoliberal globalisation is said to have resulted in values which are volatile and relative which undermines the sustained motivation and subsequent action needed to achieve the aims of UNESCO's GCED. Values within GCED need to be stable in their orientation towards mutual human wellbeing.

As stated, analysis has shown that UNESCO have indeed ascribed a meaning to values which is enduring and stable – universal values. These apply to everyone, everywhere and do not change. Also as discussed, analysis has shown that universal values are abstracted from a social reality which may be fluctuating with prevailing economic winds and further that they do not take account of evidence from the World Values Survey which confirms a volatility of values in different cultural zones. Universal values appear to have achieved the stability necessary for sustained motivation and action over time to achieve the aims of GCED and do not appear to exemplify this barrier. However, it is their very nature as universal and their treatment as abstract which is problematic. As analysis has shown, disconnecting values from their social reality means they cannot achieve the purposes of GCED. Applying them universally and indiscriminately without due consideration of context is likely to lead more to resistance than acceptance in different cultural zones. Universal values may be stable and enduring and in theory may provide sustained

motivation and subsequent action for the achievement of GCED but in practice this will not be the case. The third barrier to the effectiveness of GCED remains in place. However, on this point values remain problematic. If values in certain countries are volatile in line with a nation's degree of economic success (WVS, 2016) and volatility undermines GCED, then in those countries GCED is unlikely to achieve its aims regardless of the position of values within UNESCO. Aspiring to the stability of universal values may appear to be a positive step. But universal values are counterproductive to the aims of GCED and citizens will be reaching for ideals that are out of reach. As discussed earlier in this thesis, UNESCO need to make the inclusion of a critical attitude a mainstream factor in their approach to GCED so that these intersections between the local and global can be meaningfully explored.

6.3 Summary

In summary, through relationships of equivalence and difference, values have been emptied of meaning and UNESCO have ascribed their own meaning – that of universal values. Values prior to GCED have been positioned as outdated, invisible and their lack as part of the cause of global issues. As social regulators of people's actions, people act in ways which serve UNESCO's agenda. With the absence of any alternative description of values and having situated values as new and different to what has gone before, UNESCO have defined the meaning of values and positioned them as the only values suited to today's challenges. Lowrie (2007) states that meaning is derived from difference and Renner (2013, p267) states that items gain a vague meaning and an authority by 'representing a radical opposition to some current negative

state of affairs'. Through structuring relationships of equivalence and difference, UNESCO's view is given authority. The multimodal element also communicates legitimacy of UNESCO's view (Ledin and Machin, 2015) and in obscuring potentially useful professional links, further reinforces UNESCO's definition and narrative around values. Relations of difference, in highlighting difference and possible uniqueness, could have challenged the commonality and universality privileged through relations of equivalence. But through continuing to situate values in the abstract, complemented by the further social ideals of 'peace, human rights, respect, cultural diversity and justice', relations of difference serve to reinforce equivalence in both the disconnection of values from social reality and the space for UNESCO to ascribe their own meaning. Equivalence has achieved dominance and, together with the results of analysis in theme 1, has served to fix the meaning of values. When equivalence has achieved social dominance, it has become hegemonic (Lowrie 2007, Carpentier and Spinoy, 2004). When meaning has become fixed and a controlled narrative is in place, it can influence the thoughts and actions of social agents. Whilst this may serve to maintain UNESCO's position of authority in the global space in which they work, it is ultimately self-defeating in terms of achieving the aims of GCED in social reality.

Chapter 7 Conclusions

The final chapter of this thesis will revisit the research questions asked at the beginning of the research. These will be answered in light of the analysis undertaken with subsequent discussion concerning the implications of this for

social justice. This will be followed by a discussion on the limitations of this research, suggestions for further research and a final word regarding the reflexivity signposted at the beginning of this thesis.

The research questions asked are:

1. What are the values of GCED as defined by UNESCO?
2. How do texts pertaining to GCED communicate values?
3. What has a critical discourse analysis of texts related to GCED revealed about participatory parity as defined by Fraser?
4. What can Fraser's theory offer for a more socially just approach to GCED?

At the outset of this research, I envisaged question 1 as a reasonably straightforward question that would result in a reasonably straightforward answer – an introductory question if you will. What are the values? They are perhaps X, Y and Z. However, as the analysis has shown, this first question contained complexity. In fact the first two questions will be treated together – it was difficult to discover what the values are without analysing how the texts communicated them.

7.1 Research Questions 1 and 2

1. What are the values of GCED as defined by UNESCO?
2. How do texts pertaining to GCED communicate values?

The multimodal and linguistic analysis of the classification of values has shown that UNESCO assert a specific and controlled narrative around values. Values have a definite presence within GCED, but they are subverted and classified into a particular set of values - universal and shared, applying to all people everywhere on the basis of a common humanity. Whilst a flexibility in values, which could have lessened the controlled narrative, was there in the data it was denied and any recognition that values could be diverse due to outside influences was treated as passive. This has resulted in a definition of values by UNESCO which is closed and their meaning fixed. The analysis of relationships of equivalence and difference supported this - a hegemonic equivalence emptied 'values' of meaning and allowed UNESCO to ascribe their own fixed meaning. The texturing of relationships of equivalence and difference achieved this by classing any prior values as outdated and invisible, and the values of GCED as something new and the only answer to the resolution of global challenges. In addition, UNESCO's universal values are the only values that are 'appropriate' for a global citizen. UNESCO's universal values are the only values that can, according to UNESCO, achieve the aims of GCED. Further, in classifying and texturing values in such a manner, UNESCO police what makes a legitimate global citizen – if some values are appropriate, by implication others are not. Values motivate and evaluate action such that the only legitimate actions of a global citizen are those that act towards the aims of UNESCO's GCED and global citizens are confirmed in UNESCO's image.

Notwithstanding the normative understanding of peaceful and sustainable societies as a common good, UNESCO's position is problematic. This is

because the texts have further communicated UNESCO's values as abstract, undefined and divorced from social contexts. As discussed through the analysis of classification, an absence of definitions can signal that the meaning is assumed to be common sense which goes unquestioned and is a vehicle for the agenda of the powerful, in this case UNESCO. In addition to a lack of definition, the abstract nature of UNESCO's values was further confirmed through analysis of relationships of equivalence and difference which showed that commonality was privileged to the extent that difference – and a potential recognition of context - was almost entirely removed. This has created space for UNESCO to ascribe their own meaning to values and treat them as universal regardless of context. With a closed meaning of values both influencing how people think and act as social agents, as described by Fairclough (2003), and because values act as social regulators of people's actions, the way that UNESCO have communicated values can influence subjectivities towards UNESCO's agenda. This is arguably their intention, with the texts stating not only that values are intended to be applied to all of cultural, social, political and religious dimensions of life but that they are also important for winning the mind space and changing the mind set of teachers and students. With UNESCO's GCED as a model of top-down global citizenship (Tully, 2014) which is a vehicle for the continued dominance of western powers, the values of UNESCO's GCED will influence subjectivities towards those that will serve the agenda of those powers, furthering the West's influence in global affairs. As I will discuss in more detail, this denies recognition to alternative values which may be more suited to local contexts and thus potentially increase the relevance to and

participation of local people in the resolution of global challenges through GCED. In denying recognition, UNESCO's treatment of values is unjust.

7.2 Research Question 3

3. What has a critical discourse analysis of texts related to GCED revealed about participatory parity as defined by Fraser?

To answer this question I will present a brief reminder of Participatory Parity and Fraser's three dimensions of justice that constitute it. The conclusions of questions 1 and 2 will then be considered in light of Participatory Parity.

Justice, according to Fraser (2010, 2013), is the principle of Participatory Parity which demands that all have the opportunity to interact as peers in social life. It concerns the removal of structural, concrete obstacles that impede people from participating as peers. To achieve participatory parity, the conditions for three dimensions of justice must be met (Fraser, 2010b). If one or more is not met, then participatory parity cannot be achieved and the situation at hand is unjust. The three dimensions of justice can be analysed separately but they are interrelated. The three dimensions, discussed previously in chapter 4, are firstly distribution which requires that resources and opportunities are equally open to all. This will foster independence, avoid class inequality and the injustice of maldistribution. Secondly, the dimension of recognition requires that institutional structures and practices must recognise the equal status of all people and their cultural distinction and that these must be given equal respect in social interactions. This will avoid cultural domination by more powerful

groups and the injustice of misrecognition. Thirdly, the dimension of representation requires that people must have their definition of a situation regarded through expression of their voice equally in decision making. They must have the space and capacity to act autonomously. If this is not provided they suffer the injustice of misrepresentation and, where their claims for justice may transcend national borders, meta-political misrepresentation.

The analysis of classification and the texturing of relationships of equivalence and difference in the texts has revealed that the way the texts are structured constitutes a structural barrier to the achievement of participatory parity. The way values are structured within the discourse has led to misrecognition. As I will explain further, this is potentially generative of misrepresentation and maldistribution in social life.

The structuring of values in the discourse such that they deny difference, are divorced from social contexts and universally applied is a source of misrecognition. Further, the structuring of values in the discourse has termed only UNESCO's values as appropriate, implicitly stating that any values outside of this are inappropriate. This denies recognition to alternative values and possible ways of doing global citizenship which may be more rooted in local contexts. They are considered inferior. Their status is not recognised equally, their cultural distinctiveness is not equally recognised and they are not likely to be given equal respect in social interaction. As has been discussed, this has been seen to lead to resistance from local people to a model of global citizenship that they view as imposed and not relevant to them. Inherent in this

misrecognition is also a denial of evidence. The WVS illustrated that values exist in distinct cultural zones around the world and that they change. It is UNESCO's view that counts. Due to the hegemony of this discourse which has achieved social dominance, UNESCO's approach influences subjectivities in line with their own image, which as discussed, is in line with western ideals. Misrecognition is also seen here through the citizenising of the other in UNESCO's own image. This results in the potential cultural domination by the more powerful group and participatory parity is denied.

Misrecognition can also be the generative injustice for misrepresentation and maldistribution in social life. As discussed previously, in looking at all three dimensions of justice I am avoiding the limited approach that comes from just considering one (Keddie, 2012). After all, Fraser asserts that the dimensions are interrelated (Fraser, 2013). I wish to provide a full consideration of participatory parity and so I consider all three.

In terms of potential misrepresentation, a consideration of institutional culture brings insight. As stated previously, through the critical discourse analysis of the language in texts (the social event), insight can be gained into the culture of an organisation (social structure), because the choices of how to structure the text and the particular grammatical and language choices made are intentional and influenced by the social life within the organisation (it's social practices) (Fairclough, 2003). This has been applied in this research to the global culture of UNESCO and the field of GCED, but can also be applied to the working practices within UNESCO. As stated, values can be used to regulate employee

behaviour (Jaakson, 2010). With UNESCO having such a closed and fixed meaning of values, UNESCO exhibit a strict sense of institutional values which Mowles (2007) has termed cult values. With UNESCO determining which values are 'appropriate' and desiring to influence subjectivities and mind-sets, it is reasonable to consider that the social practices enacted by staff and the wider culture of UNESCO (social structure) is one where people are regulated to adopt an 'appropriate' mind-set exhibiting universal values. Due to values as evaluators of action that is worthwhile, social practices and institutional culture may also serve to socially confirm universal values. Because these values are abstract, as shown in the analysis, they offer an appearance of institutional unity which may not be the reality within social practices. Employees potentially work within an atmosphere which has an appearance of unity but is possibly fragmented in practice. This can have the effect of 'alienating employees from their own experience' (Mowles, 2007, p407). Staff are potentially required to aim for something which is unreal and out of reach. Mowles (2007) states that when values deemed universal are ascribed to the members of a group they become 'cult values' which begin to decide who is included and who excluded from those deemed acceptable. He states

'Cult values are an important part of who we are and where we come from, but ethical issues arise when the values of an idealised group become norms to which individuals must subscribe if they are not to be deemed sinful or selfish, that is they become a cult which can exclude or include according to the level of adherence to the values described as norms'. (Mowles, 2007, p403)

Mowles further states that cult values can be a way of 'stifling discussion, potentially excluding those who dare to disagree with the way they are being articulated...We are invited to set aside our doubts and believe in the cult, or risk rejection by the idealised group. When leaders take up values in this way they are using them as a form of social control' (Mowles, 2007, p403). This is not to suggest that UNESCO is a cult - remember that the insight from these documents is partial – but with social practices and social structure requiring the adoption of an 'appropriate' mind-set (which means adopting universal values and potentially being within a culture which socially confirms 'appropriate' values) members of the organisation appear subject to cult values. This denies recognition to anyone who may hold alternative values or a different point of view, such as those who value distinctive cultural voices or who may question the practical relevance of universal values, and affords a lack of equal respect to anyone who might question institutional culture. Their distinctiveness is not recognised within institutional structures and practices and they are not afforded equal status. They suffer misrecognition. This misrecognition may also be generative of misrepresentation. Through a lack of recognition, employees potentially find their definition of a situation disregarded and their opinion or voice not considered; especially if discussion is stifled when they dare to disagree (Mowles, 2007). Participatory parity is denied because employees suffer misrecognition and potentially misrepresentation.

In terms of potential maldistribution, as stated previously, UNESCO distribute resources and opportunities for the enhancement of pedagogy through their Associated Schools Project Network (ASPnet). ASPNet 'links educational

institutions across the world around a common goal: to build the defences of peace in the minds of children and young people' and lists global citizenship education as one of its two priorities (ASPNet, 2017). Schools which are members of the network gain access to resources such as innovative educational materials, new teaching and learning approaches and opportunities to connect with others to learn and share good practice. These are explicitly based on UNESCO's core values and the values are to be integrated in schools and act as a gateway to becoming role models in their community and beyond. ASPNet's approach is summarised in Figure 6.7, with these points underlined

- 1. Creating:** As a laboratory of ideas, ASPnet develops, tests and disseminates innovative educational materials and promotes new teaching and learning approaches based on UNESCO's core values and priorities.
- 2. Teaching & Learning:** Capacity-building, innovative teaching and participative learning in specific ASPnet thematic areas allow school principals, teachers, students and the wider school community to integrate UNESCO's values and become role models in their community and beyond.
- 3. Interacting:** ASPnet gives its stakeholders opportunities to connect and exchange experiences, knowledge and good practices with schools, individuals, communities, policy-makers and society as a whole.

Figure 6.7 ASPNet's approach to achieving GCED (ASPNet, 2017, box added)

Where non-western countries may be seeking to improve their education systems and look to UNESCO for help, not ascribing to UNESCO's view of global citizenship arguably leaves them excluded from further resources and opportunities which could potentially improve educational pedagogy, not just in citizenship but more generally in education. Where this is the case, they potentially suffer inequality and the injustice of maldistribution. Yet it is the misrecognition of alternative values and ways of doing global citizenship that is

the generative injustice. Were these afforded equal cultural respect, for example, UNESCO's resources and opportunities may well be distributed more justly.

7.3 Research Question 4

4. What can Fraser's theory offer for a more socially just approach to GCED?

For there to be justice, there must be participatory parity. For there to be participatory parity, the three dimensions of justice must be satisfied. In this research, misrecognition has been shown to be the main source of injustice which denies participatory parity and is potentially generative of the other two dimensions. Misrecognition must be addressed in the textual discourse if UNESCO's approach to GCED and their institutional culture is to be moved towards social justice. Recognition must be afforded to alternative values, contexts and ways of doing global citizenship; values must be removed from the abstract and grounded in the practical reality of social life; what is distinctive about values must be highlighted and not removed; there must be recognition that the aims of GCED can be achieved in multiple ways and that taking account of evidence about values (such as from the WVS) can assist in doing so. Classification and the texturing of relationships of equivalence and difference as textual tools can be altered to afford this recognition and subsequently influence the set of possibilities that exist for constructing meaning from the texts (Fairclough, 2003). Considering the dialectical relationship between social events, practices and structures, this could then contribute to influencing

institutional culture and social life towards greater recognition and participatory parity.

However, even though textual discourse may be restructured and the 'new' text as a new social event could influence social practices and social structure towards participatory parity, we are still faced with the spectre of UNESCO as a vehicle for the continued dominance of western powers within a dominant neoliberalism, and the previously asserted realism that resisting top-down global citizenship requires a human miracle (Honig, 2011). Restructuring classification and the texturing of relationships of equivalence and difference may move towards greater participatory parity, but this still exists within a dominant climate of neoliberal globalisation and these efforts at greater social justice may still find themselves subsumed in practice towards neoliberal ends.

What can be done within the current reality to move it towards social justice? I revisit now my assertion that a critical attitude within the UNESCO texts can act as a necessary step between the injustice of now and the justice of participatory parity. It does not come from Fraser's theory itself, although the ideal of participatory parity has enabled me to ask questions of now and consider that a critical attitude is perhaps a step on the way towards Fraser's justice.

I have discussed that a critical attitude within GCED can enable a consideration of how issues and agendas at the local, national, global and individual levels intersect. This consideration would potentially allow UNESCO's universal values, perceived as imposed, to be considered in light of local contexts and

social realities and the meaning of values and of global citizenship worked out in local contexts. As illustrated by Khondker (2013), a critical attitude can offer some resistance to the top-down model. However, a critical attitude must be genuinely critical, open to exploring diverse possibilities. The current position of criticality within the texts is unlikely to allow for challenge of the superiority of universal values which are simultaneously presented as *the* answer to global challenges. This position arguably represents more a criticism with the answer predetermined. As such 'our ability to express ourselves and explore the nature of our freedom with others, is extremely constrained' (Mowles, 2007, p403). However, with a greater recognition of alternative values structured through the discourse, particularly where these may be Emancipative Values that focus on individual choice, voice, equality and autonomy (Welzel 2013, WVS 2016), criticality then is more likely to become about how top-down ideals may be interpreted in light of individual and local context. Emancipative values may still be seen as western values being as they are a subset of self-expression values (WVS, 2016) but with a desire for democracy now almost universal around the world (WVS, 2016), emancipative values may serve to overcome this perception as they become viewed as values which are more suited to the local and individual and less imposed. This approach can potentially challenge unequal power relations (including the continued dominance of the West) and motivate action towards global citizenship which exhibits greater participatory parity.

7.4 Limitations and Further Research

The contributions of this research are partial. The choice of texts, while representative of GCED, are just a small proportion of the material available which may be illustrative of UNESCO's activities as an organisation. To infer the justice of an organisation from a small selection of texts, while permitted by the DRA, is a partial observation. The analysis in this research provides evidence that misrecognition may exist and may be generative of maldistribution and misrepresentation but it cannot claim it absolutely. To do that would take a much larger study. Further, additional insight into UNESCO's position on GCED could be gained by a wider study of non-textual materials including infographics and videos. Analysis of these materials fell outside the scope of this study, but in light of the hegemonic narrative found in this research, it is expected that these wider materials may serve to reinforce this. However, this can only be shown with further research.

The analytical tools used in this research – Fairclough (2003, 2015) and Martin and Rose (2007) notions of classification and relations of equivalence and difference plus the multimodal aspects from Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) and Ledin and Machin (2015) – are but a tiny number of the tools available in the field of linguistic analysis. My lack of experience and background in linguistic analysis has exercised a limitation on the tools chosen. It is acknowledged that a thorough knowledge of linguistics, namely in the field of systemic functional linguistics (Young and Harrison, 2004), may have enabled further nuance to be drawn out of the analysis.

Fraser's theory itself cannot present a complete theory of social justice; it is critiqued for avoiding the affectual dimension (Lynch and Lodge, 2002) and for ignoring 'special cases' who may not be able to participate regardless of parity (Robeyns, 2008, p192) for example. Participatory parity enables a window into the justice of institutional and social structures and enables insight into how these may be moved towards a more socially just existence. This is partial, however.

The combination of Fraser's theory and the DRA has worked well. By complimenting each other in being able to assess social and structural factors contributing to inequality and injustice, they have revealed how textual discourse can be a structural obstacle to achieving participatory parity and further how, appropriately structured, textual discourse could contribute to social justice.

There are also hints within this research that this combination, plus the lens of values, could contribute to bridging the gap between Fraser's theory and the affective dimension - one of its main criticisms. Fraser's all-subjected principle hints at the emotional side since the experience of subjection, including its emotional side, is reasonably assumed to be resisted by all those who experience it. Being motivated to resist oppression, in the lens of this research, means being motivated to do so by values. Values also have a subjective element. These values may themselves be influenced by a society's experience of oppression, which further confirms those values and evaluates those actions

to resist as being worthwhile. A fuller exploration of this is an area for further research.

7.5 Reflexivity Revisited

At the beginning of this thesis I commented on the fact that I have held my positive orientation to UNESCO in tension with a critical approach. At the end, I ask myself whether I have indeed 'torn them down' as I had hoped not to do. I feel a certain disappointment with my findings. I believe the evidence from the analysis supports them of course but I wish they did not. Nonetheless, I end by restating my position – that as a global citizen it is my wish that UNESCO be strengthened, reformed and improved; and it is in this spirit that my findings are placed.

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Appendix 1

Screen shot of Excel to illustrate analysis

General observations of document

Quotes from text

Classification

Equivalence/Difference

Observations and thoughts related to GCED or Education more broadly

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
1												
2				section	page	area not mentioned		name/class/author			GCED/education	observations
3												
4												
5				BB ethically responsible behaviour. Pre-primary and lower primary 5-9 years								
6				LO as above: Developing and applying necessary knowledge, skills, values and attitudes supported by universal values and principles of human rights								
7												
8												