Curriculum in the Era of Global Development

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Historical Legacies and Contemporary Approaches

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FOREWORD

The product of a postgraduate programme is ultimately a researcher – not a dissertation. My research training has been an complex, dynamic and extremely diversified process, where I have learnt tremendously and it which I have become indebted to a huge number of people and institutions in Sweden, Rwanda, South Africa, Tanzania and elsewhere. It would be a mere impossibility to mention all of them. Nevertheless, regarding my research training in general, I would still like to take the opportunity to express my gratitude to the Centre for Educational Science and Teacher Research at the University of Gothenburg for enrolling me in their four year postgraduate programme, and the Faculty of Education at the University of Gothenburg for offering me an institutional base throughout this entire period. I would also like to thank the School of Global Studies at University of Gothenburg, to which I have been affiliated in different ways, during the same period. Moreover I would like to express my gratitude to the National University of Rwanda and the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University with whom I have been cooperating in different ways.

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Kigali, 1st of November 2011

1. INTRODUCTION

Since the dawn of the new millennium there has been a proliferation of policies and political rhetoric worldwide, stressing the importance of equitable and sustainable global development. On the international level the *United Nations Millennium Declaration* is the obvious case in point. The declaration, adopted in September 2000 by 189 countries at a UN summit in New York hosted by no less than 147 heads of State and Government, stakes out a comprehensive policy agenda for global development in the new millennium. The declaration states that the Governments of the World, apart from their separate responsibilities to their own societies, have a collective responsibility for global development, and that this requires multilateral cooperation and a much more coherent and coordinated policy approach. The main arguments for this, according to the declaration, is that the world is facing a set of global challenges that require global responses and that issues such as poverty, education, health, malnutrition, gender equality, environmental degradation, peace, security, human rights and democracy cannot be treated in isolation since they are intimately interrelated (United Nations, 2000). Sweden's response to the Millennium Declaration was the Government Bill 2002/2003:122 *Shared Responsibility: Sweden's Policy for Global Development*. This Government Bill, and a series of consecutive Government Communications, clearly states – and this might come as a surprise to some – that the overriding goal of *all* Swedish policy areas should be to contribute to equitable and sustainable global development. Consequently, this overall objective should permeate all policy areas, and efforts should be made to make all components of Swedish policy consistent with one another, i.e. Sweden should pursue a coherent Policy for Global Development[1] (Prop. 2002/03:122; Skr. 2009/10:129). Now, common features of the Millennium Declaration, Sweden's Policy for Global Development, and most other expressions of contemporary mainstream development policy, are that they all start from an extremely wide notion of development; regard the nation state to be but one of many agents of development; recognize that development cooperation alone will never be able to solve the global development problems; and, deem it necessary to establish a global partnership for development based on a wide range of actors and policy components. Thus, to claim that development thinking and international development cooperation have evolved into something extremely complex and multi-dimensional in later years is virtually an understatement.

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[1] Sweden's Policy for Global Development has brought about a huge interest internationally, particularly among so-called like-minded donor countries, but in practice it has proved very difficult to implement (Odén, 2009). There are several reasons for this and we shall return to these problems in upcoming chapters. However, at this initial stage the political imagery, and the logics behind it, is more interesting than the practical shortcomings.

Parallel with this transformation of the mainstream development discourse a new, or rather reanimated, debate has emerged as regards how educational systems should respond to the context characterized by globalization and the quest for equitable and sustainable global development. On the international level, it can be noted that the United Nations General Assembly, following the recommendation of the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg in 2002, proclaimed the ten-year period 2005-2014 as the *United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development,* and invited Governments worldwide to take measures to implement this vision in their respective educational systems (United Nations, 2002c). These commitments were reaffirmed and further developed in the *Bonn Declaration* in 2009 (UNESCO, 2009). On the national level, individual Governments have translated these solemn international declamations into various forms of educational policy and curriculum initiatives that attempt to somehow integrate the globalization and sustainable development debates, and make them subject to teaching and learning. National development cooperation authorities have often played a key role in such undertakings (e.g. BMZ & KMK, 2007; DFID, 2003; DFID & DfES, 2005). In the case of Sweden, the Government's commitment to the *Decade* resulted in the hosting of an international consultation in Gothenburg in 2004 entitled *Learning to Change our World: International Consultation on Education for Sustainable Development* and the production a Swedish Government Official Report entitled *Learning for Sustainable Development* (SOU 2004:104). These initiatives further link up in a logical way to Sweden's Policy for Global Development. Bearing in mind that the Policy for Global Development starts from the fundamental assumption that all policy areas, and thus all societal institutions, should contribute to the fulfilment of the overriding goal, it is extremely important that the Swedish educational system addresses these issues. Put differently: knowledge of global development issues is no longer solely a concern for employees at national development cooperation authorities, but a concern for all citizens and employees regardless of their institutional affiliation. It is further quite clear, that global development issues constitute a curriculum content that has been gaining ground in the Swedish educational system in recent years. Throughout the Swedish school system, profile schools, programmes, subjects, courses and projects that are, in one way or another, devoted to global development issues have become increasingly common. We can also note a substantial increase in subjects, programmes, courses, and degrees at the university level with similar orientation. Hence, it seems safe to suggest that there are a considerable, and increasing, number of pupils and university students who display an interest in global development issues, and that such an interest can quite easily be backed up with political legitimacy.

However, even though it may be argued that teaching on global development issues has been reinvigorated in later years, it would be a mistake to conclude that this knowledge content constitutes something completely new to the

Swedish curriculum. In fact, there is a tradition of teaching on these issues in the Swedish school system that can be traced back, at least to the 1960s. Consequently, it is important that the charm of novelty is somehow balanced against the power of habit. Yet, despite an apparent historical tradition in the Swedish curriculum *and* the increasing relevance, legitimacy and popularity of the knowledge that it transmits, this curriculum content has been relatively neglected by Swedish didactic research. This dissertation constitutes an attempt to redress some of this neglect.

1.1. Two fundamental assumptions

In order to make sense of this dissertation and its constituent parts, it is necessary to be clear about two of its basic assumptions. The *first* assumption is that we cannot really understand the position and historical evolution of global development issues in the Swedish curriculum without understanding the intellectual history of development and the evolution of Swedish development cooperation. This applies to the transmitted knowledge content as such, but also to the organizational arrangements for its implementation in the Swedish curriculum. When the *Swedish International Development Authority* (SIDA) was established in 1965, the school system immediately became a prioritized target group for the novel institution's information work. Ever since, development thinking and development cooperation have exercised an influence on the teaching of global development issues in the Swedish school system. This relationship is a central theme in this dissertation. The empirical foundations for this assumption will primarily be accounted for in chapters 4 and 5.

As indicated above, issues of equitable and sustainable global development, and contemporary mainstream development policies, are extremely complex and multi-dimensional in nature. Making sense of such complicated matters obviously constitutes a considerable challenge for any practising teacher. The development debate has undoubtedly become more and more complex in recent years and, besides, teachers have always expressed concerns about how difficult it is to teach about global issues (cf. 2.3.1). However, despite a sincere recognition of the importance of content knowledge and the desirability of teachers being updated on contemporary development debates, it will be argued in this dissertation that the real and perceived complexity of the issues, as such, does not necessarily constitute the biggest problem. Hence, in accordance with the *second* assumption, inspired by the work of Englund, the problem is rather that global development issues as curriculum content, tend to be understood as a pedagogical problem when it, first and foremost, ought to be understood as a political problem (Englund, 1986/2005). From such a perspective, curriculum content is viewed as contingent, i.e. it is not to be taken for granted. Since curriculum documents constitute political compromises, formed in an ideological war of position between different social forces, curriculum content can be

treated in very different ways, reflecting different political rationalities. This implies that it is extremely important to critically consider what kind of ideological perspectives and political controversies can be mediated in teaching on global development issues. It is also very important to consider how different epistemic and ideological power relations, which affect the curriculum, operate and how they can be challenged. The theoretical foundations for this assumption will be dealt with in detail in chapter 3.

I will return to, and elaborate more upon, these arguments in upcoming chapters but at this early point it is sufficient to state that these two assumptions will be central to the arguments of this thesis; that they have influenced its overall design; and, that fruitful reading requires that they be seriously considered by the reader.

1.2. The object of study and two challenging circumstances

As articulated by Englund and Svingby, as well as Marton, research in Subject Matter Education need not be strictly delimited to school subjects but can include other content-oriented aspects of education (Englund & Svingby, 1986; Marton, 1986). Accordingly, this dissertation attempts to approach global development issues as a particular knowledge content that can be found in many different subjects and courses throughout the school system. *Knowledge content* refers to:

> a theoretically demarcated, relational area of content…[…]…which can be conceptualized in different ways with different didactic implications (Englund, 1997a, p. 270).

As suggested by this definition, global development issues are thought of as an indeed wide, but yet theoretically demarcated area of content that is not delimited to a particular school subject. This content might be, and historically it has been, interpreted in different ways with different didactic implications. Hence, knowledge content is contingent and this implies that it is possible for teachers to transmit very different 'offers of meaning' to the pupils depending on how the knowledge content is conceptualized and approached. Nevertheless, it should be recognized that studying global development issues as knowledge content is quite a complicated endeavour. There are, in particular, two challenging circumstances that are problematic for the researcher. Firstly, global development issues as knowledge content in school constitutes, a quite capricious object of study as opposed to e.g. a conventional school subject with a long tradition, a delimited and defined course syllabus, a clear timetable, national tests, and hegemonic school books. Hence, with reference to Bernstein, the weak *classification* and weak *framing* of this content imply difficulties as regards

data selection and definition of the object of study (cf. 3.5.2) (Bernstein, 1971). Secondly, and this is probably related to the above, the academic tradition that conducts research on this knowledge content provides limited guidance at best. Although Swedish didactic research has largely neglected this content, there is in fact, on the international level, quite a substantial body of literature to be found. Internationally, this knowledge content is primarily known as *Global education* and henceforth this term will be applied. However, as will be evident in chapter 2, this research tradition is weak and scattered. There is an abundance of varying prescriptive definitions of Global education, which, in my opinion, hampers rather than enables interesting empirical research. Thus, although recognizing the difficulties that are involved in defining the object of study, chapter 2 proposes a new operational definition of Global education based on five characteristics. *Global education* refers to *a knowledge content in comprehensive and upper secondary school* which: *revolves around global development issues, processes and events; is problem-oriented; is formed in a field of tension between different social and ideological forces; is implemented in school through many different modes;* and, *has historically received, and still receives, curriculum support through different organizational arrangements, where a key role is played by the national development cooperation authority.* A more in-depth description of the background to, and elaboration of the rationales behind, this operational definition will be provided in chapter 2.

1.3. Aim of the thesis

In a very broad sense, this dissertation revolves around epistemic, societal and curriculum change, and it involves some large-scale, arguably excessive, historical outlines. However, it is important to understand that the dissertation's research interest is primarily *didactic*, i.e. not to write history or intellectual history for its own sake (cf. 1.4). There are two general concerns that drive the thesis. The first is a wish to better understand how historical conditions and circumstances affect knowledge content in school. The second is a wish to better understand how knowledge content can become subject to different conceptualizations and approaches, rooted in competing political and intellectual rationalities. The particular form of knowledge content that this thesis brings into focus is that of global education. On the basis of these concerns the following aim has been formulated.

The overall aim of the thesis is to examine historical legacies of, and contemporary approaches to, global education in the Swedish school system.

The thesis consists of three empirical sub-studies with subsidiary aims that all, in their particular way, contribute to the realization of the dissertation's overall aim.

- The aim of the first sub-study is *to outline the post-World War intellectual history of development with particular reference to Swedish development cooperation.*

This intellectual history is based on literature and documentary research. The sub-study outlines the history of development thinking in the post-World War period (1945-2008) and it constitutes a necessary backdrop for the two consecutive sub-studies (cf. Chapter 4).

- The aim of the second sub-study is *to outline the history of global education in Sweden*. This historical study is based on 15 interviews and documentary research. The sub-study sketches the historical evolution of global education in the Swedish school system (1962-2008) with particular focus on historical processes of change as regards the knowledge content as such, as well as the organizational arrangements for its implementation (cf. Chapter 5).

- The aim of the third sub-study is *to expose different ways of conceptualizing and approaching global education*. This contemporary interview study is based on 15 interviews. It constructs and presents a didactic typology that enables us to expose that global education can be conceptualized and approached in very different ways and that these different didactic alternatives reflect competing political and intellectual rationalities (cf. Chapter 6).

The specific research questions that have been derived from these subsidiary aims, as well as more detailed descriptions of the methodological procedures of each sub-study, are presented in chapters 4, 5 and 6, respectively.

A few notes on the dissertation's delimitations and limitations might be useful to the reader. This thesis sheds light on teaching, as well as curriculum documents and organizational arrangements relevant to the implementation of global education. However, it does not discuss the issue of learning. The dissertation is strictly delimited in that respect. Hence, in curriculum theory jargon this thesis focuses on the *intended curriculum,* i.e. the official goals and content of the curriculum; and the *enacted curriculum,* i.e. the concrete implementation of this content through teaching and other pedagogical arrangements, but not on the *achieved curriculum,* i.e. what is actually being learned (Anderson-Levitt, 2008). Apart from this crucial delimitation, the thesis also has an important limitation. All empirical data in this dissertation are based on accounts, i.e. interviews, and various kinds of literature and documents. Hence, there have been no direct observations of the enacted curriculum. As regards the historical sub-studies, this was, of course, inevitable. However, as regards the third sub-study it might be possible to criticise this procedure. But since the third sub-study primarily sets out to construct and present a didactic typology that captures what teachers *can do* rather than empirical generalizations of what teachers actually *do* in the Swedish classrooms, the methodological approach can be justified.

1.4. Knowledge claims and meta-theoretical considerations

This thesis attempts to represent reality in terms of dialectical historical processes while simultaneously placing great emphasis on the practical application of the knowledge produced. Hence, the historiographies in chapters 4 and 5 form part of a didactic aspiration to understand processes and mechanisms that affect the knowledge content in terms of its historical place and character. Moreover, they constitute a crucial backdrop for chapter 6, which constructs a didactic typology intended to inform contemporary professional practice. This implies that the applicative aspect of knowledge is important and, accordingly, it could be argued that the dissertation's knowledge claims are close to what Alvesson and Sköldberg have termed *pragmatic realism*. Alvesson and Sköldberg make a case for a trilateral conception of truth whereby truth can be interpreted in three different ways: as correspondence, as applicability, or as meaning. In accordance with this notion, research can have representative, pragmatic, or 'significative' ambitions. However, the authors are quick to point out that most research integrates all these three aspects and, consequently, that it is reasonable to think of them as balance-points rather than mutually exclusive positions. Hence, in accordance with the knowledge claims of pragmatic realism, the balance-point in this dissertation leans towards a combination of 'truth' as correspondence and as applicability (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2008).

Meta-theoretically, the dissertation is inspired by *critical realism*. (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2008, 2009; Danermark, Ekström, Jakobsen, & Karlsson, 2002) This meta-theoretical perspective has evolved in polemics with both positivism and social constructivism. Critical realism starts from the ontological assumption that reality exists independently of the researcher. However, contrary to positivistic conceptions, reality is not transparent or directly accessible to her/him. Reality is stratified in different domains, and this implies that the researcher has to, contrary to positivistic custom, differentiate between reality and 'the empirical'. Reality is only accessible indirectly through language and thought operations where the researcher actively contributes to the construction of knowledge, i.e. knowledge of reality is conceptually mediated. However, contrary to social constructivist conceptions, it is not reality that the researcher constructs. Reality already exist, it is knowledge of reality that is being constructed. Hence, an epistemological point of departure in critical realism is that all facts are theory-laden. This is not strange bearing in mind that researchers produce knowledge, and in the process of doing so they make use of language and concepts that are historically and socially situated. However, this does not mean that facts are theory-determined. All knowledge of the world is fallible and open to adjustment, albeit not equally so. Even though objective knowledge is an impossibility – which is quite obvious considering that knowledge is produced

by human researchers – this does not mean that 'anything goes'. Some knowledge claims are more plausible than others and accordingly knowledge can be more or less like the truth of this reality. From a critical realist perspective, knowledge evolves in dialectical interplay between our concepts and the reality that these concepts attempt, via empirical data, to capture. The term theoretical sensitivity is often used to illustrate this dialectical relationship where neither empirical data, nor theory, can be said to have primacy. Since knowledge is viewed as fallible, a critical realist researcher cannot be indifferent to empirical data that do not fit with her/his theoretical assumptions. Moreover, the researcher's theoretical apparatus has to be made transparent and be open to critical scrutiny by others. The researcher must also be reflexive and make both merits and shortcomings of her/his theoretical apparatus visible. Another important epistemological point of departure for critical realists is that knowledge is a social product. In social sciences, the objects of study are both socially defined and socially produced (note that the latter does not make them less 'real' in an ontological respect). This, in turn, has methodological consequences. Bearing in mind that the objects in social science include other people who are active, interested and critical, other people's concepts and thoughts inevitably form part of the object of study. Hence, the research process involves a 'double hermeneutics': the researcher interprets the interpretations of others. Since social scientific research is conducted under such 'open conditions', conceptualization and theorization are different in social science as compared to e.g. natural science. Whereas it is custom to carry out experiments in the latter, conceptual abstraction – i.e. isolating certain aspect of reality in thought – becomes a central tool in social scientific research. Thus, through conceptualization and theorization it is possible for the researcher to capture phenomena that are visible through their effects, albeit not directly observable to her/him (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2008, 2009; Danermark, et al., 2002).

As indicated above, this dissertation also has a pragmatic orientation insofar as it attempts to produce knowledge that is applicable and that can inform professional didactic practice. Now, what binds together critical realist and pragmatist lines of thinking is a preference for *abductive* research approaches. The concept abduction was coined by a prominent representative of pragmatism, Charles S. Peirce. Abduction enables the researcher to approach a deeper domain of reality that can be found beyond empirical surface phenomena. Abduction can thus inform practical solutions to problems that appear as empirical surface phenomena but have deeper explanations, e.g. within the field of medicine (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2008). This brings us to the next section of this chapter.

1.5. Research approach and research proceedings

The research approach that underpins this thesis can best be described as *abductive*, i.e. the analysis starts from empirical data but it uses theory as a source of inspiration to unveil underlying patterns which, in turn, generates a new understanding (cf. 3.1). Accordingly, data and theory have gradually been fed and reinterpreted in relation to each other, and in this process both theory and data have been readjusted and refined. This implies that an abductive process constitutes something more than a simple mixture of deductive and inductive approaches (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2008; Danermark, et al., 2002). The insights derived from this dialectical data-theory-interplay, in turn, have gradually been combined into a coherent theoretical and conceptual apparatus that inform analysis in the three sub-studies of the thesis. This theoretical and conceptual apparatus is outlined in detail in chapter 3 of the dissertation. Thus, as indicated in Figure 1.1, there is not only an internal relationship between the three empirical sub-studies of the thesis, but also a co-constitutive relationship between these sub-studies and the theoretical and conceptual apparatus.

To a large extent, the so-called research 'proceedings' of this dissertation have in fact been a reversed process. In a sense, this reversed process also illustrates the abductive argument about empirical data as starting-point. At a very preliminary stage, my intension was to study contemporary teachers' approaches to global education, i.e. something similar to what is being done in sub-study 3, albeit without the theoretical insights gained along the way. However, I soon realized that some kind of historical background of this knowledge content's place and character in the Swedish school system was necessary. When I discovered that there was an absence of such historical studies, I decided to first embark on such an undertaking, i.e. sub-study 2. But soon after I started conducting interviews for sub-study 2, I realized that it would be completely impossible to make sense of the evolution of global education in Sweden without understanding some fundamental aspects of the evolution of development thinking and Swedish development cooperation. Consequently, I had to reverse yet another step and first outline the intellectual history of development, i.e. sub-study 1. In practice, the work with these three different sub-studies has largely proceeded in parallel and there has been a continuous dialectical interplay with theories and concepts that eventually led up to the writing of chapter 3. However, as regards the main part of analysis and writing up, the three empirical sub-studies have been conducted in the chronological order in which they are being presented.

1.6 The thesis' position in a Swedish didactic tradition

This dissertation is produced within the framework of a postgraduate programme in Subject Matter Education and before we proceed, it might be useful to provide a few notes on the dissertation's position in a Swedish didactic tradition. *Didactics* is an ambiguous and controversial concept, which has been ascribed different meaning in different contexts. Here, it is primarily referred to as a university discipline and a field of empirical research focused on teaching of a particular content, and as such didactics is a comparatively recent phenomenon in Sweden, although – arguably – its intellectual lineage can be traced all the way back to the work of Comenius and Ratke in the early 17th century (Kroksmark, 1994). However, it was in the 1980s that didactics was resurrected and institutionalized as a social scientific discipline in its own right. This, in turn, was intimately related to the 1977 university reform in Sweden, which fundamentally reshaped the conditions for teacher training from an essentially vocational education based on practical experience towards an academic education with a scientific foundation and with close connections to empirical research (Marton, 1986). However, at the very dawn of this new discipline in the 1980s, content-oriented didactics became divided into two separate branches, with different objects of study, and with roots in different academic traditions. One branch was rooted in the *phenomenographic* methodological tradition and focused on how pupils conceptualize a given content. The other branch was rooted in the *curriculum theory* tradition and focused on the social and historical determinants of a particular content (Englund & Svingby, 1986; Marton, 1986).

With a certain critical edge, Englund has referred to these two traditions as *narrow* versus *broad* didactics (Englund, 1997a). On the other hand, it may very well be argued that narrow approaches are something desirable in scientific research since they enable a more precise definition of the object of study. Anyway, according to Englund, phenomenographic didactic research is primarily interested in the relationship between the content and the pupil; more precisely, how the pupil conceptualizes a particular content, e.g. a concept or a mathematical algorithm. The pupil's conceptualization and understanding of the content becomes subject to problematization and based on such problematizations, phenomenographic didactic research can be used to develop instructional methods with the intention of improving pupils' learning. However, the phenomenographic didactic tradition does not problematize the curriculum content as such. This content is normally treated as something 'given', most often it is based on the notion that there is 'a right way' of conceptualizing the content, and this 'right' conceptualization is normally derived from the scientific 'mother' disciplines of a particular school subject. The didactic tradition founded in curriculum theory, on the other hand, is primarily interested in the social and

historical determinants of the curriculum content. This tradition views content as contingent and it is based on the assumption that the curriculum is formed in a war of position between different social and ideological forces and, accordingly, that the curriculum can assume many different forms depending on which political rationality has the upper hand. Consequently the content *per se* becomes subject to problematization. The didactic consequence of this approach is that teachers, rather than taking the notion that there is 'a right way' to understand the content as a starting-point, should embrace the idea that the content can and should be presented from different perspectives. Accordingly pupils should be exposed to different 'offers of meaning' and curriculum content should always be subject to critical inquiry (Englund, 1997a).

Clearly, there is an important difference between the two approaches insofar as the first primarily views the content of the curriculum as an instructional or pedagogical problem while, the latter views it as a political problem (cf. 1.1). This dissertation obviously aligns itself with the curriculum theory branch of the Swedish didactic tradition. The fundamental theoretical assumptions of the curriculum theory approach will be outlined in detail in chapter 3. However, it is important to underscore that I do *not* want to feed into any simplistic and dichotomous debates of 'good' or 'bad' research traditions. My simple argument is that the phenomenographic and curriculum theory branches have very different research interests, and that my own research interests are more consistent with the latter. Hence, this attempt to position the dissertation in a bipartite Swedish didactic tradition is supposed to serve as a clarification of my own research interests, not to criticize the research interests of others.

1.7. Outline and structure of the thesis

As previously indicated, this all leads up to a dissertation composed of seven different chapters in accordance with the structure outlined in Figure 1.1. In this first chapter, a brief introduction has been provided of the dissertation's aim, object of study, basic assumptions, knowledge claims, research approach, and its position in a Swedish didactic tradition. Chapter 2 reviews the literature on global education and attempts to position the dissertation in relation to this previous research. It further proposes a new operational definition of global education. Chapter 3 presents and discusses the theoretical and conceptual apparatus that underpins, and attempts to compound, the three empirical sub-studies. It further elaborates on the abductive approach. Chapter 4, which comprises the first sub-study of the dissertation, outlines the post-World War intellectual history of development with particular reference to Swedish development cooperation.
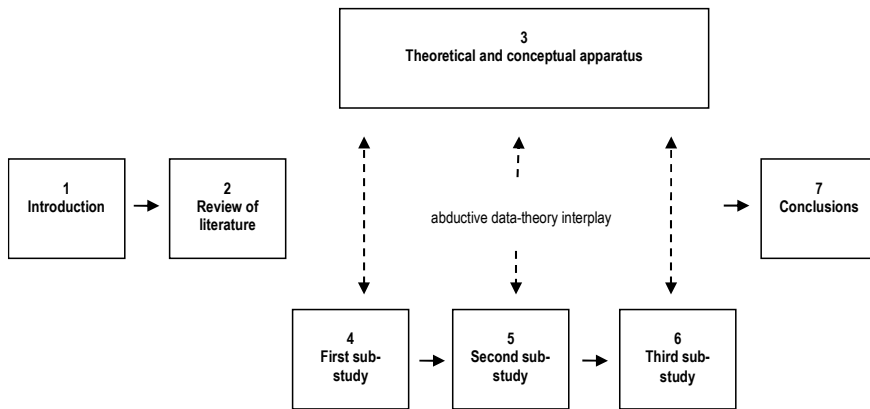
Figure 1.1. Outline and structure of the thesis

Chapter 5 comprises the second sub-study of the dissertation and outlines the history of global education in Sweden. Chapter 6 comprises the third, and last, sub-study of the dissertation. It exposes different ways of conceptualizing and approaching global education by means of constructing a didactic typology. Chapter 7 pins down the most important contributions of the dissertation, presents some confessions as regards methodological shortcomings, as well as a few considerations regarding future research.

2. GLOBAL EDUCATION: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This chapter has three basic intentions. Firstly, a brief overview of the existing body of literature on global education will be provided. Secondly, an attempt will be made to position the dissertation in relation to this previous research. Thirdly, in sharp contrast to the prescriptive definitions of global education that dominate the literature, a new operational definition will be proposed. This definition, in turn, has determined the object of study in this thesis.

The academic literature on global education, in all its various aspects, comprises a plethora of articles, books, book chapters, reports and other written material. Consequently, this review must be regarded as a simple overview of the literature based on a delimited selection of texts. Nevertheless, in broad terms, a perusal of the literature on global education has resulted in the conclusion that it encompasses three principal themes: conceptual and prescriptive debates; historical outlines; and various empirical mappings. Sometimes these themes are treated separately, sometimes an article or a book attempts to compound them. Throughout the chapter, this analytical distinction will be pursued and, accordingly, the chapter is organized in relation to these three themes. Thus, the first section of the chapter deals with conceptual and prescriptive debates in the literature, i.e. what global education 'is' or what 'ought it to be' according to different scholars. As will be evident to the reader, these seemingly simple questions conceal considerable ambiguities. The second section of the chapter reviews a few historical outlines of the evolution of global education in different countries. The third section reviews a set of empirical mappings and what have been concluded from them. The fourth and final section of the chapter presents some concluding remarks; it attempts to position the dissertation in relation to the previous literature, and presents a proposal for a new operational definition of global education.

2.1. Conceptual and prescriptive debates

There is a Swedish proverb that reads *'a beloved child has many names'*. A less poetic statement about the debate that surrounds global education would be that it is characterized by a considerable degree of conceptual confusion. This state of affairs can probably be attributed to several different factors. Firstly, research on global education is a comparatively recent phenomenon and, accordingly, it lacks a strong academic tradition. Secondly, the potential knowledge content is voluminous, complex, and ambiguous, and there are no sharp boundaries for what can, or cannot, be transmitted in the pedagogical context of global education (cf. 3.5.2). Thirdly, the literature is scattered due to different attempts

of academic *boundary-work*, i.e. attempts by scholars to attribute certain characteristics to a field and thereby construct boundaries between what qualify, and do not qualify, as legitimate parts of it (Gieryn, 1983). Thus institutional tensions, protection of various interests and conceptual battles in relation to struggles over resources and influence should not be altogether underestimated. This would pertain to research practice at the university level as well as pedagogical practice at school level (Bourdieu, 1996; Goodson, Anstead, & Mangan, 1998). In the overall context of this conceptual confusion, it is hardly an exaggeration to state that it is a very difficult endeavour to map the literature. Nevertheless, it is clear that a large number of articles, books and book chapters on global education engage in various kinds of conceptual or prescriptive debates. These involve attempts to pin down the 'essence' of global education and/or elaborate prescriptions of what it 'should be' in order to constitute an effective educational response to the new globalized condition. In fact, it is quite remarkable how much has been written on this topic in the last 3-4 decades in relation to the amount of actual empirical research conducted during the same period. As suggested above, many of these conceptual debates must also be viewed as expressions of boundary-work. This section attempts to review some of these controversies. No less than six dimensions of such debates will be touched upon, which, in turn, illustrate some of the inherent conceptual tensions of global education.

2.1.1. A field? One field? Many fields?

One of the controversies that permeate much of the literature concerns whether global education should be understood as a field or many fields. What is remarkable about this debate is that there are virtually no attempts in the literature to actually define the concept *field*. It seems reasonable to suggest that the debate would be easier to make sense of if the scholars accounted for their definitions of the concept. Nevertheless, several scholars argue that a large number of more or less similar or overlapping fields can be found in the literature, and are being put into practice in classrooms all over the world, all of which could be filed under the umbrella concept of global education. Thus, the problem seems to be that whilst sharing common concerns and constituting parts of the broader field global education, these different fields *also* have their own separate content, goals, identities, expertise, and constituencies. Hicks – although a proponent of global education as an umbrella concept and an integral curricular approach to global issues – refers to these various fields as *issue-based educations*. He acknowledges that they all have their own particular focus and that they have all developed particular areas of expertise. Accordingly one can find academic research, academic and professional organizations, journals, teacher training and classroom resources relating to each of these different fields. On the other hand, they all share the characteristics that they have developed as a reaction to, and recognition of, global issues, events and trends (Hicks, 2007b).

To make matters even more complicated, Hicks further argues that global education as such could not only be viewed as a broad umbrella concept but also as a distinct field – alongside other issue-based educations – originating from Education for World Citizenship in the 1930s, Education for international understanding after World War II, and World Studies in the 1960s (cf. 2.2.2) (Hicks, 2007a, 2007b). This state of affairs is obviously quite confusing. A perusal of the literature indicates that there are well over a dozen educational labels that could be filed under the umbrella concept of global education. Examples of such related fields are: development education; education for international understanding; education for development; education for sustainable development; environmental education; futures education; global citizenship education; global perspectives in education; human rights education; intercultural/multicultural education; internationalized education; international relations; peace education; Third World education; World Studies, etc. (I. Andersson & Sundgren, 1976; Bjerstedt, 1988; Goldstein & Selby, 2000; Heater, 1980, 2003; Hicks, 2003; Hicks & Holden, 2007; Holden, 2000; Kirkwood-Tucker, 2009; Kirkwood, 2001; Le Roux, 2001; Lister, 1987; Marshall, 2005; Pike, 2000; Richardson, 1996; Scheunpflug & Asbrand, 2006; Steiner, 1996; K. A. Tye, 1999). The authors cited above are all in favour of employing global education as an – or at least some kind of – overarching umbrella concept, and this position reflects an urge for educational integration of different issues and concerns. This implies that these authors are engaged in a quite rare form of boundary work where they attempt to encapsulate other fields and stretch the boundaries of what qualifies as, and ought to be labelled as, global education. However, such a notion is, of course, not embraced by everybody, particularly not proponents of the different issue-based fields, which are referred to here as sub-fields, if you wish, 'umbrella ribs'. These scholars are engaged in more traditional boundary-work, i.e. they attempt to protect and fence-off their field in relation to others. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to provide an extensive overview of texts where representatives of these issue-based educations attempt to protect, and distinguish, themselves from global education. However, for the sake of argument, a few examples from Germany, the US and the UK will be provided.

Scheunpflug & Asbrand have analysed institutional tensions and conceptual polemics between proponents of global education and proponents of education for sustainable development in a German context (Scheunpflug & Asbrand, 2006). These authors argue that although there have been some obvious normative elements in this debate, founded on different opinions as to whether teaching about global justice or ecological sustainability should have the upper hand in the curriculum, these tensions can hardly be understood without taking economic aspects and career opportunities into account:

> This conceptual debate has a concrete background which is founded on the competition for funding. Environmental education in Germany is institutionally far more deeply rooted than global education. At universities there are at least two firmly established chairs and teaching positions for environmental education, whereas the same is not the case for global education. […] For development education/global education there is far less funding which, in addition, may be used for project-related activities only. For that reason, the question of how to address the concept of sustainability is not only a conceptual debate but has to do with access to funding instruments (Scheunpflug & Asbrand, 2006, pp. 38-39).

This quote clearly illustrates the occurrence of boundary-work in a German context whereby conceptual debates becomes intertwined with struggles over economic resources and career opportunities. Another interesting example of boundary-work, is provided by Lucas. Based on a review of conceptual differences between multicultural education and global education, and a qualitative study of social studies teachers in the US, she makes a case for the importance of distinguishing between the two fields (Lucas, 2010). Although acknowledging that there are some obvious similarities between multicultural and global education, she expresses a deep concern that failing to distinguish between the two might imply that issues of racism, marginalization and social inequality within national borders are neglected in schools. She further states:

> Teachers who use MCE and GE interchangeably run the risk of minimizing both fields. Both need to play a central role, and although they hold similar values, they are different and have different objectives. One of the ways to help alleviate this problem of supplanting GE for MCE is the need for pre-service teachers to be able to distinguish between the two fields and not view them as interchangeable. This, issue, however, needs to be approached from several perspectives. Those in teacher education need to explain more explicitly to pre-service teachers that even though MCE and GE can work together they are not interchangeable (Lucas, 2010, p. 215).

A similar attempt to conduct boundary-work and fence off multicultural education from global education is made by Wells. With the theoretical and institutional tensions between the two fields in the US as starting point, Wells argues that multicultural education can allow itself to be informed by global perspectives without giving up on its particularity (Wells, 2008).

Finally, a UK-based article by Davies and Reid can be mentioned. This article elaborates on the boundaries between citizenship education and global education. Although acknowledging that there are overlaps between the two fields, differences are emphasized and global education is deemed by the authors to be an inadequate educational response in the context of debates on global citizenship. In the article, global education is portrayed as a fragmented, affective, non-academic and political field. The authors suggest that an entirely new approach is required in order to develop a, not yet existing, education for global citizenship (I. Davies & Reid, 2005). Now, the latter article compels us to

make yet another conceptual remark. In connection with the introduction of a global dimension in the UK curriculum, and the introduction of citizenship as statutory subject in English secondary schools in 2002, the last decade has brought about a proliferation of the concept global citizenship education in the British school debate (DFID & DfES, 2005). This has also caused confusion and in this context it can be noted that there are principally three takes on the relationship between global education and global citizenship education in the literature. As indicated above, one position in the debate emphasizes the fundamental differences between the two (I. Davies & Reid, 2005). Another position views global education as a crucial historical precursor of global citizenship education, but still argues that the new concept comprises new dimensions (L. Davies, Harber, & Yamashita, 2005). A third position stresses the similarities between the fields and regards the two concepts as more or less synonymous (Hicks, 2007a). Obviously the employment of global education as a comprehensive concept has both its proponents and its adversaries.

2.1.2. One field? – Many definitions

Even if one were to subscribe to the claim that global education constitutes not only *a* field but also *one* single field, ambiguity prevails. There seems to be a general consensus in the literature that there is no single universal definition of global education (I. Davies & Pike, 2009; Hicks, 2003; Hicks & Holden, 2007; Landorf, 2009; Le Roux, 2001; Mundy & Manion, 2008; Pike, 2000; Reimer & McLean, 2009). Some scholars view this as unfortunate, arguing that greater clarity as regards the meaning of global education would facilitate implementation and promotion (Begler, 1993; Case, 1993; Heater, 1980; Pike, 2000; Reimer & McLean, 2009). Others have argued that a certain conceptual openness and flexibility, e.g. meaning derived from educational practice rather than just theoretical mastering, is recommendable (Merryfield, 1993; B. B. Tye & Tye, 1992). Now, an abundance of different definitions of global education has circulated in the literature through the years and some of them deserve to be mentioned in a literature review of this kind. There are basically two reasons for this. First, it is way of illustrating the point about the conceptual confusion and attempts of boundary work within the literature. Secondly, and more importantly, it is way of illustrating the inclination in much of the literature towards prescriptive definitions. This is important since the operational definition of global education employed in this dissertation has been developed largely in contrast to these normative approaches.

1976 is an interesting year since two authoritative academic definitions of global education was introduced in two different geographical contexts, i.e. the US and the UK, respectively. Through the years, many publications on global education have referred back to these seminal works and it should come as no surprise that these references have often been marked by a certain national bias. In 1976,

Hanvey published a paper at the University of Denver entitled *An Attainable Global Perspective* (Hanvey, 1976). This paper was very influential and it has been reprinted a number of times in different context. Hanvey proposed a normative definition of a global perspective in education based on five interdisciplinary dimensions:

- Perspective consciousness: an awareness that one's own view of the world is not shared universally and that it is often shaped unconsciously
- 'State of the planet' awareness: awareness of prevailing world conditions and development
- Cross-cultural awareness: awareness of the differences and similarities of practices and ideas in human societies around the world
- Knowledge of global dynamics: understanding key traits and mechanisms of the world system, with emphasis on theories and concepts that may increase consciousness of global change
- Awareness of human choice: awareness of the dilemmas that confronts individuals, societies and humanity as knowledge expands and the globe shrinks (Hanvey, 1976).

It is quite remarkable, particularly with consideration to the proliferation of this definition, that perspective consciousness and 'state of the planet' awareness is assumed to walk hand in hand.

At the same time, in the UK, Richardson elaborated an influential analytical framework for exploring global issues in school in the book *Learning for change in world society*. Here, he argued that the global issues that had to be analysed fell into four broad categories: *poverty*; *oppression*; *conflict*; and *environment*. Influenced by thinkers such as Freire and Galtung, Richardson favoured a participatory, action-oriented pedagogy and emphasized the importance of learning to change the world. Hence, his framework for exploring global issues consisted of four analytical aspects: *background*, *problems*, *values* and *action* (Richardson, 1976). Richardson's work directly influenced a large national curriculum project in the 1980s in the UK entitled *World Studies 8-13* which encompassed five thematic areas: *ourselves and others*; *rich and poor*; *peace and conflict*; *our environment*; and *the world tomorrow* (Hicks, 1990).

A decade later, another influential definition of global education was offered in an article by the American scholar Kniep. As indicated by its title, *Defining a Global Education by its Content*, Kniep highlighted the importance of substantive content and, equally important, problem-orientation in global education (Kniep, 1986). His firm opinion was that global education should address, and constitute a serious response to, the immediate global problems that the world was facing. However, he provided little reflection on how, and more important by whom, these problems are defined. In the article, Kniep suggested four main content emphases:

- Human values: study of universal values that transcend group identity as well as diverse cultural values that define group membership and contribute to differing world views
- Global systems*:* study of the workings of interactive global systems: economic, political, ecological and technological
- Global issues and problems: study of persistent, transnational, interconnected concerns of our age, such as peace and security, development, the environment, and human rights
- Global history : study of the evolution of human values, the historical development of contemporary global systems, and the origin origins of current global issues and problems (Kniep, 1986).

A couple of years later, largely influenced by Hanvey's seminal work, Pike and Selby further elaborated five aims and a four-dimensional analytical model for an, in their words, *irreducible* – rather than *attainable* in the words of Hanvey – global perspective. The five aims are: *System consciousness*; *Perspective consciousness*; *Health of the planet awareness*; *Involvement, consciousness and preparedness*; and *Process mindness.* The analytical model proposed by the authors encompasses: a *spatial dimension*; a *temporal dimension*; an *issues dimension*; and an *inner dimension* (Pike & Selby, 1988). Clearly, Pike and Selby reproduce some of the problems with Hanvey's definition.

Two years later Tye suggested the following comprehensive definition of global education in his book *Global education –from thought to action*:

> Global education involves learning about those problems and issues that cuts across national boundaries, and about the interconnectedness of systems – ecological, cultural, economic, political, and technological. Global education involves perspective taking – seeing things through the eyes and minds of others – and it means the realization that while individuals and groups may view life differently, they also have common needs and wants (K. A. Tye, 1990, p. 5).

In 1993, drawing on the work of Hanvey and Kniep, Case proposed yet another definition in the article *Key Elements of a Global Perspective* (Case, 1993). Case differentiated between what he calls a *substantive* and a *perceptual* dimension of global education, and he argued that both components were mandatory. The substantive dimension incorporated knowledge of global practices, interconnections, processes and conditions. It also involved past, present and future patterns of global affairs. The perceptual dimension involved components such as open-mindedness, resistance to stereotyping, empathy and non-chauvinism (Case, 1993).

Four years later, Merryfield expanded the definition of global education further to include eight different elements: human beliefs and values; global systems; global issues and problems; cross-cultural understanding; awareness of human choices; global history; acquisition of indigenous knowledge; and development of analytical, evaluative and participatory skills (Merryfield, 1997).

Finally, after the turn of the millennium, two influential definitions can be mentioned. Hicks have suggested a very broad, and less normative, definition whereby global education simply reflects:

> the term used internationally to designate the academic field concerned with teaching and learning about global issues, events and perspectives (Hicks, 2003, p. 274).

However, Hicks takes an explicitly normative position in a text from 2007 where he differentiates between four scenarios of global education: (1) Uncritical; (2) Critical (self); (3) Critical (society); (4) Critical (holistic). Where the first, least appreciated category, is close to his own definition above and the fourth, explicitly normative, category is portrayed as the most desirable (Hicks, 2007a). In my view, Hicks attempt to capture the potential variety of global education is commendable and it has some resemblance to my own approach in chapter 6. However, the problem with Hicks' approach is that he fails to define and critically reflect upon the contested concepts that he employs. Their meaning seems to simply be taken for granted. Moreover he fails to thoroughly analyse the political underpinnings and the inherent contradictions of the different scenarios.

Mundy and Manion have suggested an, indeed normative, working definition of global education based on six axioms (Mundy & Manion, 2008). The six axioms proposed by the authors are:

- A view of the world as one system, and of human life as shaped by a history of global interdependence.
- Commitment to the idea that there are basic human rights and that these include social and economic equality as well as basic freedoms.
- Commitment to the notion of the value of cultural diversity and the importance of intercultural understanding and tolerance for differences of opinion.
- A belief in the efficacy of individual action.
- A commitment to child-centred or progressive pedagogy.
- Awareness and commitment to planetary sustainability.

Mundy and Manion have further developed a so-called *Global education continuum,* which forms part of their working definition of the global education. However, the term continuum is misleading bearing in mind that it is basically a two-folded table based on dichotomous, binary oppositions between what qualifies and does not qualify as global education, i.e. a classic case of boundary work (Mundy & Manion, 2008).

Now, despite the variation outlined above, many of the different definitions also reflect a great deal of commonality. Kirkwood has, after a comparative analysis of various major definitions of global education including several of the above, suggested that differences tend to be idiosyncratic rather than substantive. She has further identified definitional agreement on four essential aspects when

defining global education. These includes: *multiple perspectives*; *comprehension and appreciation of cultures*; *knowledge of global issues*; and *the world as an interrelated system* (Kirkwood, 2001). On the other hand, differences should not be underestimated either and the literature displays several attempts at boundary-work. However, there are some other more troublesome aspects of the literature. Obviously, most of the definitions are highly normative and in my view this hampers, rather than enables, interesting empirical research. Moreover, despite their prescriptive elements, the definitions often lack conceptual and theoretical rigour. Complicated concepts such as system, holistic, development, sustainability, awareness, consciousness etc. are rarely defined. Hence, in a paradoxical way, many definitions are prescriptive yet very unclear. Moreover, many of the scholars fail to critically consider their own presumptions and thus fall short on reflexivity. Much of the literature also displays a desperate search for coherence and, as indicated above, some scholars express concern that there are different interpretations of global education. From the starting-point of this dissertation, that is a very strange way of reasoning. As will be argued throughout this thesis, different interpretations and inherent contradictions are constitutive for the curriculum in a democracy. We will return to this issue in the final section of the chapter.

2.1.3. Content or pedagogical method?

Another controversy that has lingered on in the academic literature on global education revolves around different opinions regarding the importance of content versus pedagogical methods. Although many of the definitions outlined in the previous section may appear content-oriented in kind, there has been some criticism, both external and internal, accusing global education as pedagogical practice in schools of being too preoccupied with experimental pedagogical methods while neglecting content-specific knowledge. One of the first critiques was provided by Lister in the late 1980s:

> The limitation of these new movements has been a tendency to ignore questions of content – the degradation of content – and to overstress process-based teaching and learning (without evaluating it). The dangers include being 'process-rich and content-poor' (Lister, 1987, p. 59).

In a similar spirit, Steiner, after conducting a British national evaluation of the effectiveness of active learning methodologies in world studies, concluded:

> Most teachers concentrate on the self-esteem building, interpersonal and co-operative element of the world studies approach. […] Global issues such, as those to do with the injustice inherent in the current systems of the global economy, or highlighting the cultural achievements and self-sufficiency of Southern societies receive far less attention (Steiner, 1992, p. 9).

Similar controversies and debates have continued after the turn of the millennium. In 2005, Ibrahim touched upon this issue in a UK context and concluded that a lot of curriculum material, teacher guides and textbooks tend to place emphasis on pedagogical processes, learning methods and value exercises, but tend to run short on actual content knowledge of global issues (Ibrahim, 2005) Further, starting from an analysis of the German context, Scheunpflug and Asbrand concluded that one of the greatest challenges for the global education curriculum is uncertainty as regards content, and that such content it is poorly represented in school books and curriculum material. They further maintain that the content of global education has not received much consideration in performance evaluation, either in Germany or in international evaluations, which in turn is viewed as troublesome in the face of output-oriented educational systems (Scheunpflug & Asbrand, 2006). In this context, it might be worth mentioning that quite ambitious curriculum programmes have been launched in both countries to rectify some of these problems (BMZ & KMK, 2007; Oxfam, 2006).

In polemics with these content-oriented critiques, a number of scholars attempt to defend an emphasis on pedagogical processes and exercises in order to develop skills and attitudes rather than content learning in the traditional sense. For example, Freeman stresses the importance of developing collaborative skills and attitudes as a part of global perspectives in education. Hence, he proposes that cooperative learning methodologies should be at the heart of global education (Freeman, 1993). The pedagogical method of global education, allegedly oriented towards developing learners' ability to reveal interconnections, has also been stressed by Werner and Case (Werner & Case, 1997). In a similar spirit, Selby and Pike emphasize the pedagogical processes of global education. They argue that global education should be founded on learner involvement, whole person development and activity-based pedagogical approaches (Selby & Pike, 2000). Pike has developed this argument further in cooperation with Davies, stressing three aspects of the pedagogical process: focus on procedural (rather than only substantive) concepts; creation of structural arrangements for engagement; and, encouraging respectful, tolerant and democratic interaction (I. Davies & Pike, 2009). Finally, in this context, it can be mentioned that Pike and Selby, as well as Fountain, have produced widespread and influential teaching books on global education, based on methodological rather than content-based approaches (Fountain, 1997; Pike & Selby, 1988).

Obviously, this debate is not unique to global education but forms part of a much bigger and more general pedagogical, didactic and curriculum studies debate, which can be traced way back in history, but has become accentuated and more important in recent years due to the sheer speed with which information and knowledge tend to become outdated, updated and replaced. The main point here is to illustrate that this controversy has been debated in the

global education literature for quite some time. However, ultimately it seems reasonable to suggest that most scholars would agree that in an ideal world, global education teachers master both content and pedagogical methods.

2.1.4. Subject or cross-curricular perspective?

Another, interrelated, debate revolves around the 'mode of implementation', i.e. whether global education should be implemented as an individual subject (or course) *or* as a cross-curricular perspective. An overview of the literature on global education indicates that a vast majority of scholars favour a comprehensive perspective. In fact, it is fair to argue that this notion has had a hegemonic position among academics in the field. Hence, although it was written more than 30 years ago, the following quote by Heater pretty much captures the sentiment of most scholars:

> But before engaging in this analysis we must note an important general strategic argument. This is the widespread conviction that teaching the material as a separate subject – world studies, international affairs, under whatever title it might parade – is to adopt a profoundly weak position. Such a cautionary note is often sounded in practical recognition of the overcrowded nature of so many secondary school timetables. However, to press this pragmatic argument is to miss the essential point. This is that the acceptance of a separate slot on the timetable, if it were ever to be offered, would be, in the eyes of many world studies advocates, a surrender of one of their most cherished principles. This principle holds that global understanding is an educational matter that rises above the sub-division of human knowledge into discrete disciplines and must, in being true to our own aims, colour the subject-matter of very many conventional subjects (Heater, 1980, pp. 88-89).

There is an abundance of books, book chapters, articles and documents that basically put forward the same argument (e.g. I. Andersson & Sundgren, 1976; Becker, 1979; L. Davies, et al., 2005; Hansson, 2006; Holden, 2000; Pike & Selby, 1988; Richardson, 1976, 1996; Tucker, 1991; K. A. Tye, 1990; UNESCO, 1974). In a UK context, it has further been suggested by some scholars that the new label *global education* has the advantage compared to the older concept *World Studies* by more clearly implying a cross-curricular perspective rather than a time-tabled subject (Hicks & Holden, 2007; Holden, 2000; Richardson, 1996). Consequently, in a very explicit way *The World Studies Trust* announces that:

> Global Education is not a subject, but a dimension that runs through the curriculum, an extra filter to help children make sense of all the information and opinion the world is throwing at them (Midwinter, 2005, p. 1).

The ambitious German cross-curricular framework for *Global Development Education*, briefly referred to in the previous section, also deserves to be mentioned here since it is based on a similar logic (BMZ & KMK, 2007).

In fact, it is surprisingly difficult to find any proponents in the literature for treating global issues within the framework of a single subject or course. Bearing in mind the hegemonic status of this position in the literature, it might seem a bit self-contradictory to frame this issue as a 'tension' or a 'controversy' in the literature. Nevertheless, there are two basic reasons why it has been framed as a controversy. Firstly, fact of the matter is that there are many different examples in schools where practising teachers have chosen to implement global education within the framework of individual, often locally designed, courses (cf. 6.1.1). Secondly, as will be evident in section 2.3, many teachers and teacher students, unlike scholars, tend to be somewhat sceptical of the idea of global education as an overarching perspective (Hallgren, 1972; Robbins, Francis, & Elliot, 2003; K. A. Tye, 1999). Hence, on this issue there seems to be a tension between scholars and practitioners engaged in global education.

2.1.5. Field or social movement?

A review of the literature indicates that it is not uncommon that global education is referred to not only as a field but also as a kind of *social movement* (Freeman, 1993; Heater, 1980; Holden, 2000; Lister, 1987; Richardson, 1996; K. A. Tye, 1999, 2009, 1990). This brings yet another angle to the ambiguous debate on global education. Marshall explicitly rejects the term *movement* and favours the term *field* since it, in her view, to a greater extent acknowledges heterogeneity (Marshall, 2005). Tye, on the other hand, takes Gusfield's definition as starting point according to which a social movement:

> implies a program or set of actions by a significant number of people directed towards some social change (K. A. Tye, 1990, p. 158).

In line with this definition he argues that global education possesses several characteristics of a social movement. In fact, Tye and Tye have presented analyses of several global education projects based on five proposed characteristic features of such a social movement. These include: (1) Conditions that produce the movement; (2) Membership; (3) Socio-political context in which the movement resides; (4) Structural properties of the movement; (5) Behaviours of the members. Based on these analyses the authors make a case for labelling global education as a social movement. Emphasized factors are in brief: the post-Cold War context including issues of environment, trade, terrorism, changing political systems, media coverage; membership sensation founded in both professional interests, socio-psychological interests and values; socio-political prerequisites such as freedom of speech and systems of mass-communication; structural properties such as legitimation, knowledge, resources and team building; and a value-oriented pursuit of social change moving *from* efforts to dominate others, export of values and competition *towards* cooperation, interdependence and globally shared values and goals (B. B. Tye & Tye, 1992; K. A. Tye, 1990). Regardless of whether one subscribes to the conclusion that

global education ought to be understood as a social movement or not it, can still be viewed as commendable that the key concept 'social movement' is actually defined by the scholars (cf. 2.1.1).

Approximately a decade later, Tye published a global survey entitled *Global Education: A Worldwide Movement*, which, amongst other things, was:

> intended to be a way to create communication among the various global education participants and programs in the word dedicated to furthering such ideals. Finally, the study examines social movements throughout the world that have goals similar to those of global education, with the intention of pointing out those similarities and suggesting ways in which there might be collaboration between global educators and members of those other movements (K. A. Tye, 1999, p. xiv).

However, it has not only been suggested that the global education movement should promote global education per se. For example, Freeman argues that the global education movement should adopt long-term strategies to promote overall reform of education (Freeman, 1993). In the context of these highflying ambitions, and an aura of unity, Lister offers some very critical remarks.

> Sometimes the strengths of social commitment run over into being a kind of latter-day religious movement (with devotees talking about 'when I became global' as a moment of conversion). The new movements have within them individuals who know the truth, who are evangelical, and who do the cause more harm than good. The new movements have been weak in dealing with these people and they have been weak in trying to sort out good practice from bad (Lister, 1987, p. 59).

Lister's premonitory remarks bring us to the sixth and last of the controversies in the literature on global education, i.e. the issue of political orientation.

2.1.6. Reformist or radical?

The last controversy to be dealt with in this first section of the literature review revolves around the political orientation of global education. What is particularly interesting about this controversy is that it has, to a large extent, been marked by crude attempts by various scholars to pin down the political 'essence' of global education. The fallacy of such attempts is that they completely disregard the fact that global education can be subject to many different interpretations and implementations. Nevertheless, in the process of reviewing the literature, an analytical distinction can be made between two forms of debates. Firstly, an *external* debate, carried out between proponents of global education and fierce opponents who regard it to be subversive and dangerous. Secondly, an *internal* debate, pursued by various proponents of global education who attribute different political meanings to it, ranging from cautious reformism to radical change. Both debates will be referred to briefly.

Several proponents of global education have attracted attention to various *external* attacks from the 1980s and onwards (Caporaso & Mittelman, 1988; Hicks, 2003, 2007a; Lister, 1987; Marshall, 2005; Schukar, 1993; K. A. Tye, 1999, 2009, 1990). In a US context, the 1986 report *Blowing the Whistle on Global Education* was the starting signal for several 'right-wing' critiques of global education. Cunningham, a lawyer at a regional office of the US Department of Education, criticized the University of Denver's Centre for Teaching International Affairs – which provided training for high school teachers – and concluded that global education was: anti-American, anti-capitalist, pacifistic, fostering capitulationist attitudes, utopian, promoting moral relativism, pursuing a hard left political agenda, and, was turning students into radical activists (Cunningham, 1986). Cunningham's criticism was met by Caporaso and Mittelman in the article *The Assault on Global Education* where they presented four possible interpretations of the so-called 'assault' as: (1) Foremost a local political affair albeit founded in isolationist and prejudiced sentiments; (2) Stemming from a more general critique from the religious right in the US based on nationalistic chauvinism and xenophobia; (3) Reflecting a more widespread reduced support for internationalism in the US; (4) Reflecting the recurrence of McCarthyism in the US (Caporaso & Mittelman, 1988). Shukar has drawn attention to three other debates that followed in the wake of Cunningham's article: Firstly, the so-called *Kersten report* from 1988, which criticized the alleged 'leftist' way that Central American issues had been presented by a global education project in Minnesotan schools. Secondly, a process in Iowa whereby what was from the beginning some objections from Christian fundamentalist groups to certain aspects of teaching turned into a full-fledged critique of global education in general. Thirdly, Buherer's book *The New Age Masquerade* from 1990 in which global educators were accused of preaching a new religion and global education was portrayed as a political branch of New Age mysticism (Schukar, 1993). Tye provides a few other examples of such 'right-wing' attacks and concludes that the cumulative result of them was that state departments of education, school managers, teachers, as well as teacher trainers, became much more cautious about employing the term global education and about dealing with global issues in school. Moreover, funding for global education declined substantially (K. A. Tye, 2009).

A very similar academic battle emerged in the UK in the 1980s. The starting point of the 'right-wing' critique of global education was an article written by Scruton entitled *World studies: Education or indoctrination?* (Scruton, 1985). In the article, Scruton accuses world studies of various crimes such as politicisation, indoctrination, curricular imperialism, infantile and manipulative teaching methods, and, lowering of academic standards. World studies were basically pictured by Scruton as: left-wing, 'Third Worldist', dangerous, disreputable and

lacking rigour.[2] Selby and Pike responded to this critique in their 1986 article *Scrutinizing Scruton,* arguing that Scruton himself was pursuing a political agenda, was drawing conclusions based on a delimited and selective use of sources, and had not conducted any school or classroom observations whatsoever (Selby & Pike, 1986). Nevertheless, in hindsight Hicks and Holden conclude that Scruton's criticism in fact would turn out to be a harbinger of the late 1980s Conservative curriculum in the UK (Hicks, 2003, 2007a; Holden, 2000). Lister further reviews a number of attacks on peace education – treated here as a component of global education – pursued in the 1980s by Anderson, Marks, Cox and Scruton, all sharing the claim that peace education is left-wing political propaganda and lowers intellectual standards. The following quote by Jacobs epitomizes the sentiments of these right-wing scholars:

> Peace studies promotes, both wittingly and unwittingly, the Soviet Union's foreign policy and strategic propaganda objectives: peace is defined in terms of Soviet demands and Soviet definitions (Jacobs, 1985 in: Lister, 1987, p. 57).

There have been similar ideological clashes between proponents and critics of global education in the Swedish context. However, since this is a topic for chapter 5, the debate will not be reviewed here. What can be mentioned, though, is that critique has been put forward from both conservative and neo-liberal positions in different periods (cf. 5.4.1 and 5.6.2). However, two things are basically of primary interest in the context of this literature review. Firstly, the polarization in the academic debate, and the ideological clashes that played out between proponents and adversaries of global education, in the 1980s and 1990s. As will be evident, this ideological war of position has been largely downplayed in recent years. Secondly, the attempts to 'fix' the political meaning of global education, which tends to create a lot of blind-spots. We will return to both of these issues in upcoming chapters.

As indicated above, there has also been an *internal* debate, reflecting quite different political interpretations of global education. In a very broad sense, all proponents of global education seem to agree that global education is imperative due to global transformations and the range of challenges they bring about for societies and individuals. However, very different political conclusions can, of course, be drawn from such a general consensus. Thus, the literature also displays an internal debate between proponents of cautious reformism as well as radical change. Heater touched upon this issue in 1980, stating that the field was distinguished by:

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[2] Today Scruton is a widely published conservative writer and philosopher. Among his publications we can note *England and the Need for Nations* and *The Dangers of Internationalism* (Scruton, 2004, 2005). Scruton has coined the concept *oikophobia.* This, according to the author, denotes the opposite of xenophobia, i.e. repudiation of inheritance and home, particularly widespread among intellectuals in favour of multiculturalism.

a certain hardness of difference between those with liberal and those of radical casts of mind (Heater, 1980, p. 8).

Holden also recognizes that there has been 'leftist' critique from within, arguing that global education is not political enough and that it is evading burning issues related to capitalism and power (Holden, 2000). Somewhat interestingly, Lister further draws attention to the fact that Hicks – an important member of the academic collective that Scruton accused of being apologists of communism – has been pictured as a gutless liberal by more radical scholars of global education such as Hatcher (Lister, 1987). On the other hand, there are also proponents of more cautious and reformist avenues. Shukar, for example, argued for a very careful approach, stating that controversial issues must be embraced in global education, although through a thoughtful, reflective and balanced procedure (Schukar, 1993). In a similar way, despite his often solemn declarations about the importance of fundamental societal transformation, Tye has stated that:

> the idea that global education is somehow a left-wing movement is simply wrong (K. A. Tye, 1990, p. 162).

In the face of these polarized positions, a more sober understanding of the field seems to be offered by Pike in the following quote:

> For some, global education is tantamount to giving a broader geographical perspective to the social studies curriculum so as to equip students to compete more effectively in the global marketplace. For others, it represents a fundamental re-evaluation of the content, organization, and purpose of schooling in line with a transformative vision of education in a planetary context. Many positions are held at various points between these extremes (Pike, 2000, p. 65).

However, taking this quote into consideration, his categorical conclusions in the rest of the article are somewhat surprising. In the article, Pike makes a comparative study of global education in the US, Canada and the UK and he argues that, although there is a consensus on the general ideas of global education between the three countries, there is a pattern of difference between on the one hand the US and on the other Canada/UK. According to Pike, global educators in the US tend to focus on separate countries and cultures; pursue reformist goals, i.e. not demand any fundamental reshaping of the world; and emphasize harmony and similarity. In Canada/UK, on the other hand, global educators tend to focus on interconnections between people and global systems; pursue more radical goals in the common interests of all people on the planet; emphasize conflicts and differences in terms of power, wealth and rights (Pike, 2000).

What is particularly important to stress in this context is that much of the literature on global education fails to recognize that the curriculum is formed in a field of tension between different social and political forces, and accordingly that

it is open to many different interpretations. The upcoming chapters of this dissertation will be largely devoted to this issue and its implications for both researchers and practitioners.

Summing up section 2.1.1-2.1.6 very briefly, it can be concluded that the literature on global education is characterized by a large degree of conceptual confusion and that it conveys several inherent tensions. The literature displays abundance of attempts to define global education and in a paradoxical way, these definitions are often highly prescriptive, but at the same time very unclear.

2.2. Historical outlines

A second general theme in the literature concerns the historical evolution of global education in different countries. A lot of texts deal with this topic and I do not intend to review this literature in its entirety. The limited scope of this chapter does not allow for such an approach. Rather, the intention is to present a selection of literature on the topic to the concerned reader and attempt to make some general remarks in relation to it. Three main issues will be addressed: periodization; country-specific historical outlines; and some common characteristics of these historical outlines.

2.2.1. Periodization

First a few notes on periodization. The historically oriented literature on global education encompasses quite different historical periodizations and accordingly Richardson is undoubtedly right when he concludes that:

> With every important movement in education, as in all other fields of endeavour, it is difficult or impossible to identify the starting-point with accuracy and confidence. This is certainly the case with world studies (Richardson, 1996, p. 4).

In fact, some authors even choose to apply different periodizations in different publications. Nevertheless, the historically oriented literature can basically be divided into three different branches. One branch of the literature adopts a very comprehensive approach whereby the origin of global education is traced all the way back to cosmopolitan ideals in ancient Greece, via the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, up to the contemporary debate on global citizenship (Heater, 2003; Kemp, 2005). A second branch of the literature adopts a kind of 'middle-range' approach tracking the origin of global education to various initiatives in the first half of the 20th century (cf. 2.2.2), albeit acknowledging the new momentum of the late 1960s or early 1970s (Becker, 1979; Heater, 1980; Hicks, 2003). The third, and most common approach in the literature, is more 'short-term'. It stresses the paradigmatic shift of the late 1960s and early 1970s – epitomized in e.g. the UNESCO *Recommendation concerning education for international understanding, co-operation and peace and education relating to*

human rights and fundamental freedoms, the *World Studies Project* in Britain and the inception of the *American Forum for Global Education* – and thus emphasizes this context as the proper vantage point for a historical analysis of global education (Bjerstedt, 1988; Hicks, 2007a; Holden, 2000; Lister, 1987; K. A. Tye, 2009; Törnvall, 1982). As indicated by these three branches in the literature, the question of periodization is very much open to debate. Nevertheless, the historical outline of global education in Sweden that is offered in chapter 5 of this dissertation has as its starting point the 1960s. In this respect, the dissertation aligns itself with the last of the three branches in the literature.

2.2.2. Country-specific historical outlines

There is a certain irony to most historical outlines of *global* education. This is because they almost exclusively, sketch *national* trajectories of global education. Attempts to sketch international trajectories and transnational interconnections are scarce. In fact, this dissertation commits the very same crime (cf. Chapter 5). In a glaring way, this confirms Beck's view that *methodological nationalism* permeates social sciences (Beck, 2005) . On the other hand, it could of course be argued that some kind of delimitation is necessary in order to make history manageable. Moreover, country-specific outlines might be justified due to the fact that we after all live in a world with nationally based school systems and curricula. Nevertheless, a few examples of some, at least mainly, country-specific narratives from the UK, US, Germany and Sweden will be presented here.

Several general outlines of the historical evolution of global education in the UK have been compiled. These texts are largely internally coherent although there are some obvious time-lags due to different publication dates and different periodizations (Heater, 1980, 1982; Hicks, 2003, 2007a; Holden, 2000; Lister, 1987; Marshall, 2005; Richardson, 1996). In a 'middle range' perspective, the following origins has been highlighted in the British literature. The establishment, by teachers, of the *World Education Fellowship* in the 1920s with its journal *The New Era,* the establishment of the *Council for Education in World Citizenship* in the 1930s*,* the *Education Committee of the League of Nations Union in Britain*, which was extremely active in the early 1930s*,* the *British Co-ordinating Committee for International Studies*[3] and, indeed, the inception of the *United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization* (UNESCO) in 1946 with its *Associated School Project* (ASPRO) launched in 1953, which was implemented in Britain from the very start (Heater, 1980, 1982; Hicks, 2003; Richardson, 1996). In a 'short-term' perspective, which emphasizes the paradigmatic shift of the late 1960s and early 1970s, five different periods, encompassing different curriculum enterprises are highlighted in the British literature. This implies that a new momentum for global education appears to recur, roughly, at ten-year intervals.

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[3] The *Council for Education in World Citizenship* played an important role in the realization of the *Conference of Allied Ministers of Education* which, in turn, created UNESCO (Heater, 1980, p. 15).

(1) In a 'short-term' perspective, the birth of global education in the UK is associated with Richardson's introduction of the *World Studies Project* in 1973. (2) In 1980, this endeavour was further developed by Hicks amongst others into the project *World Studies 8-13*. (3) Pike and Selby developed this project further in the 1980s at the *Centre for Global Education* in York, although mainly addressing the secondary school level. (4) As a result of the so-called 'right-wing' attacks on global education and the conservative re-orientation of the UK curriculum, Pike and Selby migrated to Canada where they found a more conducive working environment in the early 1990s and set up the *Institute for Global Education* at the University of Toronto. (5) In the first decade of the 21st century, initiatives such as Oxfam's *Education for Global Citizenship* curriculum guide and the introduction of a global dimension in the UK curriculum are emphasized (Hicks, 2003, 2007a; Holden, 2000).

Until recently, there were only some fairly outdated sketches of the historical evolution of global education in the US (e.g. Becker, 1979; Kniep, 1985; Tucker, 1991). However, in 2009 Tye published an updated comprehensive historical outline (K. A. Tye, 2009). Although he recognizes the paradigmatic shift of the late 1960s and early 1970s, Tye make some comments on the preludes to global education of which one is particularly interesting:

> Yet paradoxically, it was the Cold War that gave rise to a decade of investment in international education. In October, 1957, the Soviet Union launched *Sputnik*, the first man-made space satellite. The US Congress responded in 1958 by passing the National Defence Education Act which, through its Title VI Program, required funding for foreign language and area studies centers located at universities across the country. The area studies centers were charged particularly to focus on lesser-known areas of the world. Included in the mandate for study centers was the idea of outreach for teacher training and materials development for the pre-collegiate system (K. A. Tye, 2009).

This quote is interesting in that it points to the importance of understanding the general historical context when analyzing the trajectory of global education. As will be evident in chapter 3, this is one of the cornerstones of a socially and historically based curriculum theory approach. Moreover, as will be evident in chapters 4 and 5 of this dissertation, such a comprehensive approach will be pursued, pointing to the connections between security interests and development cooperation and how they, ultimately, relate to global education. Nevertheless, Tye basically argues that the history of global education in the US can be divided into four periods. Firstly, the take-off period in the 1970s, which Tye largely associates with the pioneering work of Becker and Anderson; some early projects initiated at University of Indiana and Ohio State University; and the institutional set-up of the *American Forum for Global Education* in 1970 which:

> has produced many curriculum materials, sponsored a variety of projects and conferences, and generally been in the forefront of the global education movement.' (K. A. Tye, 2009).

Secondly, the 'golden years' in the 1980s and early 1990s when global education programmes became common in the US. In this period, the Title VI Area Studies Centers, at universities throughout the country, provided in-service training for teachers, provided learning material and offered travel-study courses. During the period, a lot of financial support for global education was also made available via different foundations. Thirdly, the demise of the field in the 1990s was largely related to right-wing attacks and conservative reorientations in education (cf. 2.1.6). Fourthly, the new millennium where Tye claims to identify, despite the fact that conservative political forces continue to impede global education, some avenues of hope for a brighter future (K. A. Tye, 2009).

Scheunpflug and Asbrand have outlined the evolution of global education in a German context (Scheunpflug & Asbrand, 2006). They argue that global education has been a commonly used term in Germany since the mid-1990s. Its origin is traced back by the authors to the 1950s and the establishment of several NGOs, such as *Brot für die Welt*, *Miseror* and *Deutsche Entwicklungsdienst*. In connection with this, concepts such as development education and Third World pedagogy started to evolve. In the 1960s, development education was forwarded as a pedagogical response to the perceived problems of under- and over-development in the world. The role of churches in the 1970s, e.g. through their work with ecumenical learning and resistance against South African apartheid is also highlighted by the authors. In the 1980s, a large educational campaign, focusing on the relationship between resource consumption in the North and development opportunities in the South, entitled *Action e* was launched in the whole German-speaking world. According to Scheunpflug and Asbrand, the term global education – in German *global lernen* – was introduced and diffused in the German-speaking area in the 1990s by a Swiss forum called *Forum Schule für Eine Welt*. The authors further argue that global lernen has established itself in the new millennium as a field in Germany that offers a:

> pedagogical reaction to the developmental state of world society (Scheunpflug & Asbrand, 2006, p. 35).

Turning to the case of Sweden, the following can be concluded. Prior to this dissertation there are no comprehensive, updated, historical outlines of the evolution of global education in Sweden. This dissertation constitutes an attempt to fill this knowledge gap. Nevertheless, there are some delimited, sporadic and quite outdated sketches of its trajectory that might be worth mentioning. Rodhe, Törnvall and Bjerstedt, respectively, have offered some brief descriptions of the evolution of global education (albeit using different terms) in Sweden in the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s and 1980s (Bjerstedt, 1988; Rodhe, 1971; Törnvall, 1982). Thelin has provided a brief historical sketch of the evolution of peace education, and its interconnections with development education and environmental education – all of which arguably forms part of global education – in Sweden

between 1945 and 1990 (Thelin, 1990). A more comprehensive, yet relatively brief, overview was offered in a report by the Swedish National Agency for Education in 1996. Despite its limited scope, it is interesting in so far as it connects the evolution of global education to the emergence of Swedish development cooperation in the 1960s (Skolverket, 1996). Finally, a historical account of the Swedish Development Cooperation Authority's (Sida) information work aimed at schools between 1991-2004 can be mentioned (Nordisk kommunikation, 2005).

2.2.3 Common characteristics of the historical outlines

An overview of the literature on the historical evolution of global education in different countries indicates some common characteristics which are relevant to touch upon briefly. Firstly, the literature in the UK, US, Germany and Sweden all share a great resemblance insofar as actors in four societal institutions are portrayed as having been particularly influential as regards the implementation of global education in their respective school systems. These institutions are: national educational authorities, national development cooperation authorities, universities and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) (I. Andersson & Sundgren, 1976; Bjerstedt, 1988; Heater, 1982; Hicks, 2003; Hicks & Holden, 2007; Holden & Hicks, 2007; Marshall, 2005; Scheunpflug & Asbrand, 2006; Thelin, 2000; K. A. Tye, 2009; Törnvall, 1982). Moreover, it is argued that actors in these different institutions often co-operate in various, more or less, formal networks (cf. Chapter 5). Secondly, another general feature of the literature is that it stresses that in-service training – rather than pre-service training – of teachers have been the preferred mode of implementing global education in the different countries. Hence, according to the literature, actors at educational authorities, development cooperation authorities and other proponents of global education have generally considered practising teachers to be the primary target group in the quest to implement global education (Becker, 1979; Bjerstedt, 1988; Hicks, 2003; Hicks & Holden, 2007; Holden, 2000; Kirkwood-Tucker, 2009; B. B. Tye & Tye, 1992, 1993; K. A. Tye, 2009; Törnvall, 1982). There have ,of course, been other approaches such as production of learning material, curriculum development et cetera. However, from the historical accounts it is quite clear that practising teachers have been regarded as a key in the implementation of global education (cf. Chapter 5). Thirdly, a common characteristic of the literature on global education in the US, UK and Sweden is that it touches on various 'right-wing' attacks in different periods (Hicks, 2003, 2007a; Thelin, 2000; K. A. Tye, 2009). Fourthly, a common characteristic of the historical literature on global education is that it is quite weak in terms of theory, i.e. it primarily provides shallow descriptions of historical trajectories and it fails to deliver any deeper theoretical analysis.

2.3. Empirical mappings

The third principal theme in the global education literature consists of various kinds of empirical mappings. By this is implied, in a very broad sense, empirical research concerned with different actors' knowledge and understanding of, attitudes towards, interest in, and perception of one's own competencies in relation to, issues relevant to global education. A general feature of this research is that it tends to be shallow in terms of theory, i.e. it provides horizontal descriptions rather than theoretically driven attempts of explanation or interpretation. Hence, the epithet *mappings*. In this section, some examples of such empirical mappings will be presented, focusing on four different categories of actors: *teachers*, *teacher students* and *pupils*. Finally, an example of a *global survey* focused on curriculum experts in different countries will be presented.[4] This review is by no means comprehensive but offers a selection of studies. Nevertheless, it attempts to point out some general features and conclusions from previous research in different periods and geographical contexts. The general organizational principle of the sections is chronological, i.e. earlier studies are presented before later studies. However, on one occasion this principle is deviated from due to longitudinal relationships between a number of Swedish studies (2.3.3). Every section ends with a brief summary and comment on the general findings from previous empirical mappings.

2.3.1. Empirical mappings of teachers

As indicated in the previous section, proponents of global education have generally regarded teachers as the most important actors in the implementation of global education. Yet, at the same time, there is a broad consensus that teaching on global development issues is not an altogether easy endeavour. Several empirical studies have been carried out with a focus on teachers and their relationship to global education. Some examples will be outlined below.

In a Swedish context a pioneering study was carried out by Hallgren in the early 1970s. Hallgren's aim was to investigate teachers' attitudes towards what he refers to as 'internationalized teaching' in general, and what role and position the teachers thought that international issues should have in the curriculum. The study further looked into teachers' opinions of pre-service and in-service training. The study was based on a questionnaire survey encompassing 476 comprehensive school teachers on different levels. The general conclusion of the study was something of a paradox. A vast majority of teachers claimed to be

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[4] The literature review is delimited in so far as it does not include any reviews of textbook analysis in relation to global education. There are three basic reasons for this delimitation. First, this dissertation does not include any thorough textbook analyses and thus there is no pertinent need to position the dissertation in relation to previous research of that kind. Secondly, limited time and resources make delimitations inevitable. Thirdly, textbook analyses are relatively scarce in the global education literature, although there have been some interesting work of great relevance (e.g. Ibrahim, 2005; Palmberg, 1987, 2000).

interested, or very interested, in teaching about international issues and problems. Moreover, an even greater majority considered such teaching to be important, or very important, and maintained that it ought to take up a considerable part of the children's curriculum. Yet, at the same time, the teaching of global issues was reported to be rare phenomenon in classrooms. This discrepancy between ideals and reality was attributed to several factors: (1) Lack of content knowledge of international problems; (2) Lack of appropriate teaching material; (3) Pupils' immaturity; (4) Lack of time. Hallgren proposed a causal relationship between these factors. Lack of content knowledge makes it difficult to find material and work out teaching methods that are appropriate for the pupils' level of maturity. The study's results further indicated that the teachers requested access to better teaching material and a revision of both teacher training and pre-service training towards a greater incorporation of international issues. Concerning curriculum organization, a vast majority of the teachers maintained that international issues were most appropriately handled in social science subjects. Less than one fifth of the teachers thought that an international perspective should permeate all subjects (cf. 2.1.4). Further, the teachers found problems in developing counties and issues of prejudices and discrimination to be particularly important content in internationalized teaching. Environmental problems and issues of war and peace were rated very low in comparison (Hallgren, 1972).

Wright and Wright carried out a study on teachers in Britain in 1974 with the aim of understanding why such a limited amount of work was conducted in what they refer to as 'development education'. The main conclusion of the study was that development education was characterized by a vicious circle of neglect. The vicious circle starts with a lack of adequate knowledge and understanding of global issues among teachers. This has a negative effect on their confidence in teaching these issues, which leads to a lack of demand for more information and few pedagogic initiatives. This, in turn, leads to a severe delimitation of global issues in exams and curriculum. The lack of global issues in curriculum and exams affects teacher training, which in turn leads to insufficient educational research on the topic and also a lack of relevant higher level courses. This in turn leads to insufficiently trained teachers whereby the vicious circle is completed (Wright & Wright, 1974).

In 1982, Törnvall published a dissertation aiming to study the relationship between teachers' basic philosophies and their ideas regarding the internationalization of education. The study was based on in-depth interviews with 40 intermediate-level teachers in the Swedish comprehensive school. The thesis comprises an extensive set of findings of which the following are worth highlighting: (1) According to the teachers, their training at teacher training colleges had not sufficiently prepared them for internationalized teaching nor had it contributed to an increased interest in global issues. (2) The teachers were

in agreement with the intentions of the written curriculum in so far as international content and perspectives were considered to be important. This was primarily due to recognition of: global economic and technological development; threats to global survival; and moral obligations. (3) The teachers perceived their own knowledge of global issues to be insufficient. This notion, in combination with professional ethics of pursuing excellence, made teachers reluctant to prioritize global issues in their teaching. (4) The teachers perceived that insufficient amounts of time, material and money were provided in order to pursue a fruitful internationalization of education. Accordingly, the international dimension of the curriculum was downplayed. However, the study also concluded that the perceived resource scarcities were partly self-inflicted in so far as the teachers' room for manoeuvre to obtain and release resources was not fully utilized. The main recommendations proposed by Törnvall were: Firstly, that enthusiastic people should be employed in teacher training programmes in order to nurture commitment to international issues. Secondly, that teacher needed to be trained to better understand and pursue a range of different ideological perspectives. Thirdly, that teachers were in need of an holistic understanding, i.e. to be able to see various phenomena in a global context (Törnvall, 1982).

Tye and Tye published a study entitled *Global Education: A Study of School Change* in 1992. The study was carried out among teachers at 11 American schools in connection to a global education project. The sample included high schools, feeder junior highs and feeder elementary schools. The primary concern of the study was to find out what it takes to bring a global perspective in to the curriculum of a school. The study was based on a qualitative methodology but also entailed a survey. The principal findings of the study were that: (1) Competing demands on teachers' time schedule and pressure from different directions and levels constituted barriers to implementation of global education. (2) A successful implementation of global education required a behavioural change among teachers. Teachers had to acquire new knowledge within a complex field of study. Moreover, global education often required development of new teaching methods and was thus time-consuming. (3) The quality of the principal's leadership was critical to successful implementation of global education. (4) Some teachers were very reluctant towards global education since they perceived it as politically controversial. Amongst other things, these teachers feared negative responses from parents and the local community (B. B. Tye & Tye, 1992, 1993). In the same year Begler further highlighted some problems related to inadequate background knowledge among teachers in the US. Her results indicated that a successful implementation of global education required a substantial expansion of teachers' knowledge base in relation to disciplines such as world history, international relations, cultural studies, international economics etc. (Begler, 1993).

Steiner presented an evaluation of world studies in a British context in 1992. The evaluation encompassed over 200 teachers involved in the World Studies 8-13 project in the UK. The study concluded that teachers tended to concentrate on elements such as building self-confidence and promotion of collaboration rather than global content as such. Steiner concluded that content was incorporated but only to a limited extent. Moreover, such incorporation tended to be quite selective. Teaching of more complex global issues was avoided by the teachers (Steiner, 1992).

In 2005 Davies et al. explored teachers' concerns in relation to the implementation of global citizenship education in Britain. This study revealed that many teachers perceived a shortage of both content knowledge and methodological repertoire in relation to teaching on global issues. Insufficient teacher training was displayed as one problem. Further, many teachers expressed unease at teaching controversial issues and maintained that they had received little or no training in this regard. They feared that the children were not emotionally ready to deal with these grave concerns. At the same time – somewhat paradoxically – the teachers recognized that their pupils often expressed a desire for more education on real and controversial global issues. Moreover, the teachers expressed uncertainty in relation to assessment in education for global citizenship. A wide range of new resources was requested by the teachers, in particular, up-to-date information and resources suitable for mixed age and mixed achievement classes (L. Davies, et al., 2005).

Marshall published an article based on an interview study of teachers at a British secondary school recognized for its successful work with global education in 2007. The study explored the teachers' pedagogic ideals and their view of the relationship between teachers and students in relation to global education. The study was based on in-depth interviews with 36 practicing teachers engaged in global education. The results points to the perceived importance of content knowledge among the teachers and that many teachers at the school, despite its good reputation, do not have what they perceive to be the required knowledge. Many teachers also expressed emotions of powerlessness in the face of certain global issues. The teachers further pointed to fundamental contradictions between many of the pedagogic ideals in global education, such as human rights and democracy, and an everyday school practice that largely revolves around discipline, performance and examination (Marshall, 2007).

Finally, a study by Mundy and Manion from 2008 can be mentioned, which aimed to explore the implementation of global education in Canadian elementary schools. The study was composed of several parts including an interview study with 31 practicing teachers. The main findings of the study were: (1) That teachers were enthusiastic about global education; (2) Yet, they had a quite tentative and vague definition of the field, not congruent with the academic

literature in the field. (3) Moreover, despite the enthusiasm, implementation was hampered by several barriers including perceived: time-constraints, uncertainty about content, and lack of curricular and pedagogical support. Hence, more time, guidance and in-service training was requested by the teachers (Mundy & Manion, 2008).

An attempt to summarize these previous empirical mappings of teachers suggests the following. Obviously most of these studies, despite being conducted in different decades and different geographical contexts, display common characteristics and it is interesting to note that more or less the same concerns have prevailed since the 1970s. Most teachers maintain that global education is of great importance. Yet they express concern about insufficient content knowledge and insufficient knowledge of suitable teaching methods, which in turn is claimed to hamper implementation of global education. Perceived lack of time is also a recurrent theme brought up by the teachers. Some teachers also express concern about the controversial and intimidating aspects of global education. Generally, the teachers request more and better pre-service and in-service training as regards global education.

2.3.2. Empirical mappings of teacher students

Another actor category, which has been subject to various empirical mappings are soon-to-be teachers, i.e. teacher students. Some examples of such mappings in different chronological and geographical contexts follow.

In 1982, Torney-Purta published an article about the international dimension of undergraduate education in the US. The study entailed some 3,000 undergraduate students, including novices as well as seniors, and involved a knowledge test based on 101 questions divided into 13 global themes, an attitudinal test, a survey of self-estimated language competence, and survey of the students' interest in global issues. The mean score on the knowledge test was a mediocre 41.9 for juniors and 50.5 for seniors. The results further indicated that students were fairly interested in knowing more about global issues; that they were aware of, and very concerned about, global problems; and – paradoxically – that they thought that the world was in need of greater cooperation and world governance but, at the same time, that the US should not give up its sovereignty, maintain its military power and avoid foreign influence. Nevertheless, a disturbing fact for proponents of global education was that the knowledge results of education majors were comparatively low. The average mean for senior education majors was only 39.8. Hence, the teachers-to-be were not up to standard in terms of knowledge of global issues. After conducting a regression analysis of the results, three major conclusions were drawn: (1) One way to improve the knowledge of global problems among future teachers would be to recruit students intellectually more able; (2) Building a clearer international perspective of the formal curriculum was another option; (3) Influencing the

students' media habits and exposing them to more newspaper coverage on international issues was also viewed as a way forward (Torney-Purta, 1982).

Turning to a Swedish context, Rudvall published a study on the existence of education on peace and international understanding in all Teacher Training Colleges in Sweden in 1986. The general conclusion from this survey was that global issues were considered very important by the teacher students. However, according to the teacher students these issues held a quite marginal position in relation to the entire range of activities pursued in their teacher training. Thus, issues of peace and international understanding were abandoned in favour of more traditional course content. Consequently, a general recommendation derived from the survey was that education on global issues, given that it was considered important, required a much stronger emphasis in the course syllabus of teacher training colleges (Rudvall, 1986).

In 2003, Robbins, Francis and Elliott published an article, based on a survey at the University of Wales, foremost concerned with teacher students' attitudes toward global education and the relationship between attitudes and the major subject of the students. The survey was based on a questionnaire distributed to 187 primary and secondary teacher students. The questionnaire consisted of different items relating to global education and was assessed on a five-point Likert scale. Three main conclusions were drawn from the survey: (1) The majority of teacher students acknowledged the importance of global education as curriculum content and stated that it ought to have high priority; (2) Albeit recognizing the importance of teaching global issues, the majority of the teacher students claimed to lack the necessary knowledge and confidence to practise global education in the classroom. (3) There were significant differences in attitudes towards global education among teacher students belonging to different subject affiliations. Teacher students in geography were most positive, whereas teacher students in maths were least positive towards global education (Robbins, et al., 2003).

Holden and Hicks published an article in 2007 based on a study in England with the aim of investigating teacher students' knowledge and understanding of global issues and their motivation to include a global dimension in their teaching. The study was based on a survey of 856 primary and secondary teacher students at four different universities and in-depth interviews with 41 teacher students derived from the same sample. The survey indicated that: (1) A majority of the teacher students claimed to know something or a lot about global issues. They claimed to know most about the reasons for war and famine and least about the reasons for economic problems in the developing world and human rights abuses. Secondary teacher students claim to know more about global issues than primary teacher students. The students' subject affiliation also appeared to be of importance. (2) The teacher students stated that TV and newspaper were their

most important sources of information on global issues. University and school were rated surprisingly low in comparison. According to the authors, this raised questions about the character of the informants' claimed knowledge. (3) As regards prior experience of global issues, 40 per cent of the students had lived and worked abroad. More than half had friends or family from other countries and more than half claimed to be particularly interested in global issues. However, 20 per cent claimed to have no special interest in global issues or connections with other countries or cultures. There was further a strong correlation between personal experiences from other countries and interest in global issues. (4) The teacher students expressed a strong wish to expand their knowledge on global issues. More than half strongly agreed, whereas 40 per cent tended to agree, to the statement that they could make a difference as regards pupils' understanding of global issues. The in-depth interviews largely reflected the findings from the survey. However, the interviews underscored that the teacher students felt an urgent need of more knowledge on global issues and more training about how to teach it, i.e. both content-specific and methodological knowledge. Further, the interviews revealed worries among the students concerning the sensitive and controversial character of the global issues that must be taught (Holden & Hicks, 2007).

In 2008, McLean et al. published an article based on a study of a yearlong programme devoted to immersion and promotion of global education in Canadian teacher education. The study includes a survey of 120 teacher students and primarily addressed three questions: What kinds of students were attracted to global education? What kind of barriers to implementing global education was identified by the teacher students? What could, according to the teacher students, be done on behalf of the teacher education programme to overcome some of these barriers? The findings suggested that the typical teacher student attracted to global education was female, had some background knowledge of development issues, e.g. through previous studies at university or through NGO work; and she was likely to have a background in Geography, History, Science or Literature studies. As regards barriers to implementation, the teacher students particularly stressed: lack of support from mentors and supervisors; high pedagogical demands, i.e. the complication of the issues and the required knowledge to present them fairly and with a sense of hope; lack of time; and, that the curriculum guidelines of their particular subjects were incompatible with global education. The teacher students requested that more time in the teacher training programme be devoted to these issues and thereby develop the students' confidence and skills. Moreover, they asked to be exposed to successful examples of global education teaching and better curriculum links to web-based resources (McLean, Cook, & Crowe, 2008).

An attempt to summarize the findings of these different empirical mappings points to two major conclusions. Firstly, most of the findings, despite the fact

that the research was conducted in different chronological and geographical contexts, point in very similar directions. Secondly, the concerns displayed by teacher students are more or less identical to the ones expressed by practicing teachers (cf. 2.3.1). Hence most of the teacher students claimed that global education was very important. However, they were concerned about insufficient content-specific and methodological knowledge and requested that the teacher education programmes should provide more and better pre-service training in relation to global education. Moreover, some students expressed concern about some of the sensitive and controversial aspects of global education.

2.3.3. Empirical mappings of pupils

A fair amount of research has been carried out attempting to map pupils' knowledge, understanding and attitudes towards various issues related to global education, including perceptions of the global future.

Commencing in a Swedish context, a sequence of such studies can be noted which started out in the early 1980s. Several surveys of pupils' perception of the global future were conducted at the Teacher's Training College in Malmö under the intellectual leadership of Bjerstedt. These studies indicated that the pupils in the 1980s had a very gloomy view of the global future characterized by war, nuclear arms race, famine, environmental degradation etc. The pupils' emotions were largely distinguished by powerlessness and resignation (Ankarstrand-Lindström, 1984a, 1984b; Bjerstedt, 1986; Bjurwill, 1986; Kamienski, 1980; Kamienski, Ekstrand, & Ahlin, 1980).

Oscarsson partly continued this research tradition through his involvement in a number of national evaluations of the Swedish compulsory and secondary school system in the 1990s and the first decade of the new millennium. In connection with the Swedish national evaluation of the compulsory school in 2003 (NU03) – encompassing approximately 200 schools and 10.000 students and their teachers in grade 5 and 9 – Swedish 9th graders were exposed to a set of questions on global issues. Oscarsson analysed and presented the main findings from this survey in a report in 2005. In brief, Oscarsson concluded the following: (1) Pupils were very interested in global issues and they wanted more teaching on these issues than was currently being provided in school. (2) The pupils had comparatively good knowledge of global issues (e.g. in relation to economic issues and political and institutional issues) and the national learning objectives regarding these issues were being attained. Most likely this could be explained by the fact that the pupils had a great interest in the issues. The pupils also had a good understanding of the concept globalization. However, knowledge of the EU and UN's convention of the rights of the child needed to improve. (3) When comparing global poverty and poverty in Sweden, pupils tended to explain global poverty in terms of social resource scarcity and social structures whereas poverty in Sweden was explained in terms of individual

shortcomings. (4) Pupils had a very optimistic view of their own future. Their view of the global future was also quite bright and it was more optimistic compared to similar surveys in the 1980s and 1990s. The greatest threats to the global future identified by the pupils were war, environmental degradation and injustices which, in turn, would generate poverty and famine. A majority thought that it was possible to eradicate global poverty, however, only a minority thought that it would actually happen (Oscarsson, 2005). Oscarsson was also involved in the evaluations on the implementation of the national learning objectives in the compulsory and upper secondary school in 1998 (US98) and the national evaluation of the compulsory school in 1992 (NU92). In brief, US98 indicated, as did NU03, that pupils were interested in, and wanted more teaching on, global issues. The study further pointed towards a clear progression between age groups in terms of knowledge development regarding these issues. However, the progression was not considered to be sufficient in relation to the national learning objectives. As regards explanations of poverty, the pupils, just as in the case of NU03, tended to explain global poverty in terms of larger structures whereas poverty in Sweden was largely related to individual flaws. The pupils' understanding of global interdependence was considered somewhat delimited in US98 (B. Andersson, Kärrqvist, Löfstedt, Oscarsson, & Wallin, 1999). In both US98 and NU92, the pupils displayed a more pessimistic view of the global future compared to NU03. Consequently, an increasing optimism among the pupils can be noted from the 1980s, through the 1990s and up to the first decade in the new millennium (B. Andersson, et al., 1999; Oscarsson, 1993, 2005).

There are, further, several examples of pupil-oriented studies conducted in countries other than Sweden. In 1996, Hutchinson published a study based on a survey of 650 Australian upper secondary school students. The survey was complemented with group interviews with students derived from the same sample. The main findings of Hutchinson's study were that students expressed a strong sense of pessimism, hopelessness and anguish about the global future. Their main concerns revolved around: an uncompassionate world; violence and war; poverty, unemployment and widening gaps between rich and poor; and an environmentally unsustainable world (Hutchinson, 1996).

In 1998, a school survey on school children's – aged 11-16 – knowledge of global issues was carried out in Britain by the survey research organization *Market Opinion Research International* (MORI). From this poll it was concluded that the majority of the children felt that they had some knowledge of the causes of war, environmental degradation, famine, overpopulation, human rights abuse and economic problems of developing countries. They further rated television as their number one information source on global issues, followed by school, newspapers and parents. Most children expressed a wish to have much more knowledge about these issues. Environmental degradation, war and increasing

inequalities between rich and poor were perceived by the students as genuine threats to the global future (MORI, 1998).

Tanner has published an article, which attempts to compile some twenty surveys of children's knowledge of the wider world. According to Tanner the general findings of these different surveys can be summarized accordingly: (1) Children's known world tended to expand relatively to their age, but the process is largely dependent on socio-cultural factors. (2) Children who had travelled outside their home country appeared to have more complex and nuanced understanding of different countries. (3) Children referred to television and school as the most important sources of information about the wider world. However, there seemed to be a complex interplay between pre-existing knowledge, attitudes and new information from these sources. (4) Younger children tended to have inaccurate, stereotypical and negative views about distant countries and people and there was a correlation between the distance and the degree of prejudice. Africa was particularly exposed to negative stereotyping. However, the studies also indicated that the younger children harbour the potential to break away from negative stereotypes if exposed to challenging information (Tanner, 1999).

In the 1994 study, Hicks and Holden explored the perspectives of the future among some 400 British children aged 7-18 in a survey. The data from the survey were combined with in-depth interviews. The study, along with a quite extensive review of previous studies, is compiled in the book *Visions of the future: why we need to teach for tomorrow*. In brief, the study indicates that children's vision of the future differs according to age whereby the optimistic 7-year old is transformed into a more pessimistic 18 year old. All age groups expressed an interest in the global future and wishes for a better world. All age groups expressed a concern with issues related to war, environmental degradation, global poverty and relationships between countries. The older the pupils, the more complex their understanding became of these phenomena (Hicks & Holden, 1995). In 2004 and 2005, Hicks and Holden conducted a follow-up of the 1994 study of British children's concern about the future. The survey included over 500 primary and secondary school pupils. The general conclusion from this study was that pupils are becoming more optimistic about both their personal and the global future compared to 1994. The only exception was environmental issues where the concern appeared to be growing. However, similarly to the 1994 study, pupils were more optimistic about their own personal future compared to the global future. The pupils' interest in learning more about global issues remained high (Holden, 2007) .

According to Davies et al's 2005 study of global citizenship education in Britain (cf. 2.3.1), pupils expressed a great interest in contemporary global issues and events such as war and conflict, environmental degradation, poverty and inequality, disease and human rights. At the same time, the pupils expressed

frustration about insufficient depth, insufficient provision of background knowledge and avoidance of controversial issues on the part of the teachers (L. Davies, et al., 2005).

An attempt to summarize the findings of these different empirical mappings of pupils' viewpoints suggests the following. First of all, there is a great resemblance between the pupils' perceptions in different countries and in different periods. The pupils display a great interest in, and request more teaching about, global issues. They express a wish for deeper knowledge of these matters and they do not want their teachers to avoid controversial issues. Pupils in the 1980s and early 1990s expressed a very gloomy view of the global future. However, later mappings suggest that pupils became more optimistic about the global future in the late 1990s and the first decade of the new millennium. However, many pupils still express worries about environmental degradation.

2.3.4. Global survey

The subheading above is written in the singular since there is, to my knowledge, only one study of this kind. In the book *Global Education: A Worldwide Movement* Tye has compiled the results of a global survey conducted over a number of years in the 1990s in which he explored global education practices in 52 countries in various regions of the world including: Africa; Asia; Central and South America; Eastern Europe; the Middle East; North America; the Pacific; and Western Europe.[5] The sample is made up of one single person per country. The selected informants are curriculum experts with documented knowledge of global education in their home country; based at Ministries of Education, National Education Authorities, Universities or NGOs, traced via different international conferences and a snow-ball procedure. The questionnaire entailed questions related to several different topics: (1) Philosophy of global education, e.g. definitions of, understandings of and attitudes towards global education; (2) Curriculum content of global issues; (3) Teaching methods and implementation of global education; (4) Teacher training related to global issues; (5) Institutional responsibility for implementation and monitoring global education; (6) Problems with and barriers to global education; (7) Current planning or development of new initiatives in global education. The results could be summarized accordingly: Firstly, global education appeared to be evolving into a global phenomenon. In most countries, the concept as such was understood and the various themes of global education were recognized in the national curricula although terminology might vary. However, by some global education was perceived as foremost a Western initiative. Moreover, although most countries dealt with global issues in the curriculum many of them appeared to be doing so from a nationalistic point of departure. Hence, a certain nationalistic bias was common, particularly in

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[5] Initially the intention was to cover over 100 countries and Tye elaborates briefly on possible reasons for the relatively low response rate (K. A. Tye, 1999).

Third World countries. Secondly, in order of frequency, the following themes of global education were recognized: environmental issues, development issues, intercultural issues, peace issues, economic issues, technological issues, human rights issues. Further, in a few countries, some 20 supplementary themes were recognized. Thirdly, the manner in which the global curriculum content was implemented in the different countries was very similar. The most common mode of implementing global education was via social science courses. Nevertheless, the survey indicated that implementation via other forms of curricular activities such as thematic work, inter-disciplinary classes, projects etc. was gaining ground. *Fourth*, as regards teaching methods there seemed to be a great deal of variety ranging from traditional lecturing to more student-centred methods. *Fifth,* there were very few teacher training programmes focused on global education in the different countries, particularly as regards pre-service training. The general image further suggested that teachers in a vast majority of countries were poorly prepared to teach global issues (cf. 2.3.1 and 2.3.2). *Sixth,* the majority of countries in the sample had a centralized educational system. However, in general, global education had a greater impact in decentralized educational systems. *Seventh,* in order of frequency, the following problems and barriers to global education were suggested: teachers' lack of skills, training and interest; global education lack of authorization in the curriculum; deficient resources; politically based objections against the field; barriers based on nationalistic, religious or cultural convictions; bureaucracy; insufficient networking and information. Finally, the study suggested that some new interesting global education initiatives were being developed. However, access to information and communication technology appeared to be a crucial factor (K. A. Tye, 1999).

2.4. Concluding remarks

The threefold intention of this chapter was to provide a brief overview of the existing literature on global education; to position the dissertation in relation to this previous research; and to propose a new operational definition of global education. As this chapter has shown, the literature on global education can basically be divided into three principal thematic areas: conceptual and prescriptive debates; historical outlines; and various empirical mappings. However, much of the literature is characterized by certain deficiencies, particularly in terms of theory. The literature is often undertheorized and often there is even a complete lack of theoretical elaborations. Many allegedly *critical* scholars also fail to recognize and problematize their own presumptions and thus fall short on reflexivity. Hence there is a general tendency in the literature towards simplicity. In this final section of the chapter, the dissertation will be positioned in relation to the three predominant themes in the literature and a new operational definition of global education will be proposed.

As this chapter has shown, the first principal theme in the global education literature consists of conceptual and prescriptive debates. A review of this theme suggests that the literature is characterized by conceptual confusion, several inherent tensions, and an abundance of prescriptive definitions. From the position of this dissertation two major remarks can be made in relation to this branch of the literature. Firstly, this dissertation does not approach global education as a 'field', which is common in the literature (although the term 'field' is rarely defined), nor as a 'social movement', a 'subject', or a 'cross curricular perspective'. As indicated in the introduction of this dissertation global education is conceptualized as a *knowledge content,* i.e:

> a theoretically demarcated, relational area of content…[…]…which can be conceptualized in different ways with different didactic implications.' (Englund, 1997a, p. 270)

As suggested by this definition, knowledge content is a theoretically demarcated area of content (although, in this particular case, a very wide area of content) which is not delimited to a particular school subject. This content can, and historically has been, interpreted in different ways with different didactic implications. Hence, knowledge content is contingent and this implies that it is possible for teachers to transmit very different 'offers of meaning' to pupils depending on how the knowledge content is conceptualized and approached. Secondly, that this dissertation is very sceptical about the scientific value of the prescriptive definitions that permeate the global education literature. This is obviously why this dissertation introduces a new operational definition of global education. There are several problems with many of the prescriptive definitions in the literature and it is my belief that they hamper, rather than enable, interesting empirical research. One problem is that the definitions – despite their prescriptive character – often are very vague conceptually, i.e. they attempt to pin down the 'essence' of global education, or suggest as to what it 'ought to be', but they fail to deliver this message with the necessary conceptual clarity. Hence, in a paradoxical way, many definitions are highly prescriptive, yet very unclear. This is possibly one of the reasons why there is an imbalance in the literature between the rampant conceptual and prescriptive debates versus the relatively small amount of actual empirical research. Another problem with the prescriptive definitions is that they actually constrain empirical research on 'the political'. Many interesting activities in classrooms throughout the world are disqualified 'as something else' from the starting point of these definitions. The fundamental political character of the knowledge content is thus made invisible. Consequently, it seems reasonable to introduce a new operational definition of global education that enables interesting empirical research and which can be employed in future studies of global education. My basic argument is that there is a much greater need of an operational definition that makes global education accessible to empirical research, rather than prescriptions of what it 'ought to

be'. Now, an important aspect of such a definition is that it must be elastic enough to capture the variety of conceptualizations and approaches to global education *and* its historical evolution. Hence, we need a wide definition that helps us to expose the variety of historically, socially and ideologically constituted interpretations of global education. This notion is in line with the theoretical assumption that the curriculum constitutes a field of tension where different social forces are engaged in an ideological war of position (cf. 3.4). On the other hand, the definition also has to be robust enough to help us maintain our focus. Consequently, the following operational definition of global education, based on five characteristic features, is proposed.

The term global education refers to a knowledge content in comprehensive and upper secondary school, which:

- *Revolves around global development issues, processes and events.* This encompasses a wide range of potential knowledge content such as development, globalization, development cooperation, environment, peace and security, multiculturalism, human rights, etc. Hence the knowledge content is indeed wide but can still be theoretically demarcated.
- *Is problem-oriented.* There is strong tendency in global education to deal with, and attempt to constitute responses to, various global problems identified in the public debate.[6] However, it is very important to be aware that problem formulations are never socially neutral, nor independent of historical context, and thus that there are, and have been, different and competing opinions about what constitutes relevant problem descriptions and prescriptions (cf. 3.3.1). This brings us to the next point.
- *Is formed in a field of tension between different social and ideological forces.* Hence, global education can be conceptualized and approached in very different ways, from different ideological points of departure, e.g. in a conservative, liberal or radical approaches. Consequently, there is no self-evident normative or ideological point of departure of global education.
- *Is implemented in school through many different modes.* Historically, global education has primarily been implemented via the civics and geography subjects, but today there is a much more diversified structure for implementation, including an array of subjects, courses, programmes, school projects, et cetera.
- *Has historically received, and still receives, curriculum support through different organizational arrangements, where a key role is played by the national development cooperation authority.* National development cooperation authorities have

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[6] In order to avoid misunderstanding, it should be underscored that the problem-oriented character of global education should not be mixed up with Problem-Based Learning (PBL) or other similar pedagogical methods. It is of course possible to apply PBL and similar pedagogical methods in global education, but it is equally possible to pursue a teacher-centered pedagogy on global problems in the classroom. Hence, the defining feature is the focus on global problems, not the choice of pedagogical method.

played a pivotal role in the evolution of global education, often in close cooperation with national educational authorities, universities and NGOs. In-service training for teachers has been particularly important.

This operational definition has determined the object of study in this dissertation and it has informed the methodological design of the sub-studies outlined in chapters 5 and 6. Finally, a few words on the definition's general applicability might be useful. Although this dissertation is empirically grounded in a Swedish context, the proposed operational definition ought to be transferable and applicable in many other national contexts. The last defining feature, i.e. the involvement of national development cooperation authorities, is of course something that might give rise to some dispute. Nevertheless, it is quite clear that national development cooperation agencies have played an important role in curriculum development as regards global education in several countries used as points of reference in this dissertation, notably the UK, Germany and Canada.

The second general theme in the literature that has been identified and reviewed in this chapter consists of various outlines of the historical evolution of global education. There are quite a large number of publications that sketch national trajectories in different countries and this chapter provided examples from the UK, the US, Germany and, to some extent, Sweden. The chapter further suggested that these historical outlines have many common characteristics and thus that there seem to be a lot of similarities between the evolution of global education in different countries. From the position of this dissertation, three remarks have to be made in relation to the historically oriented literature. Firstly, the issue of periodization is obviously up for debate but this dissertation aligns itself with the branch of the literature that stresses the paradigmatic shift in the 1960s as the proper vantage point for the history of global education. Secondly, there are a few publications that briefly, or partly, touch upon the trajectory of global education in Sweden, but until now there have been no comprehensive, updated historical outlines. This dissertation constitutes an attempt to fill this knowledge gap. Thirdly, most prior historical outlines are quite shallow in terms of theory. This dissertation attempts to offer a more theoretically driven approach to the history of global education.

The third principal thematic area identified in the literature consists of various empirical mappings of teachers, teacher students and pupils, i.e. empirical research concerned with these actors' knowledge and understanding of, attitudes towards, interest in, and perception of their own competencies in relation to global education. A general feature of this research is that it tends to be shallow in terms of theory, i.e. it provides horizontal descriptions rather than theoretically driven attempts at explanation or interpretation. It is further noteworthy that the findings of these different mappings suggest great similarities across actors as well as geographical and historical contexts. From the

position of this dissertation, two remarks must be made in relation to this thematic area in the literature. Firstly, teaching and teachers are the primary focus of this dissertation. As suggested by this literature review, there have been some previous empirical mappings of Swedish teachers as regards global education. However, this was quite a long time ago and, more importantly, these studies have primarily been devoted to mapping teachers attitudes towards, and perception of their own competencies in relation to, global education.[7] Rather than mapping attitudes and self-assessment, chapter 6 of this dissertation starts from teachers' accounts of their own teaching, i.e. the methodological approach of this sub-study was to get the teachers to account for what they actually do in the classrooms. Based on these accounts, a didactic typology has been constructed that exposes different ways of conceptualizing and approaching global education. This brings us to the other important remark. Secondly, much previous work on global education is theoretically shallow. It fails to recognize the inherent tensions of the curriculum and that global education unfolds in a war of position between different social and ideological forces, i.e. that inherent contradictions are constitutive for the curriculum in a democracy (cf. 3.2). This dissertation attempts to give a theoretical contribution to the global education literature.

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[7] It should be noted that a very recent exception from this rule has been offered by Sandahl, although with completely different theoretical and conceptual orientation as compared to this dissertation. Since the time span between our respective dates of publication have been very short I have not been able to give it proper attention or incorporate it into this literature review. Nevertheless, in brief, Sandahl explores and analyses the reflections of six civics teachers on their teaching about globalization. The study concludes that the teachers emphasize the importance of social scientific approaches, and the employment of 'second order concepts', in order to promote civic literacy (J. Sandahl, 2011).

3. THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL APPARATUS

This chapter intends to present and discuss the theoretical and conceptual apparatus that underpins, and attempts to compound, the three sub-studies that makes up the empirical centrepieces of the thesis. The different theoretical and conceptual components of the apparatus and their internal relationship will be outlined and explained in detail below. Moreover, certain elements of the theories and concepts will be critically discussed and a few notes will be provided on their (re)application in relation to the empirical material. The chapter ends with some brief concluding remarks.

3.1. A brief introduction to the apparatus

In very general terms, this thesis revolves around epistemic and societal change and how this relates to curriculum change. In order to study such extremely broad and complex processes, theoretical guidance from several social science disciplines is indispensable. However, recognizing the importance of theory has not led me to embrace a classical deductive research design. On the other hand, the applied methodology must not be viewed as inductive either. Rather, the research procedure that underpins this thesis is best described as *abductive*, i.e. the analysis is based on empirical data but it uses theory as a source of inspiration to unveil patterns that in turn generate a new understanding. Accordingly, data and theory have gradually been fed and reinterpreted in relation to each other and in this process both theory and data are readjusted and refined. This implies that an abductive process constitutes something more than a simple mixture of deductive and inductive approaches (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2008; Danermark, et al., 2002). Now, the insights derived from this dialectical data-theory interplay, in turn, have gradually been combined into a coherent apparatus of theoretical and conceptual components. The apparatus is essentially built on important insights from several distinguished scholars. However, an attempt is made to compound and, at least partly, problematize them in a new way. These critical enquiries and attempts to somewhat readjust theories and concepts form part of the abductive process. Consequently, this theoretical chapter should be understood as a result of a dynamic scientific process and not merely a predetermined theoretical frame of reference.

There are basically two main sources of theoretical inspiration in this thesis. The first source is *development theory* – potentially close to a marriage with *International Political Economy* into *Global Social Theory* – as it has been framed and branched by Hettne (Hettne, 1982, 1995, 2009) and Abrahamsson (Abrahamsson, 1997, 2003b, 2007). Hettne and Abrahamsson provide important theoretical insights

regarding the general dynamics of social development and how these processes are intimately tied up with intellectual and political struggles in society. The second source of theoretical inspiration is *socially and historically based curriculum theory* as developed by Englund (Englund, 1986/2005). Englund narrows our focus to the school system and offers crucial theoretical insights as regards curriculum change and how this relates to political struggles over what counts as valid and relevant knowledge in schools.[8]

Apart from these two main theoretical sources and their respective key concepts a few additional concepts are employed: *potential repertoire* (Liedman, 1997), *classification* and *framing* (Bernstein, 1971) and, finally, the concept *global ethical trilemma* (J. O. Andersson, 2003, 2006). All of these theories and concepts, in turn, are used and understood against a more general Gramscian backdrop that compounds, or 'glues', the seemingly disparate components of the apparatus. As will be evident, the works of Hettne and Abrahamsson, as well as Englund, are carried out with reference to the work of Gramsci and constitute in my argument something of a lowest common denominator for the scholars. This common foundation, and the internal consistency between the theories and concepts that it provides, vouch for *paradigmatic coherence* which should be taken extremely serious in all inter-disciplinary research[9] (Nilsson, 1999). However, despite my arguments that these theoretical and conceptual tools can be successfully combined it should be stressed that there is a varying degree in emphasis of the different theories and concepts in relation to the three different sub-studies. This is quite natural since they have different, albeit interrelated, foci. In the following sections the various theories and concepts that make up the apparatus will be presented and discussed in detail. First, the Gramscian backdrop is presented since it constitutes the foundation on which the logics of the upcoming theories and arguments will be based.

3.2. A Gramscian backdrop

Let us first be clear about one thing. There is no single Gramscian school of thought and consequently there is no consensual interpretation of what makes up a Gramscian 'backdrop'. Virtually all Gramsci scholars underscore that the writings of the Sardinian, early 20th century, political philosopher are, despite a profound sophistication, fragmentary and sometimes contradictory. This must

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[8] In this context, a simple but important remark can be made in order to avoid misunderstanding. There is *no single* development theory, nor can it be any single global social theory in the future. Similarly, there is no single curriculum theory. Development theory and curriculum theory must, rather, be understood as broader fields of research – concerned with particular questions and issues – encompassing many different theoretical and conceptual approaches to the study of the phenomena in question, i.e. development and curriculum. In this dissertation, I build on the particular approaches of Hettne and Abrahamsson, and Englund, respectively.

[9] It might be important to point out that Abrahamsson is more frequent in his references to Gramsci as compared to Hettne. However, both of them do refer to Gramsci and in general I regard their line of thinking as paradigmatically coherent (cf. 3.3).

partly be understood in relation to the horrible circumstances under which the *Prison Notebooks* were written, i.e. 11 years of fascist imprisonment that ultimately led to Gramsci's death in 1937. However, Gramsci scholars also stress that his thinking evolved tremendously throughout this comfortless period and consequently his writings should be understood as an intellectual process rather than a finalized project. Accordingly, the research that originates from Gramsci's thinking is indeed heterogeneous and there are quite different readings and applications of his work within, as well as between, different disciplines such as *Education* (e.g. Borg, Buttigieg, & Mayo, 2002), *International Political Economy* (e.g. Bieler & Morton, 2006; Gill, 1993) and *Culture studies* (e.g. Bennett, Mercer, & Woollacott, 1986; S. Hall, 1996). As indicated above, the two main theoretical pillars of this dissertation – i.e. Hettne and Abrahamsson (Development theory and International Political Economy) and Englund (Education) – both offer their particular interpretations and applications of Gramscian thinking. Moreover, many of the fundamental inquiries which this thesis presents could essentially be understood as *'Gramscian questions'* (Englund, 1986/2005, p. 142), e.g. how are epistemic and ideological power relations established and changed? How do different societal actors struggle over knowledge and values? What is the role of ideological state apparatuses such as the school and the development cooperation authority, in all of this? Thus, before elaborating on each of the two main theoretical components of the apparatus, some basic Gramscian epistemological, theoretical and conceptual points of departure will be introduced. Hopefully, they can serve as a common backdrop for the upcoming sections. My own understanding of these points of departure is primarily based on readings of two pieces of secondary work on Gramsci offered by Jones and Ransome (Jones, 2006; Ransome, 1992), but also to some extent on original work from the *Prison notebooks* (Gramsci, 1971). It should be underscored that the construct of the backdrop is, of course, not independent of the upcoming theoretical applications. As the apparatus could be seen as a result of dialectical interplay with empirical data, so can the backdrop be seen as a result of dialectical interplay with the theoretical components.

3.2.1. Historicism and anti-positivism

Gramsci's thinking must essentially be understood as inspired by, and simultaneously in constant critical dialogue with, both *historical materialism* and Italian *idealism*. It is also Gramsci's very attempts to combine insights from these apparently contradictory intellectual streams that enable him to become open to a much more flexible and dynamic understanding of the relationship between base and superstructure (Jones, 2006; Ransome, 1992). In a sense, this is also why his legacy has been portrayed by some as a *'Marxism without guarantees'* (S. Hall, 1986). Now, two important, and intimately related, points of departure of Gramsci's thinking are the notions of *historicism* and *anti-positivism*. Gramsci defies Marx and Hegel by arguing that history has no given direction, rather, what

awaits us, are endless patterns of conflict. In this sense, the only prediction that can be made is that of future political struggles. Structures, of course, delimit what is possible, but these structures are themselves changeable (cf. 3.2.2-3.2.3). Gramsci proposes a distinction between *historical economism* and *historical materialism*. In accordance with Gramsci's interpretation, historical economism is based on the notion that 'economy determines everything' and argues that the inbuilt contradictions in the capitalist mode of production will give rise to a series of historical crises, which will culminate in confrontation between exploiters and exploited, and ultimately lead history to its predetermined goal. Historical materialism, on the other hand, accepts the notion that nothing, e.g. institutions, ideas or values, exists outside and independent of nature and material conditions. However, these institutions, ideas and values are not simply determined by the economic base, but also constitute important forces that guide, influence and structure individuals, groups, movements and their relations to each other and to nature (Ransome, 1992). Consequently, these institutions, ideas and values, must not be dismissed as simple functions of the economy, but have to be subjected to serious analysis if social reality and history is to be understood. Subjects and their ideas, thus, should be viewed as neither transcendent from (idealism), nor determined by (materialism), history. Rather, every generation is actively engaged in a dialectic process of (re)constructing their relationship to society and nature (Rupert, 1993). People are of course born into certain historical circumstances and historical context is indeed important for the emergence of ideas, artefacts, practices, social groups, and how these are interpreted. An obvious implication of this is that historians – and researchers for that matter – are intimately bound to their particular historical context (cf. 3.2.6). Gramsci further argues that history is written by those who want to change the world. In a sense, this notion has its legacy in the Gramscian IPE scholar Cox's famous maxim *'theory is always for someone and for some purpose'* (Cox, 1983). Gramsci's point of departure must consequently be understood basically as anti-positivistic. There is no such thing as objective conditions, nor are socially and historically neutral notions of society feasible to the human mind. Moreover, there is no such thing as historic necessity. Thus, in sum, Gramscian historicism must largely be understood as a critique of both positivistic and deterministic tendencies within the Marxist tradition (Jones, 2006; Ransome, 1992).

3.2.2. Historic bloc

Gramsci's criticism of structuralist Marxism, as outlined above, has led certain scholars to accuse him of simply reversing the relationship between base and superstructure, and to give him the derogative epithet, *'the theoretician of the superstructure'*. However, this is a misconception. What Gramsci did was to reintroduce and reinterpret George Sorel's concept *historic bloc* to capture the dialectic relationship between base and superstructure and move beyond

simplistic notions of either's primacy (Jones, 2006; Ransome, 1992). Gramsci writes:

> Structures and superstructures form an 'historic bloc'. That is to say the complex, contradictory, discordant ensemble of the superstructures is the reflection of the ensemble of social relations of production (Gramsci, 1971, p. 366).

This indicates that a historic bloc is best understood as a *configuration* of material conditions, ideas and institutions that frame individual and collective action, or – if you wish – a *temporary equilibrium* where the material conditions determine, yet at the same time are determined by, man. Ransome offers some illuminating remarks in this context. He describes the historic bloc as a cohesive and purposeful alliance of social groups and their aspirations (Ransome 1992). He further stresses that:

> an emergent historic bloc will be able to take power only once it has developed a universal perspective which transcends the particular self-interests of its component parts (Ransome, 1992, p. 136).

Obviously, thus, a historic bloc is something more than a simple class alliance. It is a complex configuration of relationships and alliances between different categories of actors with both coinciding and diverging interests. Yet, as Ransome points out, the stability and viability of the historic bloc is ultimately dependent on the internal, as well as external, consonance between the various groups it is composed of. Hence, particularistic interests of the various groups must be transcended in favour of a common world-view (Ransome, 1992). To better understand how such common sense opinions of the world can be established, maintained, and ultimately overthrown, we turn to the concepts *civil society*, *war of position* and *hegemony*.

3.2.3. Civil society

Gramsci's conceptualization of *civil society* is somewhat inconsistent. However, there seems to be general agreement among Gramsci scholars that the term refers to a vast range of institutions, e.g. political organizations, the church, the school system, the media, the family, et cetera, that deterministic Marxists would label as simple phenomena of the superstructure. In Gramscian thought these institutions maintain an autonomous, or at least semi-autonomous, position towards both the state and the sphere of production, while at the same time constituting something of a link between the state and the economic base. However, what is important in this context is that civil society to large extent is a composite of institutions, arrangements and ideas that form part of people's everyday experiences. This, in turn, makes it quite difficult to detect that these matters are somehow tied up with power operations. Hence within the dynamic base-superstructure configuration, referred to as the historic bloc, Gramsci:

isolates civil society as having a key intermediary role and proposes that both conservative and transformative projects attempt to occupy consciousness and everyday life through the functioning of a civil society created in their service (Jones, 2006, p. 39).

Civil society and its institutions thus contain, produce and reproduce ideas, knowledge, values, rationalities and cultural practices that to a large extent define people's worldview. Consequently, radical, as well as conservative, political actors must not neglect the importance of civil society.

3.2.4. War of position

As regards the struggle for social and political transformation, Gramsci made an important distinction between *war of manoeuvre* and *war of position*. A war of manoeuvre is the kind of revolutionary frontal attack that is possible in countries characterized by a dictatorial regime and a fragile civil society, Tsarist Russia being the obvious case in point. However, Gramsci realized that this kind of revolution was not a viable option in modern capitalist democracies where civil society looked very different (Jones, 2006; Ransome, 1992). Jones offers an illuminating remark in this context:

> Whereas in underdeveloped countries there was an absence of intermediates, modern capitalist regimes have developed a tightly woven network of practices and institutions which guard against internal disintegration and make revolution a political and psychological impossibility (Jones, 2006, p. 31).

Thus, according to Gramsci a completely different tactic – a war of position – is necessary to bring about political change in modern capitalist democracies. Politics must be conceptualized as a prolonged, 'entrenched', battle within the historic bloc where knowledge, meanings and values becomes the object of struggle (Gramsci, 1971, pp. 238-239; Jones, 2006, p. 31). Rapid political revolutions – particularly successful ones – are extremely rare phenomena. It is important to underscore that the political war of position is a permanent and endless process. Quite naturally, since a struggle requires the existence of several actors, the war of position is not only pursued by radicals but equally important to conservatives – or any other actors for that matter – who seek to influence the ideological, cultural and intellectual orientation in the historic bloc. The strongest actors in this war of position will be able to, in a quite sophisticated way, exercise power. Or, inversely, their ability to exercise this power makes them the strongest actors in the war of postition. This brings us to the concept of *hegemony*.

3.2.5. Hegemony

Gramsci seriously called into question – and herein lies in my opinion his single most important intellectual contributions – simplistic dichotomies between rulers and ruled. He realized that in modern capitalist democracies, dominant groups exercise power with a high degree of *consent* from subordinate groups.

This conundrum required a much more nuanced and sophisticated notion of power – and how it operates – than conventional political philosophy was able to offer at the time. Gramsci made a basic distinction between two forms of power: *domination* and *hegemony*. Domination – or coercive control – implies the repressive use of physical force to exercise control, e.g. through military, police or penal systems. Hegemony – or consensual control – on the other hand denotes much more sophisticated means of control where intellectual operations, persuasion and moral authority are exercised, e.g. through the educational system, the church, the family, and other civil society institutions. However, it should be recognized that Gramsci himself viewed this affiliation of domination to state institutions and hegemony to civil society institutions as merely analytical. In practice, most institutions, whether state-based or civil society-based, tend to combine elements of both coercion and consent (Jones, 2006; Ransome, 1992). In fact, Gramsci uses Machiavelli's metaphor of the Centaur to capture these dual levels of the dominant group's power operations:

> these can all theoretically be reduced to two fundamental levels, corresponding to the dual nature of Machiavelli's Centaur – half-animal and half-human. They are the levels of force and of consent, authority and hegemony, violence and civilisation, of the individual moment and the universal moment (Gramsci, 1971, pp. 169-170).

However, of primary interest here is the notion of hegemony. Hegemony should primarily be understood as a *process,* characterized by flexibility and constant repositioning between the rulers and the ruled (Jones, 2006). There are basically two elements to this process. On the one hand, the dominating group, alliance or bloc, uses sophisticated persuasion, intellectual transactions and moral authority to reach into the very 'hearts and minds' of people and exercise power as if it were an expression of their own interest and aspirations. Hence, in Jones formulation:

> Gramsci's highly original understanding of power sees it as something that is actively lived by the oppressed as a form of *common sense* (Jones, 2006, p. 4) (my italics).

Hence, the dominating group is able to reconfigure the notions, ideas and values of the subordinated groups, in accordance with their own political agenda, by means of establishing it as 'common sense'. This common sense saturates society to such an extent that it virtually becomes equivalent to everyday life and social experiences of people. Civil society institutions consolidate these hegemonic arrangements. Now, intellectual and moral leadership is obviously of key importance both in the process of hegemony and in any counter-hegemonic attempts. A famous Gramscian quote states:

> Every relationship of 'hegemony' is necessarily an *educational relationship* and occurs not only within a nation, between the various forces of which the nation is composed, but in the international and world-wide field, between complexes of national and continental civilizations (Gramsci, 1971, p. 350) (my italics).

Hence, intellectuals constitute important agents and Gramsci distinguishes between *traditional intellectuals* who strive to maintain the existing social order and *organic intellectuals* who attempt to challenge it (Jones, 2006; Ransome, 1992). However, as indicated above there is a second element in the process of hegemony. Since hegemony is ultimately dependent on consent, the dominant groups must also to a certain extent be sensitive to, and incorporate, aspirations and perspectives of subordinated groups as an active element of exercising power. Dominating groups, thus, realize that there are certain limits to what is possible to achieve through intellectual persuasion and moral authority. In this sense, the rulers must be flexible enough to adapt to changing circumstances as well as changing aspirations among the ruled. This insight is important in relation to the upcoming discussion of *co-option* (cf. 3.3.2). What all of this boils down to is that hegemony is a dialectical process which, although characterized by persuasion and intellectual transactions, also includes elements of negotiation and compromise (Jones, 2006).

Even though the magnitude and durability of hegemony can hardly be underestimated, which is a quite reasonable conclusion bearing in mind that it has established itself as 'common sense', it is never *total* and there is always certain room of manoeuvre for counter-hegemonic activity. The intellectual, cultural, moral and political war of position in the historic bloc can, bit by bit, change the political configuration and thus the social order. As indicated above, there is no such thing as historical necessity. Collective human agency can thus challenge power structures, particularly in times of different organic crises. On the other hand, and this will be important for my upcoming arguments, hegemonic activity also tends to increase in times of crisis (Jones, 2006).

3.2.6. Problematization and application

I would like to conclude the first part of this theoretical chapter by making a few critical remarks and providing some brief notes regarding application. Since Gramsci's thinking primarily serves as a backdrop rather than a theoretical tool in this dissertation, I will not attempt to raise any objections against his theories *per se*, although, as indicated above, his writings are known to be difficult to grasp and sometimes also contradictory. However, it might be important to point out that the historicism that Gramsci himself represents actualizes the difficulties of moving his thinking to other, quite different, historical and social contexts. This problem should not be overlooked and the work of Germaine and Kenny offer some critical remarks for the interested reader (Germain & Kenny, 1998). Moreover, the reader is advised to keep in mind that throughout this dissertation Gramsci's thinking is mainly applied indirectly, filtered through the interpretations and applications of Hettne and Abrahamsson, and Englund, respectively. The concepts historic bloc, civil society, war of position and hegemony will follow us along the way, as will the notions of historicism and

anti-positivism. It should be recognized that these Gramscian terms and ideas are sometimes conceptualized somewhat differently by the authors. However, these are differences of degree rather than kind. Consequently it is my argument that the different theoretical applications are coherent enough to be combined into a larger apparatus of this kind. The intention of this backdrop has been to serve as a theoretical and conceptual 'glue' of the apparatus.

3.3. Development theory

The first main source of theoretical inspiration in this dissertation belongs to a comparatively recent branch of the social sciences. *Development theory* – possibly close to a merger with *International Political Economy* into *Global Social Theory* – as it has been framed by Hettne and Abrahamsson in close collaboration[10] (Abrahamsson, 1997, 2003b, 2007; Hettne, 1982, 1995, 2009). In the upcoming sections, some of the basic theoretical points of departure of Hettne and Abrahamsson will be outlined and thereafter related to my own empirical work.

3.3.1. Development and development thinking

First, a very basic clarification. What we are dealing with throughout this dissertation is the concept *societal development*, which in turn must be distinguished from e.g. an organism's biological development or an individual's psychological development. These are very different matters although theorizing on societal development often has a certain inclination to borrow biological metaphors (Nisbet, 1969, 1980). Now, the concept *development* – likewise concepts such as democracy, freedom and justice – must be viewed as an *essentially contested concept,* i.e. although we might agree on the importance of the notion as such we will never be able to reach an agreement on the proper interpretation and application of the concept (Gallie, 1956). In a similar line of reasoning, Hettne concludes:

> There can be no fixed and final definition of development, only suggestions of what development should imply in particular contexts (Hettne, 1995, p. 19).

Accordingly, development must be conceptualized in relation to societal aims and how society perceives and intends to deal with societal problems (Abrahamsson, 2007; Hettne, 1995, 2009). As will be evident in chapter 4, this changes over time, because as society solves some problems new ones tend to emerge. Consequently, pondering on development is a never ending task. In a very broad and general sense, it might of course be possible to view development as some kind of qualitative improvement of society. However, a crucial component of Hettne's and Abrahamsson's thinking is that development is never socially neutral. Hence, when society changes, some actors will find themselves in a more favourable position whereas others are likely to experience

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[10] Hettne was the supervisor of Abrahamsson's dissertation project and they have been colleagues and intellectual friends for several decades.

some kind of, at least relative, decline. This is why *development* and *conflict* is intimately interrelated.[11] It is also important to keep in mind that much wrong has been done to people in the name of development. Thus, different conceptions of development reflect different interests and any approach to development is ultimately always political (Abrahamsson, 2007; Hettne, 1995, 2009; Nederveen Pieterse, 2001, 2009). We will return to this line of thought in the sections below, but in the meantime it might be worth pointing to the analogy between this take on development as infinite and conflict-driven and Gramsci's historicism outlined above (cf. 3.2.1).

A basic distinction could further be made between development viewed as something *immanent*, e.g. Hegelian notions of development as built-in to history, and development viewed as the result of actor's *intention*, e.g. modern notions of social engineering. Obviously, modern development thinking is intimately connected to the latter line of thought, i.e. that development is dirigible through human agency. Put differently, that qualitative improvement of society is possible by means of *societal problem solving* (Hettne, 1995, p. 263). However, according to Hettne, the degree to which development thinking believes that development can actually be planned has varied throughout history. This, in turn, can be reflected in institutional tensions between proponents of state intervention and proponents of market solutions (Hettne, 2009). Cowen and Shenton argue that this tension between intentional and immanent development and the difficulties in making the former consistent with the latter contribute to the very difficulty of defining *development* (Cowen & Shenton, 1996, p. 438).

Further, it is important to point out that the approach to development in this dissertation is foremost *epistemic,* implying that the primary focus is *ideas* – i.e. thinking about development – rather than 'real' development(s) if such a distinction and designation could be accepted. From a less epistemic and more practice-oriented perspective, it has been argued that – despite the enhanced intellectual complexity and enrichment proposed in this dissertation (cf. 3.3.2 and Chapter 4) – development all boils down to economic growth and market expansion, which transform and destroy the natural environment and social relations (Rist, 1997). Personally, I find such a standpoint a bit too gloomy and reductionist, albeit not altogether erroneous. Notwithstanding, it leads us to make some important conceptual clarifications. In Hettne's magnum opus *Development Theory and the Three Worlds* an analytical distinction is made between *development theory*, *development strategy*, *development ideology* and the overarching concept *development thinking* (Hettne, 1995, pp. 15-16). *Development theories* are recognized as scientific theories concerned with social change. Development theories can be sub-divided into *normative* theories (i.e. that include propositions

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[11] This assumption constitutes one of the theoretical foundations for the discipline Peace and Development Research.

of what the world should be like) and *positive* theories (i.e. that – allegedly – deal with the world as it 'is'). According to Hettne, most research incorporates both aspects but there are differences in degree and explicitness. *Development strategies* are understood as practical changes in economic structures and social institutions pursued in order to find long-term solutions to problems facing decision-makers in a society. Development strategies require an *actor,* e.g. a state, an international agency or a non-governmental organization. Since development strategies reflect different political objectives and logics the concept of *development ideologies* may also be recognized. However, Hettne underscores that it is difficult to maintain these analytical distinctions between theory, strategy and ideology in real situations since they are intimately intertwined. Thus, one solution to this problem is to apply *development thinking* as a more comprehensive concept, i.e. a concept that sets out to capture the totality of ideas of development incorporating aspects of theory, strategy and ideology. Given the nature of affairs, such an approach seems reasonable. Another advantage of applying the more comprehensive concept is that we do not delimit ourselves exclusively to the academic pursuit of development theories. Accordingly, the ideas of development workers, practitioners, planners and politicians can be brought into the discourse (Hettne, 1995). In line with this reasoning, *development thinking* – in the more comprehensive sense – becomes a key concept in this dissertation. Finally, it might be important to point out that the historical review of development thinking in chapter 4 will not be entirely separated from 'real' development since ideas have to be historically contextualized.

3.3.2. Mainstream counterpoint dialectics

Hettne's theory of *mainstream counterpoint dialectics* is of crucial importance in this thesis (Hettne, 1982, 1995, 2009). According to Hettne, each historical context is characterized by a certain development discourse or, if you wish, a broader academic and public debate on issues of development and underdevelopment. Within the discourse there is a dialectic tension between the hegemonic opinion about development labelled *mainstream* and a critical *counterpoint* that fundamentally questions the predominating values and societal aims of the mainstream. Hence, the counterpoint represents the 'others', i.e. actors who feel marginalized or for other reasons oppose current societal changes, e.g. organic intellectuals in the Gramscian terminology. Obviously, as indicated above, development is not regarded as something socially neutral. The intellectual battle between mainstream and counterpoint will affect how development is conceived. Normally, according to Hettne, there is some kind of mainstream *co-option* of the counterpoint. In such a process, the mainstream incorporates certain aspects of the counterpoint's ideas and thereby, in a sense, tames it. Thus, the counterpoint can only marginally influence the mainstream by being co-opted, and this partly explains why the history of development thinking involves a great deal of continuity but also certain aspects of change. However, if the counterpoint ideas

are considered too radical, utopian or otherwise incompatible with mainstream notions, they will remain in the counterpoint as a competing paradigm or perspective (Hettne, 1982, 1995, 2009). In either case, the practical impact of counterpoint ideas has normally been quite limited and this is why Rist is not altogether wrong, albeit too gloomy in my opinion (cf. 3.3.1) (Rist, 1997). The lesson learnt is that the counterpoint must neither be overestimated nor underestimated. Representatives of the counterpoint, thus, are probably wise to embrace Gramsci's programmatic slogan, which he borrowed from Romain Rolland, and combine *'pessimism of the intellect'* with *'optimism of the will'* (Gramsci, 1971, p. 175).

Another thing that will be important in relation to my upcoming arguments (cf. 3.5.1) is Hettne's viewpoint that paradigms in social science tends to accumulate rather than fade away (Hettne, 1995, p. 64). In relation to development thinking, this indicates that old theories and strategies are seldom overthrown and replaced by new ones, thus scientific revolutions in Kuhn's vocabulary are a rare phenomenon (Kuhn, 1962). Instead, in the words of Potter, with reference to Hettne, development:

> theories and strategies have tended to stack up, one upon another, co-existing, sometimes in what can only be described as very convoluted and contradictory manners...[...]...change in development studies leads to the parallel evolution of ideas, rather than revolution (Potter, 2002, p. 63).

Hettne further states:

> It is, however, hard to see this intellectual process as an accumulation of wisdom. More appropriately, one could speak of an accumulation of 'social science sects' (Gareau 1987). This process can be conceived of as one single theoretical project, even if its participants do not appear to pursue a common cause, and many babies are carelessly thrown out with the bath water (Hettne, 1995, p. 249).

As will be evident in chapter 4, there has been a quite remarkable enrichment of development thinking in the last 50 years or so (Hettne, 1995; Nederveen Pieterse, 2001; Schuurman, 2000; Simon, 1999; Thorbecke, 2006). Now, as I understand it, mainstream-counterpoint dialectics contributes to the enrichment of development thinking in two ways. Either mainstream development thinking co-opts – and thereby offers a certain adaptation to – the counterpoint, whereby the development concept evolves or broadens. Another option is that mainstream development ignores the counterpoint whereby the counterpoint offers an autonomous competing paradigm or perspective. Regardless, from an *epistemic* standpoint, the possible ways of understanding and thinking about development are extended. An interesting remark in this context is made by Nederveen Pieterse. He argues that several decades of development failures have produced widespread self-criticism within development circles. This, in turn, has led to an accelerating mainstream co-option of counterpoint ideas, i.e. the

mainstream-counterpoint dialectics has speeded up in recent years to a point where MAD, *mainstream alternative development*, does not seem like such a strange notion (Nederveen Pieterse, 2001, p. 79). Nederveen Pieterse further makes use of terms such as '*cacophonic*' and '*schizophrenic*' to characterize development thinking (Nederveen Pieterse, 2001, p. 96) This notion of increasing co-option and complexity will be important in relation to my own upcoming arguments. However, as Rist would probably be keen to point out, one must keep in mind that this does not necessarily reflect 'real' development (Rist, 1997).

3.3.3. Mainstream counterpoint dialectics in the historic bloc

Another important source of inspiration could be traced to Abrahamsson's thinking and his application of Gramscian theory to the field of International Political Economy (Abrahamsson, 2003b). Drawing on Gramsci, Abrahamsson concludes that the complex totality of relations between different actors in society could be termed a *historic bloc*. Within the historic bloc there is an on-going *war of position* or, if you wish, political 'trade-off', between different societal actors. Consequently, a historic bloc must not be interpreted as a simple class alliance but involves complex relationships and alliances between different categories of actors with both coinciding and diverging interests. Abrahamsson further makes an analytical distinction between three primary categories of actors in the historic bloc: *state*, *market* and *civil society*. He stresses that these actors tend to look quite different in different societies and that it is of great importance to put them into context. He further provides the following conceptual clarifications:

> *Market*, refers here to the economic system as such, although at the aggregate level one could at times look upon this very system also as an actor. *State* refers not only to its role as a political and bureaucratic organization in the development process where the question of legitimacy is linked to the social contract, the concept also refers to its role as a political territorial organization, usually called nation-state and central to discussion of identity, security and sovereignty. The concept *civil society* is more problematic. In what follows, 'civil society' refers to the 'civilness' of any given society. By civilness we understand its informal and formal institutions that can bring together and thereby articulate the different demands and interests of various groups of people in society in order to facilitate dialogue and avoid violent conflicts (Abrahamsson, 2003b, p. 4) (My italics).

Now, despite certain premonitory conceptual remarks Abrahamsson, as well as Hettne, maintains this analytical distinction and argues that the state, market and civil society have traditionally articulated different primary interests (Abrahamsson, 2003b; Hettne, 2003). Thus, the primary concern of the state has generally been *security,* the market's main concern has normally been an *environment conducive to business,* and civil society's main concern has generally been *welfare* (cf. 3.2.4). The outcome of the war of position in the historic bloc is a certain political configuration that generates a *development discourse* which, in turn,

influences and determines problem formulations, decisions, policies and strategies. The discourse is determined by the power relations between the main actors: state, market and civil society. The actor with the upper hand is most likely to have the largest influence on the discourse. Figure 3.1 is an attempt to illustrate this logic.
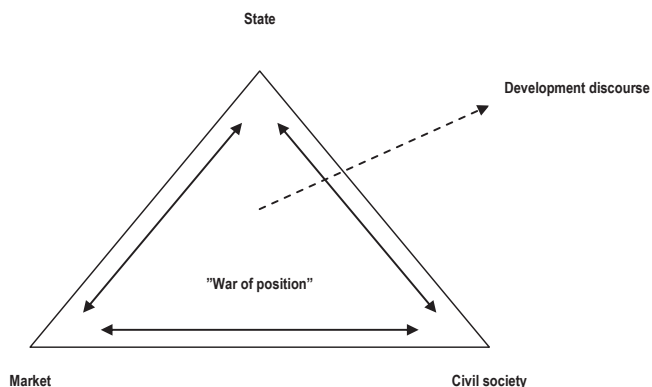
Figure 3.1. The production of a development discourse through a war of position within the historic bloc

The figure is borrowed from Abrahamsson. Throughout most of modern history, Abrahamsson and Hettne argues, the state has normally had the upper hand, although its status has been seriously challenged since the beginning of the 1980s (Abrahamsson, 2003b; Hettne, 1995). In fact, Hettne argues that external security concerns, i.e. fear of other states, has played a crucial role in the development efforts of states in the modern era. The logic of this so-called *modernization imperative* could be captured in the catchphrase '*industrialize or perish*' (Hettne, 1995, p. 38). Moving forward throughout history it should be noted that a quite recent phenomenon such as development cooperation – which plays a crucial role in this dissertation – could be legitimatized with reference to the different tripartite logics: security interests, commercial interests, and altruistic concerns. Now, if the development discourse generated in the historic bloc is generally accepted among the actors – i.e. based on consent – it can in Gramscian terms be viewed as *hegemonic*. If it is found to be illegitimate by several actors – i.e. based on coercion – it can be termed *dominant*. Since the war of position is an endless process, discourses are always challenged. Naturally, however, hegemonic discourses are much more difficult to challenge and accordingly more durable than dominant ones. Hence, how development is generally conceived in a society, and what means are regarded as reasonable to

achieve this development, is ultimately dependent on the power configurations and intellectual struggles within the historic bloc. This means that social change always implies transformations of – or at least challenges to – power structures.

If an attempt is made to merge the theories of mainstream counterpoint dialectics and wars of position in the historic bloc, it can be argued that the mainstream development discourse normally has its basis in some kind of state-market configuration, whereas counterpoint challenges normally stem from civil society (Hettne, 1995, p. 32). Put differently, this denotes that mainstream development thinking is – and has been – framed mainly by security interests and the logics of capitalism (Hettne, 2009). However, as indicated above, mainstream counterpoint co-option has been accelerating in recent years (Nederveen Pieterse, 2001, p. 79). Figure 3.2 is an attempt to illustrate this line of reasoning. It is borrowed from Hettne and Abrahamsson. Further, in this context, it might be important to once again remind ourselves of Gramsci's observation that hegemonic activity tend to increase in times of crisis.
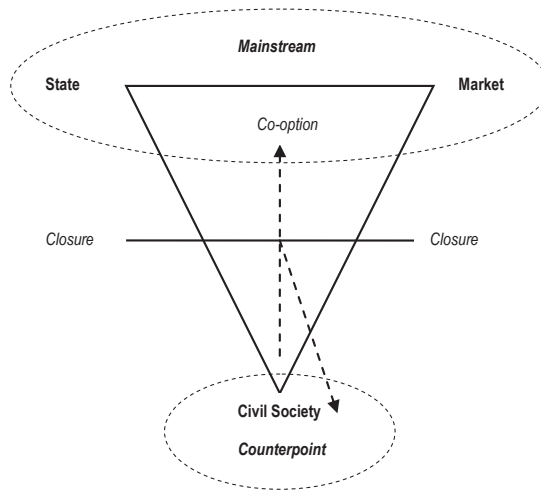
Figure 3.2. Mainstream counterpoint dialectics within the historic bloc

3.3.4. Towards Global Social Theory

It is important to recognize that societies in a globalized world are interdependent whereby the war of position in one society may affect other societies and the other way around. Thus, an analysis strictly delimited to a particular (national) historic bloc is insufficient if we want to fully grasp the dynamics of development thinking. In order to understand this state of affairs, and how it leads up to a need to somehow merge *Development theory* (traditionally

preoccupied with national development) and *International Political Economy* (traditionally preoccupied with the relationship between politics and economics in international relations) into *Global Social Theory*, we need to consider Hettne's and Abrahamsson's notion of *world order* and their elaboration of Polanyi's famous *The Great Transformation* (Polanyi, 1944). The first reason behind the need for this merger is that that mainstream development thinking is a manifestation of international power structures. In this context, it might be useful to remind ourselves that Gramsci viewed hegemony as an educational relationship that did not only occur within a nation, but also in the international and worldwide field (cf. 3.2.5). There is a co-constitutive relationship between world order and the mainstream development discourse whereby they mutually shape and influence each other (Hettne, 1995, 2009). For example, geopolitical changes in the world can change the pursuit of development strategies whereas the perception of new development problems can generate new international 'rules of the game'. In accordance with Hettne's definition, a world order is constituted by three dimensions – structure, mode of governance, and form of legitimation:

> *Structure* is the ways the units of the system are related: that is different forms of polarity determined by the distribution of power and resources. *Mode of governance* refers to avenues of influence on decision making and policy making. *Legitimation* is the basis on which the system is made acceptable to its constituent units (Hettne, 2009, p. 20) (My italics).

Historically, the most powerful historic bloc has shaped the *world order*. This line of reasoning can be recognised in concepts such as *Pax Britannica* and *Pax Americana* (Abrahamsson, 2003b; Hettne, 2003). Notwithstanding, due to globalization – Hettne argues – we currently find ourselves in a period of world order transition. We have thus left the Westphalian era, based on sovereign territorial states acting as prime drivers of national development, and entered a qualitatively different era in which the new world order has not yet fully materialized. According to Hettne, there are several possible scenarios here, e.g. a neo-Westphalian, a post-Westpahlian or a post-national scenario (Hettne, 2009). However, what is beyond doubt is that globalization implies the end of sovereign national development strategies and that the new world order – regardless of what form it takes – will be decisive in relation to future development thinking. Consequently there is a need to develop a better understanding of the prerequisites for development in a new and different world order and thus to somehow merge Development theory and International Political Economy into some kind of Global Social Theory (Hettne, 1995, 2003, 2009).

The second, somewhat similar, argument for the need of this disciplinary merger Hettne and Abrahamsson trace to the work of the economic historian Karl Polanyi. Polanyi was interested in the capitalist transformation of European states in the 19th century and he argued that this process was characterized by a

dialectic tension between free market expansion and political attempts to control the economy. According to Polanyi this great transformation can be understood as *double movement*. The first movement was characterized by an expansion and deepening of the market economy which disembedded the economy from previous social structures with severe and destructive effects for those unable to compete. The second movement can be understood as a dialectic reaction to this market expansion whereby 'society defends itself', e.g. through political and social upheavals. The outcome of this struggle, in turn, was a re-embedment of the economy whereby a temporary balance was struck between market expansion and political intervention into what has been called a *great compromise*. Now, according to Hettne and Abrahamsson the first movement of market expansion and deepening that took place in England and other nation-states in the 19th century has a great resemblance to contemporary *global* market expansion. Hence, there is a urgent need to move out of the container theory of society and develop theoretical tools able to understand the international – or if you wish global – community and how it can create a second movement in order to defend itself against the social and environmental threats posed by global market penetration (Abrahamsson, 2003b; Hettne, 1995, 2009). Thus, there is an urgent need – due to globalization – to reinterpret development as a global problem and somehow merge *Development theory* and *International Political Economy* into a trans-disciplinary, multi-level *Global Social Theory*. Global social Theory should be based on new ontological, epistemological and methodological approaches, which are better suited to the new, and qualitatively different, globalized context. Global Social Theory – however – does not yet exist. It is still to be made (Hettne, 1995, 2009; Payne, 2001). I will return to this issue in chapter 4.

Finally, a premonitory remark. While trying to combine the thinking of Gramsci and Polanyi it is important to keep in mind that the former had a quite pessimistic view of civil society, which in his view largely consolidated hegemonic arrangements, whereas the latter had a much more optimistic view of social movements and society's ability to resist and 'defend itself'. It seems reasonable to suggest that very interesting analyses can emerge if a critical dialogue is engaged between these two scholars. Yet, when discussing civil society it is important to be clear on which of these voices that we employ. In my interpretation, which is obviously open for criticism, Hettne and Abrahamsson sometimes display a more optimistic view of civil society than Gramsci did. In this respect, I find their thinking to be closer to Polanyi than Gramsci.

3.3.5. Problematization and application

This section is subdivided into two parts. In the first part, an attempt is made to problematize and critically discuss some of Hettne's and Abrahamsson's

theoretical points of departure outlined above and relate this critique to my own empirical work. In the second part, a few notes are provided on my own application of the theoretical and conceptual tools offered by the scholars.

Albeit recognizing the great value of Hettne's and Abrahamsson's work – which in my opinion offers important theoretical guidance if we want to develop a better understanding of the conditions for development and peace in the era of globalization – a couple of critical remarks might be in order. In a sense, this critique is unfair since I do not really provide any solutions but rather, in fact, reproduce the very imperfections that I accuse the authors of exposing. Hence, this critique must equally be understood as self-criticism and a call for further theoretical elaboration.

The first critique is directed towards the tripartite analytical model of the historic bloc which I find too approximate. Hettne and Abrahamsson argue that each of the three different parties in this configuration, i.e. state, market and civil society, articulate fairly coherent interests. Yet, in my view, it is misleading to regard state, market, and civil society as *monoliths*. In this context, it might be fair to emphasize that Hettne and Abrahamsson never say that they should. On the other hand, they do maintain that each of these three parties articulate different *primary* interests, i.e. security, an environment conducive to business, and welfare. Maybe so, but a valid objection to this notion is that state, market and civil society, is composed of many different actors that often have very different interests and pursue very different political agendas. Moreover there can be different types of security, business, and welfare interests among different actors. Hence, the model provided by Abrahamsson and Hettne is problematic insofar as it simplifies complex processes in the historic bloc. In the upcoming sections, Englund's socially and historically based curriculum theory will be introduced and discussed (cf. 3.3), and a minor preliminary remark on his work in relation to Hettne and Abrahamsson might be useful here. As will be evident, Englund also draws on Gramsci and there is consequently a high degree of epistemological and theoretical coherence between Englund on the one hand, and Hettne and Abrahamsson on the other. However, there is a certain dissonance insofar as Englund presents a more complex idea of the state, which he primarily views as a *relationship,* or a *field of tension,* between different social forces. As indicated above, Hettne and Abrahamsson argue that the state *primarily* articulates a security interest. This can of course be viewed as a difference in degree, rather than in kind. Moreover, it should be stressed that there is a difference in terms of level of abstraction insofar as Englund studies Swedish curriculum change whereas Hettne's and Abrahamsson's focus on much more general development discourses. Nevertheless, it is difficult to break away from the notion that Hettne's and Abrahamsson's model – applied by myself in chapter 4 – is too approximate to capture reality's complexity. To stretch this argument further, it could be argued that it does not capture the complexity in Gramsci's notion of

the historic bloc. The problem is that it is difficult to suggest a better model while trying to provide a fairly brief overview of more than 60 years of development thinking. Hence, the challenge seem to be how to elaborate a more nuanced theoretical approach while at the same time maintaining a historical focus and avoiding getting caught up in endless deconstructions. This, of course, given that intellectual histories or grand narratives of the kind that is presented in chapter 4 is considered to be meaningful at all.

The second critique concerns the possible shortcomings of approaching the historic bloc – exclusively – as a site for *zero-sum games*. As I understand it, Hettne and Abrahamsson tend to treat the war of position between the actors in the historic bloc basically as a zero-sum game, i.e. an actor can only strengthen its position at the expense of the weakening of another. This is of course an important characteristic of a war of position, but it does not always have to be the case. For instance, Djelnic and Sahlin-Andersson argue that increasing expansion and deepening of the market does not necessarily mean deregulation and rollback of the state, but rather re-regulation whereby the state is able to – somewhat paradoxically – strengthen its position by means of making use of the market mechanism through new modes of governance (Djelnic & Sahlin-Andersson, 2006). Similarly, there has been a lot of debate about whether the increasing importance of NGOs in the last two decades should be interpreted as a strengthening of civil society at the expense of the market or the state, or whether the stronger position of NGOs worldwide should rather be understood as a function of market expansion or new modes of state governance (Craig & Porter, 2006; R. B. Hall & Biersteker, 2002; Ward, 2005). In relation to development cooperation, it is, of course, also a crucial question *which* governments or NGOs we are talking about, e.g. donor governments or recipient governments? The lesson to be learned from this is that it is important to be cautious when drawing conclusions. Recognizing the importance of the war of position does not mean that it always and exclusively has to be thought of in terms of a zero-sum game.

After these critical remarks, brought to my attention through the abductive data-theory interplay, a few notes on theoretical application might be illuminative. Hettne's conceptions of *development* and *development thinking* outlined above are central to the intellectual history of development that will be presented in chapter 4. This chapter will clearly illustrate Hettne's argument that development cannot be viewed as socially neutral and that there has been a tremendous enrichment of development thinking since World War II. However, since an important intention of this dissertation is to establish empirical and conceptual linkages between the evolution of development thinking and curriculum change as regards global education, these notions of development and development thinking are also of importance in relation to chapters 5 and 6.

Further, the ideas of *mainstream counterpoint dialectics* and *war of position* in the *historic bloc* constitute indispensable theoretical tools in relation to chapter 4 which help us to understand the processes that drive the intellectual history of development. Indirectly, these arguments will also serve a purpose in relation to chapters 5 and 6. Now, in line with the critique outlined above, an attempt will be made in chapter 4 to nuance Hettne's and Abrahamsson's tripartite analytical model of the historic bloc and – at least partly – touch upon the problem of zero-sum thinking. However, in essence, the model will be applied in its current configuration and this approach is obviously open to critique. Finally, intimately related to the logics of mainstream counterpoint dialectics, Hettne's and Nederveen Pieterse's argument about the increasing importance of mainstream *co-option* will also be stressed. This argument will be of crucial importance in relation to chapter 4 as well as chapters 5 and 6.

3.4. Socially and historically based curriculum theory

The second main source of theoretical inspiration in this dissertation is derived from the field of *education*. Englund's classic *Curriculum as a Political Problem* has been important for the upcoming historical and contemporary analyses of global education in a Swedish context (Englund, 1986/2005). In the following pages, a vain attempt will be made to contextualize and condense some of his fundamental arguments and relate these to my own work.

3.4.1. The third wave of curriculum theory

First of all, it might be important to put Englund's work into historical context. Perceived in chronological terms *Curriculum as a Political Problem* has been portrayed – by Englund himself and others – as a third *stage* in Swedish curriculum research. Personally I find the term *wave* more suitable since it has much more dynamic and less time-bound connotations. The first wave started in the 1960s with Dahlöf's development of frame factor theory which tried to explain interaction between the school's outer organizational framework and the inner processes of teaching and learning. This early frame factor theory was influenced by traditional sociology of education and, accordingly, school subjects, and their respective content, were more or less taken for granted, i.e. not problematized as such.[12] The normative objective of the early frame factor theory was to promote efficiency and equity, and it is probably useful to contextualize this spirit in relation to the on-going educational reforms in Sweden in the 1960s. The curriculum and the school system were thus primarily

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[12] According to Englund, this treatment of educational content as 'given' – and the reluctance to problematize it from a political point of view – has lingered on in phenomenographic didactics (cf. 1.6) (Englund, 1997a).

viewed by representatives of the first wave as progressive instruments for social development in the hands of a benevolent state.

The second wave started in the 1970s with Lundgren's and Kallós' revision of frame factor theory. This wave was influenced by the new sociology of education represented by critical scholars such as Bernstein, Bourdieu and Passeron. Inversely, the school now became viewed as a reproductive institution, which exercised social control and mediated the ideology of the ruling classes. The issue of differentiation was reinterpreted from an efficiency problem into an expression of functional social selection in capitalist society. Curriculum theory, headed by Lundgren, oriented itself towards a study of the underlying principles – the curriculum codes – which legitimized certain educational objectives, content and methods. Although the second wave was more inclined to bring educational content into the analysis, it was never regarded as interesting *per se*, but rather the role it played in a process of differentiation and functional selection. Hence – like its predecessor – the second wave remained primarily preoccupied with the educational process rather than the content as such. Moreover, since the main objective was to expose structures and reveal the underlying curriculum code, empirical similarities in terms of educational objectives, content and method became emphasized. Further, the strong tendency to focus on the reproductive structures of schooling made didactic innovations or recommendations more or less superfluous.

The third wave – represented by Englund himself – started from a critique of the reproductive and deterministic character of the second wave and its unwillingness to recognize curriculum change, empirical differences, or the value of didactic recommendations. Englund's main arguments will be outlined in detail below but a few preliminary remarks might be useful in this brief chronological exposé. Englund proposed a historically based approach to social and educational change. Influenced by Gramsci, he emphasized that the school can be, or rather is, both a progressive and reproductive institution. Hence, the school constitutes a field of tension between different social forces and the curriculum conveys this political conflict. In a democratic society, the curriculum is bound to become a compromise product and can as such be subject to different interpretations, which, in turn, are politically and ideologically based. Which interpretation has the upper hand is dependent on the relative strength of different actors in the ideological war of position. In line with this reasoning, the third wave became more interested in empirical differences regarding selection of educational objectives, content and methods, which in turn can be traced to different coherent interpretations or conceptions. Moreover, the third wave has pronounced didactic implications in that different ways of approaching and conceptualizing an educational content are analysed and exposed. This knowledge, in turn, can serve as a foundation for the development of didactic

competence (Englund, 1986/2005, 1997a, 2007a; Ljunggren, 1996; Östman, 1995).

Finally, it could be mentioned that a fourth wave (or stage in Englund's terminology) of Swedish curriculum theory, founded in the communicative and pragmatic turns, is currently materializing (Englund, 2007a). This fourth wave will not be dealt with here since it is beyond the scope of this study. Evidently, it is my opinion that the third wave has not lost its relevance even though I recognize that certain theoretical challenges exist (cf. 3.4.5).

3.4.2. Curriculum as a political field of tension in capitalist democracy

In order to understand Englund's reasoning in *Curriculum as a Political Problem* it is a minimum requirement to be clear about two of its basic premises. Firstly, that the analysis takes as its point of departure a particular societal configuration based on two fundamental conditions: capitalism and formal democracy (Englund, 1986/2005, p. 140). Secondly, as indicated above, that the analysis takes as its starting point a critique of the second wave of curriculum theory and of deterministic tendencies in Marxist sociology of education, which reduced the school to merely an ideological apparatus serving capital accumulation and concealing the 'objective conditions' of capitalism (Englund, 1986/2005, pp. 69-78). Starting from these two basic premises, an attempt will be made to clarify Englund's notion of the curriculum as a political field of tension and what can be learnt from this.

Englund acknowledges that Sweden is a class-based society characterized by a capitalist mode of production and that this society is continuously reproducing inequalities in terms of power and capital. However, Sweden is *also* a formal democracy, with equal rights for all citizens, offering the possibility for subordinated groups to organize themselves politically. Consequently, we live in a quite peculiar kind of societal configuration characterized by contradictory conditions.[13] These contradictions are built into, and conveyed by, the school as an ideological state apparatus which is supposed to, on the one hand, cater for capitalism's need of a competent, efficient and obedient workforce, and on the other hand, cater for democracy's need of critical, reflective and independent citizens. Now, in this particular societal configuration, Englund, as a guardian of the working class and other subordinated groups – albeit with an explicit rejection of traditional Marxist notions of 'objective class interest' – argues that subordinated groups can, via their citizenship, advance their position and extend

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[13] For example, the principle of private ownership of the means of production stands in opposition to the principle of universal suffrage. Englund further concludes – with reference to Dahlkvist – that this is why, generally speaking, it has been in the interest of the bourgeoisie to maintain a clear boundary between society and state, i.e. delimit the jurisdiction of the state, whereas it is in the interest of the socialist parties to dissolve this boundary and make the economy subject to democratic influence (Englund, 1986/2005, p. 150).

formal democracy, at the expense of capital, by means of reformist class struggle (Englund, 1986/2005). How is this possible? The answer can be found partly in Englund's critique of one-sided reproduction theories, partly in his application of Gramscian thought.

According to Englund, reproduction theorists in the deterministic Marxist tradition, tend to commit a number of mistakes, most of which can be traced to rigid theoretical preconceptions and failure to accept reality's complexity. These scholars tend to think that the capitalist economy can only work in *one* single way and that there is only *one* valid scientific way to study capitalist society, i.e. rigid historical materialism.[14] They fail to recognize that: (1) The relationship between capital and labour can take different forms, and that it has *de facto* changed over time, in – and despite – a prevailing capitalist order. (2) There is, and has been, a continuous struggle to bring about such change. Shifts in the relative position of strength over time can quite easily be discerned empirically. (3) The state is not a monolith. (4) The state and the school system are not purely and simply instruments serving the ruling classes. (5) All societal elements could not simply be reduced to a function of the economic base (Englund, 1986/2005).

The rejection of simplistic reproduction theory leads Englund (1986/2005) to engage himself with questions of how power relationships are established and changed in the school system and how the school can be understood as an ideological state apparatus. This is where Gramscian thought becomes useful. Drawing on Gramsci and Poulantzas, Englund argues that the school, as an ideological state apparatus, enjoys a relative degree of autonomy from both the economic base and the state. Further, that the state must not be viewed as a monolith, but as a fluid relationship between different social forces. Consequently, the state, the school system, and, ultimately the curriculum, constitute a field of tension where different social forces are engaged in an endless ideological and political war of position characterized by temporary equilibriums. In Englund's analysis, this war of position is primarily carried out between *reproductive* (social integrative) and *progressive* (change oriented) forces. The reproductive forces struggle to maintain the existing social order whereby different social classes are socialized into superior and subordinate positions in the economic and political system. The progressive forces, on the other hand, struggle to challenge and change the existing social order and strengthen the position of subordinated groups. Hence, in this perspective, the emancipatory potential of the school is related to its ability to provide subordinated groups with the intellectual and social resources they need to engage themselves politically, advance their social position, and influence their socio-economic environment. Which force will have the upper hand is dependent on the relative

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[14] Note that Gramsci would probably prefer to label such approaches as expressions of *historical economism* rather than historical materialism (cf. 3.2.1).

strength of the different actors in the war of position that shapes the curriculum. In a democratic society, the curriculum is bound to become a compromise product characterized by, on the one hand, cohesive functions and determinants, but also inherent conflicts and contradictions. Consequently, the curriculum is always open to different interpretations, which, in turn, are politically and ideologically based. How does Englund arrive at such a conclusion? The answer is two-fold and related to, on the one hand, a meticulous empirical focus on educational *content*, and, on the other, the application of a *sociology of knowledge* approach.

3.4.3. School content as historically and socially embedded

One of the most important contributions of *Curriculum as a political problem* is that it brings educational *content* to fore and thereby illuminates some critical blind spots of previous research. Unlike his predecessors in the curriculum theory tradition, who were primarily concerned with the educational process, Englund brings educational content – more specifically the content of citizenship education – to the centre of a historical analysis. Englund examines the different forms this content has assumed in the 20th century and by doing so he is able to demonstrate that it has, contrary to the general view among deterministic reproduction theorists, changed substantially. The empirical change patterns in curricular content point to the curriculum as a political field of tension and the possibility of progressive change. The change over time also points to educational content, and knowledge in general, as historically and socially embedded.[15] Inspired by Durkheim and Mannheim, Englund applies a *sociology of knowledge* approach. From Durkheim, he derives the idea that the fundamental concepts and notions that make up knowledge in any given society are collective representations produced in a particular social and historical context. However, according to Englund, Durkheim fails to recognize, due to his view of society as a harmonious entity, that the collective representations are not neutral. This is where Mannheim comes in handy. According to Mannheim the collective representations are formed, and evolve, in an ideological struggle between different social groups based on their different perceptions of the world. Thus, the meaning of concepts is fluid and can be interpreted in different ways based on social position, interest and ideological preferences. Empirically, Englund

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[15] However, this perspective is not uncontested. The debate on school subjects and school knowledge can in principle be boiled down to two major perspectives: a *sociological* – represented by e.g. Englund, Apple, Goodson, Musgrove and Svingby – and a *philosophical* – represented by e.g. Hirst, Peters and Phenix. In accordance with the sociological perspective, school knowledge is *historically and socially contingent* and thus in flux. Consequently, school content must be understood and studied in relation to e.g. political ideologies, economic resources, material endowments, communication networks, and current social processes and events. In accordance with this perspective, there is no self-evident relation between university disciplines and school subjects. The philosophical perspective, on the other hand, argues that there are certain *perpetual forms of knowledge,* which, in turn, correspond quite well with traditional university subjects. Since the school should develop these fundamental forms of knowledge within every child, the university subjects must be 'translated' for the use as school subjects (Englund, 1986/2005; Englund & Svingby, 1986; Goodson, et al., 1998)

clearly demonstrates that educational content is no exception to this rule. It changes over time and it can be subject to different interpretations. To capture this process, Englund introduces the concept *conceptions of education* which signifies:

> coherent approaches concerning fundamental dimensions shaping the design of education, with particular reference to citizenship education (Englund, 1986/2005, p. 33).

Conceptions of education, in Englund's terminology, are thus coherent, ideologically founded, interpretations of the principles that determine the selection of content, its status and character. Which conception has the upper hand is, again, dependent upon the war of position between reproductive and progressive forces. The dominant conception sets the conditions for the possible application and implementations of the curriculum. Empirically, Englund distinguishes between three different educational conceptions: (1) *A patriarchal educational conception*, related to conservative ideology and idealist epistemology, which dominated citizenship education from the breakthrough of democracy in 1919 until World War II. (2) *A scientific-rational educational conception*, related to liberal ideology and positivist epistemology, which has dominated citizenship education from the end of World War II and onwards. (3) *A democratic educational conception*, related to socialist ideology and a pluralist/social constructivist epistemology, which challenged – although never overthrew – the scientific-rational conception in the 1970s and 1980s. One of the most important contributions of Englund's work has been to bring this continuous struggle to our attention, and help us to understand curriculum as a political field of tension in capitalist democracy (Englund, 1986/2005).

Three final remarks might be important in this context. Firstly, the conceptions never appear in 'pure' form. There is always a certain room for manoeuvre for different interpretations and the war of position can always shift the balance. Secondly, the war of position takes place on different levels from the highest political authority, via the different steps in the administrative hierarchy, down to the individual classroom. Due to the decentralization of the Swedish school system in the 1990s, the 'lower levels' of the hierarchy have become increasingly important, and curriculum work, thus, increasingly connected to the individual teacher project (Englund, 1997b; Gundem, 1997; Lundgren, 1999). Thirdly, the field of tension between the reproductive and progressive forces in the curriculum is, according to Englund, epitomized in *citizenship education*. This implies that it is of utmost importance for subordinated groups that educational content of citizenship education is recognized as a political problem:

> The extent to which it is politicized is crucial to whether fundamental changes in school citizenship education are possible, since only when the question of citizenship education is posed as a political problem and its inherent meaning as state sanctioned policy (= the

dominant ideology) is changed can more deep-seated changes, i.e. shifts at the deepest level of ideology, that of hegemony, occur. This is not to say that such changes must necessarily be brought about via manifest educational policy documents such as syllabuses. Shifts in the general intellectual debate (caused, for example, by changes in the relative strengths of social forces or by economic recovery or crisis) can gradually change the latent content of syllabuses and teaching materials (Englund, 1986/2005, p. 154).

It should be underscored that the relationship between such shifts in the *general intellectual debate* and *curriculum change* is one of the leitmotifs of this thesis and constitutes the link between chapter 4 *and* chapters 5 and 6, respectively.

3.4.4. Didactic implications

Englund's empirical findings clearly point out that educational content can have very different political connotations, that it can be approached and conceptualized in fundamentally different ways, and that curriculum, thus, ultimately constitutes a political problem. According to Englund this insight has important didactic implications and it causes him to introduce a new notion of didactic competence, i.e. systematic knowledge of different didactic alternatives. In line with this, Englund argues that didactic research should re-orient itself towards exposing different ways of conceptualizing and approaching educational content. One feasible way of building systematic knowledge that can serve as a basis for didactic competence is through construction of didactic typologies. These didactic typologies, in turn, should expose different ways of approaching educational content as regards: its place and character; criteria for its selection; how it should be taught, and – ultimately – its aim and objective. Apart from exposing the various political connotations of teaching and the different consequences it can have in relation to citizenship, Englund further argues that didactic typologies can make different educational-philosophical traditions visible, and thus help us to elevate ourselves from our own tradition and the notion that there is only one way to teach a particular content (Englund, 1986/2005, 1997a, 1997b).

In accordance with these logics, Englund has developed a five-fold didactic typology for the civics subject in Sweden (Englund, 1986/2005, 1994, 1997b). This typology, in turn, is largely inspired by a previous model developed by Barr, Barth and Shermis in 1977 as regards Social Studies teaching in the U.S. The different 'types' or 'logics' of the typology can be specified on the basis of different objectives, content and pedagogical methods. The five different types, which can be discerned historically, are, according to Englund:

- Traditional value-based citizenship education (fostering national identity, promoting obedience) with a concentric principle of teaching
- Economy and (labour-)market preparing citizenship education for a rapidly changing society with individual competence as central feature

- Preparation for an active citizenship through critical institutional scrutiny and promotion of a conflict perspective
- Social scientifically based civics – with academic mother disciplines as model
- Problem-oriented teaching based on the pupils' experiences (Englund, 1997b, p. 140) (My transl.)

Finally, it should be mentioned that Englund does not maintain that this is the only possible typology for civics in Sweden and in fact he explicitly welcomes alternative typologies. Nor does he maintain that his typology is a perfect analytical instrument for categorizing and discerning different forms of civics teaching. However, he makes a strong case for the idea that the typology can serve as an important didactic tool in professional discussions. It can help us expose the contingency of educational content and the fact that the curriculum constitutes a political problem (Englund, 1986/2005, 1997b).

3.4.5. Problematization and application

The following section has two basic intentions. Firstly, I will try to problematize and critically reconsider some of Englund's fundamental arguments outlined above *in relation to* my own analysis. Secondly, I will briefly try to illuminate how, and to what extent, the theoretical tools provided by Englund have been applied in this thesis.

There are, in my view, a few troublesome aspects in Englund's work that might be useful to problematize and critically discuss, at least from the point of departure of this dissertation. As indicated above, Englund – despite an explicit rejection of the notion of 'objective class interests' – could be viewed as a defender of the working class and other subordinated groups. He applies the terms *education for social integration* (reproduction) and *education for change* (progression) to differentiate between education that reproduces the social position of the working class and other subordinated groups, and education that aims to emancipate and advance their position. Nevertheless, Englund presents a few reservations and clarifications in relation to this argument. He concludes that:

> Education for change in the sense intended here thus entails an educational policy aimed at strengthening the position of subordinate groups in society. *It is not possible to establish a priori an exact criterion of what this entails; the question has to be related to concrete historical developments* (Englund, 1986/2005, p. 25) (My italics).

Similarly, Englund stresses that the terms reproductive and progressive are not absolute, but indeed *relative*. Consequently, whether a certain phenomenon (e.g. school content) should be regarded as reproductive or progressive must be contextualized in relation to a certain x-factor (e.g. class) and it is further dependent upon, as indicated by the quote above, the general course of historical and societal development. Now, my critique of Englund is that I perceive his

work in *Curriculum as a Political Problem* – despite his reservations – as quite exclusively taking as point of departure: (1) The working class as *the* subordinate group. (2) The nation-state as *the* self-evident unit of analysis. (3) *One* fundamental contradiction built in and conveyed by the curriculum, between capitalism and democracy. Below, I will address and elaborate briefly on each of these three problems and try to relate them to my own analysis. As I will argue, the acceleration of globalization and societal development has in fact made it increasingly difficult to even pose the question: 'what is progressive?' Let alone answer it. And it is perhaps in relation to this controversy that the present dissertation might give a small contribution. Not by providing any simple solutions, but by pointing to some of the fundamental problems and contradictions.

My first critique of *Curriculum as a Political Problem* in relation to my own work is that Englund talks about *the working class and other subordinate groups* in a quite homogenous and abstract way (although – in my view – his main interest in fact resides with the working class).[16] This seems to suggest a preconception that the working class and other subordinated groups constitute a relatively homogenous group with similar political interests. My point is that there are many different subordinated positions besides that of the working class – or if you wish x-factors – and accordingly, education has to be contextualized in relation to different inequalities with reference to e.g. gender, ethnicity, nationality, sexual orientation, disabilities, religion, age, etc. As shown in numerous ways by intersectionality researchers, there are many subordinated positions and these tend to interact with each other in extremely complex ways (Andersen & Collins, 1995; De los Reyes & Mulinari, 2005). Consequently, an educational intervention that might be progressive in one perspective may very well be reproductive in another. The conclusion that can be drawn from this is that it would probably be more reasonable to talk, in the plural rather than the singular, about several on-going and interacting war(s) of position and therefore, to the extent that it is possible, about several education(s) for change.

My second critique of *Curriculum as Political Problem* is that it takes the nation state as the self-evident unit of analysis. In times of intensified and accelerating globalization, this is hardly a viable option for any serious representative of citizenship education. However, when leaving the nation state as a unit of analysis, things tend to become even more complicated. Tensions and contradiction can emerge even within the, at least seemingly, same category. For example, what might be progressive from the horizon of the working class in Sweden is not necessarily progressive from a global, or international, working class perspective. The same, of course, applies to any other of the categories

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[16] In my opinion there is an emphasis on reformist *class* struggle in both Part I *Curriculum as a Political Problem* and Part II *Citizenship education in Swedish schools during the 20th century* of Englund's dissertation (note that the dissertation is a two-part work) (Englund, 1986, 1986/2005).

mentioned above. One aspect of this problem is, of course, the fundamental question of to what extent the determinant *sense of community* and, ultimately, the notion of citizenship itself can be extended beyond the national borders (Englund, 1986/2005, p. 193). Regardless of how we position ourselves in this controversy, it could again be argued, that intersectionality research can at least help us to think beyond and in-between the prevailing categories. Thus, so far it can be concluded that citizenship education is an extremely difficult endeavour in a society characterized by rapid societal change, globalization, complexity and intersectionality. 'So what?', someone might counter. Does this problem reside within Englund's work or is it I who create the problem by means of applying his theory to an extremely fluid and multi-dimensional object of study in a completely different social and historical context? Well, it would of course be extremely unfair to criticize Englund for something that he: (1) Never did or intended to do. (2) Did more than 25 years ago. Hence, what we are talking about here is a problematization of Englund's work *in relation to* this study. However, bearing in mind Englund's profound interest in citizenship education, and that teaching on global issues can be seen as a fundamental and indispensable component of citizenship education, it seems reasonable to problematize and reconsider how Englund's important theoretical contributions can be applied and readjusted in relation to a study of the present day context.

My third critique of *Curriculum as a Political Problem* in relation to this study is not really a critique but more of an elaboration or extension of Englund's argument. Englund has made an important contribution by pointing so clearly to the curriculum's inherent contradiction between *capitalism* and *democracy*. This contradiction can also quite easily be translated into the inherent contradictions of teaching on global issues, which, on the one hand, is supposed to strengthen Sweden's international competitiveness and, on the other, promote international solidarity with poor and vulnerable groups worldwide. A similar thought pattern can be traced in Peter Kemp's distinction between pupils learning the abilities to survive *in* the world vis-à-vis their abilities to contribute to the survival *of* the world (Kemp, 2005). However, I would argue that the inherent contradiction of the curriculum – particularly with reference to citizenship education – has been extended by yet another dimension: that of *environmental sustainability*. This fairly recent component has made the inherent contradictions of the curriculum even more severe and the teacher profession even more demanding. The inherent tensions between capitalism, democracy and environmental sustainability have, I would argue, their equivalent in the inherent tensions of the concept *sustainable development* and its three dimensions *economic*, *social* and *ecological* sustainability. Hence, through the increasing recognition and advocacy of so-called *Education for Sustainable Development,* and through the implementation of Sweden's new *Policy for Global Development*, the inner contradictions of the curriculum have been extended by yet another dimension. I will elaborate further on this problem in section 3.4.3 in relation to Andersson's notion of a global ethical dilemma (cf.

3.5.3). Now, pin-pointing what should be viewed as reproductive and progressive education has become extremely complicated in a context where the common and overarching objective of all Swedish policy areas is equitable and sustainable global development (Prop. 2002/03:122). We will return to these problems in the upcoming empirical chapters of this dissertation.

Although the abductive process has revealed that there are certain theoretical challenges in relation to my own work, there should be no doubt that Englund constitutes a very important source of inspiration. Thus, a few words and clarifications on the application of Englund's theories in this dissertation might be useful.

First of all, it should be noted that there are some important differences, but also similarities, between our respective objects of study. Englund's object of study is *citizenship education* and the different forms it has assumed in the 20th century – primarily via the civics subject and secondarily via the history subject – as revealed by syllabuses and teaching materials. The primary object of study in this dissertation is *global education* and the different forms that it has assumed from the 1960s and onwards as revealed by, on the one hand, teacher trainers and teachers, and on the other, curriculum documents, syllabuses and other curriculum material. My object of study is much more fluid than Englund's, which in turn is recognized as quite problematic (cf. 1.2 and 3.5.2). However, global education can be seen as an indispensable part of citizenship education and as will be evident in chapter 5 and chapter 6, respectively, the most common implementation modality has been – and still is – the civics subject. Moreover, due to the acceleration of globalization, the global component is becoming increasingly important with reference to citizenship education. The differences in terms of empirical material, i.e. that I make use of teachers as oral sources, must primarily be understood in relation to the decentralization of the school system whereby educational content is to a lesser extent regulated centrally and whereby curriculum work has become increasingly related to the individual teacher project (cf. 3.4.3).

Englund's notion that the curriculum constitutes a *field of tension* between different social forces and that the curriculum is formed in an ideological *war of position* is a fundamental point of departure of this dissertation. This will be displayed quite clearly in chapters 5 and chapter 6 and it will also become obvious that the curriculum can be subject to different interpretations, which in turn are ideologically and politically based. However, in line with the problematization above, an attempt will be made to apply a somewhat more nuanced and flexible approach to the concepts *reproductive* and *progressive* forces. In chapter 5, I will try to contextualize the struggles between these forces in each period and thus relate them to the specific 'burning issues', i.e. global problems identified in the public debate, of each and every period. This is in a sense

natural since on the one hand, as will be evident in chapter 5, there have been so many historical shifts in global education, and on the other, which is the flip-side of the coin, global education is such a fluid object of study. Thus, the concepts reproductive and progressive forces can only be precise when they are related to a specific historical context, and their usefulness is related to whether they clarify how different forces defend or challenge the mainstream discourse of that specific period (cf. chapter 5). A further consequence of Englund's reasoning about the curriculum as a political field of tension is, as indicated by the title of his dissertation, that curriculum must be understood as *a political problem*. Curriculum as a political problem – and the failure of some teachers to recognize this, i.e. primarily perceiving it as a *pedagogical* problem – is an important theoretical insight that has provided inspiration for both chapter 5 and chapter 6.

Another important feature of this dissertation, largely inspired by Englund, is bringing historical *change* to the centre of the analysis. Hence, a socially and historically based curriculum theory approach is applied in chapter 5. This chapter also includes a few references to Englund's educational conceptions. However, I have not been able to detect, or historically discern, any 'new' coherent conceptions of global education. This can be regarded as a shortcoming, which can partly – but probably not entirely – be related to the fluidness of the object of study (cf. 7.2). Instead, chapter 5 introduce and make use of the vaguer concept *accentuation* to capture the dominant features of global education in different historical periods. The concept accentuation refers to *an intensification and extension of a certain phenomenon in the chaotic and complex flux that constitute history.* In this sense, it has a bearing on the Weberian concept *ideal type* (Weber, 1983, p. 19; 1991, p. 139f). Englund states – with reference to ideal types – that:

> An ideal type is an intensification or articulation of certain components of reality, a metaphor which makes certain empirical facts stand out more clearly (Englund, 1986/2005, p. 306).

Accentuation is thus applied as a key concept in chapter 5 of this dissertation and it is argued in chapter 6 that certain aspects of these historical curriculum accentuations lingers on, and can be traced in contemporary approaches to global education. Moreover, it should be stressed that attempt has been made to understand curriculum change and the different historical accentuations of global education in relation to very broad epistemic and societal changes. This ambition is apparent in chapter 4 and chapter 5, but even more so through their mutual co-constitutive relationship. Englund has pictured his own work as inspired by the German historians Kocka and Wehler whose view of science is that it:

> must be set in an overall *gesamtgeschichtlichen* – or societal – interpretative framework relating to the social formation of the period as a whole (Englund, 1986/2005, p. 36).

As far as this dissertation is concerned, I am quite reluctant to describe it as an expression of a 'total' historical perspective. I find such a notion to be highly questionable, both epistemologically and methodologically. However, it should be recognized that I am inspired by Englund's approach in that I find it important to apply a wide societal perspective in order to understand the historical evolution of global education in the Swedish curriculum.

Finally, my attempt in chapter 6 to construct a didactic typology for global education, which, in turn, might serve as a tool for didactic reasoning and discussion, is an idea exclusively derived from Englund's work. The typology for global education obviously differs from Englund's five-fold typology for civics outlined above, but the underlying logics are largely similar, i.e. it attempts to show that global education can be approached very differently as regards e.g. objectives, knowledge content and pedagogical methods and, moreover, that these different approaches reflect different political and intellectual rationalities. Hence, didactic approaches can either serve as a justifications or critiques of the existing international economic system. Since global education largely revolves around global development issues, the typology in chapter 6 further attempts to show that 'development' and 'globalization' can be conceptualized and approached very differently.

3.5. Further analytical concepts and their application

The following sections elaborate briefly on some further concepts and their analytical application. The concepts are derived from the field of *history of ideas*, the field of *education* and the field of *political economy,* respectively.

3.5.1. Potential repertoire

Liedman has offered a conceptual tool of great relevance to this dissertation.[17] In his historical exposé of modernity, *I skuggan av framtiden* (My transl. *In the Shade of the Future),* Liedman introduces the concept *potential repertoire* which implies the backcloth of knowledge and experiences that are available at a certain moment in history and at a certain location (Liedman, 1997, p. 219). According to Liedman, the potential repertoire has been widening enormously in most corners of the world since the birth of modernity in the late 18th century. This in turn must be understood as a result of both massive knowledge production and a remarkable

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[17] The following might be important to note in order to avoid confusion. The concept *repertoire* was introduced in the Swedish curriculum theory debate by Linde. He uses it as an individually founded, output-oriented, concept in order to analyse differences between individual teachers' selection of subject content. To Linde, the *potential repertoire* denotes an individual teacher's amount of knowledge, i.e. the lessons she/he can conduct, whereas the *manifest repertoire* denotes the lessons she/he actually conducts delimited by frame factors (Linde, 1986, p. 74f.) In this dissertation, the concept repertoire is used in accordance with Liedman's conception, which in turn denotes a a quite different, collective and more input-oriented approach.

evolution of information technology. There are in principle no limits to how much the potential repertoire of knowledge can expand or widen in a knowledge producing globalized world and Liedman underscores that the knowledge explosion in modern society implies dilemmas in terms of educational content selection (Liedman, 1997, p. 221). The concept potential repertoire is important to this dissertation in that it constitutes a conceptual link between the enrichment of development thinking outlined in chapter 4 and the consequences this has had, and has, for practicing teachers in global education. As indicated above, the enrichment of development thinking can be traced to mainstream counterpoint dialectics (cf. 3.3.2). Regardless of whether a counterpoint position is co-opted by the mainstream or offers a competing paradigm, the result will be, from an *epistemic* standpoint, a widening of the *potential repertoire* of development thinking. Consequently, the possible ways of understanding and approaching development are extended. Quite naturally, the widening of the potential repertoire of development thinking constitutes a challenge to practising teachers and it implies, within the limits of constraining organizational frame factors, a widening of the *potential knowledge content repertoire* in school. Thus, the term potential knowledge content repertoire denotes the backcloth of content that teachers can chose from within the limits of organizational constraints. In this sense, it can be understood as formed in the intersection of the *potential repertoire* of development thinking and constraining organizational frame factors.

However, the application of Liedman's concept is not altogether uncomplicated in relation to the other components of the theoretical and conceptual apparatus. What Liedman does is in fact to combine a cumulative view of knowledge with a simultaneous recognition that knowledge is always socially and historically embedded. Thus, Liedman argues that knowledge is expanding and the best proof of this is that knowledge 'works', i.e. it provides us with more and better explanations and understandings of different phenomena. In this process, new knowledge is sometimes built upon earlier knowledge whereas on other occasions, previous knowledge is torn down. However, even though knowledge is expanding, one must also recognize that everything and everyone is encapsulated in a certain societal and historical context and within that context, knowledge is often subject to ideological and political dispute.[18] My own interpretation in this matter, in line with the basic Gramscian points of departure of this dissertation, is that the growth of knowledge is neither a single-track nor harmonious process but rather that the widening of the potential repertoire is driven by dialectics and wars of position. Nevertheless, throughout this dissertation I find myself forced to subscribe to a kind of double-barrelled line of reasoning. In my view, the apparent contradiction between a cumulative and socially embedded view of knowledge could be understood as, in the word of Bruner, an *antinomy*, i.e. a *'pair of large truths, which, though both may be true, nonetheless*

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[18] Liedman, S-E., Personal communication. September 17, 2008

contradict each other' . (Bruner, 1996, p. 66)**.** As argued by Bruner, antinomies are common features of our times, not least within the sphere of education.[19] It is not possible to get the full measure from both angles of the antinomy. Nevertheless, according to Bruner, antinomies must be recognized because they prevent us from going dogmatically astray and help us to maintain a certain balance in our reasoning. Now, as previously indicated, Liedman's concept is employed both in relation to the intellectual history of development and the history of global education to illustrate the changing conditions for both knowledge and teaching as regards global issues in recent decades.

3.5.2. Classification and framing

Bernstein's theoretical elaboration in *On the Classification and Framing of Educational Knowledge* has also been of importance for my understanding of some of the fundamental conditions for global education (Bernstein, 1971). Bernstein introduced the concepts *classification* and *framing* as tools for analysing curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation. Both concepts relate to the issue of boundaries – and the strength by which they are upheld – and accordingly power and social control are central components of his analysis. *Classification* refers to the degree of differentiation between different educational contents. Strong classification implies that contents are well separated from each other by sharp boundaries. Inversely, weak classification denotes reduced insulation between contents, i.e. boundaries between contents are weak or blurred. This implies that if a school subject is subject to strong classification, its content is well insulated from other subjects' content. If classification is strong, it is further possible to maintain a high degree of framing. *Framing* refers to the degree or strength of the boundary between what may and what may not be transmitted in the pedagogical relationship between teacher and students. Accordingly, strong framing signifies sharp boundaries, whereas weak framing denotes blurred boundaries, between what may and may not be transmitted. Thus, the issue of framing refers to the range of options that are available to teachers and students. For example, a subject with a strong tradition, national tests, hegemonic teaching material or a syllabi with rigorously defined content and detailed learning outcomes, implies a reduction of the available options for teachers and students to choose content (Bernstein, 1971; See also: Linde, 1986). In accordance with these definitions, a quite typical example of a subject characterized by strong classification and framing would be mathematics. Inversely, a good example of a subject marked by weak classification and framing would be civics. As indicated in chapter 1, and as will be evident in chapters 5 and 6, global education as a knowledge content, i.e. *not even* a subject in its own right, is quite naturally characterized by both weak classification and weak framing. This implies comparatively little

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[19] Bruner mentions a few examples of such contradictions, e.g. *the individual-realization versus culture-preserving antinomy*; *the talent-centred versus tool-centred antinomy*; and, *the particularism versus universalism antinomy* (Bruner, 1996, pp. 66-69).

control on the part of central educational authorities but also little guidance for the individual teacher. As indicated in the literature review, a considerable degree of conceptual confusion has also permeated the debate on global education and this is probably intimately linked to the content's weak classification and framing (cf. 2.1). Weak classification and weak framing further imply difficulties in terms of evaluation and thus, in my particular endeavour, it constitutes a methodological challenge (cf. 5.1 and 6.1).

3.5.3. Global ethical trilemma

Yet another analytical tool is derived from Andersson's work in Political Economy. Andersson proposes that the world is currently facing a so-called *global ethical trilemma* (J. O. Andersson, 2003, 2006). The 'trilemma' is related to the difficulty – or perhaps rather the impossibility – of attaining three political goals, which are generally accepted worldwide: material *prosperity, equity* and *ecological sustainability*. According to Andersson, two of these goals can be achieved simultaneously, but only at the expense of down-prioritizing the third. Hence, there are fundamental internal contradictions between these three political objectives. Consequently, if the suggested political realities exposed by the global ethical trilemma are accepted, we are basically left with three imaginable ideological responses to the problem: *eco-efficient capitalism*; *global social democracy*; and *red-green anti-capitalism*. Figure 3.3 is a replica of Andersson's own model of the trilemma and the possible ideological responses:
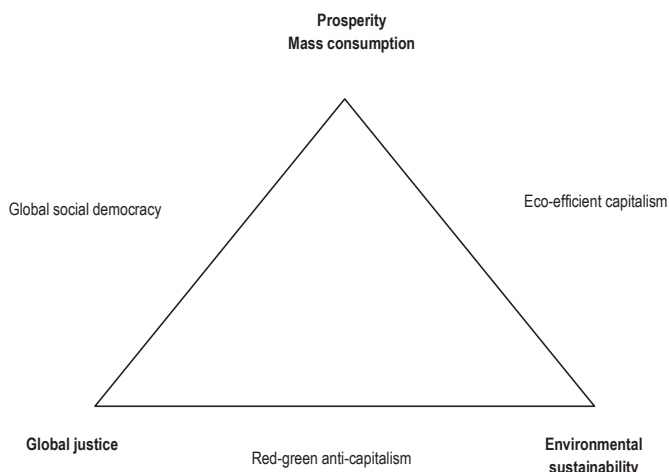
Figure 3.3. The global ethical trilemma

Eco-efficient capitalism focuses on prosperity and ecological sustainability. This essentially economistic vision is based on correct pricing of environmental services and clear structures for user rights and property rights of natural resources. The price mechanisms and the property rights, in turn, will cater for a combination of economic growth and environmental sustainability and help us to avoid 'the tragedy of the commons'. However, equity concerns are not considered in this vision, which means that people who cannot afford to pay the market price for environmental services and resources are left behind. The vision of global social democracy, one the other hand, stresses the importance of economic growth to create employment worldwide and cater for redistributive measures in order to achieve global justice. However, environmental concerns are down-prioritized in favour of prosperity and equity. Red-green anti-capitalism, in turn, recognizes the ecological limitations to economic growth and mass consumption. Thus priority is given to environmentally sustainable production and consumption patterns and redistributive global justice. In other words, mass consumption, as we have known it, will no longer be attainable for anyone since resources must be shared globally. Andersson recognizes that it might be simplistic to argue that there are only three possible positions in the triangle. It is, of course, possible to imagine various compromise positions within the triangle as well as in-between the suggested ideological responses. However, what is interesting about Andersson's model is that it exposes the political contradictions and that it has an obvious bearing on the notion of sustainable development. In my opinion the model clearly illuminates the internal contradictions between the three cornerstones of sustainable development: economic, social and ecological sustainability. Despite a certain crudeness in my opinion – compromise positions within the triangle are not only possible but in fact probable – the model is useful insofar as it clearly exposes the inherent tensions of sustainable development and that it ultimately all boils down to a question of different political alternatives. Since sustainable development has become a core component of the curriculum, it now – as indicated above – constitutes a field of tension between economic, social and ecological interests. The model thus serves a didactic purpose since it can help us expose the inherent tensions of the curriculum and make possible a discussion about different political alternatives (cf. 3.3.5). It is, further, quite easy to conceptualize the global ethical trilemma in terms of an ideological war of position between different actors. Even if the crude notion of 'pick two, ignore the third' are not accepted, we should at least be able to accept being caught up in a political field of tension with different social forces that pursue different political interests. Where the temporary equilibrium will stabilize is dependent on the outcome of this political struggle. Consequently, Andersson's model will be used to expose the inner contradictions of the curriculum, particularly in chapter 6 but also, to some extent, in chapter 5.

3.6. Concluding remarks

The intention of this chapter was to present and discuss the theoretical and conceptual apparatus that underpins and compounds the three sub-studies that make up the empirical backbone of the thesis. The chapter started out by stressing that the broad scope of the thesis – involving epistemic and societal change and how this relates to curriculum change – requires an approach that draws on insights from several social science disciplines. It was further stressed that the theoretical and conceptual apparatus is a result of a dynamic abductive process and not merely a predetermined frame of reference. This final section will briefly recapitulate the theoretical and conceptual components of the apparatus, as well as some arguments on the need for certain theoretical refinement revealed through the abductive data-theory interplay. Finally, a few comments on the general features of the apparatus will be provided.

The *Gramscian backdrop* established an anti-positivist and historicist point of departure. Here, the important concepts historic bloc, civil society, war of position and hegemony was introduced. Establishing this common backdrop was important bearing in mind that Gramsci's thinking and his central concepts are applied in relation to different research territories by Hettne and Abrahamsson, and Englund, respectively. *Development theory* – potentially close to a merger with International Political Economy into Global Social Theory – as framed by Hettne and Abrahamsson provided conceptualizations of development and development thinking. It further introduced a theoretical understanding of mainstream counterpoint dialectics and a particular understanding of war of position in the historic bloc. Further, it explained how these dynamics relate to world order and, accordingly, why a Global Social Theory is needed. However, the abductive process revealed a need of some theoretical refinement in so far as Hettne's and Abrahamsson's tripartite model of the historic bloc simplifies complex processes in the historic bloc. It might lead us to view the three categories of actors as monoliths, and the war of position exclusively as a zero-sum game. Hence, there is a need to somehow pursue a more nuanced approach and apply the model with some caution.

Englund's *socially and historically based curriculum theory* helped us to understand curriculum in capitalist democracy as a political field of tension between reproductive and progressive forces. It further helped us to understand school content as historically and socially embedded, how didactic typologies can be used to enhance didactic competence and – ultimately – why it is important to recognize curriculum as a political rather than pedagogical problem. However, the abductive process of data-theory interplay suggested an application of the concept accentuations rather than Englund's classical notion of educational conceptions. The abductive process further revealed a need for some theoretical refinement. Firstly, *Curriculum as a Political Problem* talks about the working class

and other subordinated groups in a quite abstract and homogenous way and as a consequence, the concepts reproductive and progressive becomes somewhat problematic. Bearing in mind that there are many quite different subordinated positions in society – and that these tend to interact in very complex ways – it is probably more reasonable to talk about several war(s) of position and education(s) for change. Secondly, it takes the nation-state as the self-evident unit of analysis. Due to contemporary globalization processes, this approach needs to be reconsidered. Thirdly, the curriculum no longer only conveys the contradictory demands of capitalism and democracy, a third dimension must be added, i.e. that of environmental sustainability. The apparatus also entails a few additional concepts. Liedman's concept *potential repertoire*; Bernstein's concepts *classification* and *framing*; and Andersson's concept *global ethical trilemma* were introduced as additional tools intended to further help and refine the analysis of the empirical material.

Finally, a few general words on the 'sum of the parts' might be useful. The apparatus recognizes the importance of historical sensitivity and it repudiates positivist epistemology. It regards dialectics as a constitutive element of all social life and of societal development. Moreover, analyses of political and intellectual struggles in the historic bloc are viewed as crucial if we want to understand epistemic and societal change and how this relates to curriculum change. However, since hegemonic arrangements consolidate historic blocs such processes tend to be inert. Knowledge and power is obviously viewed as intimately inter-connected and in relation to the school, it denotes that social and political discourses affect the curriculum and that the curriculum is formed in a political field of tension between different social forces. From a didactic point of view, this implies that it is important to critically consider the political underpinnings conveyed by different conceptualisations and approaches to education, and to recognize that the curriculum – ultimately – constitutes a political problem.

We will now turn to the three empirical sub-studies of the thesis – chapters 4, 5 and 6 – all of which, in their particular way, have been developed in abductive interplay with the theoretical and conceptual apparatus outlined in this chapter.

4. THE INTELLECTUAL HISTORY OF DEVELOPMENT

The following chapter comprises the first sub-study of this dissertation.[20] *The aim of the chapter is to outline the post-World War intellectual history of development with particular reference to Swedish development cooperation.* Needless to say, such an undertaking requires bold simplifications and the outcome is bound to be a delimited and theoretically informed historical reconstruction. Nevertheless, the chapter sets out to grasp some important trends and features of a fascinating intellectual history. Throughout the chapter, some particular references will also be made to the evolution of Swedish development cooperation since it has played a decisive role for global education in Sweden. These introductory notes are followed by a section that elaborates on the method underpinning the sub-study. This is then followed by six chronologically ordered sections, all of which cover a particular historical period. These sections attempt to sketch answers to a set of questions intended to capture the main trends in development thinking during the period. Questions taken on are:

- What characterized the historical context of the period?
- What main development problems were highlighted in the development discourse of the period?
- What main development goals were highlighted in the development discourse of the period?
- What means of development were highlighted in the development discourse of the period?
- What main 'agent' of development was highlighted in the development discourse of the period?
- At what levels of analysis was development discourse operating?
- Is it possible to conceive of any expressions of mainstream-counterpoint dialectics in the period?
- Is it possible to conceive of any intellectual wars of position and reconfigurations of the historic bloc in the period?
- Is it possible to conceive of a widening of the potential repertoire of development thinking in the period?

The six sections are further sub-divided into two parts. The first part introduces the general historical context of the period and provides some specific notes on the evolution of international and Swedish development cooperation. The

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[20] A revised version of this chapter has been previously published in the working paper series *Perspectives on Development Cooperation in Africa* (Knutsson, 2009).

second part provides a more in-depth analysis of development thinking in the period and in connection with this, each new school of development thinking also becomes subject to critical enquiry. However, it might be important to point out that this bipartite organization of the text merely serves an analytical purpose. As will be evident throughout this chapter, the evolution of development thinking, and the historical contexts in which this evolution takes form, are of course interdependent. The final section of the chapter provides some general concluding remarks.

Historical outlines with a resemblance to this one have been provided, in a much more impressive manner, by various distinguished scholars (e.g. Hettne, 1995, 2009; Nederveen Pieterse, 2001, 2009; Odén, 2006; Rist, 1997, 2009; Schuurman, 2000; Thorbecke, 2006). Thus, the relevance of the chapter must primarily be understood in the context of the didactic project of which it forms a part. Firstly, Englund strongly points out that shifts in the general intellectual debate – due to changes in the relative strengths of different social actors or other social processes – can gradually change the content of the curriculum (Englund, 1986/2005, p. 154). Outlining such power reconfigurations and shifts in the general intellectual debate on development, so as to serve as a frame of reference for the historical changes of global education described in chapter 5, is exactly what this chapter sets out to do (cf. 3.4.3). Secondly, the intellectual history of development provided here is written with some special references to the evolution of Swedish development cooperation. As will be evident, Swedish development cooperation has played a crucial role for the inception and evolution of global education in Sweden. Thus, again, this chapter constitutes an important reference point for chapter 5. Thirdly, again in relation to global education, it could be argued that the chapter provides knowledge of different 'selective traditions' in development thinking (Englund, 2007b). Some knowledge of these different traditions can be very useful for practicing teachers engaged in global education.

4.1. Method

This chapter constitutes an *intellectual history* and like most other work in this tradition, it is methodologically founded on a desk study.[21] What makes up the defining features of intellectual history can be, and has been, subject to debate within the scientific community (e.g. N. Andersson & Björck, 2008; Gordon,

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[21] The terms *history of ideas* and *intellectual history* are often used interchangeably. However, according to Gordon, the two terms can also be used to signify elemental differences. He suggests that when this is done, the term *history of ideas* normally becomes associated with research which, in a somewhat 'idealist' way, attempts to follow ideas' metamorphoses over time without a thorough problematization of how historical conditions and contexts contribute to this change. Inversely, the term *intellectual history* is used as a label for research that resists this 'idealist' bias, and attempt to trace the change of ideas to historical conditions and circumstances, e.g. social and institutional struggles (Gordon, 2006). Since this sub-study, as well as the dissertation's theoretical apparatus in general, has a predisposition towards the latter, the term *intellectual history* is employed.

2006). However, broadly speaking, the term signifies the study of ideas and intellectual patterns over time. The intellectual history presented is based on examinations and interpretations of historical sources which, in one way or the other, bring development thinking as a social and intellectual phenomenon to the fore. In this endeavor, particular focus have been directed to changes in development thinking, in turn related to political and intellectual wars of position, and how these processes have brought about the emergence of new schools of thought and new perspectives in international development cooperation. However, at the same time it is important to recognize that the intellectual history of development also involves a great deal of historical continuity. The following methodology section is sub-divided into three parts. The first part contains a few words regarding the documentary data. The second part elaborates briefly on the process of analysis. The third part defines the study's period of investigation.

4.1.1. Documentary data

As indicated above, printed text constitutes the most common, and normally most important, data material in intellectual history. However, as regards what kind of texts can become subject to research, intellectual historians are normally considered to be – in the words of Olausson – 'omnivores', and in this respect they tend to differ from scholars in other fields such as philosophy and literature. Olausson further argues that intellectual historians tend to differ from 'regular' historians in one important respect. In the field of history, it is customary to make a clear distinction between primary and secondary sources. However, in intellectual history this boundary is often blurred, and on many occasions a distinction is not regarded to be particularly important. In fact, a single text can serve as both primary and secondary source even within the same research project. Nevertheless, even though intellectual historians are 'omnivores', Olausson underscores that they normally work with texts that display a certain degree of complexity and reside within the realm of a certain scientific and/or public debate (Olausson, 1994). In this case, the development debate is obviously in focus. However, since the study of development thinking involves serious obstacles in terms of distinguishing between academic debates, policy debates, and debates among development organizations, partners and practitioners, all of these debates are considered to form part of a more comprehensive development discourse (cf. 3.3.1) (Hettne, 1995).

This study is primarily based on four categories of data material. The first category consists of   previously published intellectual histories of development. In this category of texts, the academic works of Hettne, Nederveen-Pieterse, Odén and Rist have been of particular importance, but as will be evident the chapter contains a large number of references to other scholars who have embarked on similar projects (Hettne, 1995, 2009; Nederveen Pieterse, 2001,

2009; Odén, 2006; Rist, 1997, 2009). The second category contains 'classic' academic texts that take issue with development and have had a heavy impact in the development debate of a particular period. Two notable examples of such references – among several others in the chapter – are Rostow's *Stages of Economic Growth* from the early 1960s and Sen's *Development as freedom* from the late 1990s (Rostow, 1960; Sen, 1999). The third category of material is very broad. It consists of different international and national policy-related documents such as UN declarations, UN resolutions, UN agency reports, UN Conference reports, World Bank and IMF reports, NGO reports, Government Bills, Government Reports, SIDA/Sida reports, etc. All these three categories of material are treated as expressions of the more general development discourses that the chapter attempts to capture. The fourth, and final, category is composed of other academic literature that has contributed, in one way or another, to the contextualization of each historical period.

4.1.2. Analysis

In accordance with the dissertation's meta-theoretical point of departure, knowledge is viewed as conceptually mediated and theory-laden (cf. 1.4). From such a perspective, any attempt to write 'objective' history is a *cul-de-sac*. However, although historiography is deemed to be theoretically informed, this is not synonymous to it being theory-determined. All knowledge is fallible and open to adjustment, yet it is possible to analyze, theorize and reconstruct historical data into patterns that are more or less like the historical reality the researcher is attempting to capture. It is if course important to be aware that historiographies are always delimited and selective in terms of their representations. Nevertheless, it is possible to produce a transparent, methodologically well-founded and theoretically informed reconstruction of historical reality.

In the context of writing intellectual history, it is also important to stress that the ideas in focus form part of a dialectical relationship with historical context. Consequently, intellectual historians must not only analyze texts as such but also attempt to reconstruct the historical context in which the texts emerged (Olausson, 1994). This is a quite complicated process where texts, and attempts to reconstruct context via other texts, are carried out in dynamic interplay. As indicated in the preamble of this chapter, each period accounted for begins with an attempt to provide such a historical contextualization (cf. 4.2.1-4.7.1).

Regarding analysis, Olausson further makes a case for 'layered' and 'interwoven' descriptions in intellectual history, largely equivalent to what anthropologists call 'thick descriptions'. This requires a dialectical interplay between different texts, their interpretation, and attempts to combine these interpretations into a layered historical pattern. Olausson further argues that the practical representation of the research results is an important part of the analytical work as such, i.e. that a

large portion of the analysis actually takes place in the process of writing. In this process, patterns emerge, and it is the credibility of the patterns that must be evaluated and critically scrutinized (Olausson, 1994).

The process of analysis in this study has great similarities with Olausson's layered descriptions although the importance of the abductive data-theory interplay must also be stressed. Hence, based on a dialectical interplay between different texts and their interpretation, I have attempted to produce theoretically informed and layered descriptions whereby a more comprehensive pattern has emerged. The theoretical and conceptual apparatus has been critical since the patterns unveiled are largely interpreted in terms of mainstream-counterpoint dialectics, wars of position and widening potential repertoires (cf. chapter 3). Throughout the process there has been a continuous search for expressions of intellectual change in the material, i.e. new ways of thinking about development. After discerning such expressions of change, an attempt has been made to contextualize them, theorize them, and reconstruct them into a comprehensive pattern of intellectual history. Hence, new academic schools of thought and new perspectives in development cooperation, and their position in relation to previous ways of thinking about development, have been considered particularly important to highlight. Quite naturally, certain schools of thought and perspectives have had a greater impact than others, but in the context of this dissertation this is of secondary importance. It is still important to highlight the political and intellectual controversies. It should further be noted that the chapter does not only account for the basic arguments of each school of thought, but also that it, towards the end of each account, includes a few critical remarks against it. This critical hermeneutic exercise is important insofar as it enables us to nuance the position of each school of thought and helps us expose both the strengths and the weaknesses of its particular logic.

4.1.3. Period of investigation

Historical periodizations are never 'innocent' since they delimit and determine narratives (Kjeldstadli, 1998). Nevertheless, for practical reasons periodic and thematic delimitations are necessary components in the process of studying and writing history. The present historical study takes the termination of World War II as its starting point and ends in 2008 with the outbreak of the international financial crisis and the election of President Barak Obama in the US. This period of investigation, in turn, has been sub-divided into six specific periods. Since history is a flux, these divisions are of course analytical and approximate. It should further be pointed out that World War II as a starting point for the intellectual history of development is debatable. According to Nisbet an intellectual lineage of development thinking could be traced from modern social science all the way back to the ancient Greeks (Nisbet, 1969, 1980). Other scholars have been inclined to trace the origin of development thinking to the

birth of the modern project, characterized by Westphalian state formation and the enlightenment philosophy's idea of progress, as opposed to previous pre-Westphalian political structures and intellectual notions of divine providence (Hettne, 1995, 2009; Liedman, 1997; Power, 2002). Nevertheless, this study – unlike e.g. the works of Hettne, which elaborate on much more comprehensive and extensive development discourses – is devoted to the post-World War period. The main reason for this is that both international development cooperation and global education, the latter largely influenced by the former, emerged after the end of World War II.

4.2. The reinvention of development thinking 1945-1960

The end of World War II somehow marks a new beginning of development thinking. The belief in modernization was surprisingly quickly revived after world wars, economic depression, fascist irrationality and intellectual pessimism (Hettne, 2009; Nederveen Pieterse, 2001). Moreover, development thinking reinvented itself in relation to former colonial areas – which are of particular interest in this dissertation – through the introduction of concepts such as *developing countries* and the *Third World*.[22] The general historical context in which these ideas took root is very important to understand. It involves the emerging Cold War; the post-war reconstruction of Europe; the beginning of what is normally termed the *second phase*[23] of decolonization; and the establishment of new important international organizations, e.g. the *United Nations* (UN) and the Bretton Woods institutions the *International Monetary Fund* (IMF), the *World Bank* and the *General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade*[24] (GATT). Hence, a quite detailed elaboration of the historical context will be made before turning to an analysis and discussion of development thinking in the period.

4.2.1. Historical context

At the end of World War II, Europe was literary speaking a bombsite. Hence, it is hardly a coincidence that the international authority of the European countries started to decline, nor that the colonial empires were on the threshold of disintegration. In this context, two new superpowers – the US and the Soviet Union – filled the power vacuum and established a bipolar world order marked by two economic systems and a worldwide competition for political influence. In

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[22] The concept *Third World* was coined in 1952 by French demographer Alfred Sauvy as a label of developing countries with a parallel to the *Tiers État* in pre-revolutionary France, i.e. the common people as opposed to priests and nobles (Payne, 2001, p. 6; Rist, 1997, p. 80). The concept became popular in a Cold War context, insinuating that developing countries had common characteristics and interests as opposed to the First World of industrialized capitalist countries and the Second World of industrialized socialist countries (Dodds, 2002; Szirmai, 2005).

[23] Distinguished from the *first phase* of decolonization in North and South America during in the 18th and 19th century (Hettne, Sörlin, Lundgren, & Østergård, 1998, p. 360).

[24] GATT was converted into the *World Trade Organization* (WTO) in 1995.

this competition, poverty and lack of development became interpreted as a security issue. This condition is captured by Hettne in the catchphrase *the geopolitics of poverty* (Hettne, 2009). The immediate security concern for the US was post-war reconstruction of Europe. The US administration feared that communism would exploit European devastation and accordingly containment measures were prioritized. Security interests obviously had the upper hand in the logic behind the reconstruction of Europe. However, the interests of intact American industry and possible altruistic civil concern for the European mother countries probably also played their part, which reminds us of the equilibrium between actors in the historic bloc (Abrahamsson, 2003b; Scott, 2001). In 1947 the Secretary of State, George Marshall, presented an impressive aid plan for the reconstruction of Europe – normally referred to as the *Marshall Plan* – to the US Congress. The Marshall Plan turned out to be very successful and as such it was to become a template for future international development assistance. In this context, two interesting points could be made. Firstly, that the per capita distribution to Europe – in real terms – within the framework of the Marshall Plan was eight times as high as the present per capita distribution of aid to all the countries in the South. Secondly, that its success probably also nurtured exaggerated expectations that ignored the differences between the infrastructural reconstruction of Europe and the socio-structural challenges facing postcolonial countries (Odén, 2006). Notwithstanding, shortly after the introduction of the Marshall Plan, the American gaze moved beyond Europe. In the President Harry S. Truman's inaugural speech after his re-election in 1949, the famous *Point Four* message was presented. The last of his four points concerned the developing world and promoted a substantial increase in international development assistance. Truman concluded:

> Fourth, we must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas. […] Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat both to them and more prosperous areas (Quoted in: Rist, 1997, Appendix I).

Two obvious conclusions can be drawn from this speech. Firstly, that 'their' (countries in the South) poverty was considered a threat to 'our' (the US and their Western allies) security in the context of the Cold War and accordingly a motive for development assistance. Secondly, that modern, industrialized, Western countries were viewed as the self-evident blueprint for development. 'They' should catch up and become like 'us' (Odén, 2006). In a similar vein, Nederveen Pieterse maintains that modernization theory became to the American hegemony what Victorian anthropology had been to the British Empire (Nederveen Pieterse, 2001, p. 20). Now, obviously the security interests of the state played an important role in the emerging discourse of development assistance and many would argue that security interests have normally had the

upper hand in international aid policy (Abrahamsson, 2003b; Ehrenpreis, 1997; Hettne, 1995). However, as indicated above, economic interests and more altruistic concerns must not be totally neglected, which reminds us of the political balancing act between state, market and civil society within the historic bloc. To this it might be added that a frequent notion in the development debate is that the so-called *like-minded countries*, including Sweden, have pursued a more altruistic, solidarity-driven and generous aid policy compared to more powerful donors (Odén, 2006). Swedish development aid in fact emerged out of civil society in this period through the work of different social and religious movements. The first embryonic national organ for Swedish development assistance – *Centralkommittén för tekniskt bistånd till mindre utvecklade länder* (My transl. *The Central Committee for Technical Assistance to Less Developed Countries*) – was established in 1952, following recommendations by the UN (Odén, 2006).

During this period the second phase of *decolonization* was also initiated.[25] It began in Asia, e.g. India 1947, and towards the end of the period it was initiated in Africa, e.g. Ghana 1957. Decolonization implied that a large number of new states emerged and that the nation state (or perhaps rather the territorial state) as a principle for political organization became a global phenomenon (Hettne, et al., 1998). This denotes that state building and development efforts in the South walked hand in hand as two components of modernization just as they had previously done in Europe (cf. 3.3.3). In this context, the nation state was viewed as the self-evident unit of development analysis and, as will become clear below, also the obvious agent of development. It should be noted that both the US and the Soviet Union were promoting the disintegration of the European colonial system. The US wanted to establish a liberal world economy and gain access to raw materials and markets previously controlled by colonial powers. The Soviet Union's interests were likewise ideological and geopolitical (Hettne, 2009). The new states and national liberation movements of the Third World were able to gain economic and military support from either of the two superpowers, sometimes even switching from one to the other. However it should be noted that the establishment of the *Non-Aligned movement* at the 1955 Bandung conference constituted an attempt by Third World countries to defy Cold War bipolarity, colonialism and articulate common interests of poor countries (Rist, 1997).

In this period, several important international organizations saw the light of day, e.g. the Bretton Woods institutions and the UN, and although the *structure* of the Cold War world order was blatantly bipolar, the *mode of governance* incorporated both multilateral, plurilateral and unilateral dimensions (cf. 3.3.4) (Hettne, 2003,

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[25] It might be important to point out that the term *decolonisation* often has a negative connotation in developing countries since it appears to neglect the national liberation struggles and create the impression that the process was controlled by the colonial powers (Hettne, et al., 1998, p. 362). I have decided to use the concept anyway although I fully acknowledge the importance of these liberation movements in the process.

2009). At the 1944 Bretton Woods conference in New Hampshire, USA, the forthcoming victors of World War II gathered to work out the 'rules of the game' in the nearby post-war world. The conference resulted in the invention of three important institutions and an international monetary system. The institutions were the IMF (concerned with promoting stability of the international monetary system); the World Bank (concerned with promoting long-term economic growth through aid and credit); and GATT (concerned with promoting international trade through tariff reductions).[26] Further, the so called Bretton Woods system was invented, i.e. an international monetary system in which all countries' currencies became fixed at a certain value to the dollar. The US government, in turn, pledged to convert dollars to gold at $35 per ounce. Accordingly, any country that wanted to change the value of its currency had to apply to the IMF. The result was a very stable international exchange rate system (Woods, 2001). Now, the primarily security-motivated system that emerged, combining liberal world trade with buffering welfare states has later been referred to as *embedded liberalism*. Thus the three Bretton Woods institutions and the international monetary system made up the cornerstones of the liberal world order under American hegemony as opposed to the Soviet system. In a sense, these two spheres could be viewed as two emerging transnational historic blocs (Abrahamsson, 2003a, 2003b). During the period, world trade started to grow exponentially and doubled its value approximately every seventh year (Cleaver, 2007; WTO, 2007).

The establishment of the UN in 1945 and the organization's embraced principle of sovereignty further contributed both to the decolonization process and the legitimacy of nation state as the self-evident political unit (United Nations, 1945: Article 2). The UN reflected the multi-dimensionality of world governance. The Security Council was characterized by plurilateralism and unilateralism whereas the less powerful General Assembly was more multilateral in kind. According to Rist, the UN's decision-making capacity was often severely delimited due to the veto system in the Security Council. Consequently, the organization was inclined to concentrate more on issues where some kind of consensus could be established – *development* being one of them (Rist, 1997, p. 81). This brings us to the period's conceptualization of development.

4.2.2. Development thinking in the period
In the development discourse of the period, the general perception of the main development problem could be captured in the concept *backwardness* (Abrahamsson, 2007; Hettne, 1995; Szirmai, 2005). Hence, development was understood as an imitative process whereby the poor countries were to 'catch up' with the rich, and it became more or less synonymous with *economic growth*

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[26] Although it should be pointed out that agricultural products and textiles – i.e. the only sectors where developing countries might have a comparative advantage – were not included into the GATT (Hermele, 2002).

(Hettne, 1995; Odén, 2006; Thorbecke, 2006). In retrospect, this notion of development as equivalent to economic growth, measured by GNP per capita, seems extremely simplistic (Nederveen Pieterse, 2001; Thorbecke, 2006). Development economics emerged as separate branch of economics concerned with the specific problems of the so-called 'backward' areas.[27] According to Gunnar Myrdal, the emergence of this new discipline was due to: decolonization, modernization 'hunger' in the newly independent developing countries, and Cold War tensions whereby world poverty became interpreted as a security issue (Hettne, 1995, p. 35). Basically, all development economists in this period shared two fundamental ideas: development equals *economic growth* and a large injection of *investment* is crucial in order to achieve it. Thus, lack of domestic investment was considered a key obstacle. This could be solved by either domestic savings or international development assistance. The backbone of these theories was the Keynes-influenced Harrod-Domar model stating that GNP depends directly on the investment rate and inversely on the capital-output ratio. This further requires that the growth rate of income is higher than that of the population for GNP per capita growth to be positive. Accordingly, Malthusian concerns that economic growth was eaten up by population increase also held a quite strong position in the debate. To mention just one example, Leibenstein argued for the need of a 'critical minimum effort', e.g. external development assistance, to break the equilibrium between population pressure and economic growth. Rosenstein-Rodan, and somewhat later Nurkse, similarly emphasized the importance of a 'big push' of massive and balanced investment. The idea of 'balanced growth' boiled down to the idea that productive investment was necessary in several sectors simultaneously so that supply and demand increased in parallel.[28] Myrdal held a similar position, albeit emphasizing the role of institutions. Another model of importance in this period was Lewis' 'two-sector-model' according to which developing countries contain two economic sectors. One progressive, modern, industrial sector, which has to absorb labour surplus from a second stagnant, traditional, agricultural sector. Hence, the modern industrial sector was conceived as the engine of economic growth and consequently it should be prioritized. What all of these different examples illustrate is that most theories and models of the period shared a profound belief in planned modernization and in an interventionist state. This further shows that the orthodox neo-classical economic tradition – which emphasized the importance of trade and comparative advantages – held a quite weak position in early development thinking (Hettne, 1995; Odén, 2006; Szirmai, 2005; Thorbecke, 2006). Two points might be important to add in this context. Firstly, that this state-centred modern development thinking had strong support among the national elite in

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[27] *Development economics,* which emerged in 1940s and 1950s must be distinguished from *development studies* as a more normative, interdisciplinary and critical field of research that emerged in the late 1960s and 1970s.
[28] These two authors, however, had a somewhat more sceptical view of development assistance but agreed on the importance of an interventionist state (Hettne, 1995, p. 43).

most developing countries. This elite – often trained at Western universities – normally also subscribed to the notion that the developing countries should become like the industrialized countries. This means that the modernization model was never forced upon the leaders of the developing countries. Hegemony operates in much more sophisticated ways. Secondly, that the impressive growth performance of the Soviet Union in 1928-1940 contributed substantially to the development economists' confidence in the state (Hettne, 1995; Thorbecke, 2006).

In sum, then, as suggested by Preston, post-War development thinking was based on three main pillars: economic growth, state planning and international aid (Quoted in: Hettne, 1995, p. 36). Obviously the interventionist state was regarded as the central agent and guarantor of a successful development process, which, in turn, could be interpreted as a reflection of its power position in the historic bloc (Abrahamsson, 2003b; Hettne, 1995; Nederveen Pieterse, 2001).

Obviously mainstream development thinking in this era was dominated by the modernization paradigm with emphasis on economic growth and industrialization. This notion of modernity was shared by both Western capitalist and Eastern socialist countries whereby both comprise parts of the same mainstream development paradigm, albeit with different economic policies. As indicated above, it is striking that both Western capitalist development strategies (notably influenced by Keynesian thinking) and Eastern socialist development strategies, at this point placed considerable importance on the role of the state (Hettne, 1995). In my view, it is difficult to identify any obvious counterpoint challenges to mainstream development thinking in this initial era of post-war modernization, although Hettne has suggested Gandhiism in India and Maoism in China as cases in point (Hettne, 2009). This indicates that there was a wide spread consensus on an extremely simplistic notion of development as being synonymous to economic growth achieved through an imitative process. This notion constitutes the departure point for the potential repertoire that will widen as we travel further through history.

4.3. Heyday of modernization and development optimism 1960-1970

The 1960s were foremost a period of widespread optimistic belief in modernization and development (Hettne, 1995; Odén, 2006; Szirmai, 2005). As indicated by the heading, the period could be designated the heyday of modernization. A few notes on the general context of the period will be outlined before turning to a more focused analysis and discussion of the development discourse of the period.

4.3.1. Historical context

In December 1961, the UN General Assembly proclaimed the 1960s as 'the first development decade' during which Member States and their people were to intensify their efforts to '*accelerate progress towards self-sustaining growth of the economy'*. Albeit acknowledging every country's right to set their own targets, a minimum objective of 5 per cent annual growth in aggregate national income was articulated (United Nations, 1961). This optimism was accompanied by continued decolonization, most notably in Africa where no less than 31 independent states emerged during the decade (Mazrui, 1999). The Cold War security complex continued to be an 'overlay' of international relations with focal points in e.g. the Cuban Missile crisis and the Vietnam War. Accordingly, development assistance was continuously used as an instrument of security policy by the superpowers (Buzan, 1991; Odén, 2006). However, the 1960s further implied a rapid increase in new donors on the international arena, whereby the three former dominants USA, Great Britain and France were accompanied by multilateral actors such as different UN agencies, the World Bank, and various non-colonial European donor countries, e.g. Sweden. The rapid increase in bilateral donors, in turn, brought about a debate on the problems of coordination, which has since haunted international development cooperation[29] (Michanek, 1970; Odén, 2006). Moreover, the volume of aid increased rapidly during the decade and in 1964 the *UN Conference for Trade and Development* adopted a recommendation that donor countries should allocate 1 per cent of their GNI to the developing countries (Odén, 2006, p. 63). World trade continued to grow exponentially and doubled its value two and a half times between 1960 and 1970 (WTO, 2007).

In the 1960s, Swedish development cooperation was institutionalized through the adoption of two Government Bills and the establishment of a national development cooperation authority. The Government Bill 1962:100 – often referred to as the Swedish '*Bible of development cooperation'* – laid the foundation (Odén & Wohlgemuth, 2007). The Bill stressed *solidarity* as the main motive behind Swedish development assistance, although it also recognized that other motives exists, e.g. commercial interests and security concerns with explicit reference to the Cold War (Prop 1962:100). Further, 1962 brought with it the establishment of the first national body for development assistance, *Nämnden för internationellt bistånd* (NIB) (My transl. *The Board for International Aid*). However, this body lacked the capacity to manage the increasing number of project applications and accordingly three years later, in 1965, the *Swedish International Development Authority* (SIDA) was founded. When SIDA commenced it work in July 1965, the Swedish parliament had approved concentration on six recipient

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[29] The *Paris Declaration* adopted in 2005 is the latest ambitious attempt to achieve better donor coordination and create a *'new aid architecture'* (cf. 4.7) (DAC, 2005a).

countries[30] and three main areas of cooperation: education, health care and family planning (Odén, 2006, p. 68). Soon, however, the number of countries and areas of cooperation would increase substantially. The second Government Bill concerning development cooperation was passed in 1968. It confirmed the commitments from 1962 and added the goal of a 1 per cent of GNP allocation to development cooperation by the financial year 1974/75 (Prop. 1968:101).

The general intellectual climate at the end of the decade, symbolized by the 1968 student revolts, might also be important to mention as part of the general context. Not least due to its effect on social sciences in general and the emergence of development studies as a more normative, interdisciplinary and critical field of research in particular (Bourdieu, 1996; Odén, 2006; Schuurman, 2002; Seers, 1968). This further implies that the general optimism that characterized the decade was challenged by more critical and pessimistic perspectives towards the end, which, in turn, would characterise the 1970s.

4.3.2. Development thinking during the period

Mainstream development thinking and the economic development models established in the 1940s and 1950s prevailed in the 1960s. This implies that the notion of *backwardness* as the main development problem endured and that the simplistic notion of development as synonymous to *economic growth* continued to dominate. The difference between development and economic growth was not thoroughly problematized until the end of the 1960s (Odén, 2006, p. 57). In 1960, a new book of momentous importance – more or less through its confirmation of previous thinking – was published. This evidently tenacious work by W.W. Rostow was entitled *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-communist Manifesto* (Rostow, 1960). The sub-title clearly articulates development thinking's intimate connection with geopolitical security concerns in a Cold War context. Rostow's basic argument – captured in his famous airplane metaphor – was that all developing countries had to proceed through five basic economic stages: (1) The traditional society; (2) The pre-take-off society; (3) The take-off; (4) The drive to maturity; (5) The age of high mass consumption. According to Rostow, all societies in the world could be identified as being in one of these five stages (Rostow, 1960, p. 4). The advanced capitalist countries – the US, parts of Western Europe[31] and Japan – had reached the fifth stage whereas most developing countries where still in the first or the second stage. 'The good news', however, was that all countries could 'take off' towards the age of high mass consumption. According to Rostow, the preconditions for take-off are created in the second stage. Three factors were considered to be of importance here: increases in agricultural output, build-up of social overhead capital, and the emergence of a new political class – the entrepreneurs – willing to challenge

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[30] Ethiopia, India, Kenya, Pakistan, Tanzania and Tunisia.
[31] It might be worth noting that comparatively large parts of *The Stages of Economic Growth* are devoted to Sweden.

traditional power structures. The common denominator of these three factors is increased *investment*. In the third stage, most obstacles to economic growth are removed and the share of net investment in relation to national income rises from 5 per cent to over 10 per cent, outgrowing population pressure. The fourth stage is characterized by self-sustaining, albeit fluctuating, progress and diffusion of technology throughout the whole economy. Approximately 10-20 per cent of national income is steadily invested. Finally, the stage of Fordist mass production and mass-consumerism is reached (Rostow, 1960). Obviously, an important policy implication of Rostow's analysis is that there is a need for large-scale investments – including state-directed formation of social overhead capital. If domestic savings were insufficient, this could be compensated by means of development aid or international credit. Clearly, this logic relates to mainstream thinking of the 1940s and 1950s outlined above.

However, Rostow's seminal work has not only inspired but also encountered severe criticism. As noted by Rist:

> The success of Rostow's book was thus due not to its originality but, on the contrary, to its roots in a tradition that assured for it a certain legitimacy (Rist, 1997, p. 103).

Accordingly, the book appealed to a long Western tradition of *universalist* claims, linear development thinking and a fundamental notion that 'they' must catch up and become like 'us'. Another share of criticism revolves around Rostow's failure to recognize *environmental restrictions* to global mass consumption. Hence – in Rostow's world – the only threat to the mainstream Western development model was communism (J. O. Andersson, 2003). However, it should be recognized that Rostow, to a certain extent, identifies a post-materialistic problematic beyond mass consumption (Rostow, 1960, pp. 90-92). A third set of criticism was expressed by representatives of the so-called *dependency school* (cf. below), who accused Rostow of being a-historical since he viewed the 'traditional society' as an original zero-point, whereas dependency theorists, e.g. Frank, emphasized that 'internal' structures and institutions had been profoundly influenced and shaped by 'external' forces, e.g. colonial intrusion, Cold War politics and the global economic system (Szirmai, 2005). It is noteworthy that Rostow, on the contrary, perceived external intrusion as a progressive force as regards transition as a result of technological and intellectual diffusion *and* nationalistic counter-movements (Rostow, 1960, pp. 26-28)

Malthusian concerns about the 'population explosion' continued to occupy quite a strong position in the development debate. However, towards the end the decade this perspective lost momentum and the approach to population increase became more nuanced (Szirmai, 2005). Sweden followed this international trend and, accordingly, population issues and family planning continued to imprint

Swedish development assistance until the 1970s when the discourse started to change[32] (Michanek, 1970; Odén, 2006).

In general, the trade-oriented neo-classical economic school retained a subordinate position in development thinking in the 1960s, just as it had done in the previous period. Rather, structuralist viewpoints that strongly questioned the blessings of international trade in the development process prevailed. The Prebish-Singer thesis is probably the most famous articulation of this perspective. It argues that primary product export orientation of poor countries results in a decline in their *terms of trade* and thereby income losses. Consequently instead of exploiting their comparative advantage in the existing international structure, poor countries should attempt to change the structure by means of protecting domestic manufacturing and industries, i.e. import substitution (Hettne, 1995; Todaro, 1997). The *structuralists* could be viewed as a first step towards – or rather a part of – the emergent dependency school, which will be dealt with in greater detail in the next section**.** As indicated above, and as will be evident in the coming section, the perception of development became much more problematized towards the end of the 1960s. The reductionist focus on economic growth would then be expanded and challenged. This, in turn, must be understood in relation to the rise of the dependency school, development studies as an academic discipline, and the aftermath of the 1968 student revolts.

Throughout the *'first development decade'* the interventionist state retained its position as the central agent and guarantor of development which, once again, reflects its power position in the historic bloc (Abrahamsson, 2003b; Hettne, 1995; Nederveen Pieterse, 2001). In terms of level of analysis, thus, the nation-state continued to be the self-evident theoretical *'container'* (Beck, 1998). However, a more global analysis was slowly gaining ground through the ideas of the emerging dependency school (cf. 4.4). Hence, throughout the larger part of the decade, the modernization paradigm continued to dominate mainstream development thinking and it was practically unchallenged by any counterpoint positions. However, dialectics would speed up substantially in the 1970s. This implies that the late 1960s could be viewed as a threshold to a quite different context characterized by a rapid widening of the potential repertoire.

4.4. Dependency and notions of another development, 1970-1980

The 1970s was a very complex decade in terms of development thinking and consequently the potential repertoire widened considerably during this period.

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[32] It should be noted that family planning still comprises one of many parts of international development cooperation. However, I would argue that current family planning is more concerned with maternal health – which, in turn, justifies greater intervals between pregnancies – rather than limitation of population growth in the classical Malthusian sense.

Continued mainstream development optimism, e.g. articulated in the UN proclamation of a *'second development decade'* (United Nations, 1970), shared intellectual space with critical pessimism and the emergence of various alternative counterpoint positions. However, among virtually all actors engaged in development thinking – regardless of vantage point – it became clearer that development could not solely be reduced to economic growth. Before an attempt is made to unravel and discuss some of these new thoughts and the epistemic tensions they brought about, an outline of the general historical context, processes and formative events will be sketched.

4.4.1. Historical context

In the 1970s, the Cold War entered a period of *détente* and the superpowers made attempts to manage their relations within a new framework of negotiations and agreements. This, however, did not prevent them from maintaining support to allied regimes and movements in the developing countries. Consequently, development assistance and Cold War security thinking continued to walk hand in hand. Moreover, during this period the US withdrew from Vietnam and the Portuguese colonies in Africa gained independence. With the exception of the white minority regimes in southern Africa the entire continent was now decolonized (Scott, 2001).

International economic interdependence continued to accelerate during the decade and this expressed itself in various ways. The sharp increases in oil prices decided on by the *Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries* (OPEC) had profound consequences. Firstly, they brought about economic crisis in the West in the form of stagflation, i.e. simultaneous stagnation and inflation, which contradicted traditional Keynesian theory and thus later contributed to the neo-liberal counterrevolution in the 1980s. Secondly, the oil crisis influenced the general public's awareness of national economies' vulnerability and their dependence on international trends and events. Thirdly, the main share of OPEC's surplus of 'petrodollars' was deposited in Western commercial banks, particularly in the London-based so-called 'Eurodollar market'. These banks, in turn, re-directed deposits through extensive lending to developing countries which, due to their modernization efforts, were in great need of credit. This – in many cases irresponsible – lending, would later contribute to the debt crisis in the 1980s. Fourthly, despite collective demands of the Third World articulated in this decade (cf. below), the revenues of the OPEC countries and the Newly Industrialized Countries (NICs) to a large extent contributed to the dissolution of the Third World as a political entity (if it ever was one) with common problems and interests (Abrahamsson, 2003b; E. Andersson, 2001; Hermele, 2004; Rist, 1997).

The course of events in the 1970s must also be understood in relation to the breakdown of the Bretton Woods system. The maintenance of *Pax Americana*

and increasing expenditures in Vietnam had brought about financial problems for the US Administration in the 1960s. The deficits could not be handled through domestic taxation due to the refusal of Congress and the general public opinion. Consequently, the US Administration decided to deal with the problem by using the printing presses to increase the supply of money and thereby cover the deficits through domestic lending. This proved to be a practicable strategy as long as American industry retained its competitive strength. However, when American industry started to lose its competitiveness, the increased supply of dollars did not return to the US but was used for investments and consumption in emerging industrial powers, and by time of the oil crisis, a large part ended up in the OPEC countries. Accordingly, the US Administration was forced to announce that it could no longer guarantee the dollar-gold standard and the fixed exchange rate system broke down. The collapse of the Bretton Woods system brought about a virtual explosion of the deregulated financial market, e.g. the Eurodollar market mentioned above. Soon, speculation proved more profitable than industrial production and the emerging power of financial actors would soon challenge the primacy of the state (Abrahamsson, 2003b).

The intensified economic interdependence showed itself in more ways. World trade virtually exploded in the decade and grew approximately seven-fold between 1970 and 1980 (Cleaver, 2007; WTO, 2007). According to Castells, the 1970s also saw the emergence of the so-called *network society*. Castells argues that the revolution of communication technology during the period resulted in a qualitative shift from economies of scale to a different, and much more flexible, international production system. The large-scale Fordist mode of production was replaced by a post-Fordist mode of production in which information became the hub of the economy, production was increasingly outsourced, and the main part of added value was a result of product development, design and marketing (Castells, 1999). In sum, then, it could be argued that political decisions on deregulation of markets in the 1970s, in combination with progress in communication technology, brought about a qualitative shift and a reinforcement of the protracted processes now known as *globalization*.

In the 1970s, the power of the Third World appeared to be growing. Not only due to the outcome of the Vietnam War and the OPEC manoeuvre mentioned above, but also through the evolution of the Third World *Non-Aligned movement* into the *Group of 77* and its united demand in the UN for a *New International Economic Order* (NIEO). In the 1960s, it had become increasingly clear to the developing countries that the structure of the international economy disfavoured them, and that the gap between the developed and developing countries was widening. Third World countries found themselves locked in a position of raw material export, industrial commodity import, and deteriorating terms of trade. Consequently, they articulated a set of demands for renegotiating their position in the international economy, e.g. a stable and equitable relationship between

prices of raw materials and manufactured goods; improved access to markets in the developed countries; a new and more equitable international monetary system; improved participation in the decision-making processes of the IMF and the World Bank; and increased volumes of development assistance[33] (United Nations, 1974a, 1974b). However, the demands of the developing countries were largely ignored by the developed countries and accordingly the NIEO never materialized (Dodds, 2002; Hettne, 1995). Nevertheless, according to both Hettne and Rist, the NIEO never questioned the importance of international trade, nor the classic modern notion of economic growth, and consequently it was largely incompatible with the core arguments of both *dependency theory* and *Another Development* (cf. below) (Hettne, 1995; Rist, 1997). Moreover, as indicated above, Rist points to the paradoxical fact that at the very moment the Third World articulated collective demands it ceased to exist as an entity with common interests due to completely different development patterns in OPEC countries, NICs and *Least Developed Countries* (LDCs) (Rist, 1997, p. 153).

In conjunction with the proclaimed second development decade, a new international target was set according to which developed countries should allocate 0.7 per cent of their GNI to development assistance.[34] Moreover, aid became more oriented towards poverty alleviation and creation of employment, which reflected a more thorough problematization of development as something more than just economic growth. Another trend in development assistance was a growing interest in incorporating representatives from the developing countries in planning and implementation of development projects, as expressed in the catch phrase *Aid on the recipient's terms* (Wohlgemuth, 1976). Swedish development aid grew quickly during this period and by the financial year 1975/76 the 1 per cent target that had been adopted in the previous decade was met. As will be evident in chapter 5, this financial expansion would become an important factor in the implementation of global education in the Swedish school system. The overarching goal of poverty alleviation was further emphasized and four objectives of Swedish development aid were expressed: development assistance should contribute to *economic growth*, *economic and social equity*, *national independence* and *democracy* in the recipient countries (Odén, 2006).

4.4.2. Development thinking during the period

In the 1970s, the mainstream notion of *backwardness* as the main development problem prevailed but it was vigorously challenged by different counterpoint positions. Dependency theory strongly emphasized that the main development problem was rich countries' *exploitation* of poor countries. This analysis – according to which development and underdevelopment are two sides of the

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[33] As pointed out by Odén, the comprehensive character of NIEO has many similarities with the *coherence* debate in the 21st century (cf. 4.7) (Odén, 2006, p. 84).
[34] In practice, aid volumes remained around 0.35 per cent throughout the decade (Odén, 2006, p. 79)

same coin – had a strong resonance in the development debate during the 1970s and contributed substantially to social scientific thinking. In this context, it might be important to point out that my classification of dependency theory as a counterpoint perspective differs from Hettne's view. Hettne argues that dependency theory forms part of the mainstream due to its recognition of modernization and state intervention (Hettne, 2009). Albeit recognizing the logic of this argument, I still maintain that dependency theory – putting exploitation and the creation of poverty at the centre of the analysis – resides in the counterpoint bearing in mind that it represents the 'others', i.e. actors who feel marginalized or for other reasons oppose ongoing social change (cf. 3.3.2). I will not dig deeper into this controversy here but simply contend that the matter is open to debate. Another counterpoint position that emerged in the 1970s can be traced to different representatives of *Another Development*. These actors also strongly rejected the notion of backwardness and instead emphasized the *lack of local popular participation* and *environmental destruction* in large-scale, growth-oriented mainstream thinking as the principal development problem (Abrahamsson, 2007; Hettne, 1995, 2009; Nederveen Pieterse, 2001).

As indicated in section 4.3.2, the origin of the dependency school can be traced to the Latin American *structuralists*. In fact, it is fair to argue that *structuralism* – e.g. represented by Raul Prebish, Hans Singer, Celso Furtado and Osvaldo Sunkel – and *neo-Marxism*[35] – e.g. represented by André Gunder Frank, Paul Baran and Samir Amin – are different branches of a more overarching paradigm labelled the dependency school. Dependency scholars from both branches share a set of basic notions about development and underdevelopment. Many of these *dependentistas* originated from Third World countries and their vantage point was a critique of Eurocentric linear modernization thinking, which they found ahistorical and unable to explain the widening gaps between rich and poor countries as well as the persistence of poverty in the Third World. According to dependency theorists, underdevelopment is not an original state but a created condition. Thus, the explanation of poverty and underdevelopment is found in external relationships such as the international division of labour and colonial penetration. The international economic structure is geographically analysed in terms of *centre* and *periphery* whereby the surplus in the periphery is drained and accumulated in the centre. Consequently, development in the centre equals

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[35] According to Hettne, *neo-Marxism* denotes an elaboration of traditional Eurocentric Marxism preoccupied with development towards a more Third World-oriented Marxism primarily concerned with underdevelopment. Hettne suggests – with reference to Aidan Foster-Carter – the following distinctions between Marxism and neo-Marxism. 1. Marxism views imperialism in a centre perspective (cf. backward areas being 'dragged into history') whereas neo-Marxism sees it from the perspective of the periphery. 2. Marxism views the industrial proletariat as the obvious revolutionary agent whereas neo-Marxism has a more open mind towards the revolutionary potential of different groups, e.g. the peasantry. 3. Marxism embraces a deterministic notion of objective historical conditions whereas neo-Marxism is more optimistic and sees greater room of manoeuvre for revolution. 4. Traditional Marxism considers the concept of scarcity to be a bourgeois invention whereas neo-Marxists acknowledge ecological limits (Hettne, 1995, p. 88).

underdevelopment in the periphery. Since the international economic structure is based on exploitation of the periphery, developing countries must break away – *delink* – from this structure and strive for national *self-reliance*. Developing countries must industrialize and strive for economic growth through an inward-oriented strategy marked by protectionism and a strong interventionist state. In such an undertaking, the more reform-oriented structuralists emphasized the need for *import-substitution* and reforms of the international economic system, whereas the more revolutionary neo-Marxists opted for socialist revolution to break the chains of dependency (Clarke, 2002; Hettne, 1995; Szirmai, 2005). In sum, the writings of dependentistas must be considered largely antithetical to Rostow's linear modernization theory outlined above (Rist, 1997), and the breakthrough of the dependency school initiated a paradigmatic conflict between two schools of development theory: *'growth and modernization'* versus *'dependency and underdevelopment'* (Hettne, 1995). However, despite the huge differences in problem description – i.e. backwardness versus exploitation – it should be acknowledged that both modernization and dependency theory shared a belief in economic growth, industrialization and the importance of state agency and, as indicated above, this is why Hettne classifies dependency theory as part of the mainstream. As will be evident below, these notions were seriously questioned by representatives of Another Development in the same decade.

In hindsight, the dependency school has been criticized and parts of its analysis appear to be faulty.[36] Various indications point to such a conclusion. Firstly, several Third World countries began a rapid process of industrialization and growing wealth in the 1970s, e.g. NICs[37] and OPEC countries. Accordingly, the road to development did not seem as blocked as suggested by the *dependentistas*. Put differently, the dependency school seems to have underestimated the dialectics of capitalism, i.e. processes, enforced by the post-Fordist mode of production and globalization, whereby the periphery can become centre and vice versa. Secondly, although the world is full of horrific exploitative relationships and although a lot of wealth can be explained in terms of exploitation, it is too simplistic to suggest that development and underdevelopment necessarily constitute two sides of the same coin. Wealth in one area is not simply dependent on poverty in another. Thirdly, all countries, including the rich, are dependent on imports of technology and foreign investment. With today's level of technology, delinking – i.e. refusal of imports and foreign investment – seems like a completely unrealistic strategy, at least if the aim is industrialization and

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[36] Although critical post-development thinkers such as Rist argue that Rostowian modernization is hardly more viable or successful than policies of self-reliance (Rist, 1997, pp. 136-139).

[37] However, it should be recognized that the NICs did not choose between industrialization by means of import-substitution or export-orientation. Instead, they combined the strategies and shifted at the right moment in time. Today, few people, regardless of political orientation, believe in delinking or national autonomous and controlled development. The issue at stake – rather – seems to be *what kind of integration* in the global economy (Hettne, 1995, pp. 132-134)

modern nation-building.[38] Many would also argue that it is altogether impossible to delink in world distinguished by global communication and mobility. Fourthly, most countries that opted for a self-reliant strategy failed in their development efforts, e.g. Tanzania, Jamaica, Nicaragua and Burma. However, some of these failures must also be understood in relation to the Cold War and the reluctance of the superpowers to accept certain national policies within their sphere of influence (Hettne, 1995; Nederveen Pieterse, 2001; Szirmai, 2005).

Notwithstanding, it would be a mistake to completely reject the analysis of the dependency school. It has played an immense role in the development debate and its legacy lingers on in various ways. The mainstream modernization paradigm was obsessed with internal factors and treated the nation-state as the given unit of analysis. The new challenging dependency paradigm brought about important insights into the importance of external factors and made possible a more global analysis. It also contributed to the rise of a critical multidisciplinary social science that challenged classical development economics and various centres for development studies emerged at universities in the South as well as the North. Moreover, dependency thinking provided the theoretical foundation for a critique of the existing international economic order and thus stimulated the debate on the NIEO (although – as indicated above – the proposals regarding NIEO was more outward-oriented than the recipes of the dependentistas). Finally, the dependency school has, in a sense, been resurrected in more sophisticated forms such as World-system theory and Critical International Political Economy, which are more preoccupied with contemporary problems of unequal globalization (Hettne, 1995). Obvious differences, though, are that Wold-system theory views delinking as impossible. Instead, the entire capitalist system has to – and will in due time – be replaced (Wallerstein, 1974, 2005). Proponents of Critical International Political Economy, e.g. Abrahamsson, similarly views delinking strategies as futile. Rather, the key question is how opportunities for structural transformation can be seized in order to create a more equal and just world (Abrahamsson, 2003b). On the other hand, some dependency scholars, e.g. Samir Amin, have been quite faithful to the original ideas of voluntary delinking long after the 1970s (Amin, 1990a, 1990b). In line with this reasoning, it is important to bear in mind the notion articulated in chapter 3 that paradigms in social science tend to accumulate rather than fade away.

During the 1970s, mainstream modernization thinking – and, for that matter, the dependency school with its emphasis on state-driven industrialization – was further challenged by a critical counterpoint movement labelled *Another Development*. The point of departure of this critique was an emphasis on the environmental problems generated by modern growth-oriented development *and*

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[38] Obviously not all representatives of development thinking subscribe to these goals, i.e. *another development*.

the exclusion of certain groups' viewpoints and interests in the process of development. Modern industrial development was considered an environmental hazard characterized by cultural standardization (Hettne, 1995).

The concept *Another Development* had its breakthrough in connection with the worldwide distribution of the Dag Hammarskjöld report *What now: Another Development* (United Nations, 1975), prepared as an independent contribution to the Seventh Special Session of the UN General Assembly, and it was further elaborated in the volume *Another Development: Approaches and Strategies* (Nerfin, 1977). These publications tackled a set of questions such as development of *what*, *how*, *by whom* and *for whom* and through the introduction of the new change-promoting concept, a redefinition of development was presented whereby Another Development would be: *need-oriented*, *endogenous*, *self-reliant*, *ecologically sound* and *based on structural transformation*.[39] These different features were considered to be organically linked and development was thus viewed as a comprehensive integral process. In a sense, this counterpoint elaboration of the development concept has a bearing on Rist's gloomy paradox (cf. 3.3.1). In a similar way, Hettne states:

> The concept of development has tended to gain in depth and richness as the ugliness and brutality of actual processes of conventional economic growth or 'actually existing development' are revealed (Hettne, 1995, p. 160)

In connection to this, Hettne makes an interesting remark on *utopianism*. On the one hand, a society characterized by Another Development is utopian since it lacks political support. On the other hand, it could be argued that mainstream modern development is utopian – despite its political backing – due to its long-term ecological unsustainability (Hettne, 1995). In a sense, this has a resemblance to the inherent contradiction of the concept *sustainable development* – that was discussed in 3.3.5 and will be discussed in 4.5.2 – which, at the same time, vigorously underscores the importance of both ecological sustainability and democracy in sustainable development. Attracting attention to this inherent contradiction should *not* be understood as a rejection of one or the other, e.g. a call for a 'green king', but rather as a call for further problematization.

Notwithstanding, Hettne argues that Another Development constitutes a coherent alternative development paradigm – in opposition to the modernization paradigm – based on three principles:

- *The principle of territorialism as a counterpoint to functionalism.*
- *The principle of cultural pluralism as a counterpoint to standardized modernization.*

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[39] It should be noted that the features *endogenous* and *structural transformation* could be applied to the modernization paradigm as well, albeit with a different normative content.

- *The principle of ecological sustainability as a counterpoint to 'growth' and consumerism* (Hettne, 1995, p. 199).

According to the functional principle, development is understood on the basis of aggregated national or international data, e.g. GNP. Societal actors are viewed as highly mobile, inclined towards specialization and profit maximizing without any spatial sense of belonging. Accordingly, regional imbalances and local concerns are not highlighted. In line with the territorial principle, inversely, actors are rooted in a geographical community with certain natural resources and cultural values. Development is thus understood as needs-satisfaction and improvement in this particular context.[40] Further, a central notion of mainstream modernization thinking has been that backward areas should become modern, i.e. that 'they' should become like 'us'. This implies cultural standardization and the appropriation of modern values. The principle of cultural pluralism defies such a notion and opts for diversity, decentralization, local participation, and self-determination. Development, thus, must be contextualized and understood in relation to the local community. Finally, mainstream modern development thinking has been largely oriented towards economic growth and mass consumption. Ecological problems and disasters – derived from this very notion of development – have not been considered. The principle of ecological sustainability denotes a critical challenging of 'growthmania' and promotion of a development in balance with nature (Hettne, 1995).

According to Hettne, a set of perspectives could be identified within the framework of the overarching Another Development paradigm: *basic needs; self-reliance; ecodevelopment; women and development;* and *ethnodevlopment* (Hettne, 1995). The *Basic Needs Approach* (BNA) was a typical reaction against conventional economic growth's inability to eliminate poverty and inequality. It pushed for direct poverty alleviation and a 'development guarantee' for vulnerable groups. There was indeed a certain adaptation to the BNA in the 1970s by various UN agencies and the World Bank complemented its conventional growth models with a number of social indicators. However, a debate was initiated between those who interpreted *needs* as universal and objective (and thus fairly easy to quantify and measure statistically) and those who viewed needs as contextual and historically relative. Hettne states that the latter approach, unlike the former, is in line with the Another Development paradigm although it might be difficult in practice to separate them. Another problem related to BNA was that needs was normally defined top-down by certain development institutions despite this being in conflict with the fundamental assumptions of Another Development. In my view, this could be interpreted as a rather typical expression of mainstream co-option of critical counterpoint ideas. Certain aspects of Another

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[40] This distinction could be compared to the 19th century sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies' concepts of *Gesellschaft* and *Gemeinschaft* (Hettne, 1995; Tönnies, 1988).

Development were incorporated into the mainstream, but only to an extent that did not challenge the fundamental ideas of the mainstream. The notion of *self-reliance* is a child of the dependency school. However, in relation to Another Development, it is more explicitly connected to local and regional levels, and thereby to the convergence of local and regional resource mobilization and needs-satisfaction. The dependency school, on the other hand, was more concerned with national self-reliance. *Ecodevelopment* based on environmental concern is a central component of Another Development. Modernization theory had not been concerned with problems of environmental restrictions on development but in the 1970s the *limits to growth*-debate emerged.[41] Slowly, people concerned with development issues started to realize that the Rostowian goal of global mass consumption would never be achieved. However, in this era, the debate was predominantly concerned with scarcity of natural resources whereas today's debate is much more concerned with environmental problems generated by the means that have been used to overcome these very resource scarcities (Redclift, 2002). *Ecodevelopment*, as a branch of Another Development, was primarily concerned with establishing needs satisfaction in a particular local context that is ecologically and socially sustainable by means of local popular participation and local resource mobilization. As indicated above, it had become clear in the 1970s that modern development was accompanied by increasing inequalities and exclusion of certain groups of people. One obvious dimension of these inequalities was related to gender. As a consequence, feminist development theory grew and accumulated a large body of literature on *Women and development*. There is indeed a great variety within feminist development theory. However, several theoretical orientations emphasize issues of local participation, empowerment and ecological concern, and are thereby intimately linked to the notion of Another Development, as opposed to mainstream modernization which is viewed as a patriarchal project based on domination and destruction. Finally, *ethnodevelopment* emerged in the 1970s concerned with the rights of local minority groups to their own culture, language, self-determination and local natural resources. This is in contrast to modern nation-building's tendency to exclude or, even worse, oppress minority groups in the name of national development and aggregated economic growth (Hettne, 1995).

Now, it has been a topic of debate whether Another Development should be viewed, as suggested by Hettne, as a coherent paradigm *or* as a myriad of loose alternative perspectives due to paradigmatic inconsistencies between e.g. ethnodevelopment – ecodevelopment; self-reliance – ethnodevelopment; and feminism – ethnodevelopment; *or* if it is even more appropriate to adopt a post-paradigmatic standpoint and acknowledge a complex merging between mainstream and alternative development thinking (Nederveen Pieterse, 2001).

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[41] This debate was initiated by the alarming report *The Limits to Growth* commissioned by The Club of Rome (Meadows, Meadows, Randers, & Behrens, 1972).

However, in relation to my objective it can be concluded that: (1) It is not of primary importance to position the dissertation in this debate. (2) In a paradoxical way, the different standpoints could be valid at the same time. As argued in chapter 3, the mainstream is challenged by counterpoint perspectives but there is also very often a certain element of co-option and these dialectics have probably accelerated in recent years. Regardless, from an epistemic standpoint, in these processes, development thinking becomes more complex and the potential repertoire is widening.

According to Hettne, Another Development was an explicitly normative school of thought but its political relevance in the 1970s must be regarded as quite limited.[42] This, in turn, is intimately related to fact that Another Development – unlike the modernization paradigm – lacked a clear institutional base from which a successful war of position could be carried out. Hettne further remarks that Another Development - which emphasized small-scale solutions, ecological concerns, popular participation and so forth - met with some enthusiasm in the rich countries whereas it was largely rejected in the poor countries. He offers an explanation to this:

> Small may be beautiful, but it does not entail power (as far as the ruling élite is concerned) (Hettne, 1995, p. 162).

The quote should be read with reference to a book called *Small is beautiful* by E.F. Schumacher, an important representative of Another Development (Schumacher, 1973). Although it started to become quite clear that the mass of the poor countries would never reach the material standard of the rich countries, modernization was still viewed as accessible to the urban élite. The reason behind the comparatively greater interest in Another Developments in the North could thus be traced to counterpoint challenges of materialistic values and the dark sides of industrialization, e.g. environmental destruction and alienation (Hettne, 1995).

In terms of agency, it is probably fair to argue that the state maintained its position as the primary agent of development during the 1970s. The importance of an interventionist state was emphasized by both mainstream development thinking and the dependency school, although representatives of the more marginalized Another Development paradigm preferred to opt for the significance of an active civil society. It is further reasonable to argue that the state managed to uphold the strongest position in the historic bloc throughout the most of the decade. However, its position increasingly eroded due to the collapse of the Bretton Woods system, financial deregulation, the emerging network society, and a perceived inability of the state to bring about

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[42] Rist would probably argue that it still is (Rist, 1997) whereas Nederveen-Pieterse argues that alternative perspectives have increased its relevance through accelerated mainstream co-option (Nederveen Pieterse, 2001).

development in the poor countries. Consequently, it could be argued that in the 1970s the balance in the historic bloc started to shift towards a stronger position of the market and to a certain extent also of civil society in the North, e.g. through the new social movements of the 1970s but also the growth of NGOs engaged in development assistance (Abrahamsson, 2003a; Hettne, 1995; Thörn, 2002). However, as indicated in chapter 3, it might be important to avoid premature conclusions and consider the particular relationship between states and NGOs, e.g. as regards funding.

It should be clear by now that the 1970s brought about an acceleration of mainstream counterpoint dialectics. Mainstream modernization thinking was vigorously challenged by the dependency school. To some extent, it could be argued that mainstream modernization thinking co-opted certain elements of this critical perspective, e.g. through a greater focus on poverty alleviation, employment, 'redistribution with growth', etc. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the dependency school offered a competing paradigm in the development debate. Beyond these polar positions, a third position emerged stemming out of the counterpoint. The notion of Another Development – regardless of whether it is viewed as a fairly coherent paradigm or set of varying perspectives – further challenged mainstream development thinking. Obviously, Another Development as a whole had a quite limited impact but a certain mainstream co-option must be recognized as regards recognition of needs, environmental concerns and women in development. The increasing numbers of NGOs involved in development assistance can also be interpreted as an expression of mainstream co-option (Hettne, 1995; Nederveen Pieterse, 2001). As will be evident, this co-option has continued and accelerated in recent years.

Thus, from an epistemic perspective, the potential repertoire widened in the 1970s through the emergence of challenging perspectives from the dependency school and Another Development (incorporating basic needs, self-reliance, ecodevelopment, women and development and ethnodevelopment). Moreover, in spatial terms both the global and local levels were brought into the analysis to complement the national level, dependency theory stressing importance of the former and Another Development pointing to the importance of the latter. Slowly, it also became clearer that the Third World could not be viewed as a monolith due to completely different development patterns in e.g. OPEC countries, NICs and LDCs. Further, most development thinkers now agreed that development as such could no longer be reduced to economic growth and that there were environmental restrictions to this growth. A more complex and multi-dimensional view on development emerged.

4.5. Neoliberalism, sustainable development and the impasse, 1980-1990

The 1980s saw some important changes in mainstream development thinking, which, in turn, clearly reflects the political and ideological dimension of this epistemic field. Moreover, the great development optimism that had characterized the previous periods was now transformed into more pessimistic notions. In retrospect, what was intended to be the third development decade has often been referred to as *'the lost decade'* of development.[43] It is important to put a number of historical trends and events into context before turning to analysis and discussion of these discursive changes.

4.5.1 Historical context

In December 1979, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. The year after, Ronald Reagan was elected as President of the US. These two events mark the end of *détente* and the beginning of the *'Second Cold War'*, a period of increasing tensions and armament. This involved military intervention in several developing countries, mutual deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe, and the American public announcement of the *Strategic Defence Initiative* (SDI), popularly referred to as *'Star Wars'*.[44] Reagan was determined to use excessive rearmament as a strategy to bring the Soviet Union – referred to as *'the evil empire'* – to a financial collapse (Scott, 2001). However, the revived arms race and the deployment of nuclear missiles in Europe also caused a strong social reaction from the European peace movement. In many respects, this movement was an outgrowth of the 'new' social movements that had emerged after 1968 and there were obvious connections between this movement and the environmental and the feminist movements. The peace movement organized huge demonstrations in all the capitals of Western Europe and appealed for a nuclear free zone in Europe. Moreover, they started to engage in intense communications with civil society organizations in Eastern Europe, which would soon prove important (Kaldor, 2003). By the end of the 1980s, the bipolar world order had started to dissolve. Internal problems, accelerated by feeble economic development and attempts to keep up with USA in the arms race, the political reorientation initiated by Mikhail Gorbachev after 1985, which unleashed nationalist and other forces, and the peaceful protests by Eastern European civil society organizations would result in the end of the Soviet Union (Kaldor, 2003; Scott, 2001).

The election of Ronald Reagan in the US coincided with the election of Margaret Thatcher in Great Britain and Helmut Kohl in West Germany. The consequence

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[43] However, as underscored by Rist, the decade was hardly lost to everyone. The development of the global economy and the growing possibilities of financial speculation in the decade brought about an enormous accumulation of capital among certain groups (Rist, 1997, p. 178).
[44] The SDI threatened to play down the motto Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) and thereby move the power balance westwards (Scott, 2001).

of these political shifts was the demise of Keynesianism and the triumph of neoliberalism and monetarism as the new international economic mainstream.[45] Economists now became pre-occupied mainly with issues of macro-economic stability, e.g. budget balance, balance of payments and low inflation rates.[46] The most important instrument for the latter was interest rate increases carried out by the central banks. The neoliberal counter-revolution further reversed the role of the state from being an interventionist agent of development to a *laissez-faire* facilitator of market initiatives. In his 1981 inaugural speech, Reagan articulated this notion in this way:

> In this present crisis, government is not the solution to our problem; government is the problem.[47]

Another crucial component of the neoliberal economic recipe was far-reaching trade liberalization with the long-term objective of creating one single global marketplace.[48] The rise of neoliberalism also made it more difficult for development economics to assert itself as a distinct branch of economics – and even more so for the multidisciplinary field of development studies. Thus, a monodisciplinary approach based on assumptions of universal economic laws prevailed (Hettne, 1995; Odén, 2006).

The international debt crisis became a reality in 1982 when Mexico, soon followed by several other developing countries, suspended its debt repayment due to insufficient foreign exchange. The immediate response by the private banks was to strangle the supply of new credit. The crisis posed a threat both to international financial stability and the economic development of the poor countries. There are several explanations of the debt crisis. However, in brief the following can be stated. In the 1970s, the developing countries faced a number of problems including: declining export revenues; deteriorating terms of trade; and increased expenditures due to the sharp increases in oil prices. Thus, balance of payments deficits were largely financed through lending. At the same time, many of the newly independent countries were in need of large-scale investments in their striving for modernization and state-building. However, on many occasions loans were also used for luxury consumption and armaments by corrupt despots. All these different needs for credit were willingly met – often by means of irresponsible lending preceded by aggressive credit marketing

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[45] The fact that several neoliberal economists, e.g. Milton Friedmann and Friedrich Hayek, were appointed Nobel Laureates indicates the discursive triumph of neoliberalism in the intellectual war of position (Hettne, 2009).

[46] Somewhat paradoxically, the Reagan administration itself did not fully practice what it preached since it allowed huge budget deficits in the quest to win the arms race against the Soviet Union. Accordingly, the US pursued a rather peculiar form of neoliberal policy that combined tight monetary policy with enterprise-friendly tax rates and enormous military expenditures (E. Andersson, 2001, p. 143).

[47] http://www.reaganlibrary.com/reagan/speeches/first.asp

[48] Although it should be pointed out that the rich countries remained reluctant to incorporate agricultural products and textiles – i.e. the only sectors where developing countries might have a comparative advantage – in the free-trade discourse up until the establishment of WTO in 1995. Thereafter, agricultural products are slowly, but increasingly, being treated like any other commodity (Hermele, 2002)

campaigns – by Western commercial banks because of the large surplus of 'petrodollars' they accumulated in the 1970s. Nevertheless, at this point in time the terms of these loans seemed reasonable for the borrowers due to high inflation and low real interest rates. However, the neoliberal reorientation towards restrictive monetary policies in the West during the early 1980s resulted in substantial increases in real interest rates and, accordingly, debt accumulated very quickly. Soon, many developing countries were locked in the debt trap. The consequences of the debt crises were manifold. However, of particular importance in this context is the so-called *Washington Consensus* which brought about new roles – and increased power – for the IMF/World Bank and the introduction of *Stabilization Programmes* and *Structural Adjustment Programmes* (SAP). It was decided by the creditors that the IMF and the World Bank would coordinate both private and state guaranteed financial claims and – in conjunction with this – impose political conditions in exchange for balance of payment support and new credits to the developing countries. As a consequence developing countries became increasingly dependent on policies and decisions made by the IMF and the World Bank. The *conditionality* involved stabilization programmes designed by the IMF including: *reduction of public expenditures*, *tight monetary policy* and *devaluation of the national currency*. Further, SAPs imposed by the World Bank which included a *reorientation from import-substitution to export orientation*, *deregulation of markets* and *privatization* (Abrahamsson, 2003b; Hermele, 2004; Odén, 2006; Szirmai, 2005). According to Hettne, the introduction of SAPs indicated that traditional security concerns in development cooperation had been partly downplayed in favour of economic concerns (Hettne, 2002).

Along with the neoliberal political redirection and the continuation and deepening of the network structures that had emerged in the 1970s, international trade and economic interaction kept increasing in the 1980s. At the same time, the employment of the concept *globalization* gained momentum in the academic debate. However, it was not until the 1990s that it became widely used in the public debate (Castells, 1999; Held, Goldblatt, McGrew, & Perraton, 1999; Thörn, 2002).

The new political landscape further affected international development assistance. Aid flows stagnated somewhat during this period and aid was partly redirected towards implementation of stabilization and structural adjustment programmes. At the same time, a certain *'aid fatigue'* started to spread within the international development discourse, not least due to poor performance in Africa. All these matters, in turn, were largely congruent with the more general neoliberal notions of *trade, not aid* or, at least, *aid for trade*. Another consequence of the new political landscape was that *conditionality* to a great extent replaced the 1970s idea of *aid on the recipient's terms*. It would be an overstatement to suggest that these discursive changes resulted in a revolution of Swedish development assistance. By and large, Sweden held on to altruistic concerns and continued to

give support to the various projects that had emerged in previous decades. However, at the same time Swedish development policies were in fact brought closer to the Bretton Woods institutions and the mainstream of Western development assistance. One example of this is that Sweden launched export credits as a new aid modality. Nevertheless, another important reorientation in Swedish development cooperation was a more articulated concern for environmental issues. Thus, in 1988 the former four Swedish objectives of development aid were supplemented by a fifth: *to contribute towards sustainable use of natural resources and environmental protection* (Abrahamsson, 2003b; Odén, 2006). The introduction of this new sustainability objective must be understood in relation to another important historical event during this decade. In 1983, the UN General Assembly asked the Secretary General to appoint *The World Commission for Environment and Development*. The chairmanship was entrusted to Gro Harlem Brundtland. Four years later, the seminal report *Our Common Future* – better known as the Brundtland report – was published. The commission emphasized the world's responsibility towards future generations and introduced the concept of *sustainable development* to a wider audience[49] (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987).

4.5.2. Development thinking during the period

In the 1980s, the mainstream notion of the main development problem changed from backwardness to an issue of *exclusion* from the global economy. This hegemonic perspective in the development debate was obviously in line with the logics of neoliberalism and it confirmed that the dependency school had lost the intellectual war of position. Towards the end of the period, sustainable development had its breakthrough and according to this perspective, the main development problem was, rather, the *unsustainability* of current development patterns and the threat this posed to both present and future generations. However, it could very well be argued that the environmental concerns were diluted and that the sustainable development debate became largely co-opted by the mainstream. According to the more critical post-development perspective – which also emerged during the period – the main problem was rather the dominating development *discourse*. People's worldviews, knowledge, and assumptions, as regards development – which supposedly equalled infinite progress – were considered completely uncritical and 'religious' in character.

Mainstream development thinking in the 1980s – now reoriented from Keynesian influenced logics to neoliberalism and monetarism – viewed a deeper integration with the world market and macro-economic balance as the best ways to bring about modernization and economic growth or, to be more precise, as the *only* way to achieve these objectives. The famous acronym TINA –

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[49] The British environmental organization *The World Conservation Strategy* is often referred to as the founder of the concept *sustainable development* (Björneloo, 2007).

originating from the Margaret Thatcher quote *'There is no alternative'* – illustrates the latter. As indicated above, the most important development means favoured by mainstream development thinking in this era were thus stabilization and structural adjustment programmes. Obviously, mainstream development thinking in the 1980s shared the classical notion of modernization and economic growth but it differed insofar that it was very sceptical of state intervention. Instead it paid homage to free market solutions and international trade. Moreover, *Foreign Direct Investment* (FDI) was considered a better way to attract capital as compared to traditional development assistance (Abrahamsson, 2003b; Hettne, 1995; Nederveen Pieterse, 2001; Odén, 2006). It should be underscored that the SAPs and the neoliberal shift in development thinking have been subjected to considerable criticism by critical scholars and political activists in both the South and the North. This criticism is due to the aggravated poverty and maldevelopment – e.g. related to severe cutbacks in education, health care and other areas that particularly afflicted the poor – and the political dependence, i.e. conditionality, that followed in its footsteps. The subsequent references offer only a microscopic selection of this kind of critical literature (Abrahamsson, 2003b; Adedeji, 1993; Adepoju, 1993; Barratt Brown, 1995; Ewald, 1997; George, 1992; Hermele, 2004; Onimode, 2004; Simon, Van Spengen, & Närman, 1995).

The report *Our common future* was a landmark and a catalyst of the *sustainable development* perspective. It gives an extensive global overview of various environmental problems, e.g. deforestation, soil erosion, decreased biological diversity, ozone holes, global warming, demographic problems, food shortages, water shortages, pollution, unsustainable fishery, weapons of mass destruction, to mention just a few. Accordingly, the report drew attention to both wealth related *and* poverty related environmental threats. The report, written by the so-called Brundtland Commission, proposed the following definition or – if you so wish – objective of sustainable development:

> to meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987, p. 8).

As indicated in the title *Our common future* approaches unsustainability as a global challenge. Thus, the suggested means by which sustainable development should be brought about are multilateral actions rather than isolated national action.[50] The final section of the report offers a set of institutional and legal recommendations on both national and international levels, to counter the common global problems, which, in a complex way, integrate issues of

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[50] Rist makes an interesting remark in this context, arguing that globalization – although often referred to as favouring the attention to environmental problems – actually hides environmental deterioration since it: *'allows production to be dissociated from consumption and consumption from disposal'* (Rist, 1997, p. 186).

economic, social and ecological character. Sustainable development was further operationalized in the *Agenda 21* programme adopted at the 1992 Rio conference (cf. 4.6). However, sustainable development is a problematic concept. There are hundreds of definitions in the academic literature and the concept is used in very different ways by different actors in different contexts. In fact, it can be argued that the concept owes its success to its ambiguity (Blewitt & Cullingford, 2004; Redclift, 2002; Rist, 1997). This openness of the concept has obviously facilitated mainstream co-option, but what I find particularly interesting in this context is Gramsci's observation that hegemonic activity tend to increase in times of crisis. The limits that the environment imposes on capitalism point towards upcoming crises, and accordingly it becomes increasingly important for the market and state configuration to co-opt radical alternatives, e.g. the environmental movement. As indicated in chapter 3, there are also several inherent contradictions in the concept as such, and as previously indicated Andersson's *global ethical trilemma* has an interesting bearing on it. Further, looking into the Brundtland Commission's original definition, Rist argues that its approach to sustainable development only offers a vain attempt to wedlock economic growth and ecological balance:

> it merely expresses a hope that the necessary will become possible (Rist, 1997, p. 183).

Among several other things, he points to the following inconsistencies in the report. (1) The commission fails to identify and define the needs of the present and even more so the needs of future generations. (2) The commission underscores that there are limits to development but at the same time these limits are considered flexible. (3) The commission pins its faith to a new era of economic growth and thus fails to thoroughly problematize the unsustainable aspects of growth-oriented economic policies. (4) The commission argues, from the perspective of sustainable development, that poverty is an evil in itself, but one might also argue from the perspective of environmental protection that development is an evil itself (Rist, 1997). This post-development criticism of presupposed internal inconsistencies in the sustainable development discourse provides a crosswalk to the post-development perspective.

In a famous 1985 article entitled *Marxism and development sociology: interpreting the impasse*, David Booth suggested that development thinking – especially left-wing – had entered an *impasse* whereby no progress could be made due to the inadequacy of accessible intellectual tools (Booth, 1985). This notion of a theoretical and practical cul-de-sac had a huge impact on the development debate.[51] In retrospect, Schuurman has linked the impasse to three main factors: (1) The empirical *failure of 'development'* to alleviate poverty in large parts of the so-called developing world and the increasingly widening economic gap between

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[51] Seemingly paradoxically, Potter maintains that the literature on development theory and practice started to burgeon in the mid-1980s, i.e. just as development thinking entered the impasse (Potter, 2002, p. 61).

rich and poor countries of the world.[52] (2) Enforced *globalization* implied that the state's room for manoeuvre as an agent of development was narrowed down, and that the nation-state could no longer be considered the self-evident level of analysis in development processes. (3) The burgeoning *post-modern criticism* of a conceited development discourse – viewed as no more than a 'grand narrative' – based on an almost 'religious' faith in human omnipotence and infinite progress. This criticism also pointed to the Western stance towards the developing world as a homogenous entity and the self-righteous notion that 'they' should become like 'us' (Schuurman, 2000).

The postmodern criticism – in part connected to the 'linguistic turn' in social sciences – brought about a loose assemblage of development thinking filed here as *post-development* (including *post-development*, *beyond development* and *anti-development*). The core arguments of these schools of thought are that the development *concept* as such, and the prevailing modern development *discourse* – based on an internal logic of its own – lead the Western world to believe that they have the 'solutions' to perceived development 'problems' and a self-imposed right to intervene and rule throughout the South which, in turn, implies destruction of indigenous cultures, environmentally sustainable modes of production, and diverse ways of living. Thus, whereas previous critical perspectives had highlighted the problems of development (exploitation and global inequality in the case of the Dependency school; lack of participation and environmental destruction in the case of Another Development) these new perspectives rejected the very *idea* of development (Nederveen Pieterse, 2001). In fact, representatives of post-development thinking suggest that the logic of development only reflects a colonial notion of Western superiority and geopolitical security concerns. It makes development virtually impossible and it disempowers the people of the world. What is required, from the departure point of post-development thinking, is first and foremost to expose the oppressive modern development discourse and make possible much more diverse and rich ways of interpreting the world, in which wealth and welfare are not simply interpreted along a linear staircase of more or less *developed*. Post-development thinking generally pins faith to diversity, a vibrant civil society, an adieu to the modern notion of infinite progress and the birth of new ideas (Escobar, 1995; Rahnema & Bawtree, 1997; Rist, 1997).

It should be underscored that the post-development logic, in turn, has been subjected to criticism and attempts to 'reinvent' development. Among such criticism, the following arguments can be noted. Firstly, in their emphasis on *diversity* the post-development perspective belittle the preposterous *inequality* in

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[52] For instance, it was estimated in the 1980s that it would take another 150 years for the developing countries to reach *half* the per capita income of the Western countries. To make things even worse, this estimate did not take into consideration that many countries, especially in sub-Saharan Africa did in fact show *negative* growth figures. Some notes on the widening gap: in 1960, the estimated ratio between rich and poor countries was 20:1, in 1980 it had increased to 46:1 and in 1989 it had gone up to 60:1 (Schuurman, 1993, pp. 9-10)

the world and the issue of poverty. Secondly, the post-development logic is *defeatist* and gloomy and thus underestimates the possibility of social *progress* through human agency. Further, it has been argued that the post-development perspective ignore a moral duty to become involved. Thirdly, in its passion for *civil society* and its criticism of the state, post-development thinkers ignores the fact that the *state* can still play an important role in improving society, although the means at its disposal may have changed due to globalization. Fourthly, it has been argued that the general postmodern *critique of enlightenment* easily turns into *'the other enlightenment'*, i.e. romanticism and uncritical praise of tradition and community. Fifthly, the post-development thinkers reject development and argue that mankind is in need of new ideas. However, they do not really offer any alternative to development (Nederveen Pieterse, 2001; Schuurman, 2000; Simon, 1999).

As regards the agents of development, the market clearly stands out as the most important actor in mainstream thinking in the 1980s and consequently it took over the role previously played by the state. In accordance with this logic, the state should now only provide the most basic social service and otherwise focus on creating the best possible conditions for market actors. Attracting FDI was considered to be of particular importance (Abrahamsson, 2003b; Hettne, 2009; Nederveen Pieterse, 2001). According to Hettne the result of this was that the state became alienated towards civil society, whereby the conditions for loyalty, identity, and legitimacy, changed. The state, thus, lost strength in relation to both the global and the local level (Hettne, 2009). However, at the same time, it could be argued that civil society, at least interpreted in terms of NGOs (which became increasingly important in development practice), also gained a stronger position in the 1980s. Hence, somewhat paradoxically, it could be argued that a peculiar consensus emerged between neoliberalism and post-development in their mutual intellectual support of NGOs (Nederveen Pieterse, 2001). These changes clearly reflect a new balance in the historic bloc.[53] The market now had the upper hand, the state was weakened, and civil society – at least interpreted in terms of NGOs – gained a somewhat stronger position. Then again, it is important to recognize the problem of whether increasing NGO activity should be interpreted merely as roll-back of the state, or perhaps rather as a new mode of governance. Moreover, whether market deregulation should be understood as a demise of the state, or perhaps rather as a form of government reregulation (cf. 3.3.5).

As regards levels of analysis, the neoliberal vision of a single common world market vouched for a global field of vision. The sustainable development discourse further emphasized the importance of a global analysis but simultaneously stressed the need for local perspectives. The latter also relate to

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[53] An illuminating quote by Nederveen-Pieterse reads: *'…finance capital predominates as the cement of the historic bloc of interests that frames 'development''* (Nederveen Pieterse, 2001, p. 41)

post-development thinking. Thus, there was an increasing recognition of multi-level analysis that would continue to grow in importance. Moreover, in line with the *linguistic turn* in social sciences in general, and the emergence of various critical post-development perspectives in particular, large segments of development thinking became more 'inward' oriented and preoccupied with analyses and deconstructions of discourses of development.

Evidently, mainstream development thinking was subject to the neoclassical counterrevolution in the 1980s and thus became neoliberal and monetarist in orientation. However, modernization thinking was also challenged by environmentalist counterpoints. It could, for instance, be noted that the Brundtland Commission invited a large number of representatives of radical ecological movements to public sessions. Nevertheless, it seems fair to argue that the sustainable development discourse was largely co-opted by mainstream development thinking insofar as economic growth – despite environmental concern – still epitomized development (Rist, 1997). Post-development, in turn, must be regarded as a critical counterpoint discourse, which clearly challenged mainstream modernization thinking; although – and in line with the internal logics of postmodernism – without offering any alternative prescriptions (Nederveen Pieterse, 2001).

How can then the widening of the potential repertoire in the 1980s be conceived? Firstly, the break with the Keynesian theory and the shift towards neoliberalism in mainstream development thinking marked a certain change in the modernization discourse. Secondly, the inception and the worldwide breakthrough of the concept sustainable development denote a change which must be taken into consideration. Thirdly, the post-development critique of the development concept *per se*, and the modern mainstream development discourse, further implied a widening of the potential repertoire. An emerging epistemic recognition of multi-level analysis must also be emphasized.

4.6. Human development, good governance, and the new wars, 1990-2000

The 1990s are a complex and ambiguous period. The decade began in a far more optimistic spirit than the previous one with the Cold War coming to an end. However, the hopes of a 'brave new world' were soon dashed due to new and quite different security concerns. These processes, and others, implied a remarkably different context for development thinking. This general historical shift has to be elaborated on before turning to an analysis of the implications for development thinking during the period.

4.6.1. Historical context

The Malta summit in December 1989 signified the formal end of the Cold War and the Soviet Union's collapse less than two years later marked the definite end of the bipolar world order (Crockatt, 2001). The consequence of this, in turn, was a kind of transitional phase in which the world order could move in several different directions (Hettne, 2003, 2009). Some scholars had quite strong opinions about what awaited us. Triumphantly, Francis Fukuyama – influenced by Hegel – proclaimed *'the end of history'*, i.e. that mankind had reached the endpoint of ideological evolution whereby Western liberal democracy and market economy would soon be successfully embraced by the entire planet, bringing about peace and prosperity (Fukuyama, 1992). However, reality turned out to be more complex. Certainly, the 1990s showed clear trends towards democratization and multi-party elections all over the globe, particularly in Africa, which nurtured a *'demo-optimism'* among political scientists (Lindberg, 2006). On the other hand, the decade was also distinguished by increasing velocity and complexity of a magnitude that made scholars such as Lester Brown and Paul Kennedy defy Fukuyama and point to something that more resembled an *'acceleration of history'* (Brown, 1996; Kennedy, 1993). Further, rather than the world becoming a more secure and prosperous place, the opposite seemed to be happening in many parts of the world. The 1990s were marked by the so-called *New Wars*, intimately interlinked with identity politics and globalization, and characterized by an amalgamation of war, organized crime and systematic violations of human rights[54] (Kaldor, 1999). Another important dimension of these new conflict patterns was an increasing privatization of military activities, operating through a new service industry of private security companies and mercenaries, which made the classic Weberian definition of the state as an entity with a *'monopoly of legitimate use of violence'* obsolete (Kaldor, 1999; Weber, 2004). The new wars generated new streams of refugees and as regards Swedish refugee reception, the war in the Balkans is one important case in point.[55] The most pessimistic notions of the 1990s were epitomized in Robert D Kaplan's apocalyptic article *The Coming Anarchy: How scarcity, crime, overpopulation, tribalism, and disease are rapidly destroying the social fabric of our planet* (Kaplan, 1994). Nevertheless, the human suffering generated by the new war atrocities (sensitized globally via the *'CNN factor')*; the perception of certain weak states as 'black holes' in the international system; and the end of the bipolar world order, opened the way for a new form of *humanitarian interventionism* in conflict areas

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[54] Some cases in point from the 1990s are: Bosnia-Herzegovina, Nagorno-Karabach, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Somalia, Sudan, The Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Burundi, Angola, Colombia, Cambodia and Afghanistan (Kaldor, 1999; Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, & Miall, 2005).

[55] The new refugee streams coincided time-wise with the deep Swedish economic crisis of early 1990s. In this context, certain xenophobic tendencies spread throughout Swedish society. Accordingly, as will be evident in the next chapter, intercultural education became a prioritized aspect of global education.

whereby the traditional UN principle of sovereignty was loosened up[56] (Hettne, 2009; Ramsbotham, 1997). In a sense, it could thus be argued that bending the principle of sovereignty indicated that the world community to larger extent acknowledged its own existence.

Economic globalization continued to accelerate in the 1990s, generating huge profits for certain actors, and tremendous economic growth, particularly in China and East Asia. Moreover, the turnover rate on the foreign exchange market increased exponentially – by means of the new computer networks – and outgrew the world's GNI by far. Nevertheless, the global economy also revealed its vulnerability, e.g. in the Asian and Latin American financial crises towards the end of the decade (Castells, 2000). However, and perhaps more importantly, the very notion that we are living in a *globality* also spread through the mind-sets of an increasing number of people (Beck, 1998). At the same time, it also became apparent that this globality was marked by huge inequalities. In the famous *Human Development Report 1992* the world was pictured as a champagne glass in which the richest 20 per cent of the world population earned 82.7 per cent of the world's income whereas the poorest 20 per cent received only 1.4 per cent (United Nations Development Programme, 1992). Manuel Castells has, albeit acknowledging the second world as dissolved, and the Third World as an outdated and irrelevant concept, used the concept the *fourth world* as a label of socially excluded people all over the globe, whether in poor countries in sub-Saharan Africa, marginalized rural districts in Asia and Latin America, or urban ghettos in the rich countries of the North. Accordingly, the globalization process simultaneously invites some segments of economies and societies to participate in, and rejects others from, the new networks (Castells, 2000). The global restructuring also implied that it was getting harder to make a distinction between developing and developed societies – the South was in the North and the other way around[57] (Nederveen Pieterse, 2001). The UNDPs champagne glass initiated a debate about whether it was possible by means of expanded production to transform the champagne glass into a tankard. However, the *United Nations Conference on Environment and Development* in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 made it painfully clear that this would require not less than four globes and accordingly constituted nothing but a pipedream. This, again, points to the unsolvable *global ethical trilemma* outlined in chapter 3. According to the Rio conference, the only way forward was a profound change in our way of living. In this context, President George Bush Sr. blatantly announced that the American lifestyle was not up for negotiation. Any profound redirection failed to materialize. The only concrete outcome of the Rio conference was the inception of the global *Agenda 21* plan of action. The intention of this plan was to gear the

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[56] Some early cases in point are: Liberia, 1989; Haiti, Iraq and Somalia, 1991; Bosnia, 1992 and Rwanda, 1994 (Ramsbotham, 1997)
[57] This insight further indicates that development thinking is becoming increasingly relevant to the North (Nederveen Pieterse, 2001).

world towards greater sustainability by means of e.g. legal instruments, capacity building, technology diffusion, research and education (United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, 1993). Further, in 1997 the *Kyoto protocol*, with binding commitments by industrial countries to a small reduction of greenhouse gas emissions, was signed by most countries in the world – the US being one important exception (United Nations, 1998). Now, pulling together the threads of the New Wars, the new interventionism, the exclusion of certain areas from the global networks, and the environmental restrictions to global mass consumption, Mark Duffield has argued that the New Wars takes place in the shadowlands of the global networks and that *development* and *security* is merging in cynical attempts by the world community to contain and ease poverty, rather than bring about fundamental change for the better (Duffield, 2001). This meant that the traditional security concerns that had influenced development thinking in the Cold War era, i.e. in relation to the imagined threat posed by communism, was reconfigured towards the end of the 1990s into a new kind of security-development nexus. The new global security threats – intimately related to poverty and maldevelopment – involved: mass migration; HIV/AIDS and other diseases; environmental destruction; drug trafficking; gunrunning and other transnational criminal activities; terrorism; political instability and civil war. Rather than containing communism, development assistance thus became concerned with preventing these poverty-related problems from spilling over and affecting other parts of the world (Abrahamsson, 2003b). We will soon return to the new logics of development cooperation, but first a few notes on the European Union.

Another important event in the 1990s was the formal establishment of the European Union (EU). The *Treaty on European Union* was signed in Maastricht on the 7th of February 1992 (European Union, 1992). It came into force on the 1st of November 1993 and two years later Sweden became a full member (Prop 1994/95:19). The entire process of European integration from the 1950s and onwards must be interpreted both in terms of security and economic concerns. Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to suggest that the predominant neoliberal discourse of the 1980s contributed strongly to the *Project 1992* of creating a single European marketplace. In practice, however, the EU has become an ambiguous mixture of federalism and confederalism and it has been a topic of debate as to whether the organization should be interpreted as a stepping stone for neoliberal globalization, or as a neomercantilistic regional shock absorber against economic globalization – similar to the role played by the regulating welfare state in an era of embedded liberalism (Hettne, 1994, 2003). Regardless, the 1990s brought about a substantial increase in regionally based institutionalized cooperation between states in various corners of the world.[58] An intense debate

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[58] A few examples can be mentioned. In the 1990s, closer regional cooperation could be noticed in old organizations such as *North American Free Trade Arrangement* (NAFTA), the *Association for South East Asian States*

simultaneously emerged on *regionalization* (the processes of regional integration) and the new *regionalism* (the ideology or politic ambition favouring closer regional integration), and their roles in relation to processes of development and world order (Fawcett & Hurrell, 1995; Hettne, 1994; Hettne, Inotai, & Sunkel, 1999). As regards Sweden, its membership of the EU has undoubtedly had profound foreign policy effects. Not least as regards development cooperation, which brings us to this very issue.

As indicated above, the 1990s were an ambiguous and complex decade. This is reflected in the trends of international development-cooperation. To a certain extent, the *'aid fatigue'* that emerged in the previous decade combined with the end of the Cold War challenged the idea of development assistance and resulted in financial cutbacks. However, towards the end of the decade development cooperation would be revitalised, not least as a result of recognition of the new security threats outlined above (Abrahamsson, 2003b; Odén, 2006). Now, the end of the Cold War resulted in several reorientations of development cooperation. Democracy and human rights acquired a more central position in the debate, and greater importance in practice, when the logics of the Cold War no longer legitimized support of authoritarian regimes. Multi-party elections, a human rights record, and 'good governance', became important principles in aid negotiations and accordingly new kinds of conditionality was added to the previous economic conditionality of the SAPs. At the same time, the neoliberal discourse – to some extent – lost momentum. This resulted in a certain reinterpretation of the role of the state. It was now recognized that the state ought to provide some basic social services and establish an institutional framework for a functioning market economy.[59] This new policy context has been referred to as the post-Washington consensus in which *'good governance'* became the new catch phrase. The 1997 World Development Report *The State in a Changing World* marks this shift in attitude of the World Bank whereby an *effective* – rather than *minimal* – state was considered important for economic development (World Bank, 1997). This also resulted in an incorporation of social dimensions in structural adjustment, and a new conception of *'adjustment with a human face'* emerged. As will be evident below, theoretical innovations in development thinking such as *human development* and *pro-poor growth* also played a part in the reorientation of structural adjustment. At the same time, it became increasingly recognized that the conditionality that characterized the SAPs resulted in a lack of political ownership in the recipient countries that severely

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(ASEAN), the *Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation* (APEC) and the *Economic Community of West African States* (ECOWAS). Furthermore, new organizations such as *Southern African Development Community* (SADC) and *Mercado Comun del Sur* (MERCOSUR) saw the light. However, it should be underscored that the EU differed insofar as it was the only regional organization with supranational institutions that could initiate and enforce common policies (Christiansen, 2001).

[59] The fact that Douglas North and Robert Vogel, analysing the role of institutions in economic development, were appointed Nobel Laureates indicates a certain discursive reorientation in the historic bloc (Odén, 2006, p. 109).

hampered development. The reorientation of SAPs to incorporate social indicators, and the resurrected acknowledgement of ownership, converged in the new so-called *Poverty Reduction Strategies* (PRS). These national strategies were to be developed by the governments of the recipient countries themselves, incorporate consultations with national civil society groups and international donors, and finally be approved by the IMF and the World Bank. As indicated by the latter, the new so-called ownership hardly implied the end of conditionality. The first PRSs were developed in connection to the debt cancellation initiative for *Heavily Indebted Poor Countries* (HIPC), which came into force at the end of the 1990s, after persistent pressure from civil society movements, e.g. *Jubilee 2000*. The deal was that LDCs that could present a credible PRS and a *'good track record'* to the Bretton Woods institutions, would receive a certain amount of debt cancellation (Hermele, 2004; IMF & IDA, 1999). However, international development cooperation in the 1990s underwent further changes. Due to the end of the Cold War and the dissolution of the Second World, somewhat paradoxically, a new category of recipient countries, the so-called *countries in transition,* emerged. This meant a certain security motivated redirection of European aid flows from the South to the former East. Another change was an increasing amount of aid funds oriented towards conflict prevention, conflict management, conflict resolution and post-conflict reconstruction. This kind of development assistance could be interpreted as a gemini of the military-oriented *new interventionism*, both being means of handling the *New Wars.* Finally, the 1990s witnessed a series of international development conferences. The *United Nations Conference on Environment and Development* in Rio 1992 has already been mentioned. A few others worth mentioning in this context are: the *World Conference on Education for all* in Jomtien 1991; the *World Conference on Human Rights* in Vienna 1993; and the *Fourth World Conference on Women* in Beijing 1995 (Odén, 2006).

Generally, Swedish development cooperation in the 1990s followed international trends regarding e.g. democracy, human rights, good governance, PRS, debt cancellation, and conflict resolution. However, some features might be worth pointing out. Firstly, in 1995 SIDA was reorganized and merged with the other separate aid agencies BITS, SwedeCorp, Sandö U-centrum, and SAREC. After this merger it was renamed the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida). Secondly, the 1 per cent target was abandoned and Swedish aid volumes declined to 0.7 per cent of GNI, referred to by the then minister for development cooperation Pierre Schori as *'skammens gräns'* (My transl. *'the verge of disgrace'*). Thirdly, in connection with the conference on women in Bejing 1995 a sixth objective of Swedish development cooperation was articulated: *to promote equality between men and women.* Fourthly, in accordance with international trends, several bilateral agreements were initiated with the transition countries of Eastern Europe. Fifthtly, the concept of *partnership* was brought into the Swedish aid discourse and particular priority was given to developing a closer partnership

with the poor African countries. Sixthly, the support to NGOs increased, particularly in countries where problems of lack of democracy, human rights and good governance prevailed. Finally, as a result of Swedish membership of the EU, approximately 7 per cent of Swedish aid was challenged through the union and Sweden became involved in the EU's development cooperation activities on various levels, from policy, via planning, to implementation on the local level. As a consequence is that Swedish influence on the EU has increased. Inversely, however, parts of Swedish development cooperation have also become subordinated to the decisions of the European Union (Odén, 2006).

4.6.2. Development thinking during the period

As argued by Nederveen-Pieterse, the 1990s was marked by an acceleration of mainstream-counterpoint dialectics and an increasing complexity that makes simple analyses difficult (Nederveen Pieterse, 2001). Nevertheless, the following could be argued. As regards conceptions of the main development problem, *exclusion* from the global economy remained an important feature of mainstream development thinking represented, in particular, by the Bretton Woods institutions. Moreover, it was increasingly recognized that this exclusion generated global security threats, whereby a new form of *securitization* of development commenced (Abrahamsson, 2007; Duffield, 2001). At the same time, *environmental concerns* linked to the sustainable development discourse, became increasingly mainstreamed and, thus, rather diluted. Further, the UNDP – engaged in a war of position with the IMF and the World Bank – through their introduction of the human development discourse, suggested *individual capability deprivation*[60]*,* i.e. lack of freedom, as the major development problem (Sen, 1999). However, the fact that the Bretton Woods institutions have partly co-opted the human development discourse make matters somewhat complicated (Nederveen Pieterse, 2001).

As regards debate on the *goals* and the *means of development*, the following can be stated. The economic growth objective of mainstream development thinking still prevailed but it became more sophisticated in nature, and concerned with issues of pro-poor and sustainable growth. Thus, the *quality* of economic growth was highlighted and social indicators were brought back in whereby a certain resemblance to the 'redistribution with growth' discourse from the 1970s could be perceived. The new PRS, attempting to amalgamate global market integration, good governance, democracy, and respect for human rights, were considered important development tools. Debt cancellation through the HIPC initiative also played a role.

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[60] The main point being that poverty should be understood as deprivation of basic capabilities rather than merely as low income (Sen, 1999, p. 20)

In the 1990s, the *human development* discourse further emerged in close connection to the UNDP (United Nations Development Programme, 1990), and the Nobel laureate Amartya Sen, whose thoughts are probably best summarized in the seminal work *Development as freedom* (Sen, 1999). As indicated in the title of Sen's book, development is foremost conceived as *enlargement of people's choices,* thus people or, rather, individuals are at the centre of development. Further, the expansion of freedom is viewed as both the *primary end* and the *principle means* of development. Constitutive freedom is, in turn, related to the provision of other instrumental freedoms, capabilities and entitlements, that mutually reinforce each other, e.g. *political freedom* (e.g. democracy, freedom of speech), *economic facilities* (e.g. the freedom to conduct business, ownership entitlements, economic redistribution), *social opportunities* (e.g. education, health service), *transparency guarantees* (e.g. public transparency, social trust) and *protective security* (e.g. social safety nets). From this, it follows that income and development are *not* the same thing although they are often interrelated. Put differently, economic growth can only be considered to be of importance as long as it contributes to greater freedom[61] (Sen, 1999). Although recognizing an amalgamation, it can still be argued that this is one of the key differences between human development and modern mainstream development thinking. Generally, however, human development makes a strong case for combining growth and equity, which is reflected in the *Human Development Index* (HDI) developed by UNDP. This index – constructed as a protest against simply using economic statistics to monitor development – measures human development through a combination of life expectancy rate, literacy rate, school enrolment rates and GNI per capita (United Nations Development Programme, 1990). Finally, an interesting remark on human development by Nederveen-Pieterse. Although there are differences between Another Development and human development, they are not as wide as between them and the 'Washington consensus'. However, since human development pins its faith to the state, whereas the most important agent of development in Another Development is local civil society, it could be argued that human development had a stronger institutional base which, in turn, has contributed to its comparatively stronger impact (Nederveen Pieterse, 2001).

In mainstream development thinking the market was still considered to be the most important agent of development. However, through the demise of the most extreme neoliberal notions, the introduction of the *'good governance'* agenda, and the emergence of the human development discourse, the state recovered somewhat (Nederveen Pieterse, 2001). Civil society further strengthened its position somewhat through successful advocacy and work by NGOs. All this reflects a certain levelling of the power balance within the historic bloc

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[61] For instance, Sen points out that the deprivation for particular groups in very rich countries, e.g. African Americans in USA, is sometimes higher than for people in certain developing countries (Sen, 1999). This, again, points to the difficulties of making clear distinctions between developed and developing countries.

compared to the 1980s, although it should be acknowledged that the market still clearly had the upper hand. However, as indicated in chapter 3, it is not self-evident that the balance of power in the bloc must be viewed as a zero-sum game.

In the 1990s, due to enforced globalization, the importance of multi-level analysis became even more pronounced. Moreover, the new patterns of regional integration and the related debate on *regionalism* stressed the importance of a more profound focus on both macro- and micro-regional levels. Further, through the *human development* discourse, the global, macro regional, national, micro regional and local levels were supplemented by an *individual* level concerned with the freedom of every individual human being. Moreover, partly through the amalgamation of development and security, a similar discussion about individual *human security* emerged, which rejected the classical security discourse concerned with the security of the state (Picciotto, Clarke, & Olonisakin, 2005). Due to the fact that the 'three worlds' were disintegrating and development was increasingly being interpreted as a global problem, Hettne pointed, in *Development and the Three Worlds,* to the necessity of merging Development studies and International Political Economy into a – not yet existing – *global social theory* (Hettne, 1995, 2009).

Finally, it could be argued that the new human development discourse, emphasizing the importance of the individual, contributed to the widening of the potential repertoire in the 1990s. To this might be added the mainstream co-option of environmental and gender concerns. The more general debate on democracy and human rights, further contributed to the perceived complexities of development. Additionally, the disintegration of the three worlds and the inclusive and exclusive mechanisms of globalization, whereby the South came to the North and vice versa, must be considered, likewise the new patterns of macro- and micro-regionalism.

4.7. Complexity, coherence, crisis and global development, 2000-2008

Finally, we enter the new millennium. Like the previous period, this one started out in an optimistic spirit with the formulation of the Millennium Declaration, but ended with much more gloomy sentiments due to the breakthrough of the international financial crisis. The 2008 financial crisis, and the serious concerns it raised as regards prerequisites for poverty alleviation, *and* the presidential election of Barak Obama in the US marks the end of the period of investigation. It could be argued that the period displayed quite contradictory tendencies epitomized in e.g. the war on terror and simultaneous efforts to fulfil the intentions of the Millennium Declaration (Hettne, 2009). The period was also distinguished by

increasing complexity and, perhaps more important, increased *recognition* of this complexity in relation to development issues. The decade was characterised by several important formative events and processes that need to be sketched before turning to the implications for development thinking.

4.7.1. Historical context

Most scholars agree that the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001, and their aftermath, have had a profound impact on the world order and mainstream security thinking. As indicated in the previous chapter, the end of the Cold War had opened up a window of opportunity for several potential world orders. However, after 9/11, George Bush Jr. decided to pursue the strategy of unilateralism. This meant that the US independently decided to assume world leadership and proclaimed a new security doctrine based on the principle of '*pre-emptive action*'. As a consequence, both Afghanistan and Iraq were invaded by military troops. The general consequences of this policy re-orientation were worsened conditions for international cooperation, and increased tensions in the world, including a widening gap between the US and Europe, which appeared to have brought the traditional western consensus to an end (Hettne, 2003; Odén, 2006; Ramsbotham, et al., 2005). The US and a small group of allied countries (some on the basis of mutual values and solidarity, others on the basis of some kind of barter, e.g. aid, debt relief, tariff reductions, lifted sanctions etc.), labelled *the coalition of the willing*, engaged in a global '*war on terror*'. This is obviously a very complicated endeavour because – in the words of Hettne – how do you wage war on an abstraction? Another matter that had to be taken into consideration was, of course, the potential war looting of Iraq's oil reserves. Another dimension of this new political context was an increasing pre-occupation with perceived internal security threats in countries all over the world, epitomized by the establishment of the new ministry of *homeland security* in the US (Hettne, 2003). It is still too early to conclude whether the 2008 presidential election of Barak Obama will result in a fundamental re-direction of international security politics, although the tendencies of a more multilateral approach to international relations, and the discussions of end dates for the military presence in both Afghanistan and Iraq, provide a basis for guarded optimism.

Another important feature of the period was intensified globalization and the impressive economic growth figures in the world's most populous countries, China and India. This economic growth implies that power relationships in the world are being transformed; moreover, this growth has generated a substantial reduction in the absolute number of the world's poor, (Mahtaney, 2007; Odén, 2006; World Bank, 2006). However, huge and increasing internal income inequality has also been an effect, and it should be noted that other regions of the world – particularly Africa – seriously lag in terms of both growth and poverty reduction (United Nations Development Programme, 2005).

Nevertheless, the impressive economic growth figures in Asia, in combination with 'business as usual' in the West, have generated an increasing global demand for raw materials and energy. One effect of this demand has been increasing interest in the resource-rich –yet poor – African countries. It has been a topic of debate as to whether this constitutes a window of opportunity for the continent, or if it is being exposed to a new 'scramble for Africa' (Melber, 2007; Melber & Southall, 2009). Another obvious consequence of the increased demand for energy and raw materials *and* the overwhelming evidence of climate change and ecological imbalance described by the *Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change* (IPCC), has been growing environmental concern. In this context, the United Nation's *World Summit on Sustainable Development* in Johannesburg 2002 could be mentioned. It expressed continuous concern and emphasized the need to further integrate the economic, social and ecological dimensions of sustainable development (United Nations, 2002b). One outcome of the Johannesburg meeting – which by and large did not produce many binding promises – was the *Type 2 Partnership Initiatives*, which differ from traditional UN interstate cooperation in that they include private companies and civil society organizations (Odén, 2006). It was in the fall of 2006, however, that the issue of climate change had a substantial breakthrough in media coverage and public debate, not least in connection with the *Stern Review* and Al Gore's film *An Inconvenient Truth* (Björneloo, 2007).

Another interesting phenomenon in the beginning of the new millennium was the increasing activities of the so-called *global justice movement,* a loose network of individuals and groups that, despite diversified agendas, shared a concern with the dark sides of neoliberal globalization, such as poverty, inequality, unemployment and environmental destruction. This articulation of the counterpoint has many similarities with the new social movements of the 1970s, albeit operating and identifying more globally, not least through the inception and implementation of *World Social Forums* (WSF) in different parts of the world. Following massive protests at various meetings of the Bretton Woods institutions, the G8 and the EU in the early 2000s, this *'movement of movements'* has often been labelled the *'anti-globalization movement'* by mainstream media; which is quite misleading since globalization is a fundamental prerequisite for the very existence and identity of the movement. More correctly, the objective of the network is a different kind of globalization and thus the designation *'alter-globalization movement'* has been suggested. In addition, the global justice movement engaged in large anti-war demonstrations in the capitals of the world in connection with the invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq (Abrahamsson, 2003a; Hettne, 2009; Kaldor, 2003; Thörn, 2002). Now, what is particularly interesting in this context is the various ways that technological and economic globalization simultaneously affects, and to a large extent connects, the war on terror, the economic growth in China and India, the new scramble for Africa, the intensified debate on climate change, and the mobilization of the global justice

movement. This, in turn, points to the importance of recognizing global complexity.

The period was also marked by substantial re-orientation and innovation as regards international, as well as Swedish, development cooperation. These changes have to be described and elaborated on before turning to a more analytical take on development thinking during the period. On a general level, international development cooperation policy has been characterized by mainly tree factors: the *Millennium Development Goals* (MDGs), the so-called *new aid architecture,* and the issue of *policy coherence.* In 2000, heads of states and governments from 189 countries gathered in New York to agree on a global compact for poverty alleviation and more effective development cooperation. The outcome of the conference was the *Millennium Declaration* which, somewhat later, led to the formulation of eight MDGs:

1) Halve extreme poverty and hunger
2) Achieve universal primary education
3) Empower women and promote equality between women and men
4) Reduce child mortality by two-thirds
5) Reduce maternal mortality by three-quarters
6) Reverse the spread of diseases, especially HIV/AIDS and malaria
7) Ensure environmental sustainability
8) Create a global partnership for development, with targets for aid, trade and debt relief

The innovative aspects of the MDGs – and thus what separates them from previous solemn declarations to put an end to poverty – are that they are measurable; time-bound (to be reached by 2015); and that the responsibility of the rich countries is made explicit in goal 8. The eight goals are supplemented by 16 targets and 48 progress indicators (United Nations, 2000, 2002a). In 2002, the UN Secretary-General commissioned the so-called *Millennium Project*, headed by Jeffrey Sachs, to develop a concrete action plan to achieve the MDGs. The final recommendations were presented in 2005 in the report *Investing in Development: A Practical Plan to Achieve the Millennium Development Goals.* Two important recommendations were: (1) A substantial increase in aid flows; (2) Ambitious design and effective implementation of the recipient countries' PRS (Sachs, 2005). Accordingly, national PRSs and attempts to create a global partnership for development, intersect in the striving towards the universal MDGs (Craig & Porter, 2006). In fact, aid flows did increase and in the early 2000s, several countries reached the completion point of HIPC. However, in many cases the debt relief proved insufficient and at the G8 summit in Scotland 2005, and later in the same year in the EU, decisions on further debt relief and increased aid volumes were taken. However, these commitments turned out to be difficult to live up to (Odén, 2006; Odén & Wohlgemuth, 2007). Moreover, it is reasonable

to believe that the current international financial crisis will not make matters any easier. Even if, by chance, commitments as such are not reconsidered, the mere dip in GNP will undoubtedly have a profound impact. It should, finally, be noted that the inception of the Millennium Declaration could also interpreted as a political response to the new poverty-related security threats outlined in section 4.6 (Abrahamsson, 2003b).

Whereas the Millennium Declaration has been important as regards the content and objectives of development cooperation in the new millennium, the debate on the *new aid architecture* – culminating in the *Paris Declaration* – has been important as regards the methodology of development assistance. In 2005, the second High-Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness was held in Paris. It brought together ministers and officials from 91 donor and recipient countries, supplemented by representatives of civil society and private companies. The problems that were addressed at the meeting revolved around: lack of ownership, inclinations towards externally imposed solutions, fragmentation, parallel systems, and high transaction costs (Odén & Wohlgemuth, 2007). The meeting resulted in the Paris Declaration, which proposed a new aid architecture based on five key components:

- *Ownership.* Implying that recipient countries should exercise effective leadership over their development policies, strategies and co-ordinate development actions.
- *Alignment.* Implying that donors should base their overall support on recipient countries' national development strategies, institutions and procedures.
- *Harmonization.* Implying that donors' action should be more harmonized, transparent and collective.
- *Managing for results.* Implying managing and implementing aid in a way that focuses on desired results and use information to improve decision-making.
- *Mutual accountability.* Implying that both donors and recipients are accountable for development results (DAC, 2005a).

All of this point towards *General Budget Support* (GBS) as the preferred aid modality, i.e. donor support of the national budget channelled through the national budget structures and linked to a donor-approved national PRS. In many respects, this represents a resurrected recognition of *aid on the recipient's terms* in the 1970s (cf. 4.4.1). However, so far the actual share of GBS has been limited – not least due to the political controversies surrounding it – although there has been an upward trend (Odén, 2006).

A third important feature of development cooperation in the period has been the complicated issue of *policy coherence*. There is no universal consensus on how

to define policy coherence and, accordingly, several conceptions circulate in the debate (DAC, 2005b; European Commission, 2005; Lundquist & Odén, 2007; Stokke & Forster, 1999). However, the basic idea of policy coherence is that policy actors in one political field should take into consideration what policy actors in other political fields do, in order to avoid contradictory outcomes. Inversely, thus, *in*coherence takes place when political actions in different political fields collide. The overall argument of policy coherence is that a development profile should permeate policy-making and interventions in all political fields (Lundquist & Odén, 2007). The notion of policy coherence reflects the idea that development assistance alone cannot solve development problems, and that development cooperation is only one of many relations between the rich and the poor countries. It further indicates a recognition that the world is complex and interdependent and, thus, that different policy actors should cooperate towards a common objective.[62] This issue of policy coherence will be further problematized in section 4.7.2.

The Swedish response to the Millennium Declaration was the inception of a coherent *Policy for Global Development* (PGD) in 2003 (Prop. 2002/03:122). PGD includes all Swedish policy areas and, accordingly, traditional development cooperation constitutes only one area of PGD. The overall objective of this new policy is to contribute to *equitable and sustainable global development*. Two perspectives permeate all parts of the policy – and this is, as I see it, the policy's elegant, albeit questionable, way of avoiding conceptualizations of equitable and sustainable global development – *a rights perspective* based on international human rights conventions; and the *perspectives of the poor*. How the latter is to be achieved remain unclear. The content of the policy was formulated in eight central thematic areas:

- respect for human rights
- democracy and good governance
- gender equality
- sustainable use of natural resources and protection of the environment
- economic growth
- social development and social security
- conflict prevention and management
- global public goods (Prop. 2002/03:122)

Compared to the previous objectives of Swedish development assistance, the following could be noted. Firstly, the overarching goal of PGD is to contribute to equitable and sustainable global development. However, this general policy

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[62] It should be noted that policy coherence is not an entirely new idea. Both the debate on the NIEO in the 1970s and the report of the *Parliamentary Commission on Swedish Development Co-operation* (SOU 1977:13) pointed to the need for harmonization between different policy areas (Lundquist & Odén, 2007).

aim is supplemented by a more specific, albeit general, goal of Swedish development cooperation, namely *to contribute to an environment supportive of poor people's own efforts to improve their quality of life*. This, in turn, implies that poor people themselves are considered the most important agent of development. Development cooperation should primarily support this agency. This notion has an obvious bearing on the concept of *human development* (cf. 4.6.2). Secondly, the previous six objectives of Swedish development assistance have been replaced by the eight thematic areas outlined above. Five of the old objectives can be found in these thematic areas. However, the old objective of national independence has been abandoned since it was considered an obsolete idea in a globalized world. Moreover, the objective of economic and social equity has been reformulated into social development and social security. Thirdly, the eight thematic areas and the two perspectives should not be understood as different targets but rather as building blocks towards the overall objective (Odén, 2006). At the same time, Sida introduced a new multi-dimensional conception of poverty. Poverty is thus considered a multi-dimensional, context specific and dynamic phenomenon. Sida states that *poverty deprives people of the freedom to decide over and shape their own lives* and accordingly the essence of poverty is not only to be found in lack of material resources but also in lack of power and opportunities to choose. Again, the correspondence to *human development* is noteworthy. It is further stated that poverty is manifested in many different ways in different contexts, e.g. hunger, bad health, lack of education, denial of dignity, etc. Moreover, poverty is viewed as multidimensional – incorporating economic, social, political, environmental and conflict-related dimensions – and thus caused by many and varying factors in different contexts. Consequently, poverty is not neutral in relation to gender, ethnicity, disability and age (Prop. 2002/03:122; Sida, 2002). It should also be noted that Swedish aid increased during the period and by 2006, the 1 per cent target was resumed (Odén, 2006).

Finally, it can be noted that PGD was slightly reformed between 2006 and 2008 under the new right-wing government. The overall aim of the policy and the two perspectives that should permeate it remain the same. However, the 8 thematic areas have been replaced by 6 global challenges:

- Oppression
- Economic exclusion
- Migration flows
- Climate change and environmental impact
- Conflicts and fragile situations
- Communicable diseases and other health threats

Moreover, the new government has stressed that it wants to improve efficiency, make the policy more result-oriented, and focus on fewer issues (Odén, 2009; Skr. 2008/09:89).

4.7.2. Development thinking during the period

During the latest period, is seems reasonable to suggest that development problems became increasingly recognized as complex and that the mainstream development discourse said farewell to simplistic problem descriptions. Instead, it became customary to talk about complex webs of mutually interdependent problems, such as poverty, capability deprivation, inequalities, global economic shocks, governance gaps, human rights abuse, new security threats, and environmentally unsustainable patterns of production and consumption (Abrahamsson, 2007; Hettne, 2009; Singer, 2002). According to Hettne, one indication of mainstream recognition of this interdependence, or even merging of peace and security issues, development issues and environmental issues, is that several Nobel Peace prizes in the 2000s have been awarded for development-related and environment-related activities (Hettne, 2009). Further, as indicated above, the perception of poverty has become multi-dimensional in nature and it is recognized that globalization creates new patterns of inclusion and exclusion. Globalization has also generated a compression of time and space, which implies a narrowing down of global social space – indicating a potentially emerging global historic bloc – in which a huge number of actors express their concern about different development problems. Accordingly, in a sense, there is increasing competition as regards the privilege of defining the problem. Further, the time-space compression makes it possible to compare oneself with others in a way that was not possible before. This affects the global perception of a decent life and increases the risk of relative deprivation. In this sense, problem descriptions must also be understood as relational (Abrahamsson, 2007; Castells, 2000; Nilsson, 1999; Sida, 2002).

The mainstream perception of the ends and means of development has become increasingly complex, not least due to the acceleration of counterpoint co-option, which implies that classical mainstream ideas of modernization and growth are supplemented with tamed versions of more radical ideas (Hettne, 1995, 2009; Nederveen Pieterse, 2001). Hence, the goal of contemporary mainstream development thinking seems to be a complex merger of poverty reduction, economic growth, enhanced capabilities, human rights, security, democracy, gender equality, environmental sustainability and so on, whereby different schools of thought such as modernization, sustainable development, human development and global development become largely mixed up. Obviously, such complexity affects the suggested means. The following defeatist quote by Pierre Frühling describes the complex and multi-dimensional problem facing development thinking and development-oriented policymaking in a globalized world:

> Everything depends on everything and everything is important (Frühling, 2001, p. 7).

Apparently, we find ourselves in a period that rejects the notion of simple solutions. The new recipe for development appears to be broadly based national PRSs that incorporate a wide range of local, national and international stakeholders, and connects to the global MDG agenda and the idea of establishing a global partnership for development, incorporating aid, debt relief, fairer trade, public-private partnerships, et cetera. At the same time, it has become increasingly accepted that development assistance alone cannot solve development problems and that development cooperation is only one of many relations between rich and poor countries. This, in turn, points to the issue of policy coherence. The fact that globalization has blurred the old North-South dichotomy further points to the importance of coherence. There are simply no backyards in a globalized world, which, again, Frühling's quote points out.

However, there are several problems with this broadly based agenda. It could very well be argued that the accelerating mainstream co-option of critical counterpoint ideas, and the 'elasticity' of the new global development agenda, leads to depoliticization and concealment of political conflicts. This can probably also be related to a more general post-political trend in Western societies (Mouffe, 2005). In line with this argument it would be extremely naïve to presume that all 'good' forces can, and are willing to, pull in the same direction. From such a standpoint, the most important contributions of PDG would rather be that it enables us to 'unpack', or expose, the inherent contradictions of different policies, and illuminate that different stakeholders have different political interests.

As indicated above the latest period has brought about the introduction of the concept of *global development* in various contexts, e.g. in the United Nations and through the elaboration in the Swedish PGD. Recently, however, Hettne has elaborated this idea to the extent that it deserves to be treated in its own right. The starting point of Hettne's conceptualization is that the economy has become increasingly globalized and that mankind is facing a growing number of global problems, e.g. climate change, new patterns of violent conflict, financial crises, transnational crime, global diseases, refugee crisis and human rights violations. Yet, politics remains largely national and the world is thus facing a governance gap. With reference to Polanyi, he argues that there is a need of a new 'great compromise' that can provide the framework for global development. He further states that global development is an emerging discourse – which addresses these new, and qualitatively different, global problems – that does not yet permeate social practice. The definition of global development, suggested by Hettne, is:

> an improvement of the quality of international relations and global governance by means of new supranational political institutions, still to be built (Hettne, 2009, p. 7).

The goal would thus be to create a global political *community,* as opposed to the traditionally 'anarchic' state system, that can cater for sustainable development, cultural diversity and human security. This qualitative dimension of global governance must further, Hettne argues, be based on a set of basic human values that can be shared globally, e.g. freedom, equality, solidarity, tolerance, respect for nature, etc. The means to achieve global development, Hettne suggests, lies in intercultural dialogue, more symmetrical power structures and a strengthening of global welfare, e.g. through multilateral global governance, respect for international law, and provision of global public goods. In this sense, Hettne views the emerging global development discourse as a dialectical reaction to the market-driven economic globalization, but also a refutation of the anarchic dimension of the state system. Global development, thus, with reference to Polanyi, means a strive for a second *'Great Transformation'*, or re-embedment of the market on a global level. Now, Hettne maintains that global development appears both in the shape of mainstream and counterpoint, whereby the mainstream may be illustrated by the MDGs and Sweden's PGD, while the counterpoint can be illustrated by the WSFs and the global justice movement. All of these, despite their internal differences, share a concern for global justice. Hettne further states that the aftermath of 9/11 and the unilateral strategy of the present American administration hinder a breakthrough of the global development discourse, but he adds that this cannot go on forever (Hettne, 2009). As mentioned above, what kind of strategies President Obama and his administration decides to pursue is very important in this context.

However, a few critical remarks can be made of Hettne's notion of global development. As argued by Hettne himself, development is never socially neutral because as society changes some people will find themselves in more favourable positions whereas others will experience some kind of, at least relative, decline (cf. 3.3.1). Hence, what constitutes a qualitative improvement in international relations seems, to me at least, quite difficult to establish. Development, as stated in chapter 3, is an essentially contested concept and reaching an agreement on what *global* development implies is probably even more difficult. Hettne acknowledges that his definition is a normative one and it could be argued that it is probably neither possible, nor desirable, to reach a universal agreement. In this perspective, it can be viewed as political statement. Fair enough. On the other hand – and this I find very problematic – Hettne still argues, as indicated above, that there are certain values that can be shared universally and he opts for a *'genuine universalism'* in contrast to previous Eurocentric thinking (Hettne, 2009, p. 130). It seems difficult, though, to envision how such universal agreements can be brought about. As argued by Nederveen Pieterse, all utopian visions of human unity have – at least so far – been based on some kind of political centre. Hence, human unity and political hierarchies have always walked hand in hand, which makes the quest for universalism highly questionable (Nederveen Pieterse, 2004). Put differently, what is framed as genuine universalism is, in fact, likely to

conceal vested political interests. To sum up, I would argue that Hettne's notion of global development seems to be a reasonable answer to some of the problems that the nation states are experiencing in the face of globalization, however, it hardly provides a solution to the conundrum of how to conceptualize development in the 21st century.

Moving to a discussion about the historic bloc, many scholars would argue that the market had the upper hand throughout the period (Bello, 2002; Harvey, 2005; Klein, 2007). Others, however, point to a recuperation of the state and thus a development beyond neoliberalism (Craig & Porter, 2006). The *Third Way* ideology that emerged in Europe, for example, has been interpreted by some as an expression of a statist 'catch up' (Giddens, 1998; Hettne, 2009). Others, on the other hand, have interpreted the Third Way merely as an expression of neoliberal hegemony and post-politics (Mouffe, 2005). Likewise, it could be argued that civil society – at least interpreted as NGOs – has continued to grow in importance in the development debate during the latest period. It is not easy to make sense of this. However, one possible interpretation is that there has been a certain levelling of the power balance in the historic bloc, at least in comparison with the heyday of the state in the 1950s and 1960s and the heyday of the market in the 1980s. As regards agents of development, the debate further points to a notion that no single actor can play the role of a development guarantor. Rather, it is increasingly recognized – in accordance with the coherence doctrine – that *all* actors are important in the creation of conditions whereby people themselves can achieve development (Prop. 2002/03:122). One example of this state of affairs is the UNs introduction of *the Global Compact,* a framework for cooperation between private corporations and the UN, in which the corporations align their operations and strategies with principles of human rights, labour and environmental concern and, further, with support of broader UN goals such as the MDGs. This is the largest initiative of so-called *global corporate citizenship* in the world (United Nations, 2007). Another example is the *Type 2 Partnership Initiatives* from the Johannesburg summit outlined above, which differed from traditional UN interstate cooperation by including private companies and civil society organizations (Odén, 2006). Whether this development is good or bad can obviously be subject to debate. Nevertheless, it point to a situation where the state – albeit recognized as one important actor – is no longer considered a development guarantor in the development debate, while, at the same time, it is recognized that the market needs to, somehow, be regulated and embedded.

The debate on global development and policy coherence points to a recognition that development is taking place in a global context. As pointed out previously, all levels – global, macro regional, national, micro regional, local and individual – are important to take into consideration when analysing development. Further, as previously indicated, Hettne, and Payne, has suggested that a proper analysis

of the current world – in which development needs to be reinterpreted in the context of globalization – requires a merging of development theory and IPE into *Global Social Theory*. According to Hettne, Global Social Theory should be based on a new ontology of globalization, a new epistemology with a scientific language better equipped to grasp the new global reality, and new methodological approaches encompassing new theories and new methods better suited to study a globalized world. Moreover, Hettne argues, an institutionalization of the interdisciplinary field of *Global studies* is necessary, bringing together and drawing on knowledge, perspectives and theories in IR, IPE, development studies, cultural studies, social anthropology, security studies, human ecology, environmental studies, etc. (Hettne, 1995, 2009; Payne, 2001). This would hopefully contribute to a break with the classical *'methodological nationalism'* that still permeates the social sciences (Beck, 2005; Hettne, 2009). As indicated in chapter 3, I largely agree with Hettne on this matter, however – again – I want to stress that there can be no single Global Social Theory. It should rather be understood as a broader field encompassing different approaches and theories that can help us develop new understanding(s) of development in a globalized world.

From an epistemic perspective, the present period has seen a continued widening of the potential repertoire. The notion of global development entered the development discourse and thus stacked upon previously outlined perspectives. Further, the accelerated mainstream co-option of counterpoint perspectives has turned mainstream development thinking into something extremely complex and multi-dimensional – but also something that runs the risk of depoliticising and concealing the inherent contradictions of development.

4.8. Concluding remarks

The aim of this chapter was to outline the post-World War intellectual history of development with particular reference to the evolution of Swedish development cooperation. It was further argued that the relevance of the chapter should primarily be understood in the context of the dissertation's general inquiries into global education. This final section will summarize three of the most important conclusions of the chapter. The following quote by Nederveen Pieterse constitutes a good starting point for such a recapitulation:

> In a brief time span, there have been profound changes in the Gestalt of development (Nederveen Pieterse, 2001, p. 158)

Evidently, this chapter subscribes to such a conclusion. Firstly, as argued by Hettne, there has been a tremendous enrichment of development thinking since World War II whereby the notion of development has evolved from something fairly simplistic to something much more complex. This, in turn, is related to

processes of mainstream counterpoint dialectics and war of position between various actors in the historic bloc.

Now, and herein lies the most important conclusion of the chapter, the epistemic consequence of this enrichment has been a widening of the potential repertoire, which, in turn, has consequences for – and constitutes a challenge to – contemporary teachers engaged in global education. There are two elements in this widening of the potential repertoire. On the one hand, new schools of thought on development have emerged implying a parallel evolution of development thinking. The process is illustrated in figure 4.1. These perspectives tend to accumulate rather than fade away and thus scientific revolutions in Kuhn's terminology are a rare phenomenon in development thinking. On the other hand, there have always been elements of mainstream co-option of critical counterpoint ideas, and these processes seem to have accelerated in recent years. This implies that the potential repertoire has also been widening in the sense that mainstream understanding of development has become increasingly complex and multi-dimensional. However, as the mainstream development agenda becomes wider, or more 'elastic', there is also a large risk of political contradictions being concealed and critical perspectives tamed. Now, as regards these two elements of the widening potential repertoire, the following can be concluded. The first process constitutes a challenge to teachers insofar as the potential knowledge content becomes wider, more difficult to scope, and that more schools of development thinking become relevant to consider. However, from the point of departure of this dissertation, the second process is more problematic, and constitutes a greater challenge to the teachers, since it tends to conceal the inherent contradictions of the mainstream development discourse. The challenge is to expose these inherent contradictions.

Secondly, due to globalization, the modern understanding of the state as the self-evident agent of development has become obsolete. It has become increasingly recognized that development is a process, or a set of processes, that include, and require, a broad selection of stakeholders including states, local governments, international organizations, market actors, civil society organizations, et cetera. This obviously has implications for practising global education teachers since there are many more actors today that are relevant to take into consideration when discussing global development issues.
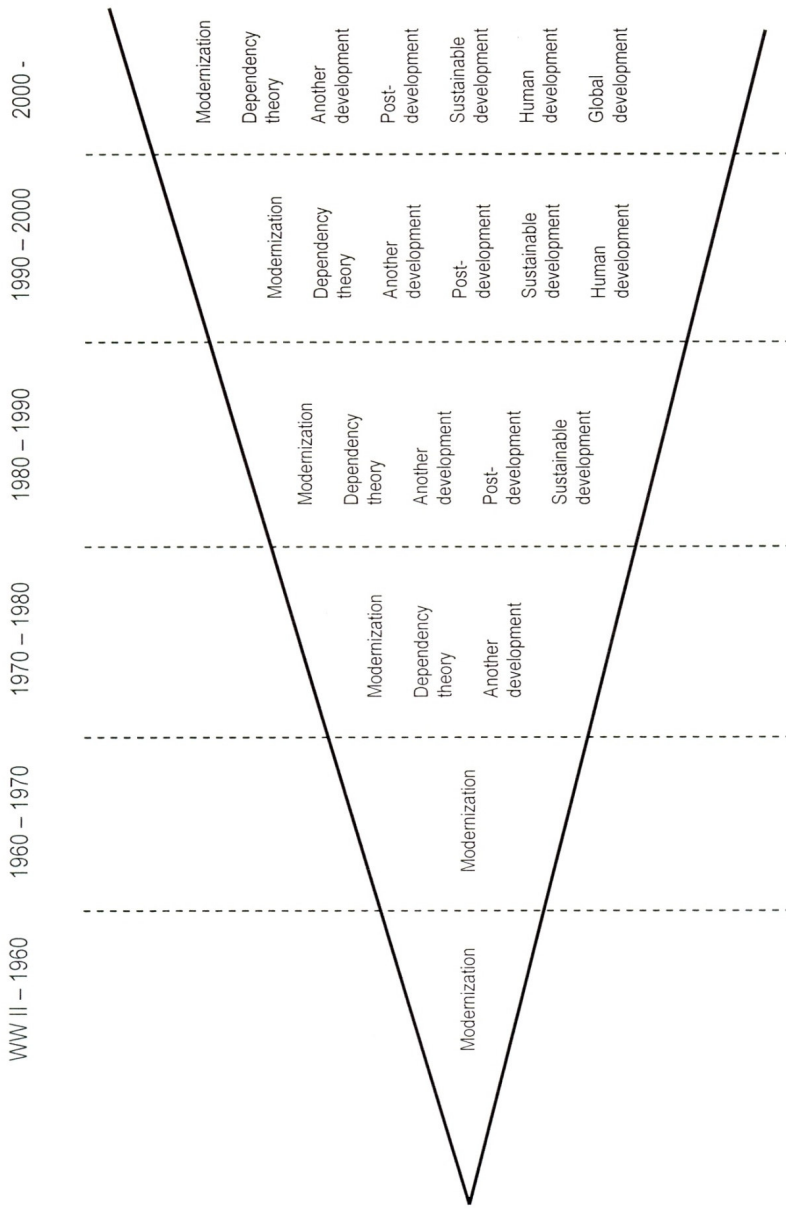
Figure 4.1. Parallel evolution of development thinking in post-World War II decades

	WW II – 1960	1960 – 1970	1970 – 1980	1980 – 1990	1990 – 2000	2000 -
	Modernization	Modernization	Modernization	Modernization	Modernization	Modernization
			Dependency theory	Dependency theory	Dependency theory	Dependency theory
			Another development	Another development	Another development	Another development
				Post-development	Post-development	Post-development
				Sustainable development	Sustainable development	Sustainable development
					Human development	Human development
						Global development

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Thirdly, a proper analysis of development processes requires multi-level analysis, including the global, macro-regional, national, micro-regional, local and individual level. Globalization and the new network society have also made traditional dichotomies such as North and South increasingly outdated. The South is in the North and the other way around, which means that development ought to be interpreted as a global problem. This also points to the urgent need to merge development theory and IPE into Global Social Theory based on different ontological, epistemological and methodological starting points. These issues obviously also have implications for practising global education teachers.

As will be evident, this chapter provides an important frame of reference for chapter 5, which will help us to better understand how these intellectual shifts in the debate – and the general historical contexts – have paved the way for changes in global education in the Swedish school system. Moreover, how the evolution of Swedish development cooperation has contributed to the introduction of, but also changes in organizational arrangements for implementing, global education in Sweden. It is to these issues that we will turn in the following chapter.

5. THE HISTORY OF GLOBAL EDUCATION IN SWEDEN

This chapter comprises the second sub-study of this dissertation. *The aim of the chapter is to outline the history of global education in Sweden.* In this endeavour particular focus is given to historical processes of change as regards this knowledge content as such, and organizational arrangements for its implementation, in the Swedish school system. Historical change as regards knowledge content is primarily studied through knowledge and perspectives communicated by teacher in-service trainers, teacher pre-service trainers, teachers *and* curriculum documents and course syllabi in different periods. Historical change as regards organizational arrangements is primarily studied through organizational structures, channels, and activities, tied up with SIDA's/Sida's information work towards the Swedish school system in different periods. These arrangements include in-service and pre-service training and other forms of information dissemination to schools, teachers, and teacher students, on behalf of the development cooperation authority, normally in close cooperation with national education authorities, and sometimes also in cooperation with NGOs and universities. The outline is broad and it entails the obvious limitations of a delimited and theoretically informed historical reconstruction. Thus, in the words of Cohen et al., a historical reconstruction of this kind must be understood as a 'sketch' rather than a 'portrait' (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007, p. 191) This introductory section will be followed by a section devoted to methodological issues. Subsequently, there are five sections, in chronological order, which are all devoted to a particular historical period. These sections attempt to elaborate on a set of questions intended to cover the main trends and patterns in the evolution of global education. The following questions are brought to the fore:

- What distinguished the particular Swedish school context in which global education evolved and how can it be related to the more general historical context of the period outlined in chapter 4?
- What was stated, with regard to global education, in the written curriculum of the period?
- What was stated, with regard to global education, in the written course syllabus for the subject civics in the period?[63]

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[63] The writings of the civics syllabi are thus used as a single, albeit illustrative, example of the intended curriculum as regards global education. This is due to the fact that civics has historically constituted, and still constitutes, one of the most important modalities for implementing global education in the Swedish school system although the different modes of implementing global education has increased substantially in recent years.

- What kind of content was accentuated in the period?
- How was the accentuation of this content legitimatized?
- In what way did the period bring about a widening of the potential knowledge content repertoire?
- What field of tension, or war of position, did global education convey during the period?
- What kind of organizational arrangements for the implementation of global education distinguished the period?

These five chronological sections are, in turn, subdivided into three parts. The first part briefly introduces the historical context of the period in relation to global education. The second part presents and discusses the evolution of the knowledge content during the period. The third part presents and discusses the period's organizational arrangements for implementation of this knowledge content. The final section of the chapter presents the general findings of the sub-study and point towards the third sub-study, which is presented in chapter 6.

The relevance of the sub-study can be attributed to three main factors. Firstly, there are no previous comprehensive, historical studies on the evolution of global education in Sweden and, accordingly, the study fills an obvious knowledge gap. As indicated in chapter 2, there have been some disparate and delimited texts on the topic, but to my knowledge this is the first comprehensive historical study. However, the sub-study must also be understood in relation to the fundamental didactic research interests of the dissertation, whereby the curriculum is approached as a political problem. (Englund, 1986/2005). Thus, secondly, the study makes a contribution to the curriculum theory branch of Subject Matter Education, by showing that global education is politically contingent, and by pointing to historical conditions and circumstances that contribute to curriculum change. Thirdly, in the same theoretical spirit, the study plays an important part as a backdrop for the third sub-study, presented in chapter 6, which concerns contemporary approaches to global education. Now, in relation to historical research conducted in educational settings, a common topic of debate has been the 'competing purposes' between reconstructions of the past for its own sake versus the employment of historical insights to comprehend and master current challenges in educational practice (Goodson, et al., 1998; McCulloch & Richardson, 2000). In a sense, it could be argued that this chapter sets out to combine these two competing purposes. However, in accordance with the basic didactic research interest that underpins this thesis, the balance point is clearly tilted towards the latter, i.e. this is primarily a didactic dissertation, not a dissertation in educational history.

5.1. Method

As articulated by Englund and Svingby, as well as Marton, research in Subject Matter Education need not be strictly delimited to school subjects but can include other content-oriented aspects of education (Englund & Svingby, 1986; Marton, 1986). Nevertheless, it should be acknowledged that studying global education as a knowledge content, as opposed to e.g. a traditional subject with delimited and defined course syllabi, time-tables, school books, et cetera, is quite a complicated endeavour. As indicated in 3.5.2, a consequence of weak *classification* and weak *framing* is certain difficulties in terms of selection of data. My ways of dealing with these problems has been to employ the operational definition of global education proposed in section 2.4, and to pursue a *multi-method approach* based on a combination of *interviews* and *documentary research* (Cohen, et al., 2007). In recent years, it has been increasingly recognized in the field of educational history that methodological pluralism – and the somewhat unorthodox use of oral sources:

> can greatly extend our historical knowledge and understanding of education (McCulloch & Richardson, 2000, p. 119).

In a similar spirit, I would also subscribe to Rudolph's premonitory remark:

> The best way to misread or misunderstand curriculum is from a catalogue. It is such a lifeless thing. So disembodied, so unconnected, sometimes even intentionally misleading. Because the curriculum is a social artefact, the society itself is a more reliable source of curricular information (Quoted in: Goodson, et al., 1998, p. 17).

5.1.1. Selection of informants

The interview data are based on a *snowball sample* of 15 different informants. Accordingly, I started out by identifying a few individuals who possessed certain characteristics that I found important and these informants, in turn, helped me to identify other relevant informants who, in turn, led me to new ones and so on (Cohen, et al., 2007). The snowball process ended when I was able to perceive a certain degree of saturation in the data. The first interview of the sub-study was conducted in February 2007 and the last interview was conducted in May 2010. The informant characteristics I was looking for were primarily long professional experience of, and participation in, implementation of global education in the Swedish school system, i.e. individuals with extensive experience of teacher in-service training, teacher pre-service training, teaching and thereto related organizational arrangements – all in connection with global education.[64] In fact, as it turned out, most of the informants cross-bordered these different categories

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[64] For example, people formerly (or still) employed at: SIDA/Sida, the National Board of Education, the regional education boards, the in-service training departments, the National Agency for Education, the National Agency for School Improvement, the International Programme Office for Education and Training, Swedish teacher training colleges, Swedish universities, Swedish schools, etc.

and this was probably an advantage. To sum up, the basic logic behind the sample was to select informants with a professional career long enough to be able to identify historical patterns of change as regards global education, and the organizational prerequisites for its implementation, in the Swedish school system.

At least three critical comments could be made on the sampling approach in this sub-study. Firstly, snowball sampling involves the risk of your sample remaining in a very limited group of people who mutually define each other as the most relevant informants whereby alternative perspectives are excluded. There is one obvious problem in the sub-study that might reflect this concern. The study is blatantly gender-biased insofar as 14 of the 15 informants are men. This might be a consequence of the snowball process whereby male informants suggest other informants in male networks. There are a few mitigating circumstances, though, which explain – but by no means make up for – the gender bias. There appears to be a general overrepresentation of men in the category of informants I have been searching for, i.e. elderly persons with long professional experience of implementing global education in the Swedish school system. Moreover, the delimited size of the population that meets the sampling criteria in this case vouches for snowball sampling (Bernard, 1995, p. 97). However, it should be recognized that the snowball procedure brought up the names of a few potential female informants. However, all but one of these potential informants preferred not to participate in the study. In fact, on two occasions, after receiving negative responses I – as a last resort – even used the gender argument when trying to convince these individuals to participate. This argument was recognized as 'noble' by these individuals but it did not make them change their minds. I find it difficult to draw any obvious conclusions about why they did not want to participate or how, and to what extent, the gender biased sample has affected the sub-study. However, it is important that the reader is aware of these shortcomings in terms of representation. Secondly, I have deliberately selected elderly informants with professional experience long enough to be able to pinpoint historical patterns of change over a long period of time. Only one of the 15 informants deviated from this general rule. In accordance with the orthodoxy of source evaluation, the time-factor implies a risk of fading memory, which in turn constitutes a threat to reliability. (Sköldberg, 1991, p. 27; Thurén, 1986, pp. 28-33). On the other hand, Thurén argues that as regards the main features of a historical process – which is my primary concern in this study – as opposed to details, memories recorded long after the events can be very reliable (Thurén, 1986, p. 29). Moreover, it can be argued that the objective of this sub-study offers few alternative options. Thirdly, since global education is formed in a political war of position, issues of political tendency and bias – which in turn could be related to both the sampling procedure and the issue of (selective) memory – must be considered. The multi-method approach and the sample size

are two ways of addressing this problem (Sköldberg, 1991, p. 27f.; Thurén, 1986, p. 37f.).

5.1.2. Interviews

In accordance with the meta-theory and methodology that underpins this dissertation interviews are understood as dynamic processes where the researcher actively contributes to the production of interview data. This is done in dialectical interplay with the informant and through continuous acts of interpretation. Consequently, interview data is a product of interpretation and of social interplay between the researcher and the informant, i.e. not something that the former can neutrally or objectively 'collect' (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2008, 2009; Danermark, et al., 2002). The interviews were *semi-structured* which allowed for structure and continuity while simultaneously offering flexibility and the opportunity to pose open questions, to probe, and to follow leads (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The basic idea was to get the informants to describe historical processes and chains of events on a more general level, while using their own professional career as reference point and as a mean to provide practical examples. Hence, through the informants' accounts, narratives and reflections, both personal biographies and broader historical patterns were sketched. Two basic tools where used during the interview: an interview guide (cf. Appendix A) and a sheet with a simple historical time-line. The zero-point of the timeline was flexible, i.e. it was set at the beginning of each individual informant's career which in turn constituted the starting-point of the interview. The end-point was set at the year of the informant's retirement, or if they were still in service, in 2008. The time-line was used as an instrument to facilitate historical periodization. The periodizations were defined by the informants on the basis of perceived historical changes and shifts as regards global education and the organizational arrangements for implementation. Here it might be worth mentioning that the periodizations suggested by the informants varied somewhat, but that they overall displayed a quite remarkable similarity. Obviously the interview guide and probing was used to dig deeper into the different issues and narratives that came up during the interview. In most cases the interview was closed with an attempt by me to summarize what the informant had said based on my jottings and the constructed time-line. This offered them the opportunity to correct me and to make complementary remarks. The duration of the interviews was long. They varied between 2 and 3.5 hours and they were always audio-recorded.

5.1.3. Documentary data

The documentary data consists of a variety of written material related to global education which has consciously been selected on the basis of chronological and thematic logic. In line with the curriculum theory approach of this dissertation curriculum catalogues, course syllabi, commentary material, curriculum material,

and policy documents have been of interests to me. These sources have further been supplemented with research reports, literature, newspaper articles, et cetera. These categories of written data have deliberately been selected from different periods in time with the intention to unveil characteristics of different historical periods and historical patterns of change. However, it is important to point out that data production largely evolved in a dynamic interplay between interviews and written material. Sometimes readings of documentary data informed the interviews, but just as often informants suggested new reading whereby the interview led me to new written sources. Often in historical research methodological discussions are preoccupied with issues concerning authenticity and accuracy of written data. However, in this study I would argue that problems are not so much related to the written data itself, but rather the challenge lies in appropriate interpretation and analysis of this data (Cohen, et al., 2007, pp. 193-197). Again, I would argue that the multi-method approach somewhat facilitates the hermeneutic exercise in this study and thus constitute one way of counterbalancing these difficulties. Further I view the intellectual historical contextualization(s) offered in chapter 4 to be of great importance.

5.1.4. Analysis

The meta-theoretical departure-points of this dissertation suggest that knowledge of the world is always conceptually mediated and theory-laden (cf. 1.4). Consequently it is impossible to write 'objective' history. However, recognizing that historiography is theoretically informed is not synonymous to it being theory-determined. All knowledge is fallible and open to adjustment, but it is still possible to analyze, theorize and reconstruct historical data into historical patterns which are more or less like the historical reality that the researcher attempts to capture. In the case of this sub-study such a historical pattern has emerged as a product of abductive data-theory-interplay. However, at the same time it is important to be sensitive to the fact that the pattern is theoretically informed and that it brings certain aspects of history to the foreground, whereas others remain in the background or are entirely missing. The interview data has been approached as historical accounts and through the process of analysis I have reconstructed a more comprehensive historical pattern based on both interview and documentary data. Hence, the outcome is not an objective history but a methodologically well-founded, theoretically informed, reconstruction of historical reality. This reconstruction should mainly be understood in the context of the didactic project of which it forms part.

The analysis was basically conducted in a five-step process.[65] The first step was to summarize the interviews. As soon as possible after an interview (normally

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[65] This description is somewhat simplified bearing in mind that the analysis of interview data and documentary data evolved both in parallel and in mutual interplay. However, in broad terms I think this section gives a fair description of the process.

within a week) I listened through the audio recording – using the time-line and jottings as points of reference – and wrote an interpreted and structured summary of the interview with particular focus on the historical periods, processes, events, continuities and changes identified by the informant. The scope of these interview summaries varied, but they were generally between 5 and 15 pages long. Thereafter the written interview summary was sent to the informants, whereby he/she was given the opportunity to correct or supplement the findings from the interview. This in accordance with the logic of *respondent validation* (Cohen, et al., 2007). Most informants got back to me with comments which I feel improved the quality of the summaries.[66] The second step, which took place at a much later point in time, closer to the actual writing up of the chapter, was to read through the written interview summaries and listen through the recordings a second time. Here the written summaries served as a kind of 'orientation tool' which helped me to find the recorded sections that seemed particularly interesting. In this process I was able to identify quotes and passages in the interviews that captured accounts, narratives or reflections of central importance. This process was largely marked by abductive data-theory interplay, i.e. a particular quote or passage could be defined as interesting either because it illustrated a theoretical argument or because it pointed to something new that required contemplation and theoretical elaboration. It should further be underscored that the interview quotes were translated from Swedish into English and in this process they were subject to a certain aesthetic modification in so far that stammering, interruptions, overlapping utterances, et cetera, were overlooked. However, this did not compromise the informants' arguments as such. The third step was to organize these central quotes and passages chronologically (i.e. in accordance with the periodizations defined by the informants) and thematically, whereby a kind of historical pattern, or grid, with different quotes and accounts emerged and was printed out. In the fourth step central quotes and passages in the documentary data were organized into a similar grid in accordance with chronological (mainly from the departure point of the written curriculums) and thematic logic. Here the abductive process was also of importance. The fifth step was to compare these 15 interview grids internally and against the documentary data grid, and to synthesize them, in abductive interplay with theory, into a greater and more comprehensive historical pattern, a pattern which in turn constituted the foundation for the historical outline (cf. 5.2-5.6). It should be noted that there was a certain discrepancy here in so far that certain informants had a longer career than others. Accordingly, some interview grids covered more periods than others. However, this did not prevent a greater historical pattern from emerging. In this step I also made a final decision on exact periodizations based on a combination

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[66] In many cases I contacted the informants several times after the respondent validation for further follow-up questions and clarifications. On several occasions informants also contacted me in matters related to our conversation, sometimes more than a year after the interview.

of the different informants' periodizations and what seemed logical from the departure-point of the documentary data.

5.1.5. Period of investigation

As indicated in chapter 4 periodization is never *innocent* (cf. 4.1). In this historiography the narrative starts in the year 1962 and it ends in 2008. Year 1962 is a logical point of departure for several reasons. Firstly, a new curriculum – Lgr 62 – was introduced, which in turn coincided with the parliamentary decision to implement the new Swedish nine year compulsory school. In this sense it could be argued that 1962 represents a new beginning in Swedish educational history. Secondly, as indicated in 4.3.1, the Government Bill 1962:100, known as the Swedish 'Bible' of development cooperation, was adopted by the Swedish Parliament which resulted in the establishment of the first national body for development assistance *Nämnden för internationellt bistånd* (NIB) (My transl. *The Board for International Aid*). As will be evident, the chapter will argue that Swedish development assistance has played, and still plays, an important role in the evolution of global education in Sweden. Thirdly, which only reaffirms the above, the chapter will argue that it is in the early 1960s that the first steps to implement global education was taken, although momentum was not gained until the end of the decade (cf. 5.2. and 5.3). Fourthly, it is difficult to find informants with profound professional experience of implementation of global education prior to the 1960s. As regards the end of the period of investigation, i.e. 2008, this was chosen on the simple basis that I, due to the obvious links between chapters 4 and 5, wanted a common end-point for the chapters. The total period of investigation has been sub-divided into five specific periods. Each section attempts to capture some of the characteristic shifts and accentuations of the entire period which, in turn, justifies the periodical subdivision.

5.2. Development education and the foundation phase 1962–1968

Even though several examples of international content, perspectives and contacts could be detected in Swedish schools prior to the 1960s it is still fair to suggest that global education as it is known today is foremost to be traced to processes and events in this decade. As chapter 4 pointed out this decade was characterized by decolonization, an expanding international donor community and a portentous development optimism which justified the designation the *heyday of modernization*. As indicated above, year 1962 could in several respects be viewed as a symbolic and functional point of departure in the trajectory of global education in Sweden. In this year the Swedish Parliament adopted a Government Bill (Prop 1962:100) in which the basic principles development aid were outlined, and this resulted in the establishment of the first Swedish national body

for development assistance: NIB. Three years later, in 1965, this body was replaced by SIDA. Of great importance in this context is that the Swedish Parliament's instruction to SIDA entailed a broadly defined *information mandate* according to which SIDA was commissioned to:

> disseminate information of Swedish development assistance and, in connection to this, of the problems of underdeveloped countries and areas (Kungl Maj:ts instruktion nr 666, 1965, 3 §) (My transl.).

The 'double-edged' character of the information mandate should be underscored, i.e. SIDA should disseminate both general information about the situation in the developing countries *and* information on Sweden's development contributions. Now, as will be evident, this information mandate has played a crucial role for the establishment and the evolution of global education in Sweden.[67] It should further be pointed out that SIDA identified four major target group in the implementation of the information mandate: the school system, scientific research, NGOs and the media (SOU 1977:73). For obvious reasons this sub-study is devoted, and delimited, to SIDA's work towards the school system.[68] The year 1962 further serves as a functional point of departure since it brought about the inception the new Swedish nine year compulsory school and a new written curriculum called *Lgr 62*. The next section will start with a few comments on some of its statements in relation to global education

5.2.1. Content in the period

The *Goals and Guidelines* of Lgr 62 emphasizes the importance of transmitting knowledge on international issues in order to promote international understanding and cooperation (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1962, p. 18). However, somewhat contradictory in the light of this statement and bearing in mind the extensive length of the document, the general writings as regards international issues are not very elaborated. Turning to the civics syllabus, which is attached to the general curriculum document, the writings are stronger and more precise. The civics syllabus articulates that a comparatively large part should be devoted to:

> international cooperation and the problems of foreign countries (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1962, p. 251).

The basic idea was to promote orientation and interest at the lower stages and gradually move towards wide and deep understanding of the state of the world

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[67] It might be fair to point out that information on the situation in the developing countries had in fact disseminated in Sweden since the beginning of the 1950s. In this preliminary stage of Swedish development aid, national advocacy was one of the main objectives, and a large group of NGOs and churches were engaged in these activities within the framework of *Centralkommittéen för tekniskt bistånd* (CK) (cf. 4.2.1) (SOU 1977:73).

[68] In this thesis the university arena is *not* regarded as a part of the formal school system. The study is delimited in this respect, although it should be recognised that SIDA's working team for the school in fact cooperated with the universities. However, the limitation is partly inconsistent since the authority of teacher training colleges was transferred from the National Board of Education (NBE) to the University Chancellor Office in 1977.

and international cooperation in grade 9. Comparisons between Swedish and foreign conditions are particularly encouraged, as is the use of statistical data and figures (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1962, pp. 242-262). Three years later, in 1965, a written curriculum for the upper secondary school, *Lgy 65*, was adopted which supplemented Lgr 62. Lgy 65 sets the aim to develop and deepen the international orientation provided in the compulsory school and thus, in a similar way, the section *Goals and Guidelines* points towards the importance of gaining knowledge of political, social and economic conditions in other countries, particularly in the so called developing countries. The document also stresses that secondary school education should promote understanding of both similarities and differences as regards cultural values and practices between countries (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1965, pp. 15-16). Further, using the writings on civics as a single case in point, the attached *civics* syllabus in Lgr 65 is subdivided into quite detailed sections, most of which entail an international dimension, e.g. the threat of overpopulation; international trade, security policy in the bipolar world order; and, developing countries and development assistance (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1965, pp. 226-247).

In this period, marked by decolonization and emerging development cooperation, global education became largely devoted to developing countries and development assistance. Issues related to Europe and the Nordic countries were on the other hand often overlooked. This is not to say that global education was solely devoted to these topics – as indicated above weak classification and framing opens up a range of possibilities – but that this content was accentuated in the period. Solidarity with poor people and the former colonies appears to have been the main motivation behind this curriculum accentuation. However, despite this noble cause and the aspiring intentions concerning global issues in the prescriptive curriculum, the implemented content appears to have been quite meagre and parochial. The following quotes are illuminative:

> Teaching was largely focused on comparisons between Sweden and developing countries, e.g. number of radios, number of nurses, GDP per capita et cetera. We were basically engaged in statistic and anaemic teaching pointing out the differences between *us* and *them*. We seldom or never started from the micro level and since the macro perspective was predominant it became virtually impossible for pupils to identify themselves with the problems. People were practically absent in our teaching. […] Development was synonymous to *them* becoming like *us*. The prescribed solution in our teaching was basically to inject capital through development assistance and to put the brakes on population growth via family planning. The problem analysis boiled down to *too much people and too little money* (Int. 12).

> The sixties was mainly a conservative period. Our university courses and teacher training had been rather oblivious and entailed no radical perspectives what so ever as regards colonialism, imperialism and the asymmetric relationship between the North and the South. These shortcomings were reflected in our own work as teachers. In our

history teaching very little critique of the colonial project and more contemporary super power politics was forwarded. […] In the civics teaching population growth was identified as the key obstacle to development. Thus teaching was to a large extent characterized by a Malthusian concerns. Threats of an upcoming global food crisis due to the population explosion were emphasized. However, consumption patterns in the rich parts of the world and the pressure that these put on the earth's resources on were completely ignored. There was further a strong notion that *they* must become like *us*, that is that the developing countries should follow *our* track and become modernized (Int. 11).

In our teaching about the Third World and development assistance in the 1960s it was apparent that *we* should help *them* and that *we* had the necessary knowledge to solve *their* problems. In a sense I think there might be parallel between this notion and our approach towards our own pupils, i.e. that *we*, the teachers, knew exactly what the pupils needed and should teach *them* this (Int. 2).

Apparently global education in the early and mid-1960s to a large extent reflected the dominant development discourse of the time, epitomized by Rostowian reasoning and Malthusian concerns, on economic growth, modernization, population control and development assistance (cf. 4.3). The problem-oriented character of global education is quite obvious since poverty and overpopulation were treated as urgent difficulties that needed to be solved. Hence the pupils had to be infused with knowledge of these serious issues. Moreover:

The threat posed by population growth comprised a dramaturgical power which made it quite rewarding for teachers to deal with it in global education (Int. 11).

Hence it seems as if, on the one hand, the perceived apocalyptical state of affairs facilitated teaching on global issues. On the other hand a contrary effect might also be discerned:

There is a certain paradox here. At the end of the day global education revolves around issues of global survival. These issues are viewed as very important by some teachers which, in turn, contribute to their strong curricular impact. On the other hand some teachers are also reluctant to deal with these issues precisely because they are viewed as intimidating and dangerous (Int. 1).

The later line of argument has for example been stressed by Kemp who argues fiercely, with reference to the Danish context, that most teachers lack the courage and integrity to deal with these important issues (Kemp, 2005). Nevertheless, it can very well be argued that global education has often been associated with, and legitimated on the very basis of, different threats during different historical periods. Thus, what can be noted as regards global education in the period is a tension between, on the one hand, a strong belief in the blessings of economic growth and modernization and the possibilities of development assistance to deliver in this regard, *and* on the other hand, a quite

doomsday tinged notion of the threats of overpopulation. In the process of pondering aspects of global education in 1960s some brief comparisons with Englund's work might be illuminative. According to Englund *Lgr 62/Lgy 65*, as well as the implemented curriculum of the 1960s, were permeated by a scientific-rational conception (cf. 3.4.3). Within this rationality:

> the existing course of social development was taken for granted and assumed to be of value per se. Though problems were also examined to some extent, citizenship education was undeniably designed in such a way as to transmit the value base of social developments already taking place (Englund, 1986/2005, p. 310).

Accordingly, within the scientific-rational conception the development path of modernization is taken for granted, whereas issues of power, conflict, and attempts to make the content of teaching more politicized and open for debate, are downplayed. As regards teaching Englund continues:

> A kind of objectivism rooted in a system of separate subjects, perpetuated by teaching materials, has formed the basis of schools' transmission of 'facts' (Englund, 1986/2005, p. 312).

In my understanding global education in the 1960s, as described by the informants above, fits extremely well with Englund's notion of the scientific-rational conception, i.e. a one-sided portrait of the developing countries largely backed up by statistical comparisons.

Now, the potential knowledge content repertoire of global education in the 1960s was delimited. Accordingly the selection of content and the argument by which this selection could be legitimatized was normally viewed as unproblematic. Global education was simply framed by one hegemonic, more or less unchallenged, mainstream development discourse oriented towards transforming so called *backwards* and overpopulated areas through economic growth and modernization. This denotes that few critical voices were heard and that global education had not yet fully evolved into a field of tension between different social forces.

5.2.2. Organizational arrangements in the period

In the 1960s the first steps were taken towards an organizational apparatus for the implementation of global education in Sweden. In a somewhat paradoxical way it would evolve into a quite centralized and hierarchical structure in which key roles in terms of prescription and consultation were played by the central authorities SIDA and the NBE, yet, at the same time, the system would also to a large extent become based on networks and voluntary work. In a sense SIDA themselves later recognized this contradiction, arguing that they functioned as both enforcer and collaborator towards the school system (SOU 1977:73, p. 123). The organizational set-up and objectives could be described in the

following way. Beginning with SIDA, this body was initially organized in three sections. One section for technical and humanitarian assistance; one section for financial assistance; and, one section for economic, administrative, personnel, information and scholarship issues. The last section was subdivided into three bureaus and an information unit.[69] This information unit was responsible for executing the *information mandate* and thus disseminate information in schools and other societal institutions (Kungl Maj:ts instruktion nr 666, 1965). Bo Kärre became head of the information unit and was to hold this position for almost two decades. The information unit was organized in different working teams. One of these working teams focused on information cooperation with the school. It was initially composed of one full-time administrator, Rolf Gullstrand, with a background as teacher and in-service consultant. Gullstrand was dedicated to global education and a strong promoter of SIDA's commitment towards the school. This advocacy must be understood in relation to an initial debate within SIDA. From the beginning it was in fact disputed whether SIDA should address the Swedish school system or not:

> Some people within the organization raised the question whether it was really SIDA's duty to work towards schools and engage in global education. They found it more reasonable that the school system itself should manage this. Nevertheless, the supporters of this opinion were voted down. In this context it is important to recognize that Sweden was very different during the initial period of SIDA's information work. Sweden was not a part of the global world to the same extent as it is today… SIDA was one of the few institutions in Sweden at this time that had strong international contacts and profound knowledge in international issues. […] The intention of the broad based information mandate was not primarily to market Swedish development assistance, but to inform about the developing countries and the international dimension. From this vantage point a long-term engagement towards the Swedish school system seemed reasonable. […] It was obvious however that SIDA had to cooperate with the NBE in this venture (Int. 3).

> SIDA was the institution that possessed the best available knowledge about the situation in the developing countries. The staff had wide international contact nets. Therefore it was logical that the information mandate was commissioned to SIDA. One has to keep in mind that information was not available to the same extent as it is today, e.g. via internet. The information mandate has all along entailed two dimensions. A general mission to disseminate information about the developing countries' situation and developing problems *and* a narrower mission to inform about Swedish development assistance and legitimize it. Often, however, these two dimensions amalgamated. […] SIDA's information unit initiated cooperation with NBE and the University Chancellor Office (Int. 6).

Thus, it soon became clear that SIDA's information unit, and particularly the working team for cooperation with the school, were to execute the information mandate towards the school and accordingly engage in global education. Three

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[69] In the 1970s this information *unit* was transformed into an information *bureau*.

things were realized immediately. Firstly, although the Swedish pupils constituted the fundamental target group, SIDA lacked the capacity to work directly towards the pupils. Instead the teachers became SIDA's main target group. These, in turn, were from the beginning primarily to be reached *via* in-service and pre-service trainers. The logic of this capacity building effort reflected a quite hierarchical cascade model.[70] Secondly, that SIDA had to promote production and dissemination of information material and teaching material about developing countries, development assistance and other international issues to schools and teachers. Information and teaching material was short in supply at this time and SIDA played a crucial role in filling this gap:

> SIDA has played an extremely important role as material producer. A lot of material of different character has been produced. However, there were basically two forms of productions. On the one hand we had what we might call SIDA-material, on the other hand we had what we might call SIDA-supported material. […] SIDA produced some material of its own, for example popularized versions of government bills or information about the different countries that SIDA was conducting development cooperation with… SIDA even had its own printing office in the basement. But most of the material production was delegated to people and organizations outside SIDA. […] The SIDA-supported material included for example publication by journalists and authors who had applied for, and received, scholarships for material production. A lot of material was also produced by NGOs. […] The material was normally distributed free of charge. Schools could simply contact SIDA and receive the material for free (Int. 14).

The information unit initiated different processes that would generate huge volumes of printed material and audio- and visual material. Some of it was produced internally by SIDA staff but most of it was SIDA-supported productions carried out by external actors, including NGOs – such as the Karibu associations, the United Nations Association Sweden, the Workers Educational Association in Sweden, the Africa Groups of Sweden et cetera – but also individual journalists and authors often in cooperation with commercial publishers and the Swedish Radio. The material was normally distributed for free, partly via NBE's more formal structure and partly via the more flexible networks structures. However, although celebrated by many, the attitude towards this material production was not unanimously positive which in turn portends the upcoming changes in the 1990s (cf. 5.5):

> Material was produced in abundance. Far too much material was produced and in some way the production became a measure of performance. There was an enormous breadth in the production but no clear structure or idea behind it. The work that was being done was very much characterized by ad hoc. […] To the extent that there really was a

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[70] It might be important to add that this logic has characterized all of SIDA's information work. SIDA could not reach out to the general public directly. Instead the whole system was based on various *information transmitters* (vidareinformatörer), e.g. elected representatives of NGOs, teachers, journalists, authors and so forth (SOU 1977:73, p. 30).

craving for material this came from a quite limited group of people. The craving was not a general popular phenomenon but came from certain group. For example people engaged in the Vietnam movement, the Latin America discussion and so on. […] There was further a huge gap between how the material was understood by people at SIDA and by the common man. […] SIDA was an elite organization and did not realize that these issues were of quite delimited interest to most people (Int. 13).

Thirdly, that SIDA had to cooperate with NBE in these endeavours and make use of the administrative structure of the school system. SIDA would provide most of the funding and subject expertise whereas NBE contributed with an organizational structure and channels for implementation. This brings us to the issue of NBE.

A brief background to the organization of NBE is mandatory if one is to understand organizational arrangements for implementing Global Education. The NBE had been established in 1920 with the mission to execute leadership, supervision and pedagogic reform work of the Swedish school system.[71] It had the characteristics of a 'classical' central administrative body with a *director general* as head and an organization divided into different departments which in turn were subdivided into different bureaus. The staff included the following types of officials: *school counsellors* (skolråd), *education counsellors* (undervisningsråd) and *subject* and *in-service consultants* (ämnes- och fortbildningskonsulenter). The subject and in-service consultants, i.e. teacher in-service trainers, normally worked half-time as teachers and half-time as in-service trainers. In 1958 the NBE was complemented with 24 subordinated *regional education boards* (länsskolenämnder) which executed supervision, distributed government grants and appointed teachers, principals and subject and in-service consultants within their respective region. At the same time six *in-service training institutes* (fortbildningsinstitut) were established in different locations in Sweden (Gothenburg, Malmö, Linköping, Stockholm, Umeå and Uppsala). A few years later these were administratively transformed into *in-service training departments* within the teacher training colleges at these particular locations, albeit with a high degree of independence from them.[72] Now, each in-service training department held national responsibility for in-service training and implementation of curriculum reforms in different subject groups. Accordingly they arranged – on a national level – vacation courses for in-service trainers, pre-service trainers and teachers. Information and teaching material production and dissemination was another important task. The in-service training department in Umeå – charged by *Head of in-service department* (fortbildningsledare) Stig Löfqvist from the beginning until the middle of the 1980s – held national responsibility for the social studies subjects and

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[71] The predecessors were the *National Board of Grammar School* (Läroverksöverstyrelsen) installed in 1905 and the *National Board of Elementary School* (Folkskoleöverstyrelsen) incepted in 1914. In 1920 these institutions were merged into the NBE with central authority of the entire school system (Marklund, 1998).

[72] Although the in-service departments were also supposed to function as a bridge between ongoing school research at the pedagogic institutions and in-service training of teachers (Skolverket, 1992, p. 5).

internationalization. Consequently, the in-service department in Umeå became a particularly important collaborator of SIDA and was to play a crucial role in the process of implementing global education in the Swedish school system. Initially, mainly through cooperation as regards vacation courses on, and production and dissemination of teaching material on, developing countries, development assistance and other international issues. A glimpse at the literature on in-service training points out that the 1960s was marked by increasing government investment in in-service training *and* a simultaneous centralization whereby NBE – via the in-service department and subject- and in-service consultants – strengthened their authority over the school system (Linnell, 1994; Skolverket, 1992). The following quote regarding the vacation courses partly accepts and partly opposes such a conclusion:

> The vacation courses were the most important activity of the in-service departments. On a national level we gathered teachers, in-service trainers and pre-service trainers. […] The courses were about a week long and located in conference centres. Lectures and work-shops dominated the agenda. The central government paid for all expenses. As regards content, the in-service department normally decided on a general theme or headline. However this theme had to be approved by the central office of NBE, not least since they were supplying the funds. However, regarding the actual design and content of the course this was normally delegated to the course leader and lecturers, e.g. staff at SIDA. Hence, this was not decided on the central level. Consequently the in-service department had not control of the entire process. The activities were based on delegation (Int. 8).

However, in connection to these vacation courses, SIDA and the in-service department in Umeå started to build up a network structure composed of individuals particularly interested in development issues and global education, who frequently took vacation courses and in other ways educated themselves. SIDA was basically trying to gather key persons, or if you wish, enthusiasts within the school system. This emerging network structure would continue to play an important role in the implementation process later on. Hence, as indicated above, what can be noted is in fact a kind of combination of a centralized and hierarchical structure *and* a system based on networks and voluntariness. The latter – 'softer' – implementation of SIDA's information mandate has been extremely important.

Basically, all informants maintain that the cooperation between the two authorities SIDA and NBE concerning the implementation of global education in the school system worked well and that the relationship was largely frictionless. Three illustrative quotes:

> My opinion is that the cooperation between SIDA and NBE worked well from the very beginning. I think the NBE both recognized the importance of internationalization and realized that they themselves did not possess the necessary competence in these issues. Consequently cooperation came naturally. One must remember that international issues

were à la mode. Moreover, which must not be forgotten, there was a parliamentary decision to disseminate information about the developing world in the Swedish school. It was probably not insignificant for SIDA to be backed up by a parliamentary mandate in their meetings with NBE (Int. 6).

Beyond any doubt SIDA and NBE have been the major actors. I think the process was facilitated by the fact that SIDA had an obvious counterpart to collaborate with. Moreover, a strong government authority, that is a counterpart with power (Int. 3).

The collaboration between NBE and SIDA functioned very well. Both authorities had a mutual need of each other. International issues were part of the curriculum. Hence, NBE needed SIDA since this authority had profound knowledge about the developing countries and general competence in international affairs. SIDA on the other hand had a commissioned information mandate and needed to find ways to reach out to society. The NBE's structure with a central authority with regional and local sub-levels provided excellent distribution channels for SIDA's message to the school (Int. 2).

In sum the 1960's can be viewed as the foundation phase as regards the organizational arrangements for implementing global education. This in turn must be viewed as a product of SIDA's information mandate and the cooperation that emerged between SIDA and the NBE. Within the respective authorities, SIDA's information unit and the working team for the school, and NBE's in-service department in Umeå, were particularly important.

5.3. Development education(s), expansion and politicization 1968–1980

Towards the end of the 1960s a more politicized and critical, yet more consolidated and expansive, period in the Swedish history of global education was initiated. The years 1968/1969 marks the beginning of a new turbulent and dynamic era which ends around 1980. On a general societal and intellectual level, as indicated in chapter 4, this period was marked by e.g. the 1968 student revolts; the Vietnam war; the liberation struggle in southern Africa; the *coup d'état* in Chile; the emergence of new social movements; intellectual criticism of modernization theory from both *dependency theory* and various representatives visioning *'another' development*; the *limits to growth*-debate; demands from the South of a NIEO; and the oil crisis. As regards the organizational arrangements for implementation of global education the following can be noted. Firstly, the 1 per cent target for Swedish development assistance was adopted by the Swedish parliament in 1968. Secondly, a new written curriculum, *Lgr 69,* was introduced in 1969. Thirdly, the first pioneering *SIDA/NBE's developing country seminar* (SIDA/SÖ:s u-landsseminarium) was carried out in 1968. All of this points towards a certain contextual shift.

5.3.1. Content in the period

In 1969 a new written curriculum for the compulsory school, *Lgr 69*, was introduced, and one year later it was followed by its equivalent for the upper secondary school, *Lgy 70*. Lgr 69 encompasses stronger and more elaborated writings as regards global education compared to its predecessor. The very first page of the curriculum document – under the heading *Goals and Guidelines* – articulates that the pupil is part of a wider international community and that she/he must be prepared for cooperation and solidarity between people. Further, the *General Instructions* encompasses a comparatively large section devoted to *International issues* according to which all pupils should be infused with international understanding and the will to international cooperation. The section recognizes the increasing occurrence of international impressions throughout Swedish society (e.g. via media and immigration) and states that teaching on international issues should relate to these; be connected to the pupils' reality; be gradually widened, deepened and become more analytical and critical. Subject integration is also encouraged. The situation in the developing countries and the unequal global distribution of resources are underscored. Various perspectives, e.g. perspectives from the South, is to be incorporated in the teaching on international issues (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969a, pp. 48-49). Somewhat surprising a glance at the civics syllabi points towards a more conservative transmission of facts on differences between Sweden and other countries and orientation in the work of international organizations (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969b, pp. 182-183). In this context it could be worth mentioning that Englund argues that Lgr 69 articulates contradictions between curriculum and syllabi (Englund, 1986/2005, p. 272). Moving to Lgy 70 the writings are not as elaborated as in Lgr 69. However, the section *Goals and Guidelines* states that the upper secondary school should develop, strengthen, and deepen, the international orientation provided by the compulsory school. International cooperation, solidarity and understanding of cultural differences are mentioned. It is further explicitly announced that international orientation is not solely a social studies affair but should, as far as possible, permeate all subjects (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1970a, p. 13). The civics syllabus starts with a head line entitled *The International Community*. Accordingly, international issues and international perspectives are brought to the forefront of civics. Likewise Lgy 65 the civics syllabus is subdivided in quite detailed sections. The international dimension is encouraged to permeate all aspects of civics but still a single section entitled *International issues* is introduced. Further it can be noted that the problem of overpopulation is still emphasized, as is issues on international migration, international trade, international organizations, environmental issues and the problems of the developing countries (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1970b, pp. 183-192). In sum, it can be argued that both Lgr 69 and Lgy 70 indicate a stronger position for global education in the curriculum as compared to the previous curriculum

documents. In this context it could also be mentioned that SIDA concluded in their 1971 four-year plan that the new curriculums not only provided:

> a solid space for international issues, but above all elevates internationalization as a general principle (Quoted in: SOU 1977:73, p. 121) (My transl.).

By the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s the global education discourse became more politicized and diversified. In this period, as in the previous one, global education remained predominately devoted to the situation of the developing countries. However, although many teachers conducted 'business as usual', more critical voices were also raised whereby the hegemonic Rostowian thinking and Malthusian concerns of the 1960s became challenged. Thus, an additional – challenging – curriculum accentuation can be detected. This accentuation was framed by the critical post-1968 notions of society and largely influenced by dependency theory and Third World demands of NIEO.[73] The new accentuation of global education emphasized exploitation and powerlessness as the main problems as opposed to backwardness and overpopulation.

The new accentuation, like the previous one, was legitimatized on the basis of solidarity. However, it has been argued that this 'new' solidarity was based on a notion of justice rather than pity. In this context it should be recognized that the problem-oriented character of global education prevailed, although diagnoses differed, i.e. backwardness and overpopulation *versus* dependency and powerlessness. Further, attempts were made to invigorate teaching by relating to actual or fictional individuals' experience of poverty and thus merge macro- and micro-discussions. SIDA's information bureau took this didactic objective very seriously, not least as regards production of teaching material. For example, it is stated in a 1976 memorandum that:

> Pupils must be given a chance to identify and develop feelings of empathy through a greater curricular use of micro-studies focusing on individuals, families or villages. Such emphasis, followed up by a gradual shift to the national and, where appropriate, the global level, serves to maintain the foundation of the subject in a comprehensible, concrete reality. Meanwhile, the risk that the developing countries and their problems are treated in isolation from the rest of the world is reduced. There is always a person, a family or a village behind the generalized images on national and global level… In order to achieve this ideal, use of case-studies in the curricula must be increased. The social anthropological method of studying societies from within and from the 'grass-roots' level should characterize much of this teaching. In other words, future selection of materials and formulations of problem of study must be better related to the overall goals of internationalizing education (I. Andersson & Sundgren, 1976, p. 9).

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[73] It was argued in chapter 4 that the ideas of the NIEO were largely incompatible with the ideas of the dependency theory. However, the average Swedish teacher does not seem to have penetrated this debate enough to be able to identify these contradictions. Accordingly dependency thinking and NIEO were somehow mistaken for integrated and coherent lines of reasoning (cf. 4.4).

Finally, environmental problems emerged as content with an obvious global dimension. Initially it was mainly a phenomenon of the science subjects (Björneloo, 2007; Östman, 1995), although attempts were made to incorporate the issues in social subjects as well. The following informant quotes capture some of the changes of the period:

> The content of our teaching started to change. What we had previously described as developing countries started to be portrayed and discussed more in terms of exploited countries. The basic notion that *they* should become like *us* was also questioned. Instead of using the industrialized countries as a blueprint we started to talk about 'development on their own terms'. Besides, in this period, SIDA also coined the concept 'aid on the recipient's terms'. The unequal distribution of power in the world was also discussed and we argued that the developing countries' dependency towards the industrialized countries had to be reduced. Thus, the analysis *too much people and too little money* was replaced by an analysis which focused the unequal power distribution in the world. Accordingly the external causes of the poverty in the South were highlighted. The developing countries' demand of a New International Economic Order became important in this context. These demands were emphasized in our teaching. They could be summarized in 10 points and they became prevalent in books, overhead slides and other teaching material. […] We also started to realize that, in order to engage students, we had to bring the micro level into focus, and above all, link micro and macro. The teaching material that was produced in this time often strived to start from the micro level, e.g. a family's or a village's conditions of life and then link this to the macro level or World Order, et cetera (Int. 12).

> Among the more progressive teachers the didactic *what?*-question became more oriented towards colonialism and imperialism, that is a critique of the West and the prevailing World Order. We can note that the Malthusian concerns that had marked the 1960s became replaced by the reasoning of the dependency school and centre-periphery theory. However, I would argue, that the notion that *they* should become like *us* was still very vivid and this axiom held a strong position even among many radical teachers. In this sense there was an ethnocentric tendency among many radicals as well. […] Obviously, the content of teaching changes over time but it is also important to recognize the inert character of the schools system. Some teachers are much more change-oriented than others. In this sense the school could be understood as a battlefield between more progressive and more traditionalistic teachers. Tradition is often stronger than radicalism (Int. 11).

> In the 1970s the internal debate on development assistance changed. *Aid on the recipient's terms* became the new doctrine. One was now supposed to listen to the wishes and needs of the people in the developing world. These changes influenced global education in many ways. For one thing one started to recognize the importance of listening to the pupils and involve them in the selection of themes. How to organize global education in order to reach out to the pupils became more thoroughly discussed. […] We also moved from a pitying-perspective to recognition of the people in the developing countries and their strength. Attitudes and outlook on people became important parts of global education. Moreover, to problematize that there are different values and that *our* values are not necessarily better. In many ways I think that value transformation was regarded as more important than knowledge transmission in the 1970s (Int. 2).

In a similar way SIDA applied a more insightful approach and acknowledged in their 1968 long-term plan that dissemination of facts were insufficient:

> It is crucial to stimulate information that, besides singular facts, present different interpretations of these facts and recognize the complicated nature of societal development and development assistance, and, our limited knowledge of these processes (Quoted in: SOU 1977:73, p. 12) (My transl.).

Obviously global education seems to have been substantially influenced by the intellectual climate – and the widening potential repertoire – of the period (cf. 4.4.). This, in turn, implied a widening of the potential knowledge content repertoire. All of a sudden two substantially different perspectives on the problems behind, and the solutions to, the poverty in the Third World could be applied in global education. Moreover, the recognition of environmental problems further contributed to a broadening of the potential knowledge content repertoire. This denotes that global education became – at least potentially – more complex, problematic and challenging compared to the previous period. In connection to this content diversification a tension, or war of position, can further be noted between *reproductive* forces, struggling to maintain the existing – in this case international – social order and *progressive* forces, struggling to challenge the existing international social order and strengthen the position of subordinate countries (cf. 3.4.2). The more reproductive forces tended to emphasize backwardness, overpopulation and the modernist notion that 'they' should become like 'us'. Hence, there was no need to pursue any radical changes of the existing world order. The developing countries should simply follow 'our' recipe and everything would eventually turn out fine. The more progressive forces on the other hand emphasized exploitation, powerlessness and 'development on their terms'. The exploitive structures of the world had to be changed, and exposing this state of affairs through more radical teaching was viewed as an initial step in such a process. What this illustrates is that the curriculum constitutes a field of tension between different intellectual forces, although it is important to recognize the inert character of the school system. Thus, with reference to Gramsci, it is reasonable to talk about a prolonged and 'entrenched' battle. In this highly politicized era these adversities between parties could be quite concrete. The following quote is interesting:

> There were often quite polarized groups in the schools. Some teachers, often with connections to different solidarity movements e.g. the Vietnam movement, showed a strong solidarity pathos and great interest in international issues, whereas other, likewise interested teachers had a quite different approach to these issues. The former group often used certain pedagogic expressions based on progressive ideas and emotional manifestations which deterred the latter group. I think this polarization has been very counter-productive to the possibilities of raising these issues in the school. It has generated a kind of isolation phenomenon. For example I remember that I as a teacher was questioned by a principal for wearing an Amnesty International badge at work.

Rotary badges, however, was not questioned by the same principal and I think this is quite illustrative of the communication problem we experienced (Int. 7).

In this context an important remark has to be made that will be important for my upcoming arguments. In my interpretation, which I believe differs from opinion of the informant on this particular issue, it was not the political polarization *as such* that constituted the problem. Quite the contrary, since global development issues are highly political. The problem seems *rather* to have been the teachers and headmasters inability to deal with this political polarization in a constructive pedagogical way. Nevertheless, in line with the quote from interview 11 above, it is also important to acknowledge complexity and ambiguity of the state of affairs. The curriculum tensions must not simply be understood as, or boiled down to, two heterogeneous competing groups of teachers. Obviously, the so-called progressive teachers could display quite ethnocentric notions of 'the other', likewise more conservative teachers could carry strong sentiments of solidarity with the miserable of the world. Hence, the intellectual tensions of the period must be recognized. This fact, and the fact that it is a gross simplification to view developing countries – whether in the singular or in the plural – as monoliths with a common interest, points to the difficulty of simple definitions of reproductive and progressive forces (cf. 3.4.5). Finally, another brief comparison with Englund's conceptions might be useful. Englund argues that the hegemonic scientific-rational conception was challenged – although never replaced – towards the end of the 1960s by a democratic conception. This contesting rationality argued that societal development must not be taken for granted, nor viewed as harmonious or linear. Rather the curriculum should recognize and acknowledge that there are political and ideological differences, competing value-systems and inherent conflict patterns throughout society. Pupils must understand this and learn to identify different perspectives in order to be able to engage in an open debate. (Englund, 1986/2005) In my view the progressive challenges of the previously predominant reproductive perspective in global education have an obvious bearing on Englund's argument about the way the democratic conception challenged the scientific-rational ditto during the period.

5.3.2. Organizational arrangements in the period

Towards the end of the 1960s and in the beginning of the 1970s the organizational arrangements for the implementation of global education developed further. The organizational set-up was consolidated and the implementation activities expanded and became more systematic in kind. The working team for information cooperation with the school was expanded and equipped with two full-time administrators. At this point in time a man called Lars Sundgren with a background as a teacher, pre-service trainer and in-service consultant was employed. Sundgren has been described by virtually all informants as an enthusiast and driving spirit whose contribution to global

education – both in terms of inception and maintenance – in Sweden deserves a solid recognition. Sundgren further developed the somewhat paradoxical combination of hierarchic centralization and a looser network structure:

> On the one hand he wanted to execute influence from above. At the same time he wanted a channel, or what we should call it, out into the organization as such. This was his basic idea and I think he did a tremendous work. […] Sundgren was a very strategic and intelligent person. He was very clear on the possibilities that were at hand and the necessary means of getting there. He realized that things could never be done without a combination of local action and support from more central strategic positions (Int. 13).

Thus Sundgren's work could be viewed as both a continuation and a development of the implementation strategies in the previous period.

Two general aspects deserve to be elaborated upon in order to understand this contextual shift. On the one hand the financial base and the political legitimacy for the implementation of global education were substantially strengthened by the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s (SOU 1977:73). On the other, largely as a consequence of the above, the implementation efforts as such were intensified. The strengthened financial base and political legitimacy could be understood in the light of at least four factors. Firstly, in 1968 the Swedish Parliament adopted a second Government bill on development cooperation which included the goal of a 1% GNP allocation to development assistance by the financial year 1974/75 (Prop. 1968:101). This, secondly, led to a substantial increase of funds to the information work and since the school system was one of SIDA's target groups this benefitted the implementation of global education (SOU 1977:73, p. 103). Thirdly, the UN's strategy for *'second development decade'* (cf. 4.4) articulated the need to mobilize public opinion in both developing and developed countries and stated that:

> Governments in the more advanced countries will continue and intensify their endeavours to deepen public understanding of the interdependent nature of development efforts during the Decade –in particular of the benefits accruing to them from international cooperation for development – and of the need to assist the developing countries in accelerating their economic and social progress (United Nations, 1970, p. 49).

Sweden has an international reputation of adhering to the UN's resolutions and this case is no exception. Consequently, the Swedish Parliament's instruction to SIDA was revised in 1973, with an even stronger emphasis on information about the situation in the developing countries. The authority was *especially* obliged to:

> disseminate information on the development in the developing countries and the role of social, political and economic factors in this process, and further about Sweden's efforts to contribute to economic and social development and equality in these countries (Quoted in: SOU 1977:73, p. 103) (My transl.).

As regards the double edged character of the information mandate – i.e. general information on the situation in the developing countries *versus* information on Swedish development assistance – SIDA concluded that there was no necessary contradiction between these two objectives, although the former is of primary importance[74] (SOU 1977:73). In the 1972 Budget and Finance Bill, the Swedish Government confirmed this view (Prop 1972:1). This notion is further shared by a vast majority of the informants in this study. However, one deviant voice bulges in the material and might be interesting to account:

> In my view schools and NGOs were to a large extent co-opted by SIDA. Teaching material often related to the 1% target and argued that Sweden should become the upper crust of international development assistance. The material was neither analytical nor critical. The post-colonial discourse was totally absent. An obvious problem was that material producers lacked the mandate to be critical since this would pose a threat to the status of Swedish development assistance. In reality the spending objective has always had the upper hand (Int. 4).

Fourthly, as regards political legitimacy, one might also add the findings Stig Lindholm's influential dissertation *U-landsbilden: en undersökning av allmänna opinionen* (My transl: *The image of the developing countries: an inquiry into Swedish public opinion*) which pointed at the public's severe knowledge gaps concerning developing countries *and* the shortcomings of current information efforts, not least as regards the efficiency of the school system (Lindholm, 1970). Hallgren's school study from 1972 confirmed the critique as regards e.g. teacher's limited knowledge and lack of appropriate teaching material (cf. 2.3.1) (Hallgren, 1972). All these four factors vouched for increased efforts to implement global education in the Swedish school system and such efforts did indeed materialize.

In 1968 the first *SIDA/NBE's developing country seminar* (SIDA/SÖs u-landsseminarie) was conducted with destination Kenya. A pioneering event bearing in mind that similar organized journeys to developing countries still constitute an important part of implementation of global education in Sweden. The seminars were initiated, planned and organized by the in-service department in Umeå and SIDA's information bureau, with Stig Löfqvist, Rolf Gullstrand and Lars Sundgren as key persons. The pedagogic objectives of these initial seminars were two-folded. The participators were supposed to, in a concrete manner, experience ('the experience goal') and get to know ('the knowledge goal') the problems of the developing countries. Thereafter, they were to transmit this experience and knowledge throughout their own organizations, e.g. through in-service or pre-service activities, teaching or production of teaching material. From the mid-1970s an onwards the objectives became more elaborated with references to formulations in the written curriculums and more detailed implementation objectives. The seminars were organized in three steps

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[74] Note that this emphasis were about to change in the 1990s (cf. 5.5.2).

with preparation conferences, journey and follow-up conferences. Journeys to several different developing countries were conducted more or less on an annual basis from 1968 to 1977 when the activities were temporarily paused for evaluation.[75] The participants applied individually and initially they were mainly composed of in-service and pre-service teacher trainers (who normally worked part-time as regular teachers) within the social studies sphere. However, step by step, representatives of other subjects and ordinary teachers were accepted, although teacher trainers still constituted the core group in this period. Other groups which participated in the seminars were journalists, officials at SIDA, officials at the in-service department in Umeå and representatives from the teacher unions (Lundberg, 1979). In discussions on the organizational arrangements for the implementation of global education in Sweden basically all informants refer to *SIDA/NBE's Developing Country Seminars*. Three voices might be worth outlining:

> Stig Löfqvist at the in-service department in Umeå decided to gather and educate in-service and pre-service trainers and make sure that they got out in the world so that they could disseminate information on development issues in teacher pre-service and in-service programmes. In 1968 the first SIDA/NBE's Developing Country Seminar was conducted and this institution was to become very important. [...] At SIDA there were people with extensive and profound knowledge in international issues and these people supported Löfqvist in his project, for example a certain Lars Sundgren who was very committed. This process can be viewed as the background to today's The Global School and The Global Journey. NBE, however, should not have any credit for this. It was the in-service department in Umeå and Stig Löfqvist who came up with, and materialized, the idea (Int. 12).

> I participated in the first developing country seminar in Kenya in 1968. For me it was really an eye-opener and it made me realize the importance of the encounter and the value of experience-based learning. Ever since then I have strongly emphasized these issues in education (Int. 10).

> *SIDA/NBE's developing country seminar* was the flagship as regards information dissemination in the school system. Initially in-service and pre-service trainers were the target groups, but later on regular teachers were also allowed to participate. However, the basic notion was all along to identify key persons who were dedicated and would successfully disseminate information in the school system. Nevertheless, there was also a certain additional dimension in all of this related to SIDA's regular development activities. SIDA had an interest in educating individuals, for example teachers, in order to prepare them for potential future service in aid projects (Int. 6).

In general terms the interviews of this study, similarly to Lundberg's (1979) evaluation, points towards an obvious ambiguity regarding the seminars. On the one hand the seminars are praised for: their pioneering status in the

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[75] Kenya 1968, Tanzania 1969, Ethiopia 1971, India 1972, Chile, Peru and Ecuador 1973, Zaire, Ivory Coast, Ghana and Nigeria 1974, India, Indonesia and Thailand 1975, Brazil, Ecuador and Venezuela 1976, Indonesia and Malysia 1977 (Lundberg, 1979, p. 24).

implementation of global education; their importance as knowledge-boosters; their importance as a source of inspiration with long-term effects; being a source of political resurrection; their effects concerning improved teaching methods; and, resulting production of teaching material in a time when information was very short in supply, et cetera. On the other hand critical questions are also raised concerning the long term effects for the pupils in the Swedish school system; lack of systematic evaluation of these effects; too much emphasis on experience and too little emphasis on substantial knowledge and analysis; and shortcomings as regards theoretical linkages.

In 1971 the cooperation between SIDA and NBE was consolidated through a permanent working team which held meetings on a more regular basis. Teacher in-service and pre-service training in combination with material production and distribution continued to be the main priority (cf. 5.2.2). More funds were also allocated to production of information material and teaching material, both internally at SIDA and through external actors. Hence material production virtually boosted in this decade. However, besides this cooperation with the central authority NBE, SIDA's information bureau and the working team for the school headed by Lars Sundgren and Rolf Gullstrand had established a wide network of contacts – which underscores that global education to a great extent was implemented through more horizontal network structures – including regional education boards, in-service departments, teacher training colleges, individual schools, individual teachers, individual researchers oriented towards global education, the University Chancellor Office, the National Board of Health and Welfare, the United Nations Association Sweden, the Swedish UNESCO council, NGOs, et cetera. Further, in 1976 NBE in cooperation with SIDA, regional education boards and in-service trainers launched an in-service training project on international and gender equity called *Jämställdhet och Internationell Förståelse* (My transl. *Gender Equality and International Understanding*), abbreviated *JIF*. The objective was, by means of vacation courses, to establish a JIF-team composed of four teachers at every upper secondary school and compulsory school district in Sweden. The team, in its turn, was expected to initiate and support teaching on these issues at the schools. Each team was invited to participate in conferences on a yearly basis. They also received the magazine *JIF-Aktuellt* which was published at the in-service department in Umeå and entailed descriptions of content and methods in practical JIF-teaching, debates, press releases, presentation and analysis of newly published relevant literature and teaching material. Moreover, although SIDA prioritized the teacher oriented strategy, one might add that a certain amount of lectures were conducted by SIDA staff in schools, and that schools to a certain extent also were invited to conduct study visits at SIDA. Finally, it should be noted that the authority of the teacher training colleges was transferred in 1977 from the NBE to the University Chancellor Office. However, since SIDA already had elaborated contacts with

this authority this simply implied a different channelling of previous efforts (SOU 1977:73; Törnvall, 1982).

In sum, the period was marked by a consolidation and expansion of the organizational arrangements for the implementation of global education. The particular combination of a centralized and decentralized implementation structure, the inception of the developing country seminars and the establishment of JIF-teams are of particular importance.

5.4. Peace education, conflict and organisational change 1980-1990

Around 1980 global education in Sweden went through yet another contextual shift, embedded in greater societal changes outlined in chapter 4. Firstly, the brink of the 1970s and 1980s marked the beginning of the so-called 'Second Cold War', which in turn seriously imprinted global education. The period was hallmarked by the U.S. presidential election of Ronald Reagan, the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan, the *Strategic Defence Initiative* ('Star Wars') and the increasing deployment of nuclear missiles in Europe. This generated a great deal of pessimism and anxiety but at the same time also triggered the European as well as the Swedish peace movement (cf. 4.5). In this context it was quite symptomatic that the UN, somewhat desperately, proclaimed year 1982 as the international year of peace and encouraged the member states to show commitment and make efforts for the promotion of peace in all viable ways (United Nations, 1982). Secondly, a new written curriculum, *Lgr 80,* was adopted in 1980. Thirdly, the organizational structure for the implementation of global education underwent some changes in the early 1980's, which partly portended the upcoming restructuring of the school system in the 1990's.

5.4.1. Content in the period

In 1980 a new written curriculum for the compulsory school, *Lgr 80,* was launched. Like other curriculum documents it must be viewed as a compromise product open for different interpretations. However, as argued by Englund, the public debate surrounding the inception of Lgr 80 pointed to a more outspoken *recognition* of education as a manifestation of politics (Englund, 1986/2005, p. 76). Further, again with reference to Englund, Lgr 80 to a greater extent than previous curriculum documents reflected the ideals of the democratic conception, e.g. acknowledging different political and ideological perspectives, recognizing societal development as conflict-prone and value-laden rather than harmonious and socially neutral, and the need to foster reflective inquiry, democracy, participation and equity. In this sense Lgr 80 could be viewed as more progressive than previous curriculum documents. Nevertheless, the progressive vein is stronger in the general writings of the curriculum document

compared to the course syllabus (Englund, 1986/2005, pp. 274-278). This view of Lgr 80 as something qualitatively different, not least in relation to global education, is confirmed by several informants:

> Lgr 80 entailed very strong writings as regards global education. It presented an explicit support of global justice and solidarity. A downright communist manifesto. We rejoiced (Int. 12).

> Lgr 80 had very strong pronunciations in relation to global education. It virtually respired solidarity (Int. 5).

As indicated above the *Goals and Guidelines* of Lgr 80 provided a strong foundation for global education. The document articulates the need to address the grand problems of global survival, environmental scarcities and widening gaps between rich and poor countries. The inherent conflicts of all societies should be fully recognized. The school should support the pursuit of handling these conflicts with peaceful means and promote solidarity with the poor people of the world as well as with minority groups within our own country. Recognition and respect of different values, perspectives, opinions and cultural norms is also acknowledged, as is the promotion of democracy. The document entails separate headings on international issues in general as well as conflict and conflict management (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1980, pp. 13-33). The syllabi in social studies, albeit thematically subdivided in accordance with traditional subjects, reflect a more integrated approach to social studies compared to the predecessor. Hence no explicit reference to traditional subjects is provided. Regarding the aspirations of the curriculum as regards international solidarity, human rights, peace and environmental concern it could be concluded, in line with Englund's more general argument, that these are reflected in the goals of the syllabi albeit not with the same profound emphasis as in the main document (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1980, pp. 119-128). Finally, another remark can be made in relation to the overall context. It is interesting to note that Lgr 80 had a certain 'leftist' bias while the period in which it was implemented was largely marked by a neo-liberal and neo-conservative intellectual climate. This points to a certain backlog, whereby the written curriculum of a period reflects the intellectual climate of the previous period.

Due to the 'Second Cold War', issues of peace and conflict management arose as central aspect of global education in Sweden. Accordingly *peace education* became the main curriculum accentuation of the period. This, obviously, was largely in coherence with the writings of the new curriculum. Again, in accordance with global education's low degree of classification and framing, peace education was obviously not the only component. Issues such as the situation of the developing countries, development assistance and environmental problems continued to imprint global education. However, the tendency towards issues of peace and war is so obvious that it is reasonable to speak of a new accentuation, and this

seems to be intimately linked to the general societal context. The following quote is illuminative:

> The breakthrough of peace education is a clear cut example of how world politics and international development can have an immediate impact on Swedish school education. The arms race and the nuclear missiles strongly influenced the content of our teaching… Throughout my career I simply can't remind myself of any more obvious example of how outer political events have affected teaching in Sweden. The insight from the 1970s that the world was becoming more interdependent became in a sense even stronger when one realized that the world could be drawn into a nuclear war with horrifying consequences for mankind in its entirety (Int. 12).

In a somewhat paradoxical way peace education both formed part of, and constituted a certain break with, the global education tradition. It could very well be related to traditional issues like poverty and underdevelopment in the South. However, to a large extent the old North-South dimension became downplayed due to the enhanced East-West tensions:

> Around 1980 peace education emerged and thus peace and war became important themes in school. This was largely driven by a man called Bengt Thelin at the NBE. He initially wanted to promote *peace fostering* although this term was soon replaced by the more appropriate term *peace education*. […] When we were confronted by the proposed content of peace education we immediately realized that this was largely coherent with what we had been doing all along within our global education teaching. The didactic *what?*-question included relations between rich and poor, economic growth and development, population growth, justice, solidarity, human rights, war and peace – although with a greater emphasis than before, the UN, immigration et cetera. However, the term peace education was used because it was argued that the Second Cold War implied increased risks of conflict in the world and consequently we had to somehow vaccinate the kids against these violent tendencies. The term lingered on for a number of years but it disappeared towards the end of the decade. Since the overriding theme was war and peace it became important in our teaching to find the connections between peace and development and war and poverty. We wanted to integrate the North-South dimension with the East-West dimension, find connections between the two conflict dimensions, we wrote four field tables and so on. In practice, however, the East-West dimension partly over-shadowed the North-South dimension which had dominated global education for such a long time (Int. 12).

Further, zooming in on peace education two components stand out quite clearly and in hindsight these might vouch for a certain criticism. Firstly*,* peace education was often characterized by a great deal of scaremongering. Pupils were submitted to intimidating facts of the enormous amount of weapons in the world and the devastating effects of a possible nuclear war.

As indicated in the literature review of this thesis (cf. 2.3.3) students in Sweden had very gloomy picture of the future in the 1980s (Ankarstrand-Lindström, 1984a, 1984b; Bjerstedt, 1986; Bjurwill, 1986; Kamienski, 1980; Kamienski, et al., 1980). It is further noteworthy in this context that nuclear war emerged as the

new overriding global threat and thus largely overtook the role previous held by overpopulation:

> In this context the school transmitted a lot of doomsday prophecies about the risk of nuclear war which intimidated the pupils to an extent that seems quite exaggerated in retrospect. The threat of nuclear war and the way it was dealt with in school can largely be compared to corresponding discussions about the threat posed by the population explosion in the 1960s (Int. 11).

Secondly, peace education was often characterized by sentimental and symbolic manifestations which might have overshadowed more theoretical and analytical approaches to the study of the mechanisms behind violence and war and the means by which peace could be restored and maintained. However, as illustrated by the quote below, this was never the intention of the vanguard of peace education:

> The intensive nuclear arms race troubled me enormously. I felt that there was no one within the school system that took responsibility for raising these serious problems. History and civics teaching seemed to go about as usual. I felt that something had to be done to invoke indignation as well as a sense of responsibility among the pupils and, of course, transmit knowledge about the issues. […] The motto *knowledge, feeling, action,* became the guiding principle of our work. A lot of criticism as regards peace education was that it only revolved around emotions. My opinion was that it should not be the case. Peace education included the equally important dimensions knowledge and action. The emotional dimension revolved around generating commitment and will to do something about the state of affairs. The action-dimension basically meant that the education should somehow make way for some kind of practical action, e.g. exchange programmes between schools in the West and the East. The knowledge-dimension revolved around giving youngsters better knowledge of facts and theoretical understanding of the basic premises of peace and war (Int. 1).

Some interesting practical examples of exchange programmes between Swedish schools and schools in eastern Europe, as well as projects bringing together youths from Sweden, the U.S. and the Soviet Union, are provided in the document *Människors möten* (Thelin, 1986). (My transl. *Human Meetings*).

Again, in connection to peace education as an accentuation of global education, the problem-oriented character is apparent. War and violent conflicts were considered to be serious problems that needed to be addressed and global education was viewed as a means to an end in the process of building a more peaceful world. Further, however, towards the end of the 1980s the Cold War ended. This, of course, did not make issues of peace and war obsolete. However, their accentuation in global education faded and became partly overthrown by other problems. In 1987 the Brundtland commission's report *Our common future* was presented (cf. 4.5). This brought about increased legitimacy for a stronger emphasis on environmental issues as regards global education. As a corollary these issues were revived. Nevertheless, it would take more than a decade before

the sustainable development discourse started to imprint global education on a larger scale (cf. 5.6).

The accentuation of peace education in the 1980s obviously implied a widening of the potential knowledge content repertoire. Issues of peace and war were recognized as important and these were somehow to share curricular space with the traditional issues of global education and thus put the teacher in a more complex situation. The attempts to combine the North-South and East-West dimensions outlined above illustrate this problem. The question of selection became more troublesome, at least in theory.

Beyond any doubt peace education was a very controversial issue in the 1980s and in retrospect this controversy might seem strange or even ridiculous. Simultaneously, however, it is important to put this controversy in the context of the Second Cold War and the upset sentiments of the period. The curricular debate of the 1980s, again albeit in a different way, points to the curriculum as a field of tension marked by a war of position between so-called progressive and reproductive forces. Representatives of the progressive, change-oriented, forces were in favour of peace education. From this standpoint there was an obvious need to transform the world into a more peaceful, and less conflict-prone, place. Education should play a part in this endeavour by means of e.g. peace fostering and teaching conflict management, but also outward political action such as manifestations against nuclear armament and war. Representatives of the reproductive forces on the other hand viewed peace education as naïve or even potentially dangerous. The perceived threat of a Soviet invasion of Sweden overshadowed all other logics for this group. Thus, the school should primarily provide the pupils with the necessary means to survive in a bipolar world, not suggest any hazardous attempts to overthrow or change it. The general line of argument was that peace education could, and disarmament would, undermine Sweden's capacity to defend itself. There are many examples which points to the vigour of this war of position. Proponents of peace education were exposed to various acquisitions from different representatives of the more reproductive forces. For example Bengt Thelin, educational counsellor at the Swedish National Board of Education and strong proponent of peace education, was attacked by right-wing debaters in some ten articles in the leading conservative Swedish newspaper *Svenska Dagbladet* where he was accused of being unpatriotic, traitor to the country, sympathizing with the Soviet bloc, communists, pacifists, et cetera. At one point he also got a visit in his office at NBE by an angry, high representative of the Swedish military command who questioned his intentions (Svegfors, 1988; Thelin, 2000). Some quotes by informants engaged in peace education at the time point in a similar direction:

> I was subject to mean and ironic comments in the debate where I was portrayed as *the friend of Brezhnev* and *the peace apostle of the school*. This really upset me because this was

never my notion of, or intention with, peace education. […] Peace was basically an infected concept at the time. The term *peace* was by many associated with communism and thus viewed as dangerous. I think we can note a certain semantic drift from *peace fostering* to *peace education* to *internationalization*. *Internationalization* was not such an infected concept and thus easier to advocate (Int. 1).

When I was conducting in-service training I was sometimes accused by course participants of sympathizing with the Soviet Union. Any criticism of the U.S. contributory role in the increased global tensions could be interpreted in this way by some people (Int. 12).

On the other hand – which is obvious in the light of the accentuation as such – peace education had a lot of advocates in the 1980s. For instance, in 1982, on a country-wide scale a large amount of local organizations entitled *Educators for peace/Educators against nuclear arms* were founded. One year later these local departments converged under a national umbrella organization, albeit with a high degree of independence. *Educators for peace/Educators against nuclear arms* were engaged in promotion and development of peace education in the Swedish school system. They further cooperated with the wider peace movement. The school work was based on the UNESCO's seminal document '*Recommendation concerning education for international understanding, co-operation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms* (cf. 2.1.2) (Rudvall, 2002; UNESCO, 1974).

The importance of *Educators for peace/Educators against nuclear arms* and other NGOs would increase in the 1980s which brings us to the issue of organizational arrangements for the implementation of global education in the 1980s.

5.4.2. Organizational arrangements in the period

The 1980s can be viewed as a transition period as regards the organizational arrangements for the implementation of global education. Quite symptomatic the organizational structure of the general school system also underwent some changes which portended the upcoming restructuring of the school system in the 1990s. For example, the in-service departments were replaced by in-service boards in 1981, whereby the primary initiative of in-service training became decentralized to the district level. Further the in-service consultants were decommissioned from the regional educational boards in 1982 (Marklund, 1998; Skolverket, 1992). These changes had implications for the implementation of global education:

When the in-service consultants vanished from the regional educational boards in 1982 the role of the *JIF*-consultants became uncertain. In this context the working team for the school at SIDA's information bureau offered the *JIF*-consultants to engage in a new cooperation with SIDA concerning in service related to international issues. Quite a number of people welcomed this offer. They were now renamed *Vidareinformatörer för Internationell Förståelse* (My transl. *Communicators for international understanding*), abbreviated

VIF. On a regular basis SIDA gathered the VIF-consultants for in-service in the form of conferences, workshops and lectures. Accordingly the VIF-consultants worked on a voluntary basis but received continuous in-service and skills development under the management of SIDA. A difference, thus, between JIF and VIF was that the former incorporated the NBE and the in-service bureau in Umeå whereas the later was a sole SIDA affair. SIDA had quite high hopes regarding the impact of the VIF-consultants out in the schools, yet the demand for their services proved to be quite limited. […] Because the VIF-structure failed to deliver efficiently a new idea was born based on a system with regional consultants (Int. 2).

In a sense this proves the point about the somewhat strange combination of a hierarchical and network-based model. When the centralized structure was decentralized the organizational structure for implementation of global education reinvented itself through the network-structure. In a sense the 1980s constitute an ad-hoc period in terms of implementation. A more stable structure was to be reintroduced in the 1990s, when the regional consultants were introduced.

Further, midway through the 1980s a permanent cooperation between NBE, SIDA and Swedish NGOs entitled *Samarbetsgruppen för internationalisering* (SAMFI) was established (My transl. *The Cooperation Group for Internationalization*). This was done on the initiative of Bengt Thelin, Lars Sundgren and Gunnila Cervall [*sic!*]. The basic idea was to support Swedish NGOs in their efforts as regards their education and information work. In this context, as a point of comparison, it could be worth remembering the increasing importance and comparatively stronger position of NGOs in international development practice in the 1980s (cf. 4.5):

> The objective of NBE's engagement in SAMFI was to help the NGOs, partly with actual production of written material and partly through a kind of *authorization* of their work with education and training as regards international issues. The NGOs needed central support for their education and information campaigns. To a great extent, thus, it was a question of some kind of authorization that would encourage and legitimatize the work of NGOs (Int. 1).

> SAMFI was initiated by Bengt Thelin and Gunnila Cervall in the 1980s. It was a cooperation or network between different NGOs such as the Red Cross, Save the Children, Amnesty, UNICEF et cetera and representatives of NBE and SIDA's information bureau. SAMFI started to produce material catalogues. The organizations presented their material and the catalogues were printed. SIDA paid for the printing whereas NBE took responsibility for distributing the material to the schools. […] SAMFI further arranged so-called SAMFI-conferences at the teacher educations throughout the country, i.e. pre-service and in-service training on different topics. This was largely financed by the NBE (Int. 5).

It should be noted that the material catalogues are still being produced. New issues are published every other year. Part one is aimed for pupils aged under 12 and part two is aimed for pupils aged 13 and above. Tor Backmann has been editing the catalogue from the very beginning and still does. The catalogues are

available for downloading from Sida's and The International Programme Office for Education and Training's homepages.[76]

With regard to the contribution of NGOs in implementing global education in Sweden an interesting tension could be detected. First of all, as indicated above, it should be noted that NGOs had been involved in implementation of global education prior to the 1980s particularly through material production (cf. 5.2-5.3), but the SAMFI arrangement – and the funding there of – brought about a revitalisation of the educational activities of the NGOs. However, there are quite different opinions about the preconditioning and the relevance of the NGO-activities in relation to global education:

> The bottom-up work of NGO's has been very important for the development of global education. Not least through production of teaching material, thematic lectures in schools and their ability to generate commitment (Int. 12).

> Civil society has also been an important actor that has influenced global education, but NGOs have also become increasingly important as development actors as such, which is why they also have to be mentioned within the very content of teaching. Hence civil society as a development agent has been upgraded vis-à-vis the state (Int. 11).

> Generally speaking I think that the NGOs have worked more with information dissemination than pedagogic activities. To a great extent a lot of it has revolved around informing about what the particular organization is doing. The organizations have often had their own school consultants but it has been a lot of campaigning and profiling of the organization going on. Accordingly, one has not been very engaged in a more general discussion on development issues. Certainly not to the same extent as SIDA and NBE (Int. 5).

> A certain rivalry between the NGOs sometimes generated problems within the overall activities of SAMFI. They often had certain cooperation problems and they were foremost interested in profiling their own organization. As a point of comparison I can mention that I conducted an evaluation a couple of years ago on behalf of Sida. On a yearly basis Sida distributes 120 million Swedish kronor in information support to NGOs. In the instruction it could be noted that the money should be used for information dissemination on Swedish development cooperation and that children, youths and their leaders are a prioritized target group. According to my findings only 26% are used to this end. Further the organizations are using the money to recruit members to their own organization. Hence they are engaged in member recruiting rather than general information dissemination on Swedish development assistance (Int. 9).

As indicated by these very different quotes the role of NGO's in the implementation of global education can be interpreted in very different ways.[77] In sum it can be concluded that the 1980s constitute something of a transition

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[76] www.sida.se; www.programkontoret.se
[77] For some quite critical remarks as regards the role of NGO's in implementation of global education see the following reference (Nordisk kommunikation, 2005).

period as regards the organizational arrangement of global education, which reflected the emerging, more general, reforms of the school system. The new VIF-structure and the establishment of SAMFI were particularly important.

5.5. Europeization, intercultural education and restructuring 1990-2000

The 1990s implied yet another contextual shift in the Swedish history of global education. As indicated in chapter 4, the end of the Cold War brought about large-scale global transformations and increasing complexity. On the international level several important processes can be noted: increasing economic deregulation and globalization; re-structuring of the well-fare state; increasing refugee streams due to the New Wars; the establishment of the EU in 1992; a certain aid fatigue; and increasing environmental concerns epitomized in the Rio conference in 1992 and the Kyoto protocol in 1997 (cf. 4.5). In a more limited Swedish context the following could be noted in brief. In the beginning of the 1990s the Swedish public sector in general, and the Swedish school system in particular, underwent large-scale restructuring, decentralization and deregulation. SIDA initiated a new structure for the implementation of the information work towards the school, and in the middle of the period SIDA was reorganized into Sida. Further, Sweden went through a financial crisis and economic depression which in turn coincided with increasing new refugee streams. In this context xenophobic tendencies emerged. Extremist, undemocratic, nationalist organizations were invigorated and the populist party *Ny demokrati* – which promoted a restrictive immigration policy – entered the Swedish parliament in the 1991 election. Combating this new xenophobia emerged as one important objective in global education. Further in 1989 the UN adopted *Convention on the Rights of the Child* which implied a strengthening of human rights issues in relation to global education (United Nations, 1989). Moreover, in 1995 Sweden received full membership in the EU. In the beginning of the 1990s Prime Minister Carl Bildt had urged for the necessity that Swedes embrace Europe and in this process acknowledge and develop multiple identities. This line of reasoning was epitomized in the catch-phrase *'Hallänning, Svensk, Europé*[78] (Bildt, 1991). The membership in the EU further necessitated – not least from a democratic standpoint – better knowledge and understanding of Europe and the institutional set-up of the EU. Hence, the European dimension of global education became more pronounced. Finally new written curriculums for the compulsory school, *Lpo 94,* and upper secondary school, *Lpf 94,* were introduced in 1994.

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[78] A *'hallänning'* is a person from the region *Halland* in the south-west of Sweden. Carl Bildt's catch-phrase points to the need of recognizing that each individual must acknowledge multiple identities on different societal levels, i.e. micro-regional level (Hallänning), national level (Swede) and macro-regional level (European).

5.5.1. Content in the period

As will be evident below, the introduction of the new curriculum documents Lpo/Lpf 94 was preceded by a quite intensive political war of position as regards the writings on global issues. However, looking at the final documents as such the following can be concluded. Compared to their predecessors, Lpo/Lpf 94 are considerably shorter and much more general in kind. Goals and content aspects are in focus rather than guidelines and methodological aspects. These changes must be understood in relation to the overall restructuring from a rule governed to a goals and outcomes governed school system.[79] Englund has argued that Lpo/Lpf 94 implied a re-emphasis of a more essentialist educationalist philosophy and scientific-rational conception compared to Lgr 80, not least as regards subject compartmentalization (Englund, 1992b, 1992c). The first section of Lpo 94 entitled *Fundamental values and tasks of the school* entails a passage which recognizes the increasing internationalization of Swedish society and escalating transnational mobility. The value of cultural diversity is to be recognized and it is presumed that a solid consciousness of one's own cultural heritage is a precondition for being able to appreciate cultural diversity. This, in turn, requires a remark. Many critical scholars has revealed and criticised mono-cultural discourses and structures in the Swedish school system (e.g. Lunneblad, 2006; Sigurdson, 2002; von Brömssen, 2003). However I have not been able to find any critical discussion what so ever as regards this – in my view poorly grounded – axiom that a solid consciousness of one's own cultural heritage is a precondition for being able to understand other cultures and appreciate cultural diversity. To me this is far from self-evident and it might, in fact, even be the other way around. Nevertheless, the new curriculum further introduced four general perspectives that were supposed to saturate all school subjects. One of these is an *international perspective*, stating that the school should create conditions for the pupils to see their own reality:

> in a global context in order to create international solidarity and prepare pupils for a society that will have closer cross-cultural and cross-border contacts. Having an international perspective also means developing an understanding of cultural diversity within the country (Skolverket, 1994a, p. 6).

The objectives in the *Goals and guidelines* of Lpo 94 are formulated in a very general way - and thus open for very different curricular interpretations and implementations - such as: knowledge of countries and continents mutual interdependence; understanding of fundamental ecological contexts; and, understanding of different cultures.

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[79] In fact Englund has even called into question whether the changes have been so profound that we no longer resides within a civic curriculum code but have entered a completely new school political context (Englund, 1986/2005, p. 13).

Moving to Lpf 94, similar comprehensive, albeit somewhat stronger, writings with a bearing on global education could be noted. Again, in the section *Fundamental values and tasks of the school,* increasing international interdependence and cultural diversity is underscored. The idea that a secure identity is necessary for appreciating difference – which was called into question above – is repeated:

> Secure identity and consciousness of one's own cultural heritage strengthens the ability to understand and empathise [*sic!*] with others and their value systems. The school shall contribute to people developing an identity which can be related to and encompass not just Swedish values but also those that are Nordic, European and global (Skolverket, 1994b, p. 4).

It is further stated that:

> International links, education exchange with other countries and working experience in other countries shall be supported (Skolverket, 1994b, p. 4).

As in the case of the compulsory school an *international perspective* is to saturate all subjects in the upper secondary school. In the *Goals and guidelines* some very general writings can be noted according to which the pupils should:

> have knowledge about international co-operation and global interrelationships and assess events from Swedish, Nordic, European and global perspectives (Skolverket, 1994b, p. 11).

As regards the civics syllabi, these have quite similar writings as well, albeit with, higher aspirations and level of abstraction in the upper secondary school. Suggested content, with a bearing on global education, is knowledge of: other countries and cultures; international relations and international cooperation; international law; peace and conflict; the UN; human rights; the relationship between rich and poor countries; environmental issues; and issues related to racism and xenophobia (Skolverket, 1994a, 1994b).

In this new context, marked by new refugee streams, xenophobic and racist tendencies, the UN *Convention on the Rights of the Child,* and the new Swedish membership in the EU, global education underwent a certain curricular redeployment. Intercultural/multicultural issues, human right's issues, and European issues, became accentuated. However, again with reference to global education's low degree of classification and framing, these new curriculum accentuations pushed themselves into the centre in fierce competition with other relevant content areas such as development issues, peace and conflict issues, environmental issues, et cetera. Hence, global education now started to become quite congested. The following quotes capture some of these tendencies of the 1990s:

> In the 1990s the range of potential answers to the didactic *what?*-question was further extended. Human rights, particularly the rights of children, gained momentum. UN

declarations and conventions became important teaching documents. The dignity of environmental issues also increased in the 1990s. Understanding of other cultures also grew in importance. Not least against the background of increased immigration and refugee streams. Knowledge of the EU and Europe also grew in proportion and importance. Accordingly the tendency of global education becoming more and more broad and multi-dimensional prevailed (Int. 11).

Three factors were of particular importance in the 1990s: xenophobia and racism; environmental issues; and European issues motivated by the new Swedish membership in the EU and the organizations increasing importance. Discussions of multiple identities on regional, national and European level emerged. However, the old issues also remained important. On the one hand, I think that there was a notable decrease in the commitment towards the once so central issues of justice and solidarity with the Third World. This engagement was substantially weakened. On the other hand, human rights issues grew in importance. It was quite obvious that more and more issues were becoming relevant to deal with within the frame of global education. This further implied that global education became a greater challenge for the teachers. This since the issues had become so complex and interrelated (Int. 12).

In the beginning of the 1990s international solidarity issues somehow lost momentum in school. Beatrice Ask was school minister and the government had a reluctant attitude towards international solidarity. Generally speaking European issues attracted much more attention. Carl Bildt was talking about multiple identities *Hallänning, Swede and European*. The Third World perspective was partly down-played. The North-South divide did not seem quite as important as before (Int. 2).

The European issues got greater attendance when Sweden approached an EU membership. In accordance with my basic values I don't want the global issues to be overshadowed by EU-issues. In fact, I can mention that I had lunch with the then School Minister Göran Persson in 1990 to discuss international issues in school education. I was very disappointed because Persson's interests seemed to revolve solely around Europe and the EU-issues. Afterwards I wrote him a letter where I thanked him for the lunch but also remarked that the international issues are wider than the European issues (Int. 1).

In the 1990s you could see a certain transition from the former emphasis on solidarity to a stronger focus on EU and issues of trade and industry. This transition was quite obvious (Int. 7).

Again, the new accentuations of the period reflect global education position as basically problem-oriented. Reinvigorated xenophobia and racism in Swedish society had to be confronted through better intercultural understanding. This xenophobia in combination with different forms of violations of children, e.g. bullying, also legitimatized a stronger emphasis on human rights. Moreover, delimited understanding of, and identification with, the EU and its institutions was viewed as a problem – not least from a democratic standpoint – that had to be addressed through global education. These new accentuations also points towards a further widening of the potential knowledge content repertoire. The increasing complexity of a more and more globalized world implied curriculum

congestion and problems as regards selection, as well as coherence, in connection to global education.

In this new context and in relation to the increasing content diversification an inherent field of tension in the curriculum, and war of position between so-called progressive and reproductive forces, can be noted. To begin with an illustrative example is provided in the commentary material to Lpo/Lpf 94 as regards the concept *internationalization*. Here it is, on the one hand, stated that knowledge of global issues is mandatory in order to become internationally competitive and prepare oneself for a future in the global market economy. On the other hand, teaching on global issues is also presented as a mean to promote international solidarity, cultural tolerance and responsibility for the global environment (Skolverket, 1996). This – which reminds us of some of important arguments from chapter 3 – resembles Englund's idea that the curriculum is formed in a particular societal configuration marked by contradictory conditions, i.e. capitalism and democracy. Obviously, the teaching on global issues should on the one hand prepare the pupils for competition in a global capitalist world, but on the other hand also cater for international solidarity which largely goes against the very idea of capitalism. However, bearing in mind that teaching on global issues should also nurture responsibility for the global environment, a third dimension is brought in which makes matters even more complicated. As illustrated by Andersson's global ethical trilemma, there are inherent contradictions between mass consumption (a basic objective of capitalism), global justice (a basic objective of international solidarity) and environmental sustainability (a basic objective of environmental responsibility), and obviously the curriculum convey these inherent contradictions (cf. 3.4.3) (J. O. Andersson, 2003, 2006). However, how the teacher is supposed to navigate in this miscellaneous curricular landscape is not indicated in the commentary material. Another interesting issue in relation to this is the war of position that marked the prelude to the introduction of the new curriculum documents in 1994.

> In 1992 and 1993 an animated debate emerged concerning the proposed writings as regards international and global issues in the upcoming curriculums. I, and many of the other regional consultants, felt that the writings on global development issues, poverty and solidarity had been eroded. International issues had been reduced to issues of Europe and our own national welfare. We received the proposed writing as part of a public circulation for comments. We engaged ourselves in writing debate articles to major newspapers, letters to members of parliament and conduct critical lectures, e.g. in connection to the Book Fair in Gothenburg. A letter with an inflatable globe was sent to Prime Minister Carl Bildt to illustrate that the world was larger than Europe. Further, school minster Beatrice Ask was also called on in office by five to six regional consultants… Finally the writings were actually changed for the better. I don't know why this came about, but I think that our efforts could have played a certain part (Int. 9).

In this context it is interesting to note that these initial writings of the new curriculum were largely marked by the neoliberal and neoconservative intellectual climate that prevailed in the 1980s and thus, just as in the case of Lgr 80, this points towards a certain intellectual backlog in terms of curriculum construction. Anyway, this quote, and the previous quote about the sentiments of then School Minister Göran Persson, illustrates the problem that surrounded these initial, later rectified, curriculum writings. Thus a war of position can be detected between, on the one hand, reproductive forces which basically prioritized teaching on European issues as a mean to strengthen Sweden's position in the global economy (i.e. adaption to the capitalist system and the existing world order), and on the other hand progressive forces which prioritized issues of global poverty and inequality (i.e. promoting transformation of global economic structures towards a more just and equal world). For the interested reader the following references to the newspaper debate and struggle as regards the initial formulations of Lpo/Lpf 94 could be looked in to (Ask, 1992; Backmann, 1992a, 1992b, 1993a, 1993b; Oscarsson & Backmann, 1993). However, as discussed in 3.3.5 one has to constantly remind oneself that what is progressive and what is reproductive is by no means self-evident but indeed both context-specific and quite complicated. This can, and should, be seriously contemplated. Just to mention one example, the EU can very well be interpreted as a peace project and a stepping-stone for a more just world order (Hettne, 1994, 2003, 2009). In such a perspective it would be inadequate – as some of the quotes above might indicate – to simply label all teaching on European issues merely as examples of reproductive and conservative social forces. Similarly, such a line of thinking might indicate that issues of poverty are non-existing in Europe, whereas poverty is the only issue in developing countries. Bearing in mind that globalization has fundamentally reshaped the economic and social geography of the world, such ideas might very well be described as parochial rather than progressive. Anyway, another important remark in relation to the issue of war of position has to do with the restructuring of the school system. This will be dealt with in the next section.

5.5.2. Organizational arrangements in the period

In the 1990s the organizational arrangements for the implementation of global education underwent some substantial changes due to two factors: (1) The general restructuring of the school system; (2) Expansion of SIDA's information work towards the school and more general changes at SIDA including the execution of the information mandate.

On a general level the restructuring of the school system implied that: (1) The authority of the school was decentralized from the state to the district level; (2) The Rule governed system was replaced by a goals and outcomes governed system; (3) The relative grade system was replaced by a goal oriented grade

system; (4) The NBE was replaced by the National Agency for Education (NAE); (5) The school system underwent deregulation, marketization and increasing privatization through the independent school reform, whereby a school voucher system was introduced. The implications of this restructuring for *teachers* could be interpreted in two seemingly, but not necessarily, contradictory ways. On the one hand the new system created a greater room of manoeuvre for teachers' didactic competence on the local level and thus, in a sense, empowered them. On the other hand the goal system in combination with the new grade system, marketization, deregulation and the increasing importance of evaluations and other performance indicators has rather implied more steering and lesser opportunities for didactic development (Carlgren & Englund, 1994; Lindblad, 2008; Marshall, 2005; Richardson, 1976; Steiner, 1996). Another important point which intersects the issues of war of position and organizational change is Englund's remark that – although the war of position has always been fought on different levels of the school system – the decentralization process implies that the local level becomes increasingly important (Englund, 1997b). Further, as regards the implications for *schools* engaged in global education the following quote is illuminative:

> The single most significant change as regards the prerequisites for the implementation of global education in Sweden is the decentralization of the school system in the beginning of the 1990s. […] Central political governance through the steering documents has become weakened. Further, the course-based school, in contrast to the subject-based, has implied greater fragmentization and delimitation, and thus shortcomings as regards continuity. On the other hand, the decentralization has opened up a greater room of manoeuvre on the school level, i.e. it has become easier to thematically profile schools and programmes. Global and international issues have been adopted as a profile in certain schools, and consequently it has been possible to strengthen global education. The decentralization of the school system has implied both increased segregation but also enhanced possibilities for thematic profiling. For schools located in districts scourged by resource scarcities, the decentralization process has implied a deterioration of the prerequisites for implementing global education. Conversely, schools located in districts with the resources and the will to take advantage of the greater room of manoeuvre to profile global education, have been able to improve it (Int. 7).

Hence, in relation to global education, the outcome of the decentralization process appears to have been double-edged, implying both improvement and deterioration, depending on the particular conditions and circumstances of the local context. This ambiguity as regards the effect of the restructuring is emphasized by most informants. However, all of them seem to agree that the reforms have implied greater *inequality*. As a point of reference, it could be mentioned that similar patterns have been detected in international surveys on educational restructuring (Apple, 2001; Levin & Belfield, 2003; Lindblad & Popkewitz, 2001; Whitty, Power, & Halpin, 1998).

Moving to the changes as regards SIDA's execution of the information mandate towards the school three factors are particularly important to point out: (1) The establishment of the new system with regional consultants; (2) The reorganization of SIDA into Sida and the reorientation of the information work; (3) The establishment of *Zenit*. On a general level, it the period brought about expansion of SIDA's information work towards the school, whereby a more formalized structure, compared to the previous decade, materialized. The previous, voluntary based *VIF*-structure was replaced by a system of regional consultants with half-time employment at SIDA. Since the department for the field organization within the new authority NAE was subdivided into 11 regional units SIDA decided to mirror this structure and thus employed 11 regional consultants, each with responsibility for two or three counties. The regional consultants continued to work in a spirit quite similar to that of the 1960s when the implementation of SIDA's information mandate commenced:

> The regional consultants built up networks with schools; distributed information and teaching material; and engaged in in-service and skills development of teachers. They did not work directly towards the pupils. They tried to put development assistance into context and aimed to develop and deepen understanding of development problems and internationalization. […] The aim was not to inform about the work of SIDA or advertise Swedish development cooperation. Rather the main objective was to work with pedagogic development around international issues. The regional consultants were supposed to provide the teachers with structures and tools so that they thereafter could become better at improving and develop teaching on their own and in cooperation with their pupils (Int. 5).

Hence the old double-edged character of the information mandate continued to imprint the information work throughout the 1990s, although – in contradiction to the quote above – there are reports that suggest that the 1990s brought about a stronger focus on fostering support for Swedish development cooperation. The pupils still constituted the ultimate target group but the old two-step strategy prevailed, whereby the regional consultants concentrated their work towards teachers (primarily secondary school teachers), principals and teacher students (Nordisk kommunikation, 2005). The half-time employment by SIDA further implied a more efficient structure compared to the voluntary based VIF-structure:

> This proved to be exactly what was needed. With half time employment it became much easier for the regional consultants to market themselves and reach out to the schools. They offered their services through teacher's seminars school visits. They lectured, consulted and disseminated information. This system proved to be far more efficient. Since they lived in the regions they were responsible for it was comparatively easier for them to market themselves and reach out to the schools. The demand for their services increased. The fact that they had a half time employment, compared to the *VIF*-consultants that worked on a voluntary basis, made a big difference (Int. 2).

Nevertheless, a few problems could be detected. The regional consultants had quite autonomous positions and this resulted in a diverse set of activities in the different regions. The downside of this seems to have been that there was a lack of coordination between the consultants, and that the structure became very dependent on particular individuals. Other problems include a bias towards the upper secondary schools, the civics subject, and teachers who for some reason were particularly interested in global issues. Moreover, vocational programmes were to a great extent marginalized (Nordisk kommunikation, 2005). It could further be noted that the state and civil society cooperation continued via SAMFI activities throughout the period, although they started to slow down towards the end. The material catalogue was continuously published every other year throughout the entire decade.

In year 1995, SIDA was reorganized and renamed the Swedish International Development cooperation Agency (Sida). This coincided with certain political re-orientations in development cooperation outlined in the previous chapter (cf. 4.6). However, in this section the main interest revolves around changes with a bearing on the information mandate in general and the implementation of global education in particular. This, in turn, must be related to ongoing changes in Swedish society – particularly increasing internationalization, cut-backs on public spending and general criticism of development cooperation – *and* the old inherent tension of the information mandate between dissemination of general information about the developing countries vis-à-vis information on Sida's development contributions:

> With the new Sida, in the middle of the 1990s, we could note an obvious reorientation of focus and attitude as regards Sida's information work. Partly the organization started to break away from the old ideal of popular education and close up on a different kind of information work. Of course Sida was still interested in contributing to global education, but still the idea that Sida's main objective as regards information work should be to inform about the work of Sida as such. There was a quite intense debate at Sida on this in the 1990s and the old pathos of popular education was partly replaced by a more streamlined and Sida-focused information work… […] This, however, did not imply an end of support to school oriented information work as such. Rather it implied a certain shift in balance. […] Why these changes of Sida's information work came about could be debated. One reason could have been that Sweden and Swedish authorities, in the 1990s, in general had become so internationalized that it was no longer obvious that Sida should continue to pull the heavy weight of general information dissemination. Another factor that probably contributed was that development cooperation was afflicted and called into question in the 1990s, not least in the light of the economic crisis. In this context it became important to focus information dissemination on what Sida actually did. Put differently: to defend oneself (Int. 3).

> The changes had not so much to do with economic cut-backs as such. In fact the information bureau more or less maintained their level of funding. There was of course a certain decline due to decreased GNI but no major changes… […] However, the

economic crisis had other effects. For instance the newspaper *Expressen* had an article series entitled *Biståndsbluffen* (My transl: *The Aid Scam*) which haunted us… […] SIDA and its activities was severely criticized and called in question in public debate. This forced us to try to avoid negative publicity and get rid of activities that could be viewed as controversial. For example, the developing countries seminars were paused, and so were other activities where, for instance, journalists could receive a lot of money for journeys (Int. 13).

However, the public criticism of SIDA/Sida was not the sole explanation of the changes in execution of the information mandate. In the beginning of the 1990s, the new management of the information bureau called the efficiency of the information work into question and undertook action accordingly:

There were a lot of tensions within the bureau because of this. But the idea was to conduct a thorough analysis of who we worked with, who we worked towards and how we worked. We had very sender-oriented information, for example through mass production of books. We were virtually squirting out information but we did not listen… Typical one-way information. […] The information was also very asymmetrical. […] We tried to change this state of affairs through major evaluations. We spent a lot of money on this. Partly through surveys, partly through focus group interviews… The results showed, as I had suspected for a long time, that there was a great divide between our view of, and the actual, state of affairs. Our information work had not been effective. These results could not be ignored. Not even by the people within the bureau who were particularly critical of the ongoing changes. […] We started to engage in new forms of information work such as advertising campaigns, e.g. in newspapers and in subway stations. Extremely brief information on what Sida was doing. […] The old information mandate was still there, but in the government's letters of appropriation to Sida we were encouraged to use modern means of communication. (Int. 13).

In sum these quotes – somewhat in contradiction to the quotes above about the work of the regional consultants – seem to imply a certain switch in emphasis within the old double-edged information mandate: i.e. from general information on the situation in the developing countries to Sida's development contributions. Thus in the 1990s there seem to have been, at least on a general level, a more concentrated focus on the core activities of Sida. Further, in connection to the ongoing reorganization, the regional consultants were outsourced:

The system with half-time employment of the regional consultants was exposed to criticism. As a consequence the regional consultants were outsourced. They had to start their own business as independent consultants and there services were bought in by Sida. This system has prevailed in the new system with The Global School (Int. 9).

Hence, this outsourcing could be viewed as the first step towards the upcoming system with *The Global School* (cf. 5.6). Further, as indicated above, it is noteworthy that the *developing countries seminars* were temporarily paused for evaluation in the mid-1990s. However, they were soon resumed and even expanded although the organizational set up would change substantially in the early 2000s.

Finally, we turn to the establishment of Zenit. Zenit was established in 1995 and formed part of Sida's youth programme. Their facilities were initially located on the ground floor of Sida's office at Sveavägen in Stockholm. The establishment of this concept was largely connected to a notion among certain people at Sida that there was a need for a more trendy and offensive information towards young people. Hence the primary target group was young people, but as it turned out pupils and teachers became particularly important for Zenit's work. As regards Zenit's objectives the following could be noted:

> Our primary target group was obviously young people but the substantive goals were never clearly defined. From the beginning, Zenit was a vertical organization which meant that we did not really have a boss. Of course, in formal meaning, the head of Sida's information department was our boss... but we had a quite independent position. Consequently, to a large extent, we invented our own goals. [...] Eventually we ended up with a lot of different, interacting, goals. For example we wanted to: inform and enable understanding for global development issues; provide a nuanced image of poverty and point towards the many improvements in the world; counter prejudices by means of a norm-critical pedagogic approach; create a role shift among the visitors; shake the world view of the visitors... However it was important to follow up afterwards. One cannot shake a person's worldview and then just leave them. It was crucial for us to follow-up, nuance, point to the improvements in the world and to talk about the ways in which they could make a contribution themselves and somehow channel their commitment... Hence counselling for visitors, for example as regards how they could channel their commitment, became another important objective (Int. 15).

Zenit's organization was initially composed of one webmaster and 4-5 informants. The activities were diverse and tended to expand along the way. However, the main activities included the following. Firstly, Zenit offered study visits for school classes and their teachers. These visits lasted for about 2 hours and included an initial presentation, an interactive game, and a follow-up discussion. The game included 6 different themes: gender equality; environment; health; education; democracy; and human rights On a yearly basis Zenit, in Stockholm, received study visits from approximately 10.000 pupils from all over the country. Secondly, two of the themes in the interactive game could also be played via the webpage. Thirdly, the webpage included many other functions such as information about development issues, information about different activities and travel reports from different people around the world. Fourthly, Zenit ran a café which served as a general meeting point for young people. Fifthly, Zenit had a running programme called 'Culture and debate' which included seminars, debates, concerts and exhibitions. Sixthly, Zenit arranged a school conference once a year. The themes of these conferences were normally related to Sida's yearly themes.[80] The conferences included lectures, debates and various workshops. They normally lasted for two days and each conference

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[80] For quite a long time SIDA, and later Sida, had a yearly theme, i.e. a particular development issue which were to be particularly highlighted and emphasized in the work of the entire organization for one year.

normally included about 200 visitors. Finally, as mentioned above, Zenit also offered counselling.

In sum, as regards the organizational arrangements for the implementation of global education, it could be concluded that the 1990's implied an expansion of, and a more formalized approach, as regards the information work towards the schools. The introduction of the system with permanent regional consultants, and the establishment of Zenit, was particularly important.

5.6. Globalization and sustainable development 2000-2008

At the turn of the millennium a new period was initiated in the Swedish history of global education which, in many respects, is different from the previous periods. As indicated in chapter 4, the general historical context was marked by amongst other things accelerating globalization; the *war on terror*; and the threats posed by climate change highlighted in the IPCC-reports and Al Gore's film *An Inconvenient Truth*. As regards development thinking the period was characterized by an increasing recognition of complexity. Thus, a complex global web of mutually interdependent development problems, very difficult to scope, were recognized as regards e.g. development, security, human rights, environmental sustainability, globalization, governance, et cetera. The *Millennium Development Goals* (MDGs), *the new aid architecture,* and the issue of *policy coherence* emerged as the international development community's responses to this complexity. Sweden put itself in the front row by incepting a coherent *Policy for Global Development* (PDG) (cf. 4.7). As regards global education the following can be noted in brief. The World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg in 2002 paved way for the UN's proclamation of a *Decade of Education for Sustainable Development* (2005-2014), with the aim to integrate principles, values, and practices of sustainable development into all aspects of education, and thus respond to the social, economic, cultural and environmental problems faced by the world in the 21st century. UNESCO was designated lead agency for the promotion of the *Decade* and governments of countries all over the world were encouraged to implement it in their respective educational strategies and action plans (United Nations, 2002c). In line with this a Swedish government official report on learning for sustainable development was published in 2004 (SOU 2004:104). This brought about, with funding from Sida, the establishment of a Centre for Learning for Sustainable Development at Gotland University. Moreover, a new structure for the implementation of global education in the Swedish school system was established in 2001 through the inception of the project, later programme, *The Global School.*

5.6.1. Content in the period

The curriculum documents Lpo/Lpf 94 prevailed throughout the period although they were slightly revised in year 2000. These revisions did not bring about any substantial changes. It could be noted though that the social democratic government was working on a new written curriculum for the upper secondary school, Gy-07, intended to be launched in 2007. However, after the victory of the right-wing alliance in the 2006 parliamentary election, this reform was called off. This sub-study's period of investigation ended in 2008, but it can at least be mentioned that the right-wing government introduced a new curriculum, Gy-11, as part of a greater restructuring of the upper secondary school, in 2011. Nevertheless, it might be interesting to note that the proposed statements of Gy-07 were largely influenced by the education for sustainable development discourse mirrored in e.g. the *Decade* and SOU 2004:104:

> In the process of working out Gy-07 – that was later called off – the intention was that sustainable development should be applied as one of seven general perspectives that should permeate all teaching. There were even discussions going on whether one should introduce *sustainable development* as a special subject in upper secondary school. Not least the Johannesburg summit in 2002 that explicitly announced that the school has to contribute to learning for sustainable development generated legitimacy for such a generic perspective. The statements in Sweden's Policy for Global Development, launched in 2003, also played a part (Int. 7).

In light of the real and perceived complexities of an increasingly globalized world, global education has become an increasingly complicated endeavour. Previous themes and components of global education have prevailed, and stacked upon each other they have contributed to a widening potential knowledge content repertoire. However, in the last period of investigation, there has been a general breakthrough of two complex concepts which in turn has added to the repertoire: *globalization* and *sustainable development*. These two concepts could be viewed as central features of the new curriculum accentuations of the period:

> I would argue that it is first in the beginning of the 21st century that the concept globalization was applied and seriously debated within global education… In this period ATTAC was formed and the debate on globalization from below emerged. This coincided with the protests in Seattle and Gothenburg. One could note an increasing demand for teaching material on globalization in the schools. Issues of social justice, trade, WTO, Tobin tax, environment, consumption et cetera, became more and more important to address within global education. […] In many respects I think we could see an increasing demand in the schools for the issues and themes that had been considered so important in the earlier decades, albeit in a new form, framed by globalization. The concept globalization became mainly relevant to deal with in the school when it stood clear that some are winners and some are losers in the globalization process (Int. 12).

Although the concept globalization had been used frequently in the academic debate in the 1990s it seems reasonable to suggest that it got its real breakthrough in the Swedish schools – and the general public debate – after the turn of the millennium. As a point of reference it can be noted that a search on the term *globalization* in the Swedish press archive database *PressText* generated four matches in 1992 whereas this figure had increased to 335 in year 2001 (Thörn, 2002, p. 29). Similarly, sustainable development got its real breakthrough in this period.

> Sustainable development is the concept of the day and global education is currently dominated by the education for sustainable development discourse. Sustainable development is an interesting concept since it can contain so much. Depending on what you are interested in you can emphasize the issues you find particularly important. But at the same time it is a way to amalgamate and show that development is about many different things: economic, social, environmental, political and so on. Issues that were previously treated in isolation are now to be combined within a holistic perspective. I think the sustainable development debate generates improved conditions for a greater impact of these issues in the schools. We are now approaching a point where everybody realizes that it is no longer possible to turn a blind eye to the global questions. As a consequence we can note an increasing demand in the schools for learning material on sustainable development. We can also note an increasing production of such material (Int. 12).

> The general tendency of a growing potential scope as regards the didactic *what?*-question has continued. Learning for sustainable development has become a crucial concept in the current period not least against the background of the climate threat and the growing understanding of the global environmental problems (Int. 11).

Again, the problem-oriented character of global education is apparent. The tensions created by globalization *and* the threat posed by climate change and other environmental hazards are viewed as serious problems that the schools have to address. Thus, the need to somehow deal with these serious topics provides legitimacy.

Needless to say an idea as abstract and complex as *equitable and sustainable global development* is difficult to grasp (Prop. 2002/03:122). However, it seems fair to conclude that the threats posed by global warming and climate change has emerged as one of the most serious problems that have to be addressed in global education and it certainly entails a great deal of dramaturgical power:

> The threat posed by climate change, and the way it's being addressed by Swedish teachers today, could in many respects be compared to the ways that threats posed by population explosion and nuclear war were portrayed in the 1960s and the 1980s respectively. My point is not to say that these threats are not *real* as such. Indeed I find it reasonable to be concerned. My simple point is that global education has often been oriented towards different threats and that these threats entail a strong dramaturgical power. In this sense there is risk that threats becomes exaggerated and converted to doomsday prophecies (Int. 11).

Obviously the new accentuations of the 21st century have added further to the widening potential knowledge content repertoire. At the same time the education for sustainable development discourse requires an integrated approach to the broad range of potential content aspects. Global education has thus become a very complicated endeavour:

> The range of potential content in global education has expanded but the relationship between these different content aspects has also become more complex. The massive discussion on sustainable development, not least the social and ecological aspects, has set an agenda which is much more complex in terms of knowledge content. This implies a didactical challenge. The sustainability debate is built on an integration of so many different questions. In this respect it was much easier to teach on global issues in the 1970s compared to today. PGD and the school related SOU-report which was published in 2004 point towards a delicate challenge as regards preparing teachers for teaching on these issues. […] I do understand the teachers that do not have the knowledge and skills to take on this challenge. I also do understand the teachers that have the knowledge and the skills but simply do not have the strength to take on the challenge because it feels unachievable (Int. 7).

> The potential repertoire has widened. This widening could be viewed as a reflection of the entire development cooperation debate. In many ways it was easier to deal intellectually with international development issues before, compared to today. The only way was up, and it was only a question of step-by-step process before *they* would become like *us*. The driving forces of development were viewed as quite basic. […] Since then, the development debate has expanded enormously. Today the people at Sida who are working with poverty analyses have an extremely difficult job. They are required to take an enormous amount of parameters into consideration. I think that the problems they are facing could largely be resembled to the problems of today's teachers when they are trying, for example against the background of PGD, to help the pupils to better understand and make sense of a globalized world and why some developments strategies work and some fail. This is definitely not an easy task. […] It was easier in the 1970s when two large explanatory models stood against each other: neo-classical theory and dependency theory. Both of these models had universalistic claims. Against these two theoretical bases you could explain pretty much anything and moreover transform it into development strategies. The conceptual frame has now grown and consequently the questions are not that easy to deal with anymore. For example the concept of poverty has expanded enormously. Today poverty can be macro, micro, social, cultural, political economical, relative, absolute and so on and so forth (Int. 3).

> Global education has become more and more wide and multi-dimensional. An increasing amount of issues and topics have become relevant to treat within the frame of global education. On the one hand teachers are forced to different *trade-offs*, i.e. they are forced to be selective and delimitate which deteriorates the prerequisites for understanding the entirety. On the other hand many teachers probably feel that they do not have the sufficient knowledge and competencies to handle all the dimensions of a more and more complex and globalized world. Older teachers also feel that the old knowledge is no longer applicable. I think this points to the importance of accelerating innovative work within the universities. It seems to me as if many teacher students think that the perspectives they are exposed to within their education is old fashioned and that

the departments thus do not prepare them adequately for teaching on global issues. However, one advantage for today's teachers is a much greater access to information and material (Int. 11).

Evidently development issues in a globalized world have grown in scope and complexity and as a consequence global education has become more difficult to teach. It further seems as if the growing complexity of global development issues coincides with a downplay of political controversy and cooling down of the war of position – at least on an illusory level – as regards global education. To a great extent I think this evolution must be understood in relation to the increasing mainstream co-option that could be traced within the sustainable development discourse (cf. 3.3.2 and 4.5.2). The following quote is illuminative:

> The political tensions were probably stronger before compared to today. Themes such as sustainable development have become less politically controversial. For example there used to be a more evident left-wing character of global education, at least among certain stakeholders. Today there is a much broader party political agreement on the importance of dealing with these issues in school. There is still an element of tension but is not as distinct as it used to be… For example there seem to be a broad based agreement on the goal of sustainable development. The political differences relate more to the means by which this is to be achieved (Int. 7).

This broad based agreement largely mirrors the co-option of radical alternatives, and in my opinion it also reminds us of Gramsci's observation that hegemonic activities tend to increase in times of crisis. Thus, sustainable development seems to have been established as 'common sense' without really threatening the fundamental interests of capitalism. In this context it is also important to remind ourselves about the global ethical trilemma. It seems to me that the inherent contradictions of sustainable development have been largely concealed in the discourse and practice of education for sustainable development. In my opinion this is very unfortunate since these contradictions should, quite contrary, be emphasized in teaching on global issues. Another important theoretical remark concerns the concepts *progressive* and *reproductive* forces. In this final period, characterized by Sweden's new Policy for Global Development and accelerating globalization, it has become increasingly difficult to define, and make clear distinctions between, progressive and reproductive forces. As already indicated in chapter 3, globalization, in combination with the findings from intersectionality research, has made problematic to define who are subordinate and what it means to challenge existing structures. These arguments will not be repeated here. However, I find it very important to relate this discussion to the discourse and practice of education for sustainable development. Most proponents and practitioners of education for sustainable development are likely to regard what they do as progressive, i.e. that they are engaged in a change-oriented educational enterprise which will hopefully bring about a more sustainable world. However, as indicated by my – perhaps to gloomy – remarks,

education for sustainable development might just as well be regarded as a reproductive. At least if one accepts the idea that the sustainable development discourse has been largely co-opted by important actors in the market-state configuration and that sustainable development really does not challenge the fundamental growth-oriented aspects of the current economic system which, in turn, poses serious threats to the global environment. This matter is of course open to debate, but it seems safe to suggest that it has not, at least so far, been debated enough with reference to global education.

5.6.2. Organizational arrangements in the period

As regards the organizational arrangements for implementing global education the final period brought about some substantial changes. On the one hand The Global School was established, on the other Zenit was closed down. However, before turning to these issues it is of crucial importance to elaborate briefly on a few general changes as regards Sida's information mandate. In fact, the inception of Sweden's new Policy for Global Development substantially reoriented the information work. The information mandate had in all previous periods ultimately been about two things: information about the situation in the developing countries *and* information on SIDA's/Sida's development contributions. However, with the inception of PGD this changed. The information mandate now implied that external information and communication activities should be oriented towards disseminating knowledge and stimulate debate on global development (Prop. 2002/03:122). Swedish development cooperation had no longer a privileged position since it merely constitutes one single aspect of the much broader Policy of Global Development. Hence, Sida is regarded to be only one actor among a wide range of important international stakeholders in the pursuit of global development (cf. 4.7). Disseminating knowledge about global development is obviously a much more complicated issue than informing about Sida's development contributions. Moreover, stimulating debate is something different than merely disseminating information. In sum, this change in character of the information mandate is an important aspect in the history of global education in Sweden. However, in a paradoxical way, the fierce debate that surrounded global education in previous periods seems to have been downplayed in the very decade that the information work became reoriented from information dissemination towards promoting debate.

In year 2001 – on the basis of the previous structure with the regional consultants – a new important concept for the implementation of global education in the Swedish school was born: The Global School.[81] The inception of the Global School was related to a perception on behalf of Sida's information department that the system with the regional consultants was characterized by

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[81] www.programkontoret.se/sv/Den-globala-skolan/

shortcomings as regards coordination, as well as development, of the information work towards the school (Nordisk kommunikation, 2005):

> Johan Åkerblom felt that Sida's information department and the outsourced regional consultants could maintain but not drive the school related activities forward. Hence, an external managing actor was needed. Sida announced a public procurement for the school related information work. However Sida would still finance the enterprise. Not a lot of tenders were submitted. The *United Nations Association Sweden* presented an offer but this was hardly worked through. Instead the *Gothenburg Region Association of Local Authorities – Education* won the procurement (Int. 9).

Hence the winner of the procurement process, the *Gothenburg Region Association of Local Authorities – Education* (GR-utbildning)[82], introduced the concept *The Global School* as a new platform for implementing the information work towards the school. However, the cooperation between this institution, the regional consultants and Sida, did not work out well at all. Particularly the regional consultants were dissatisfied with the new authority. Apparently the *Gothenburg Region Association of Local Authorities – Education* seems to have realized the magnitude of these problems. They had an optional contract with Sida and after less than two years of activity they decided to withdraw. Consequently the project needed a new responsible authority. This coincided in time with the establishment of the new Swedish *National Agency for School Improvement* (NASI), a sister organization to the NAE. Thus, The Global School was transferred to this new agency. This coincided with the inception of the *Decade* and the SOU 2004:104 and it was at this point that work of The Global School became intimately connected with the Education for Sustainable Development discourse. Anyway, the project resided here for almost six years, but when it was decided that the NASI should be closed down in 2008 The Global School had to be transferred again:

> In this context it could be accounted that it became obvious after a while that the *National Agency for School Improvement* did not show any greater interest in the project and accordingly its existence was under threat. However, apparently the International Programme Office had an interest in absorbing more global issues in their organization (Int. 7).

Consequently, on the 1st of July 2007 The Global School was transferred to the International Programme Office for Education and Training (IPO), where it still resides. The IPO is a government agency, under the Ministry of Education, which promotes exchanges and cooperation across national borders as regards schools, universities, corporations, organizations and individuals. In connection to this transfer, The Global School was transformed from a time-bound project into a programme without an explicit end date. Sida is still funding the programme. Thus, towards the end of the period The Global School, after

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[82] www.grutbildning.to

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several processes of transformations, could be defined as a programme run by the International Programme Office for Education and Training, supported by Sida, which aims to support and enable intercultural dialogue and education on global issues for sustainable development.[83] The organization of The Global School was subdivided into four geographic areas: North, East, West and South. Each of these areas included a number of Swedish regions. This implied a down-size from 11 to 4 regions compared to the previous period. Each of the 4 geographic areas, in turn, employed two or three part time consultants responsible for implementing the objectives and activities of The Global School in their particular regions. The overall objective of the Global School was:

> to stimulate school improvement and support the pedagogical development work on learning about global issues for sustainable development. The goal is that, by the end of their studies, pupils will have developed knowledge and attitudes that will enable them to consciously adopt a position on global issues for sustainable development and to actively participate in the work of achieving a sustainable society (P. Sandahl, 2008b, p. 4).

The Global School had a broader set of target groups as compared to the old regional consultants. Although teachers, principals and teacher trainers – and of course, ultimately, pupils, although they are not addressed directly – still constituted the primary target groups of the Global school, they now also addressed other strategic groups such as local politicians, local educational authorities, local school development groups and NGO's (Nordisk kommunikation, 2005; P. Sandahl, 2008a). The Global School further offered a broad set of activities which could be structured under four headlines. Firstly, *The Global Municipality,* which targeted local decision-makers – including politicians and civil servants – and involved dialogue and meetings with the aim to promote school development, school projects and other school activities as regards global issues in the municipalities. Secondly, *The Global Venue*, which aimed to promote cooperation between actors inside and outside the education sector, e.g. NGOs, including networks, venues, information campaigns and joint school activities. In many ways The Global Venue could be viewed as the period's equivalent to SAMFI, which had, by now, more or less disappeared. Thirdly, *The Global Educator*, targeted teachers at different stages of the school system but also teacher trainers. This denotes that the previous period's bias towards the upper secondary school had now been rectified, i.e. now the entire school system was addressed. The aim of The Global Educator was to promote the learners' goal fulfilment as regards global issues for sustainable development through seminars, conferences and other kinds of in-service training for teachers and teacher trainers. Apart from traditional information and in-service training there was a strong emphasis on development of new teaching methods, e.g. simulation and experience-based learning. Fourthly, *The Global Journey*, which

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[83] www.programkontoret.se/sv/Den-globala-skolan/

aimed to promote knowledge and school improvement through a seminar located in a developing country. A group of teachers, head masters, civil servants and local politicians were given the opportunity to apply for a seminar. The Global Journey was prepared through preparatory seminars and it included follow-up activities aimed at securing continuity and long-term results (P. Sandahl, 2008a, 2008b). The Global Journey, which in turn is a continuation and development of the 'old' developing country seminars, was probably the most prestigious activity of the Global School in the period. However, as indicated by the quotes below, opinions about the outcomes and effectiveness of the Global Journeys are diverse:

> There was a noticeable increase of Global Journeys in year 2002. The Global Journey is the flagship in the activities of The Global School. There are strong indications that it is, in a long term perspective, the most efficient in-service activity on global issues in the school system (Int. 9).

> The Global Journey is quite shallow and somewhat *touristic* in kind. The journey might be generating commitment which is positive, but hardly any profound knowledge on development problems. The theoretical linkages are far too weak. If we compare the Global Journeys with the developing country seminars we can conclude that a much larger quantity of school staff now travels but the degree of quality was much higher within the developing country seminars… Another important difference is that the developing country seminars were more oriented towards material production not simply experience (Int. 11).

In relation to the Global School a final, quite interesting, remark can be made. It was argued above that the war of position seems to have been downplayed in the last period of investigation. However, somewhat contradictory, there are examples that points towards an ongoing war of position as regards the implementation of global education. For example in year 2007 the liberal think-tank TIMBRO produced a report which argued that material produced by the The Global School had a strong left-wing bias and thus violated the Swedish constitution imperative demand that exercise of authority should be impartial (Nordström, 2007). This report, in turn, was followed by very critical statements on the editorial of the leading conservative Swedish newspaper Svenska Dagbladet under the heading *Propagandan fortsätter* (My transl. *The Propaganda Prevails*) (Gudmundson, 2007). Thus, despite a general down-play of the war of position it seems as if there are occasional eruptions.

Finally, we turn to the convoluted evolution and fall of Zenit. First of all it should be noted that the Zenit staff was quite fast to respond and adapt to the ideological and political reorientation imposed by the new Policy for Global Development:

> With the Policy for Global Development it became quite clear that development involved so much more than aid and that Sida was only one actor among many others.

At Zenit we welcomed this development and we tried our best to communicate this ideological shift to our visitors. [...] We tried to come up with concrete and obvious examples that pointed to the changing ways of thinking about development and development cooperation. [...] In some ways I even thin that we were ahead of our time, i.e. that we were talking about PGD and this new way of thinking even before the Bill was adopted. For example, quite early, we started to question the distinction between 'us-them', nuance the image of poverty and so on... [...] We were expected to talk about global development issues in more general terms, what kind of actors that were out there and, not least, promote a commitment for development issues. PGD coincided with a playing down of Sida as a single actor. Somehow it seemed as if the information department expected us to talk more about PGD than about Sida (Int. 15).

According to one of the former Zenit staff members, the entire period was in many ways characterized by quite peculiar and contradictory circumstances. On the one hand, there were a lot of down-sizing, budget cuts and management shuffles going on at Sida's information department. Yet, Zenit was flourishing and there were no cut-downs in the, fairly generous, budget. Quite contrary there was an ongoing debate about expanding their organization, and Zenit was often praised for its work and innovative approaches to information, not least as regard the interactive games. Year 2005 was an important and paradoxical year in two respects. Firstly, Zenit was outsourced to *Kulturhuset – Lava,* which in many respects implied a deterioration in terms of interaction with, and the possibility to keep updated in relation to, Sida. Secondly, at the same time, there was an expansion in the activities of Zenit. A new Zenit branch was opened up in Malmö – receiving about 6.000 pupils annually – and there was an ongoing discussion about developing the concept further and open up branches in Gothenburg and Umeå as well. Finally, however, it was decided that Zenit should be closed down, and the last activities ended in 2008. In an article in the Swedish newspaper *Dagens Nyheter,* the deputy head of Sida's information department argued that the main reason for the closing down was that the concept with interactive games was outdated and no longer effective (Kulle, 2008). According to a former Zenit staff member this was not true. Quite contrary, according to this former staff member, the games were effective and the global trend was that 'serious games' were becoming more and more popular among different authorities and companies in the world. Instead, this former staff member point to three major factors that brought about the closing down of Zenit. Firstly, general cutbacks in Sida's information work. Secondly, a political shift initiated by the social democrats and followed up by the right-wing government to down-prioritize information work towards the youth:

Some people have argued that the close down of Zenit was directly related to the change of government and the victory of the right-alliance in the 2006 election. This is not true. In the previous term of office, before the closing down of Zenit, the formulation stating that youth was a prioritized target group had been crossed out from Sida's information policy. [...] After the election the right alliance initiated severe cut-downs in the information budget whereby the relative size of Zenit's budget became

bigger and bigger. This of course attracted attention and portended the upcoming events. [...] The right-wing government surely played an important role but I think it is important to stress that it was in fact under the social-democratic government that the decision was taken that youths was no longer a prioritized target group (Int. 15).

Thirdly, a clever administrative strategy by Sida's information department, to close down Zenit, without attracting negative publicity.

In sum, as regard the organizational arrangements of the implementation of global education in the period, one has to highlight: the sharp reorientation of the information mandate, the establishment of The Global School and the closing down of Zenit. The year 2008 constitutes the end of the period of investigation. It is for upcoming historical investigations to explore the effects of the right-wing governments new curriculum, their general reforms of the school system and the, particularly from 2009, severe cutbacks in Sida's budget for information work.

5.7. Concluding remarks

The aim of this chapter was to outline the history of global education in Sweden in the period 1962-2008. This, with a particular focus on historical processes of change as regards this knowledge content as such, as well as the organizational arrangements for its implementation, in the Swedish school system. It was further argued that the relevance of the chapter should primarily be related to three factors: a previous absence of such historical studies, a didactic ambition to expose the historical and political contingency of the knowledge content, and the need to provide a historical backdrop for chapter 6. In this final section the most important conclusions of the chapter will be summarized.

Four general conclusions can be derived from this chapter. Firstly, the potential knowledge content repertoire of global education, i.e. the backcloth of content that teachers can chose from within the limits of organizational constrains, has widened substantially. Further, the internal relationship between the potential content has become increasingly complex. This, in turn, must be understood in relation to the widening potential repertoire of development thinking in general (cf. chapter 4) and the accelerating globalization of an increasing amount of elements in society.

Secondly, albeit a great deal of topical continuity throughout the entire period of investigation, certain aspects of global education tend to be accentuated in different historical periods. This clearly points to knowledge content as historically contingent and in flux. The low degree of classification and framing obviously facilitates these temporary accentuations. Yet, it must be recognized that curriculum change is an inert process and – as will be evident in Chapter 6 – traces of these historical accentuations linger on in contemporary approaches to

global education. The logic of the historical accentuations must further be understood in relation to problem-oriented character of global education. Thus, global education is used as a mean to highlight, and an attempt to tackle, the problems identified as most urgent by influential actors in each historical period. However, it is important to keep in mind that problem descriptions are never socially neutral, which brings us to the political dimension of global education.

Thirdly, global education has evolved in an ideological and political field of tension, and its trajectory must thus be understood in relation to an ongoing war of position between different ideological and social forces. In each period, from the end of the 1960s and forward, such a war of position can be detected. However, there are indications that these tensions have been downplayed, or maybe rather concealed, in later years, in relation to the discourse and practice of Education for Sustainable Development. In this context it might be particularly important to consider Gramsci's old argument that hegemonic activities tend to increase in times of crisis, and Hettne's idea that the mainstream co-opts critical elements of the counterpoint. Education for Sustainable Development contribute to the establishment of sustainable development as a 'common sense', and this seems to conceal the inherent contradictions of the concept, as well as current development patterns. This tendency towards depoliticization could probably also be traced to a much more general post-political trend in Western societies (Mouffe, 2005). Now, in relation to all of the three general conclusions outlined above, it might be useful to, yet again, remind ourselves of Englund's argument that shifts in the general intellectual debate – due to changes in the relative strengths of different social actors or other social processes – can gradually change the content of the curriculum (Englund, 1986/2005, p. 154).

Fourthly, and finally, the restructuring and decentralisation of the school system in the 1990's, in combination with reorientations in Sida's approach to implement the information mandate in the 1990's and 2000's, have changed the organizational arrangements for the implementation of global education substantially. Initially a key role as regards prescription and consultation was played by central authorities such as SIDA and NBE. In a somewhat paradoxical way a centralized and hierarchical *yet* decentralized system, largely based on networks and voluntariness, was established. Nevertheless, due to the restructuring of the school system and the reorientation of Sida's information work, matters have changed substantially. Sida is still an important actor as regards funding, but as regards information dissemination and curriculum support the system is much more decentralized today. Some informants suggest that the outcome of this has been increased segregation, but simultaneously also enhanced possibilities for thematic profiling and development of global education. In a paradoxical way it could also be noted that the fierce debate that surrounded global education in previous periods seems to have been downplayed in the very decade that the information work became reoriented

from information dissemination towards promoting debate. Finally, as argued by Englund, it is important to keep in mind that curriculum work has become increasingly connected to the individual teacher project (Englund, 1997b). Table 4.1 is an attempt to capture some of the major historical tendencies and change patterns in the evolution of global education in Sweden.

Table 5.1. Overview of the History of Global Education in Sweden 1962-2008

	1962 – 1968/1969	1968/1969 – 1980	1980 – 1990	1990 – 2000	2000 – 2008
Curriculum	Lgr 62/Lgy 65	Lgr 69/Lgy 70	Lgr 80	Lpo 94/Lpf 94	Lpo 94/Lpf 94 (rev)
Accentuation	Development, Third World	Development, Third World, Environment	Peace	Multiculturalism, Human rights, Europe/EU	Globalization, Sustainable development
Political and epistemic trends	Apolitical, Simplicity	Political controversy, Widening knowledge content repertoire	Political controversy, Widening knowledge content repertoire	Political controversy, Widening knowledge content repertoire	Depoliticization, Complexity, Widening knowledge content repertoire
Sida's information mandate	Developing countries, Swedish aid	Developing countries, Swedish aid	Developing countries, Swedish aid	Developing countries, Swedish aid	Global development, Promote debate
Organizational arrangements	Sida's working team for the school, NBE's in-service department in Umeå	Sida's working team for the school, NBE's in-servie department in Umeå, JIF, Developing country seminars	Sida's working team for the school, VIF, Developing country seminars, SAMFI	Regional consultants, Developing country seminars, SAMFI, Zenit,	The Global School, The Global Journey, Zenit

The historical outline provided in this chapter, and the general conclusions that has been derived from it, will serve as an important backdrop for chapter 6 where focus will be reoriented from historical processes and proceedings to contemporary approaches to global education in the Swedish school system.

6. CONTEMPORARY APPROACHES TO GLOBAL EDUCATION IN SWEDEN

This chapter comprises the third, and last, sub-study of this dissertation. Here focus is reoriented from historical processes and proceedings to contemporary expressions of global education in the Swedish school system. *The aim of the chapter is to expose different ways of conceptualizing and approaching global education.* This objective will be met by means of constructing a didactic typology based on practicing teachers' accounts of their global education teaching. The didactic typology constitutes an attempt to demonstrate that global education can be conceptualized and approached in fundamentally different ways and thus expose that teachers engaged in global education are – consciously or unconsciously – facing quite different didactic alternatives. These alternatives, in turn, reflect competing political and intellectual rationalities. The didactic typology is empirically grounded in analyses and problematizations of how contemporary upper secondary school teachers in Sweden, engaged in global education, describe and reason about their own teaching. As indicated in chapter 3, the sub-study is theoretically inspired by the work of Englund, and accordingly the curriculum is viewed as a field of tension which conveys different and contradictory ideas, largely based in competing ideological and political rationalities. This implies that school subjects and other areas of teaching comprise a wide potential variation of content, perspectives, and 'offers of meaning'. These alternatives, in turn, can be exposed, and made amenable to debate, through the construction of didactic typologies. Another important idea derived from Englund is that curricular tensions and wars of position have become increasingly connected to, and tied up with, the individual teacher project, due to the decentralisation of the Swedish school system (cf. 3.4.2 – 3.4.5). In order to achieve the aim of the sub-study a set of different questions will be addressed in relation to the interview data:

- What kind of objectives of global education can be traced in the teachers' accounts of their teaching?
- Is it possible, via the teachers' accounts of their teaching, to perceive global education as a response to certain societal problems?
- What kind of content and pedagogical methods are emphasized in the teachers' accounts of their global education teaching?
- Can any particular views of development and globalization be traced in the teachers' accounts of their global education teaching?
- Is it possible, via the teachers' accounts of their teaching, to trace global education to any political or intellectual traditions?

- Can any explicit or implicit justification or critique of the existing international economic system be traced in the teachers' accounts of their global education teaching?

The chapter is organized in three main sections. These introductory notes are followed by a section, divided into four sub-sections, which elaborates on the method that underpins the sub-study. The second section, divided into five sub-sections, presents the fivefold didactic typology constructed on the basis of the teachers' accounts. The sub-sections further include some critical reflections, problematizations and theoretical remarks in relation to each of the five didactic approaches. The third and final section of the chapter presents a table which synthesizes, and makes it possible to compare, the different approaches in the fivefold didactic typology. It further provides some general concluding remarks.

A few words concerning the relevance of the study might be useful. Given the scope and design of the sub-study I have no intention in, or expectation of, producing generalizable results in terms of what teachers actually *do* in the Swedish upper secondary school system in general, nor in particular schools selected in this very study. Rather, the didactic typology will enable us to expose what any practicing global education teacher *can do* in the context of global education in the contemporary Swedish upper secondary school. Thus the relevance of the sub-study is primarily related to the didactic typology's ability to expose different didactic alternatives. Englund has argued that a profound consciousness of such alternatives constitutes a core component of didactic competence. Consequently development of didactic typologies, which can provide systematic knowledge of, and can enable informed choices between, didactic alternatives constitute an important mission for researchers in Subject Matter Education (cf. 3.4.4) (Englund, 1992c, 1997a, 1997b). In this particular case it will enable us to analyse potential variation, as well as inherent contradictions, of global education. Thus, in a way the development of the didactic typology compensates for the limited empirical generalizability of the study in so far that the typology constitutes an interesting didactic tool, regardless of how common the different approaches are in the Swedish classrooms. According to Englund, analysis of the possible variation of teaching within a field makes it possible to detect both the internal tension between different existing alternatives as well as the potential, not yet realised, alternatives (Englund, 1997b). Relevance is thus attributed to the typology's capacity of disclosing different 'offers of meaning'. Now, some might argue that empirical data then become superfluous and that didactic typologies of this kind might just as well be constructed behind the desk. The counterargument is that is important that the typology, and the conceptual categories that it provides, is empirically grounded. I also find it very difficult to believe that the present typology could have been constructed without access to the empirical material. It might of course be possible to construct other typologies of global education than the one

presented in this study (future attempts by other scholars to do so are encouraged), but on the basis of the existing empirical material I have not been able to identify any foundation for other approaches than the ones presented here. Another important remark is that the empirical material was valuable in so far that it clearly illuminated that no teacher fits perfect into any of the typology's categories, i.e. teachers do not one-sidedly employ a certain approach to global education but tend to cross-border several different approaches (cf. 6.2).

6.1. Method

The chapter is founded on an interview study with 15 practising upper secondary school teachers engaged in global education. As in the case of the second sub-study it might be important to remind ourselves of two things before elaborating on the design of this study (cf. 5.1). Firstly, that research in Subject Matter Education need not be delimited to school subjects, but can include other content-oriented aspects of education, although it should be recognized that this might imply methodological problems (Englund & Svingby, 1986; Marton, 1986). Secondly, that weak classification and weak framing imply difficulties in terms of selection of data (Bernstein, 1971). The following method section is sub-divided into three parts. The first part describes the sampling approach. The second part provides a few words on the interviews. The final part elaborates on the process of analysis.

6.1.1. Selection of informants

As indicated above the fluid character of global education implies problems in terms of definition, identification and selection of relevant informants (i.e. teachers) and relevant research settings (i.e. particular schools, programmes, subjects, courses, or school projects). In the contemporary Swedish upper secondary school system, there is in fact quite a remarkable variety of different modes of implementing global education. This can probably be attributed to three main factors. Firstly, the restructuring of the school system in the 1990s which opened up an array of different courses, programmes, school projects, profile schools et cetera, i.e. new modes of implementing global education. Secondly, the widening potential knowledge content repertoire has probably played a part (cf. chapter 5), i.e. global education has become increasingly relevant in relation to an array of subjects, courses and programmes. Thirdly, global education's weak classification and framing naturally stretches the limits of what, and how, content can be transmitted.

In this sub-study, the problem was approached through the employment of the operational definition of global education presented in chapter 2 (cf. 2.4), and through a purposive *maximum variation sample* elaborated in close cooperation with a number of *key informants* (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994). The maximum

variation approach implies a selection of informants and settings which represent a wide range of experience related to the phenomenon of interest, in this case different ways of approaching and conceptualizing global education among practicing teachers. The idea behind a maximum variation sample is not to build a random and generalizable sample, but to represent a wide range of experiences related to the object of study. The maximum variation sample was elaborated in close cooperation with a number of consultants from The Global School[84] (cf. 5.6.2). These consultants served extremely well as key informants, since they are engaged in in-service training and school development projects as regards global education in their region, and thus have a profound knowledge of ongoing activities and access to a vast network of practicing teachers engaged in global education. As indicated above, the sample was limited to upper secondary school teachers. There are a several reasons for this. Firstly, the sake of historical continuity suggested such a focus (cf. Chapter 5). Secondly, it is reasonable to believe that the upper secondary school level is, or at least ought to be, operating on a more analytical and sophisticated level compared to the lower levels of the school system, and accordingly that this level is more suitable within the overall framework of this dissertation project. Thirdly, a coherent sample in terms of school level seemed reasonable in relation to the attempt of developing a didactic typology. Due to financial and practical circumstances the study was geographically limited to a sample of teachers in the western and eastern parts of Sweden. This, in turn, mirrored two of the four regions (region West and East) that make up the administrative structure of The Global School. Through discussions with the key informants, a maximum variation sample based on seven different categories of informants was constructed. For the sake of clarity, it should be underscored that the seven categories that makes up the maximum variation sample merely constitute sample categories, i.e. that they are not to be mixed up with subsequent empirical analyses and the construction of the didactic typology presented in 6.2.

Category 1: Teachers who conduct global education as part of conventional subjects in the upper secondary school, i.e. subjects that by tradition deals with global education, primarily civics and geography. As indicated in chapter 5, the civics subject has historically been the most common mode of implementing global education in the Swedish school system, and according to the consultants at The Global School it still is.

Category 2: Teachers who conduct global education through subject-integrated project work in the upper secondary school. These teachers integrate most of the conventional subjects of the curriculum into projects which are played out, more or less full-time, for between 4-6 weeks.

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[84] www.programkontoret.se/sv/Den-globala-skolan/

Category 3: Teachers who conduct global education through specially designed, eligible, courses devoted to global development issues. Many of these courses came about as a result of the restructuring of the Swedish upper secondary school system in the 1990s which opened up greater opportunities for schools to develop local courses. Some, but not all, of them have by now been transformed into national courses. The possibility to offer and develop local courses has been severely restricted in the new upper secondary school – Gy 11.

Category 4: Teachers at vocational upper secondary school programmes who conduct global education in connection to a programme for global exchange with vocational schools in developing countries, e.g. the so-called ATHENA-programme financed by the International Programme Office for Education and Training. This mode of implementation is interesting since global education is mainly a phenomenon of the upper secondary school programmes preparing for university studies.

Category 5: Teachers at upper secondary schools which have received the Sustainable School Award by the Swedish National Agency for Education (NAE). According to the NAE the award is received by schools that integrate economic, social and ecological issues in an overall perspective. The principles of sustainable development should permeate management as well as all teaching at the school (Skolverket, 2009).

Category 6: Teachers at upper secondary schools which use entrepreneurship projects as a pedagogical entry-point to global education, e.g. joint business ventures between schools in Sweden and schools in developing countries oriented towards the promotion of sustainable development.

Category 7: Teachers at schools who conduct global education within the framework of EU programmes for school cooperation and exchange, e.g. the Comenius programme, including the digital venue and workspace eTwinning. It should be noted that eTwinning forms part of the Comenius programme and that a joint eTwinning project often is the first step towards a full-fledged Comenius exchange programme.

Based on these categories, and in close cooperation with the key informants, a number of teachers who fitted into the different categories, and who seemed suitable to interview, were identified. The requirements were a record of commitment to global education and that they would be comfortable with an interview situation. The total sample consists of 15 informants. According to Kvale, qualitative interview studies are normally based on 15 plus/minus 10 informants (Kvale, 1996). Moreover, this figure seemed quite reasonable in relation to the 7 categories of informants that were identified through the maximum variation approach. Further, bearing in mind that the second sub-study was based on a sample of 15 informants, this figure also provided a certain

balance between the sub-studies. I explicitly requested a gender balance and accordingly the key informants helped me to select 8 female and 7 male teachers. Their age ranged from 32 to 65 years and their years of service in the teaching profession ranged from 6 to 35 years. They further represent a wide range of different conventional subjects as well as new courses and other teaching constellations in accordance with the seven categories outlined above. It should also be underscored that several of the informants cross-bordered the categories of the maximum-variation sample. This, in turn, was for the better since it facilitated comparisons between the different 'modes of implementation'. Thus, in sum, the total sample consist of 15 practising upper secondary school teachers, engaged in global education through a wide range of different implementation modes, employed at schools in the western and eastern parts of Sweden. All of the informants and their respective school are treated anonymously. Further, whenever a teacher refers to a particular country which her/his school have some kind of affiliation to I have, in order to protect their anonymity, deliberately chosen to replace the name of the country with different fictional countries from the world of literature. 'Aburiria' is the name of a country which appears in the novel *Wizard of the Crow* by the Kenyan writer Ngugi wa Thiong'o. The country 'Bangula' is the scene of the novel *The Lost Colors of the Chameleon* by South African writer Mandla Langa. 'Kangan' is a country in the novel *Anthills of the Savannah* by Nigerian writer Chinua Achebe. The country 'Malafrena' is introduced in a novel with the same name by American writer Ursulea K. LeGuin. Ivorian writer Tanella Boni tells us about the country 'Zamba' in the novel *Martins de couvre-feu.* Finally, 'Zambesia' is referred to, a country which appears in several of the British writer Doris Lessing's novels.

6.1.2. Interviews

In accordance with the dissertation's meta-theoretical and methodological departure-points, an interview is regarded as a dynamic process where the researcher – in dialectical interplay with the informants and through continuous acts of interpretation – actively produces interview data. This implies that interview data is a product of interpretation and of social interplay between the researcher and the informant, i.e. not something that can be neutrally or objectively 'collected' by the former (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2008, 2009; Danermark, et al., 2002). The interviews in this sub-study were *semi-structured,* which asserted a certain structure and continuity but simultaneously offered the opportunity to pose relatively open questions, to probe, and to maintain the discretion of following leads (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Every interview departed from a thematically organized interview guide which covered the sub-study's principle areas of concern (cf. Appendix B). The first interview of the sub-study was conducted in December 2009 and the last was conducted in March 2011. All interviews but one were carried out in the particular schools were the informants

worked.[85] The interviews were always conducted in a 'private spot' where a conversation could be held without being disturbed or overheard by other teachers or pupils at the school. The interviews lasted between one and two hours. All interviews were audio recorded. After the interview, the entire interview conversation was transcribed and sent to the informant. This offered her/him the opportunity to go through the transcript and correct or supplement the interview data. This in accordance with the logic of *respondent validation* (Cohen, et al., 2007). All informants but two came back with written comments and some clarifications in relation to the interview transcripts. This was very useful and improved the quality of the interview data. Finally, it should be underscored that the interview quotes have been translated from Swedish into English. In connection to this process they have been subject to a certain aesthetic modification in so far that interruptions, stammering, overlapping utterances, et cetera have been overlooked. However, this has not compromised the informants' arguments as such.

6.1.3. Analysis

Again, in accordance with the dissertation's basic departure points, analysis of interview data is thought of as an active, interpretative process where knowledge is produced. This process further entails an abductive interplay between data and theory, and in this process patterns are unveiled which generates a new understanding (cf. 3.1). As previously indicated an important aspect of this perspective is that interview data is theoretically informed, but not theoretically determined (cf. 1.4). Yet, there is a certain difference in the way interview data was approached in this sub-study as compared to the sub-study outlined in the previous chapter. In chapter 5 interview data was treated as historical accounts which were used to reconstruct processes of historical change. Hence chapter 5 attempted to represent historical reality, albeit recognizing that our knowledge of this reality is conceptually mediated and theoretically informed. However, in this chapter interview data was not primarily used to provide any generalizations or representations of reality as such, but to theoretically construct a didactic typology which can be 'applied' as a tool in didactic discussions, and which can be used to inform professional practice. Hence, in accordance with the logics of 'pragmatic realism', the balance alters somewhat in this sub-study towards the applicative aspect of knowledge production (cf. 1.4). Nevertheless, the process of analysis did proceed as follows. The first step was, after finishing transcription of all interviews and after receiving comments on these from the informants, to make a perusal of the entire interview material in order to get some kind of overview. The second step, involved several readings, and re-readings, of the material with the intention to identify different qualitative aspects of global education. This was primarily done by identifying central quotes and passages in

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[85] The exception was one interview that due to practical circumstances was conducted in a seminar room at my own department.

the transcripts which exposed variation, differences and contradictions in the teachers' accounts. It is important to stress that these variations, differences and contradictions emerged not only between, but also within individual interview transcripts. In the third step the particular quotes and passages in the teachers' accounts became subject to qualitative categorization and interpreted as expressions of different logics, whereby a new interpretation pattern emerged. Again it is important to stress that expressions of these different logics could be traced within a singular transcript. In this third step the abductive interplay with the theoretical apparatus was also of paramount importance, particularly the notion of the curriculum as a field of tension and the idea that teaching can be conducted from the departure point of competing political and intellectual rationalities. In this stage, comparisons were also made between the established qualitative categories and the historical accentuations of global education that had been discerned in chapter 5. In the fourth step, the different categories, and the different logics they could be interpreted as expressions of, were synthesized into a comprehensive and coherent didactic typology which enables comparison between different – theoretically refined – approaches to global education. The construction of this didactic typology was largely inspired by, although it differs from, a previous typology developed by Englund (cf. 3.4.4). Now, as indicated above, the didactic typology is a theoretical construct which enable us to expose different approaches to global education. However, in order to take the analysis one step further, as a fifth and final step, a critical dialogue is engaged with each and every approach. The critical dialogue partly forms part of the attempt to expose the underlying logics behind each approach, but primarily it constitutes an attempt to expose their limitations, i.e. what kind of 'offers of meaning' that is possible – and impossible – to transmit through the lens of each approach. In this context it is very important to understand that when such a critical dialogue is engaged, this is meant to be with the logics of each approach, i.e. not with the individual informants in this study. As indicated above teachers tend to move in-between the approaches in quite a convoluted manner. Their accounts are merely used as tools to expose that global education can be conducted from the departure point of different approaches. Hence, it is with the logics of these approaches – not the individual teachers – that the critical dialogue is engaged. These critical dialogues are presented towards the end of each sub-section in the upcoming part of the chapter (cf. 6.2.1-6.2.5).

6.2. A didactic typology for global education

In the upcoming sections a fivefold didactic typology of global education will be presented. The typology has been constructed on the basis of practicing teachers' accounts of their teaching, and it will expose that global education can be conceptualized and approached in very different ways, reflecting different political and intellectual rationalities. Yet, all of these approaches can, in their

particular way, be linked to, and be viewed as coherent with, the Swedish written curriculum *Lpf 94*. This clearly illustrates the point about the curriculum as a political problem. Each category of the typology has been assigned a distinct label. Hence we will differentiate between the following five approaches to global education: *Fostering white man's burden*; *Fostering entrepreneurship and consumption for sustainable development*; *Fostering radical solidarity and environmentalism*; *Fostering critical reflexivity*; and finally, *Fostering transdisciplinary academic thinking*. Certain aspects of the different approaches of this typology can further be traced historically to the curriculum accentuations identified in chapter 5. This illustrates the point about curriculum change as an inert process and that approaches to teaching a particular content can linger on for many decades. Nevertheless, it is important to stress that the didactic typology is a theoretical construction which isolates aspects of a complex reality. Hence there is no teacher that fits perfectly into any of the five approaches to global education outlined here. Rather, teachers tend to incorporate aspects of several approaches into their teaching simultaneously, i.e. they cross-border and move in-between them in quite a convoluted manner. This is not so strange, bearing in mind that the curriculum constitutes a field of tension between competing social and political forces, and that the teachers are located in this 'centre of gravity'. The complexity of global issues, and the widening potential knowledge content repertoire, probably also plays a part. Figure 6.1 is an attempt to illustrate the field of tension, with the teacher in the centre of gravity.
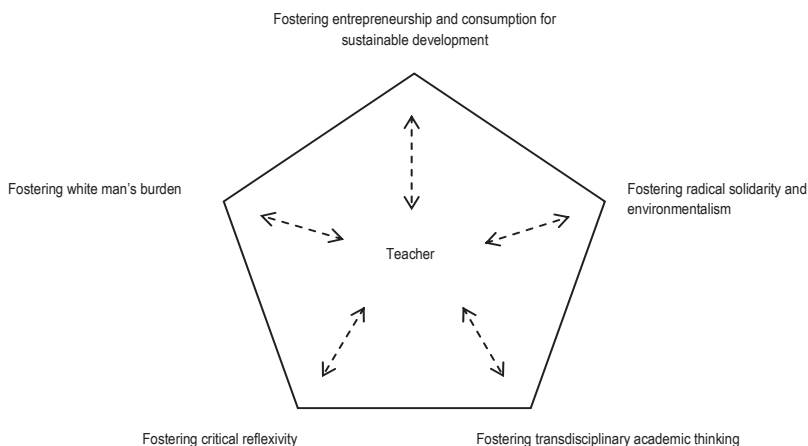
Figure 6.1. The teacher in the 'field of tension' between different approaches to global education

It is if course both possible and likely that the teachers, depending on the school context in which they are teaching, and their individual background and preferences, are drawn into a particular direction in the field of tension.

However, a hypothesis – which is supported in this study, although its design does not allow for any empirical generalizations – is that teachers, consciously or unconsciously, willingly or unwillingly, tend to cross-border these approaches and move around in this field of tension. This, in turn, will have didactic consequences that are important to consider and somehow deal with. In this context, it should be stressed that the didactic typology presented here can serve as an important tool to initiate discussions about, and hopefully enable more informed choices between, different didactic alternatives. It might also help teachers to design their teaching in a way so that the pupils are exposed to different, distinct, and more internally coherent, offers of meaning. Stating this should not be understood as a devaluation of the efforts of practising teachers. In connection to this sub-study I have come across many very skilled and hardworking teachers. The simple point is that there might still be room for development, and that the didactic typology can serve as a useful tool in such an undertaking.

6.2.1. Fostering white man's burden

The label of this approach has been derived from Rudyard Kipling's famous and ambiguous poem from 1899. In many respects *Fostering white man's burden* could be viewed as a vivid reminder and reminiscence of the early 1960s accentuation of global education in Sweden (cf. 5.2), akin to early mainstream development thinking (cf. 4.2-4.3). Within this approach to global education, teaching is primarily devoted to the developing countries, which are basically portrayed as poor, exotic, and in need of development assistance from the more developed countries. Thus, the underlying objective of this approach is to make the pupils 'aware' of the poverty and misery in the developing countries and to transmit knowledge about the, primarily internal, causes of this deep-rooted poverty.[86] Another, complementary, objective is to inform the pupils about development assistance and other efforts on behalf of the developed countries, to alleviate poverty in the developing countries. Moreover, to instil the pupils with the moral duty and willingness to help the poor people in the South, i.e. make them understand that 'we' have an obligation to help 'them'. In this respect the approach is coherent with the preamble of the written Swedish curriculum, which states that solidarity with the weak and the vulnerable are values that the school should represent and impart (Skolverket, 1994b, p. 3). As indicated in previous chapters, global education must essentially be understood as problem-oriented. *Fostering white man's burden* could thus be viewed as a response to the perceived societal problems of poverty, backwardness and underdevelopment, problems which are to be rectified by means of modernization through developing assistance from the rich countries.

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[86] It is noteworthy that the term *aware* is a very frequent and elastic truism used by the informants in many of the interviews. This can be compared to the remarks about the term *awareness* in the literature review (cf. 2.1.2).

In terms of content, socio-economic, political and cultural descriptions of developing countries, the internal causes of poverty in developing countries, and development assistance, are primarily in focus. Typical teaching methods include traditional knowledge transmission in the class room; various forms of fund raising for charity, e.g. *Operation: A Day's Work;* and the pursuit of different kinds of charity/development projects. Several international school exchange programmes with countries in the South also fits into the approach. From the departure-point of *Fostering white man's burden* such exchange programmes are likely to entail hierarchical and ethnocentric elements. Two illuminating quotes:

> I mean it wasn't really a cooperation. We were pushing and they were... well, every once in a while they responded so to speak. [...] We were in charge of the programme both in Bangula and in Sweden (Int. E).

> I want to go down there and have my pupils talk to their pupils and their teachers. I don't really want to know so much about the Kanganian education system. My experience is that pupil democracy in Sweden is well beyond any other country in the world. So getting this over I think can help a lot in terms of development (Int. D).

The first quote describes an exchange programme where the Swedes were in charge of the activities in both Bangula and Sweden. The quote points to a hierarchical relationship where 'we' (i.e. the Swedish partners) are active and 'they' (i.e. the Bangulan partners) are passive. The second quote describes an upcoming, not yet realized, exchange programme. Here it is made clear that the education system of the partner is of little interest to the project. The preconception is that the Swedish education system is way better than the Kanganian, and that 'we' (i.e. the Swedish partner), through this particular school project, can help 'them' (i.e. the Kanganian partner) to develop. Another interesting quote is the following:

> Any real social interaction between our pupils and the Bangulan pupils never emerged. It was of course difficult. The Bangulan pupils were very passive initially. I guess we appeared as very efficient and hardworking characters from Sweden. But eventually it started to work. I guess we were also on different levels in terms of knowledge and skills. [...] But to some extent the Bangulan pupils put themselves in that position. Not all of them, but some of them. They started to beg from our pupils. They asked them for their clothes and so on. That was not very good for the atmosphere (Int. E).

When asking the informant if they discussed these acts of begging with their pupils, i.e. why it happened and so on, the following answer was obtained.

> No, but I mean they saw it. They saw the conditions. But I must say that I was very surprised that they did. Because, when you beg then you really lower your own status a lot (Int. E).

These quotes describe a project which feeds into the dichotomy between 'us' and 'them'. 'We' are described as skilled and hardworking and 'they' are

portrayed as unskilled and passive. Moreover, the quotes indicate that the begging was not considered worth discussing, since it was implied by 'the conditions' – whatever that means – and that the Bangulan pupils lowered themselves through this begging, which – in turn – partly justified the hierarchy between 'us' and 'them'.

From the departure point of *Fostering white man's burden*, development, basically understood as *modernization* and growth, is viewed as a necessary solution to uplift the developing countries from the state of poverty and backwardness that they find themselves in (cf. 4.2-4.3). Moreover it is assumed that 'they' need 'our' help to develop.

> Our exchange with Bangula has its background in a guest lecture by a volunteer worker who told us about the difficult circumstances at the orphanage where she had been working. We realized that they were in great need of further help. [...] Our pupils feel really proud of what they have accomplished and of their contribution to the community. They want to help, and I think some of them might go back down there as volunteer workers in the future (Int. E).

> We started, as I told you before, a big project after this field trip that I conducted to Zamba with The Global School. So, I basically brought it back home and created a local course to help the Zamban organization that we had visited to raise funds for constructing a... [...] It is still there, and we went down with our pupils to inaugurate it (Int. I).

As indicated by these quotes, both teachers and pupils are devoted to, and the teaching is geared towards, helping poor people in developing countries. The basic assumption is that 'we' have 'something' that they do not have, and that 'they' need our help to develop. At the same time these projects obviously also contributes to the self-images of the teachers and pupils as good and morally responsible subjects. Yet, at the same time – and this adds to the complexity – from the departure point of *Fostering white man's burden* it is simultaneously implied that the developing countries have 'something' that 'we' have 'lost' in our strife for modernization. Hence the 'burden' of the white man also incorporates a certain sentiment of loss. Thus, an exotic image of the developing countries is simultaneously transmitted within this approach, as indicated by the quotes below.

> Well, if we take this group that just came back from Zambesia, I think they had really good thoughts and reflections, because they said *they live so simple and yet they seem so happy*. Life was so unpretentious. People just took things as they were. And especially those glittering eyes. Happy people. Generous. They have nothing, but yet they are so generous. And back here we are running around... [...] When we got back home it was almost as if the pupils felt that life became very complicated. All the demands and all the expectations (Int. A).

There were a lot of reflections among our pupils. All of this with food and economy… this indigence. And also this... yes, their joy of living. Even though they were poor they had an enormous joy of living and they wanted to share everything. [...] Even if they might be caught up in a quite difficult situation they had so much happiness within, and I can feel that our pupils have lost some of that happiness in our stressful society. And over there the family was so important... and the pupils discovered so much about this joy of living. They got to experience that there is so much more to life than material items' (Int. G).

'But the pupils also get a sense of the happiness in all of the poverty. And that is something that one might forget about... how happy one can be even if one has so little. It was really happy children that they met at the orphanage.' (Int. E).

In these three quotes developing countries are conceptualized as something of a 'paradise lost' characterized by unpretentious lifestyles, lack of demands, relaxation and joy. People in three different contexts, a poor rural village, an urban slum area, and an orphanage are all portrayed as happy. This conceptualization also feeds into the dichotomy between 'us' and 'them'. The only difference is that 'they' are now described as happy and relaxed in their state of traditionalism, whereas 'we' are described as unhappy and stressed in our state of modernity. Such notion disregard that there is a huge amount of expressions of modernity in the developing countries as well as expressions of traditionalism in the developed countries. Hence *Fostering white man's burden* transmits quite a colourless and simplistic image of the world. This brings us to the view of globalization that is being transmitted by the approach

Fostering white man's burden transmits a limited understanding of globalization. The dichotomous description of developed and developing countries disregards the fact that globalization has transformed the economic and social geography of the world, whereby the North is in the South and the other way around. Consequently it becomes difficult to capture several important aspects of the globalized condition, e.g. global spread of social practices, technologies, notions, ideas, dreams and aspirations, be it modern mainstream consumer culture or stress and depression. Dichotomous thinking basically makes it difficult to conceptualize globalization.

The basic political ideas, values and notions of the world, which are transmitted by *Fostering white man's burden* could be traced to, and understood as ideologically founded in, social conservatism. As indicated above, the promotion of welfare and concern with the world's poor is viewed as a moral obligation. However, this welfare promotion and concern is conditioned. Redistribution of wealth from the 'haves' to the 'have-nots', e.g. through charity, is encouraged as long as it does not fundamentally challenge or pose any threat to the existing social and international order. Moreover the 'have-nots' are expected to, for the sake of their own good, adjust themselves in line with the expectations of the contributor, i.e. to, in this particular case, 'modernize'. It could further be argued

that the welfare and economic redistribution is not considered to be a basic political right, but rather based on the benevolence of the contributor.

This implies that *Fostering white man's burden* must essentially be understood as a justification of the existing international economic system and the prevailing world order. Obviously, the basic idea is that the developing countries are supposed to modernize and become like 'us', i.e. modern, capitalist countries in the West constitute the blueprint for development. The approach accepts the basic premises of capitalism and does not challenge international power structures. At the end of the day solidarity and concern with the poor is subordinated to the reproduction of the prevailing social order. Hence this approach to global education can be viewed as an expression of *reproductive* forces which struggle to maintain the existing social order (cf. 3.4.2).

Finally, three critical remarks will be raised against the approach. This criticism forms part of the analysis and constitutes an attempt to expose some of the limitations of *Fostering white man's burden*, i.e. what kind of 'offers of meaning' that is possible – and impossible – to transmit through the lens of the approach. Firstly, the approach tends to transmit a dichotomous view of 'us' (e.g. as rich, modern, developed and stressed) and 'them' (e.g. as poor, traditional, backward and relaxed) and of 'our' and 'their' respective roles, duties and functions in the quest for development. This is troublesome since it contributes to a simplistic image of the world, and since it does not really open up for any critical reflections as regards how 'we' portray 'them' or how 'we' think about 'ourselves'. In the case of international exchange programmes it is particularly troublesome, since it is normally argued that the objective of such exchange programmes is to bridge, or at least challenge, such dichotomies. Not to feed into them. Secondly, an intimately related problem with the approach is that can contribute to hierarchical and ethnocentric notions. Helping poor people is of course a noble cause, and it is important to recognize the value of such sentiments and efforts, e.g. learning to appreciate to share. It is also important to keep in mind, again, that instilling such a moral duty is coherent with the preamble of the written Swedish curriculum. However, if argued that 'they' need 'our' help to develop and modernize it is close at hand to think of them as inferior and in lack of agency, which in turn renders an equal relationship impossible. Moreover, one must critically consider the balance between, on the one hand, acts of charity and, on the other, the potential – dichotomous – production of narcissistic self-images of 'ourselves' as good and moral subjects. Hence, again it is important to critically consider the nature of the relationship between 'us' and 'them' and how it is portrayed, e.g. in the case of international exchange programmes it is very important to critically consider how the relationship is affected by the fact that one of the partners is in charge of all the funds. Thirdly, also related to the above, the approach tends to disregard complexity and thus transmit a somewhat simplistic image of the world. For

example it fails to recognize the fact that globalization has reshaped the social and economic geography of the world whereby the North is in the South and the other way around.

6.2.2. Fostering entrepreneurship and consumption for sustainable development

As indicated by its name, this approach to global education is intimately associated with the sustainable development discourse in general, and the Education for Sustainable Development discourse in particular (SOU 2004:104; United Nations, 2002c). The approach is comparatively new, and from a historical perspective it can be traced to development debates from the late 1980s and onwards. It is further intimately related to, and forms part of, the latest historical accentuation of global education (cf. 4.5-4.7 and 5.6). Within this approach to global education the promotion of entrepreneurial skills and sustainable consumer preferences are viewed as crucial objectives. In this context it is worth noting that the current written Swedish curriculum *Lpf 94,* states that education should illuminate how the functions of society, and our way of living and working, can contribute to sustainable development (Skolverket, 1994b, p. 6). It might further be important to note that there are no explicit references to entrepreneurship in the current curriculum document, but that this concept will have a notable status in the curriculum of the new upper secondary school in Sweden – Gy11. Now, in accordance with the problem-oriented character of global education, *Fostering entrepreneurship and consumption for sustainable development* starts from a concern with the current state of the world, and it can ultimately be viewed as a response to the perceived societal problem of unsustainable development. The logics of the approach suggests that the world is characterized by insufficient – and thus unsustainable – economic development to uplift poor people from their poverty, while at the same time current patterns of production and consumption are unsustainable from an environmental standpoint. It is further recognized that there are many obstacles to sustainable social development worldwide. Hence, the world is facing a range of challenges, and it is believed that education can play an important part in fostering pupils that can respond to these challenges. From the departure point of *Fostering entrepreneurship and consumption for sustainable development,* this implies fostering pupils to become on the one hand ambitious and independent go-getters and problem-solvers, and on the other hand responsible consumers that can make wise and benevolent consumer choices, whereby social and environmental aspects of the production process are balanced against economic considerations. Entrepreneurship and consumption are thus viewed as key factors in the quest for sustainable development.

Since sustainable development – encompassing economic, social and environmental dimensions – is a very elastic concept, *Fostering entrepreneurship and*

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consumption for sustainable development can of course comprise a wide range of potential content. Apart from mediating an understanding of the concept as such, there are many potential pedagogical entry-points. However, there is an emphasis on the role of entrepreneurship and consumption in relation to sustainable development and this obviously gear the content into certain directions. A further implication of this emphasis is that there is often a very close connection, and thus difficult to differentiate, between content and method. Sometimes the pedagogical method tends to become the content, or the 'offer of meaning', in itself. Put differently: the method becomes the message. Typical teaching methods include entrepreneurship projects, e.g. *Junior Achievement Young Enterprise*; entrepreneurial learning; experience-based learning; project work; and international exchange programmes.

One example of content that fits well into *Fostering entrepreneurship and consumption for sustainable development* is that which focuses on technological solutions to global problems, e.g. innovative companies which attempt to solve, or at least tackle, environmental problems by means of developing environmental friendly technology:

> We are for example examining water as an alternative source of energy. What do we have in Sweden? And how does it work? We have for example a company based in Lysekil. They have started up a huge project where they are trying to converse ocean wave energy into electricity. They want to start up a huge wave park outside Lysekil…[…] So we look into that and we are going there on a field trip to study what it is that they are doing (Int. H).

The quote refers to a school project focused on global environmental issues. Within this school project the pupils examine, amongst other things, companies engaged in finding technological solutions to the problem of unsustainable development. Thus, the basic 'offer of meaning' is that companies can simultaneously attain the two objectives of providing environmental friendly solutions and make economic profit, i.e. that economic growth and environmental sustainability walks hand in hand. The trick is to find alternative technological solutions. Two other examples of content that fits well into the approach follow below.

> One of these projects that we have been working with revolved around colonial products. Within this project the pupils… Well, we made comparisons. Ecological chips versus Pringle chips, ecological bananas versus regular bananas, so to speak. And chocolate of course. The pupils got to smell fair trade flowers and so on, to see if they could sense any difference (Int. L).

> Last year they arranged an ecological fashion show, but this year it was a swap day. And then we had a person from *Camino* here. She gave a speech for all the pupils called *You can make a difference*. […] Then we had chocolate tasting, where they could taste different chocolates, fair trade and so on. And then we had alternative skin and hair care. There was a demonstration where they could try different treatments from a hair salon (Int. B).

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The first quote refers to a trade project in which issues of fair trade and the role of consumer choices become entry points to a discussion on equitable and sustainable development. The second quote relates to yearly 'thematic days' on sustainable development at a particular school. As indicated by the quote, many of these activities revolve around consumption.[87] Further, in both of the quotes experience-based learning is paramount to the pedagogic approach. The pupils taste, smell and try different products and treatments, whereby 'experience' and 'consumption' becomes so intimately tied up with one another that it is actually difficult to differentiate between them. The second quote further refers to a performance of an ecological fashion show at the school. Several of the informants in this study mentioned that their pupils had done the same thing, and apparently this is a quite popular way of approaching the issue of sustainable development in schools. That fashion shows are intimately connected to consumption hardly requires any further comments. Several of these examples points to a situation where the pedagogical activity tends to become a message in itself. Moreover, it is quite obvious that the approach is largely based on student-centred pedagogy and this brings us to the phenomena of entrepreneurship projects.

A central pedagogic approach in *Fostering entrepreneurship and consumption for sustainable development* is different entrepreneurship projects, e.g. Junior Achievement Young Enterprise. Below follows a number of quotes that refers to this phenomenon.

> We have these four pupils who are economists. They are running an enterprise within Junior Achievement Young Enterprise, and they are focusing on fair trade. They have visited a lot of wholesalers and so on, and… Well, these types of activities make it much easier to connect different global issues. It enables a deeper understanding (Int. A).

The teacher refers to an entrepreneurship project at the school and states that this project has been used as an entry-point to a broader study of global issues, i.e. the teacher identifies 'spin-off'-effects from the project which have been conducive to global education in a more general sense. However, within this approach entrepreneurship projects are often regarded as important in themselves since they provide pupils with certain skills of importance to the attainment of sustainable development. An illuminating quote:

> The basic idea is that I create a group of pupils here. And then I got connections in Kangan… and we make these connections and we put the pupils together. Then we say to them. *Right, you guys need to make profit*. […] So I went in, and I built up a team, and I got them going. I work mostly with sort of the pedagogy of getting them into business-like attitudes (Int. D).

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[87] Note that *Camino* is a lifestyle magazine for sustainable life and consumption.

Again a close connection between method and content can be noted. On the one hand the concrete activity is an entrepreneurship project devoted to sustainable development, which incorporates both Swedish and Kanganian pupils. On the other hand the aim is to get the pupils to think like entrepreneurs and make them understand how to make profit. The means and the ends are so closely knit together that they are in fact difficult to distinguish from one another. Yet an interesting example revolves around the concept *entrepreneurial learning*:

> We are pretty good at this with Junior Achievement Young Enterprise. What more? We work with entrepreneurship at the school. […] Well, entrepreneurial learning, it is simply about generating creative and enterprising individuals (Int. B).

When I probed further on the meaning of the concept entrepreneurial learning the teacher mentioned that the pedagogical work at the school, which by the way has received the Sustainable School Award, is guided by a book with the Swedish title *Så tänds eldsjälar – en introduktion till entreprenöriellt lärande* published by the Swedish Business Development Agency (Peterson & Westlund, 2007). A very simple attempt of translating the title reads *The way to create a driving spirit – an introduction to entrepreneurial learning*. The teacher stated:

> *Så tänds eldsjälar…* and there you have different ideas on the kind of capabilities you want to nurture in entrepreneurial learning. We can take a look at the book later so that you can see yourself. But you basically lay the foundation for an entrepreneur. Our approach is to nurture the different capabilities that make an entrepreneur so to speak. But they must not get stuck in this thing with enterprising. It is a way of learning. And you have start somewhere when they are enrolled (Int. B).

The teacher underscores that entrepreneurial learning is a pedagogic approach and that it primarily revolves around promoting the pupils' creativity. The idea is that the pupils should develop tools so that they are able to overcome future challenges themselves, rather than expecting teachers to transmit and impose pre-packed solutions. The book *Så tänds eldsjälar* is deeply embedded in a business discourse, which is not so strange bearing in mind that it is published by Swedish Business Development Agency. Thus, from the departure point of the school, this business discourse goes hand in hand with the school's environmental work, and it is part and parcel of the school's general approach towards sustainable development.

> Our objectives are stated in our policy. We should be pioneers in environmental work. That's our mission. Our mission is to make sure that our pupils have a good idea of what sustainable development is when they leave the school (Int. B).

When I probed on whether they perceive any possible contradictions between economic development and environmental sustainability, and if they have discussed or problematized this matter, I got the following reply:

> Not in the way you describe it, but I can't really vouch for what other teachers do. [...] The meaning that we ascribe to sustainable development is that we should pass on our earth in the same way as we inherited it. So that it is still able to produce. I don't think we focus that much on economy… since everybody else thinks about the economic aspect of sustainable development. We think more about what it is we have to preserve (Int. B).

This example illustrate something important about *Fostering entrepreneurship and consumption for sustainable development,* i.e. that the inherent contradictions of sustainable development, discussed in the theory chapter (cf. 3.4.5 and 3.5.3) and illuminated indirectly through Andersson's global ethical trilemma, are not problematized within the approach. Another interesting detail in this context is that several schools in this study had syllabi's stating as a learning objective that the pupils should have knowledge about *the* meaning of sustainable development, i.e. definite form singular. This seems to suggest that there is one single meaning of the concept, and that this meaning should be attained by the pupils.

Sustainable development is, from *Fostering entrepreneurship and consumption for sustainable development'*s view-point, the obvious solution to the world's problems. However, unlike *Fostering white man's burden,* aid has no self-evident role in this process. Rather *Fostering entrepreneurship and consumption for sustainable development* puts faith in entrepreneurship, innovation, consumer choice and the market mechanisms. An illuminating quote:

> I have never been so interested in saving the world, which a lot of people are in this type of things. I am more interested in development than in aid. [...] You know… it is best if you make your own help. So I had this sort of idea in mind of a project that the pupils would learn a lot from. I wanted the pupils to learn a lot and I wanted the pupils in the other country to learn a lot. I didn't want us to just give money… or go on a trip. I wanted something meaningful and useful (Int. D).

Thus, the approach wants to provide the pupils with entrepreneurial skills so they can both earn their living and at the same time contribute – via the market place – to the solution of various societal and environmental problems.

Fostering entrepreneurship and consumption for sustainable development's view of globalization is basically optimistic. Societal problem-solving, in fact development itself (cf. 3.3.1), requires a free global flow of ideas, information, people, goods and capital. Both entrepreneurs and enlightened consumers need access to global markets and flows of information to be able to make rational choices. Thus, sustainable development is simply not attainable without globalization and, in fact, the very idea of 'sustainable development' is in turn an outcome of global processes.

The fundamental political assumptions, ideas and notions of the world, which are transmitted within *Fostering entrepreneurship and consumption for sustainable development,* could be traced to neoliberal political thinking. The approach departs from the notion that individual creativity, entrepreneurial spirit and free consumer choice will, via the market mechanism, generate economic development and simultaneously rectify social and environmental problems. The right to accumulate capital is a necessary prerequisite for the 'green' or social entrepreneur, and so is market access for the enlightened consumer, both of which are cornerstones in neoliberal political ideology. This further denotes that *Fostering entrepreneurship and consumption for sustainable development* constitutes, in all essentials, a justification of the existing international economic system and the current world order. Capitalism is not only viewed as compatible with sustainable development but in fact a necessary condition for its realization. Production and consumption patterns have to be geared into a more environmentally friendly and socially acceptable direction, but this does not challenge capitalism as a system. Entrepreneurs and consumers will continue to operate within the existing economic structures. It is individual behaviour, consumer preferences, norms and ideals that have to change. Not the system as such. Accumulation of capital will cater for investments in new and environmentally friendly technical solutions. Hence, ideas about inherent contradictions between economic growth and environmental sustainability are not problematized. Since *Fostering entrepreneurship and consumption for sustainable development* does not display any system-critical notions, the basic 'offer of meaning' to the pupils is that capitalism is the only game in town. An illuminating quote:

> I don't think I am promoting… Well, I probably am promoting capitalism. […] But is the world not capitalist? I thought we lived in a capitalist world? (Int. D).

The quote illustrates that the possibility that the world economy could be organized or function in any fundamentally different way is not even an issue. Hence the take on the world economy is basically 'panglossian'. This implies that *Fostering entrepreneurship and consumption for sustainable development* must be viewed as an expression of reproductive forces which maintain the existing social order. There are no attempts of changing the structure. The issue is rather what can be accomplished within this existing structure. Another illuminating quote:

> I am not desperate to address the balance between what you call developing countries and industrial countries. I am desperate for everybody to make the world around them better. […] When we talk about these goals… how do we teach people to be creative? How do we teach people to solve problems? Everything stems from this. It is what the problem is all about. More than the money going south… It's sharing ideas and visions of how we create people to be problem-solvers? (Int. D).

The particular project that the quote refers to is based on a division of labour, where production is carried out in Kangan, whereas 'branding' and selling is carried out in Sweden. When I asked whether this division of labour was considered problematic, I got the following reply:

> We are never going to get it when it comes to the production-seller-thing. You can only move them further to the middle-ground. And we can go further in to them. And, you know, the pupils can be somewhere in-between. But the production is always going to be where it is cheapest. And the selling is always going to be where the profit is highest. That's the way the market works. But where we can be a much more equal partnership is how we go about doing this. How do we take responsibility for it? Who does what? But also when we talk about how we get the pupils to learn from it. Everything for me in this project is about the pupils getting generic skills. On both ends. With an idea that these skills will focus on trade, which can benefit both countries. This, sustainable development-side of it, is creating market pathways from Kanganian production to European, the EU's, market. Which take out some of this, sort of middle-man aspect, which take away the real profit for the Kanganians. You know, these things, they sell something for massive amounts of money from time to time in the EU, and they get very little for it. That's unfair trade. So fair trade. Giving them the skills to create fair trade is the sustainable development aspect of this (Int. D).

From this quote it is obviously recognized that the project operates within the rules of the existing economic system, but it is still argued that there are progressive elements to the project in so far that it might enable 'them', the Kanganians, to move up the ladder. The quote further indicates that the aim is to create equal partnership, access to the European market, and, ultimately, sustainable development. In this context, it is important to point out that all production of goods within the project is based on recycled material. Moreover that all economic profit from the project – to the extent that profit is made – will be allocated to, and reinvested in, the Kanganian partner school. Now, in one perspective it is of course possible to view the project as emancipating, empowering and progressive, which – in turn – points to the discussion in the theory chapter about the endemic difficulties of applying concepts such as reproductive and progressive (cf. 3.4.5). On the other hand, as indicated above, it can also be argued that the project starts from, and merely reproduces, a capitalist division of labour. Production is in the periphery, branding and selling is in the centre. The teacher stresses that equal partnership and fair trade is the goal. The question is if it is possible. When I probed whether 'entrepreneurship', within this allegedly joint entrepreneurship project, is not mostly taking place in Sweden, whereas the Kanganians are simply engaged in simple production processes, the following reply was forwarded:

> Yes, that is always going to stay with us. The money is here, selling is here… and the money is needed there. But what we would like to talk more about is whether they can get out of being the producers and being the entrepreneurs locally? And this was my original vision. That they wouldn't be producing. They would find producers down there. Basically they are only shifting the chain one step. From the producer to the

supplier. […] I think the best benefit is going to be from… You know, we are not going to readdress this balance in this project. Long-term it would be really nice if somebody involved in the project, either end, turned it into their career. If you can create trade between Kangan and Sweden it is only going to benefit both countries (Int. D).

This quote exposes assumptions about the benefits of trade and the teacher stresses that it is possible for the Kanganian partner school to 'shift the chain one step' and turn into local entrepreneurs creating a local division of labour. From a neoliberal viewpoint this is of course something positive, i.e. the entrepreneur is viewed as a problem-solver since she/he creates opportunities for local employment.

Finally, two critical remarks will be raised against the approach with the intention of illuminating some of its limitations in terms of potential 'offers of meaning'. Firstly, a problematic aspect of *Fostering entrepreneurship and consumption for sustainable development* is that the inherent contradictions and inconsistencies of 'sustainable development' are not problematized. As previously indicated it is impossible to make any empirical generalizations on the basis of this study. Nevertheless, a reasonable hypothesis is that many teachers in the Swedish school system are so focused on trying to implement education *for* sustainable development that they forget to maintain a critical perspective towards the concept as such. Arguably the preposition *for* might play a part in this, i.e. that sustainable development is simply assumed to be a coherent, attainable and benign objective. This reminds us of Gramsci's argument about hegemony being exercised as 'common sense' (cf. 3.2.5), and Englund's argument that teachers generally view the curriculum as a *pedagogical* rather than a *political* problem (cf. 1.1 and 3.4.5). From the theoretical departure points of this dissertation, where the curriculum is viewed as a field of tension between different social forces and where global development is thought of as forged in the intersection of an global ethical trilemma (balancing between the three conflicting goals of mass consumption, justice and environmental sustainability), such an approach is problematic. Rather, from this theoretical angle, global education ought to expose the inherent contradictions and inconsistencies of sustainable development, i.e. make it clear that it is ultimately a matter of political trade-offs. *Fostering entrepreneurship and consumption for sustainable development* tends to disregard these inherent tensions and contradictions. Secondly, despite *Fostering entrepreneurship and consumption for sustainable development's* liberal foundation, there is a certain tendency that the approach ends up in a perspective where hierarchies are thought of as inevitable which, in turn, runs the risk of feeding into dichotomous notions of 'us' and 'them'. For example, when it comes to North-South relations it is not critically considered that the entrepreneur, in order to be an entrepreneur, needs cheap labour that enables her/him to be an entrepreneur, i.e. the entrepreneur is largely thought of as a 'lonely hero'. The structural conditions, which enable the entrepreneur to be an entrepreneur, are not

critically considered. Hence, the hierarchies that form part of the capitalist system are not problematized, but rather treated as something 'given'.

6.2.3. Fostering radical solidarity and environmentalism

Fostering radical solidarity and environmentalism can in many respects be traced historically to the various radical social and intellectual forces that emerged in the wake of the 1968-movement, and thus to the 1970s accentuation of global education (cf. 4.4 and 5.3). As indicated in chapter 5, these radical approaches to global education had a relatively strong position in the 1970s and 1980s, but in later years they seem to have lost much of the momentum that they once had. The general political reorientation in Swedish society and increasing societal complexity has probably contributed to this development. The concealment of political contradictions and increasing mainstream co-option of radical forces, which can be traced to the sustainable development discourse, probably also play a part. Yet, it is an existing and possible approach to global education. Thus, with reference to the discussion in the literature review as whether global education should, or should not, be viewed as radical (cf. 2.1.6), it should by now hopefully be clear that global education is formed in a field of tension, which means that it can display radicalism, but this does by no means imply that the global education, in its entirety, ought to be understood as radical.

Fostering radical solidarity and environmentalism is a broad approach to global education, and it entails so many different entry-points that it is debatable whether they can or should be lumped together under one label. Yet, criticism of the current economic system and orientation towards political mobilization in different forms constitute important common denominators which justifies the amalgamation. The basic objectives behind this approach to global education are to transmit knowledge about global inequality, exploitation and environmental degradation. Further, to foster radical solidarity, environmental responsibility and to promote political activism. *Fostering radical solidarity and environmentalism* is, like other approaches to global education, problem-oriented, and it can be viewed as a response to the perceived societal problems of inequality, exploitation, environmental degradation, egoism and indifference towards these matters. The approach attempts to invoke indignation and to promote political mobilization against structures and conditions that are perceived as unjust. As in the case of *Fostering white man's burden,* solidarity is an important concept in *Fostering radical solidarity and environmentalism.* However, in the case of the latter, solidarity is more radical in kind, since it entail critique of the current economic system, and thus potentially subversive elements. This is why the approach – and in fact the concept *solidarity* itself - is often questioned in a way that would probably have been more difficult e.g. in the 1970s. A few interesting quotes as regards the objective of global education and about the concept solidarity follows:

Well, I *really* think we should invoke solidarity. Yes. Solidarity. Consciousness. I *really* think so. […] And you have to react. Yes, it simply is not acceptable to be such an egoist that you only care about yourself. You have to think about your fellow human beings. And I mean, if you look beyond the country's borders… well, in your own classroom as well for that matter (Int. A).

The quote indicates that solidarity is important and that notions of egoism and indifference must be opposed in global education. However, what is particularly interesting with this quote is that the teacher twice used and emphasized the word *really*, i.e. insinuating that it might be thought of as strange or suspicious to promote solidarity and to fight egoism. Another quote:

Well, I want people to show solidarity. I want people to reduce their egos. Because I think that many pupils today… I realize that I am in deep water here… but if you talk to youngsters today, and I am not even that old myself, I really think egocentrism has increased in later years. Generally speaking. If we look at the pupils' future plans. *What are you going to do? How are you going to make money? What kinds of values are important?* I see an extreme egocentrism. How you pursue your goals are of secondary importance. You can almost… well, not walk over dead bodies, but… pretty much so. And I think it is a very important part of global education to expose them to the conditions of other people, in other places. Make them see their own position. *Well, perhaps you have all these possibilities but, well, what if you were living somewhere else?* (Int. I).

Obviously, this quote stresses the importance of solidarity, expresses a concern with perceived egocentric tendencies among pupils, and argues that global education has a mission in all of this. The teacher continues to talk about the concept solidarity:

Solidarity is such a controversial concept. We hardly use the concept any more. It is almost as if it has disappeared. We have started to use it here… […] Me and my colleagues have started to talk about it. The concept solidarity. What does it mean and how can we use it? (Int. I).

It is interesting to note that both of the quotes above recognize that solidarity is something controversial, almost suspicious. This, despite the fact that the preamble of the written Swedish curriculum states that solidarity is a value that the school should represent and impart (Skolverket, 1994b, p. 3). One possible, albeit drastic, interpretation could be that the concept has been completely outmoded in the greater war of position in the historic bloc. Another, that it is the more radical, system-critical, understanding of solidarity that is considered to be controversial, and that it is this version of the concept that is embraced by the two teachers in question. Regardless, both scenarios point to a situation where the possibility to make use of the concept seems to be circumscribed. My interpretation is that the teachers quoted above, partly pursue teaching in accordance with *Fostering radical solidarity and environmentalism,* but that they, at the same time, are concerned that this might be viewed as offensive and controversial. In this context it can be noted that the written Swedish curriculum

– Lpf 94 – states that the school should develop the pupils' ability and willingness to actively contribute to deeper democracy in civic life *and* their respect for the natural environment, both of which can be seen as coherent with the ambitions of *Fostering radical solidarity and environmentalism* to foster pupils to become politically conscious and active in the fights against injustice, inequality and environmental degradation (Skolverket, 1994b).

As regards content, *Fostering radical solidarity and environmentalism* transmits knowledge about global poverty and inequality, exploitative structures and relationships, and environmental degradation and its consequences. Poverty is a focal point, but unlike *Fostering white man's burden* the external causes of poverty are brought to the fore, i.e. exploitative structures that fetter people into positions of dependence and subordination. Overconsumption in some geographical areas is basically viewed as a reflection of poverty in other geographical areas (cf. 4.4 and 5.3). As indicated in section 4.4 this is a theoretical position which is open for criticism. Links between inequality, poverty and environmental degradation are also focused within the approach. A few illuminating quotes regarding content will follow. The first quote is a direct reply to the question of what kinds of content the teacher tends to prioritize:

> Class-based inequality... Issues and questions about injustice is what we tend to come back to. And I am proud of that. It is our plan to do so. I think I have support in the written curriculum and the Education Act for such an approach. But also because… as UNESCO are putting it… we are obligated to do so. The pupils are carrying these questions. It is not only real questions and formal questions. It is also pedagogical questions. And if the kids have these questions, then that is the perfect entry-point. *Why in heaven's name is it that some people starve to death while others eat themselves to death?* That is the question that the pupil wants an answer to… and then the goal is wide open (Int. N).

The quote obviously reflects the basic concern with inequality and the relationship between rich and poor, mediated by *Fostering radical solidarity and environmentalism.* The next quote also relates to issues of global inequality and the teacher stresses the importance of not surrendering to indifference but to react.

> You have to open your eyes so that you can see what the world looks like. And react. And think. You just can't take things for granted. You have to ask yourself how did the world become like this? Is it possible to do something about it? How can it be done? You can't simply ignore these issues and say that it doesn't concern you (Int. A).

Another teacher brought forward the global textile industry as a concrete example of content that clearly expose injustices, poverty and environmental degradation. The quote underscores the importance of trying to mobilize the pupils against these perceived injustices.

> I mean it is a horrible industry with child labour and all this. For example we look at documentaries about textile dyeing. It is horrific… and there are some people who profit on this. We have to focus on the people on the ground. It is very important to

expose the conditions under which these people are living. Expose their situation. That it is simply not OK. We would never accept such working conditions. People have to become aware of this and raise demands for change (Int. C).

As regards typical pedagogical methods within *Fostering radical solidarity and environmentalism,* traditional knowledge transmission in the class-room can be mentioned first. Several teachers also mentioned the television medium, which appears to be a particularly strong medium when it comes to transmitting notions of injustice an inequality in the class-room. Other typical pedagogical methods include student-centred approaches, including projects devoted to political activism in one way or another, e.g. projects focused on moulding political opinion, advocacy campaigns and demonstrations. One example is captured in the following quote.

> In one of my classes… within the course project work… I have three girls that are real environmental freaks. Outstanding! They have carried out a project work and they have started an environmental club at the school. And they have been in Copenhagen and demonstrated. They have really mobilized these issues. They have really done something. They have not only been talking (Int. A).

The reference to Copenhagen refers to the COP15 meeting 2009 where the pupils went to demonstrate. It is quite clear from this quote that political activism and mobilization is an important element, and that the pupils and the teacher have largely framed the course project work in accordance with the basic premises of *Fostering radical solidarity and environmentalism.* Another quote which points in a similar direction:

> The idea is to inform locally, and to conduct advocacy towards responsible officials within the municipality as regards environmental issues. […] We are going to hand in all our results to them, so that they can take part of our work. In this way we try to influence the politicians to become more aware of the environmental problems (Int. H).

The quote refers to a project focused on global environmental issues, and an important component of the project is that pupils conduct advocacy towards local politicians. An important issue, from the departure point of *Fostering radical solidarity and environmentalism,* is of course what kind of room of manoeuvre that is available for pupils within the prevailing structures and discourses of society. When I asked about this, I obtained the following responses by two teachers:

> Of course, I mean the pupils are exposed to an enormous propaganda. And they are extremely sensitive in this age when they are trying to build a personal identity. And to a large extent they do build their identity on consumption of different material items. [...] I think what it boils down to is that you cannot simply sit and watch what is happening around you. You need knowledge about what is happening, and you need to get an idea of the different forces behind the current development. At the end of the day it is really about reaching a stage where the pupils are prepared to act. We sometimes talk about a model and we call it the PARTA-model. Problematize, analyse, reflect, take a stand, and

act. And if you get all the way to the acting-stage, then you really have come a long way (Int. L).

> You have to mobilize. You have to show how different things are connected to one another. And you have to go all the way if you want them to reach the acting-stage. And I mean the acting-stage is different depending on the age of the pupils. In the 80's these so-called experts asked if the world would become a better place just because pre-primary school kids fold peace pigeons and send them to Hiroshima and Nagasaki? No, perhaps not, but this was all that these young children were able to do. For us it might be to go to the local grocery store and ask the manager why there are no fair trade products or call politicians and demand that they do something for COP15 and so on. You got to equip the pupils with tools that they know how to handle. But you also have to make them understand that one letter to a parliamentary representative is not going to make a difference. You have to be persistent and work long-term (Int. N)

These quotes points to some crucial characteristics of the approach. The teachers obviously believe that there are strong structures and discourses which constrain political action. Yet, they stress the importance of action, the importance of working long-term, and the importance of setting realistic targets at different stages.

From the departure point of *Fostering radical solidarity and environmentalism* – and in sharp contrast to the previous two approaches – modern capitalist development is viewed as a problem rather than a solution to the world's problems (cf. 4.4). The logics of this approach suggest that modern capitalist development is intimately tied up with exploitation, inequality and environmental degradation. The system is based on production and consumption patterns that have devastating effects for the natural and social environment. Thus, the approach calls for an alternative development model based on global redistribution of resources and environmental concern.

In a similar spirit, globalization – considered to be intimately connected to modern capitalist development – is viewed as unjust. From the standpoint of *Fostering radical solidarity and environmentalism,* the globalization process creates winners and losers, and it widens the gap between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots'. The winners are capitalists, large-scale multi-national companies and powerful countries. The losers are poor people, subsistence level farmers, low-salary labourers, unemployed and developing countries. Eco-systems and the natural environment are also major victims of globalization, global warming being a case in point. Moreover, globalization is perceived to separate production, consumption and waste disposal geographically, with the result that the natural environments inhabited by poor people become particularly affected.

The basic political ideas, values and notions of the world, which are transmitted by *Fostering radical solidarity and environmentalism,* can be traced to, and understood as ideologically based in, socialism in various forms, and the thinking of more

radical environmentalist groups. The approach's connection to the left is more or less explicit among some of the teachers. Two illuminating quotes follow:

> When you deal with these issues about economy, multinational companies, large-scale companies and so on, there is perhaps a risk that you can become accused of pulling towards the left. And that's not how it should be. I mean it is an expression for everything that... but, well. If you look at it from the outside you might get that impression. When you want to get the pupils going, get them to think critically and start questioning things. Then you can probably become accused for that. [...] And I mean all of this with consumption society. Why we buy so much and the ongoing resource depletion (Int. F).

In my interpretation the quote reveals an awareness on behalf of the teacher that education should be impartial, but also that the teacher – located in the 'centre of gravity' between the different approaches – occasionally moves quite clearly towards *Fostering radical solidarity and environmentalism*. Another quote states the following:

> The global, and international, issues have a little bit more of a leftist label. I think that is very clear. You can also see that at schools, when you get to know colleagues and so on (Int. N).

The teacher argues that global education in a more general sense involves a certain leftist bias. This can of course be debated but nonetheless it illustrates the point about *Fostering radical solidarity and environmentalism* as an existing and possible approach to global education. [88]

Fostering radical solidarity and environmentalism should primarily be understood as a critique of the existing international economic system and the prevailing world order. This implies that the approach can be viewed as an expression of *progressive* forces which struggle to challenge and change the existing social order and strengthen the position of subordinated groups in the world. However, as previously indicated, the concepts 'reproductive' and 'progressive' are not entirely easy to apply (cf. 3.4.5). This argument will be further developed in the critical remarks below.

Finally, three critical remarks will be raised against *Fostering radical solidarity and environmentalism*. These remarks form part of the analysis and are intended to expose some of the limitations of the approach in terms of its potential 'offers of meaning'. Firstly, an obvious problem with the approach is that it runs the risk

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[88] In my interpretation the quote can be true and false at the same time. As previously indicated this dissertation has put forward the argument that a leftist position is an extant and possible approach to global education, but that most teachers move around in the field of tension, and cross-borders the different approaches in a quite convoluted way. Moreover, it is the argument of this dissertation that the leftist forces do not have the upper hand, but, quite contrary, that this approach rather seems to have been weakened in later years. However, and this is the interesting point, it is quite plausible that a majority of global education teachers regard themselves as more oriented to the left. However, this does not necessarily imply that their teaching is mainly characterized by radicalism or criticism of the international economic system.

of becoming highly dogmatic and to transmit a notion that capitalism can only function in one single way. If so, it misses Englund's important argument and critique of the more deterministic branches of Marxism, i.e. that capitalism can function in many different ways (cf. 3.4.2). It is far from self-evident that capitalism and trade always and exclusively have to be based on, or lead to, exploitation. It can very well be argued that capitalism and trade can be beneficial to several parties, and that it has the capacity to generate prosperity as well as energy-savings and thus environmental gains. Secondly, even if you accept the argument that capitalism is essentially exploitative it could still be argued – e.g. from the departure point of feminist or intersectionality perspectives – that there are other exploitative structures which are equally, or even more, important. For example, although several teachers give vent to critical notions as regards the functioning of capitalism and its effects in terms of inequality and environmental degradation, nobody refers to the concept of patriarchy. It could very well be argued that global patriarchy constitutes a problem of a magnitude equal to, or beyond, capitalist exploitation. In fact only one single informant, a comparatively young male, brought up the issue of gender equality in relation to global education. This was considered to be very important, although no explicit reference was made to patriarchy as a system. The point here is that in order to be 'progressive' it might be important to incorporate critique and analyses based on more aspects than class and the functioning of capitalist market economy, global patriarchy and gender issues being obvious cases in point. Thirdly, another problem from the departure point of *Fostering radical solidarity and environmentalism* is that it runs the risk of reproducing stereotypical images of rich and poor which might end up very close to dichotomous notions of 'us' and 'them', which partly characterized *Fostering white man's burden*. People who are simply portrayed as exploited victims tend to be bereaved of their human agency, i.e. the subaltern is not allowed to speak.

6.2.4. Fostering critical reflexivity

The elusive label of this approach attempts to capture a somewhat lucid but yet discernible take on global education. In this approach the main focus is reoriented from the monumental global challenges in the 'the world out there', to a focus on ourselves and the way in which our view of the world, ourselves and others, is constructed and, quite often, biased by simplistic and ethnocentric notions. Hence, as indicated by the name, *Fostering critical reflexivity* starts from a self-critical, reflective and more social-constructivist angle. This approach to global education is comparatively new, although some of its post-modern and post-colonial underpinnings can be traced back to the 1970s-1980s, and some of its central educational themes, such as ethnocentrism and racism, can be traced to accentuations of global education in the 1990s (cf. 4.5 and 5.5). Now, the basic objectives of *Fostering critical reflexivity* are to combat prejudice, ethnocentrism and simplistic notions of the world. Moreover, to promote critical

reflexivity and problematization of one's own world-view, which means that prevailing categories – e.g. developing country, poor, African – should be questioned and problematized, rather than taken for granted. In this context it should be mentioned that there are several formulations in the written Swedish curriculum that stress the importance of fostering a critical perspective and counter prejudice, both of which aligns with *Fostering critical reflexivity* (Skolverket, 1994b). In line with the problem-oriented character of global education, the approach could further be viewed as a response to certain perceived societal problems. These include ethnocentrism, exotism, prejudice and racism, all of which could be linked up to a more general post-colonial discourse which is perceived to permeate society. There are further interrelated problems such as simplistic world-views, lack of self-reflexivity and a reluctance to problematize categories and how they are constructed. Hence, *Fostering critical reflexivity* attempts to combat this by means of fostering pupils to become critical and reflexive subjects which continuously question and problematize their identity, world view, notions of 'the other' and prevailing discourses and categories.

As far as content is concerned *Fostering critical reflexivity* tend to draw attention to 'ourselves', and how 'we' tend to perceive ourselves, others and the world around us. This includes issues of identity and the existence of multiple identities and loyalties. Moreover, content that exposes and challenge ethnocentrism, prejudice, exotism and simplistic notions of 'the other' have a central position within the approach, as do cultural sensitivity and cultural communication. These themes are often connected to issues such as migration, multicultural societies and conflicts. 'Small narratives', i.e. individual destinies and experiences of these processes are generally preferred to 'grand narratives' of countries or regions. Recognizing and learning to deal with complexity is another important theme within the approach. Some central aspects as regards the selection of content are illuminated in the following quotes:

> It is a complicated issue, but I strive to... and I think the colleagues would subscribe to that... what is characteristic of our work here is that it is not about some kind of knowledge of developing countries. But first and foremost it is about us. And our focus is... how can we understand this? By means of understanding what is happening there, we can understand what is happening here. [...] And it is a recurring problem. Because when the pupils who are enrolled in global education, they want to travel as far away as possible, in other words as exotic as possible. And we have been struggling all along to make them understand that this is global education, not exotic education. And we are living in a global city. And there are a lot of interesting things happening in Europe. So, if you ask me what distinguishes our approach more generally, I would say that it is an attempt to base the global issues in what is happening here around us. Not to read about the *others*. Put simply (Int. M).

The quote illustrates that, unlike for instance *Fostering white man's burden* and *Fostering radical solidarity and environmentalism,* teaching on the poor distant 'other' is not of primary concern within this approach. Rather it is about understanding

'ourselves' and how 'we' deal with the globalized context in which we all live. It should be emphasized that what the teacher imply by term global city is primarily a multi-cultural city. As indicated by the quote, the teacher further expresss a concern about, and stresses the importance to counter, exotism. The teacher continues:

> Through a better understanding of the world it becomes easier to place myself in some kind of context. And then I become more conscious about my own responsibilities and possibilities as a human being. So, through a focus on global issues I can develop an understanding of the world, my own society and myself. I think it is a continuous movement. By means of studying the situation of others, by means of gaining knowledge about that, it all comes back to me. And to some extent I think that people sometimes turn it all around. There is some phrase there in the written curriculum that states that it is only through a secure identity and knowledge of your own cultural heritage that you can understand others and so on. But it can be the other way around also. Wouldn't you agree? (Int. M).

This quote can be related to the critical remark that was made in chapter 5, about the, poorly grounded, axiom of *Lpf 94* that a solid consciousness of one's own cultural heritage is a precondition for being able to understand other cultures and appreciate cultural diversity (cf. 5.5.1). When I confronted the teacher with the idea that a notion of a solid identity might in fact be an obstacle rather than a precondition I got the following reply:

> Exactly. And that is why I think that one could somehow turn it all around and state that the more I learn about Malafrena and so on, the more humble I become when it comes to suggestions of how other people should solve their problems, but perhaps I will also be able to get a better understanding of my own background. Through that. But I am hardly better equipped to understand Malafrena if I am totally secure about my own identity. I feel that I somehow want to turn it all around (Int. M).

Another teacher articulated the importance of accepting differences and of becoming aware of our own prejudices.

> It is basically about getting to realize that we are different but that we are also very similar. We have to accept people and be open to other people. This is largely an issue of becoming aware of our own prejudices (Int. O).

As regards content, one teacher touched upon the issue of multiple identities and the importance of cultural communication:

> Well, I mean... most of the global development is overlooked. Put simply. What we do, when we chose to disregard a lot of ongoing processes in the world, is to choose some kind of burning issues. So when we chose a country in Europe... I will give a few examples... [...] It is because there are two opposite processes going on at the same time. The one thing is the search for cultural heritage and cultural roots. What am I? Am I this or am I that? And the other is the increasing European integration. The European search for identity. And I mean, this you can probably study pretty much everywhere.

[...] We are basically trying to understand global issues by means of studying migration, conflicts and what is happening there... but also balance that against knowledge or sense of the cultural-communicative mechanisms (Int. M).

Another important content or theme within the approach is to challenge prejudice and ethnocentric notions. Three illuminating quotes follows:

And then we have the Aesthetic programme and their activities tend to revolve a lot around how the poor countries are portrayed in the public debate, e.g. in media (Int. J).

In History we focus a lot on the Europeans' treatment of indigenous people. The classical issues. The dichotomy system and how the Europeans legitimatized their behaviour. [...] We basically list these oppositions: white-black, strong-weak, diligent-lazy, and then we discuss how it was possible that people were actually divided into these different categories and that people were ascribed different qualities depending on which category they were divided into. [...] And then we ask them how much of these predjudices that thay think are still present in our society. So that they get to think about that. We basically raise this question (Int. O).

A lot of it revolves around counteracting prejudice. For example if you teach about India you can't simply talk about cast systems and holy cows. Then you only create more prejudice and even confirm what they already believe. You know... *even the teacher told us so*... and then the school has actually done harm (Int. N).

The first quote refers to content within the aesthetic subjects as an entry-point to critically consider and challenge the societal images that are normally portrayed by developing countries in mass media and throughout society. The second quote touches on similar issues in relation to history teaching, and it clearly illuminates the approach's postcolonial rationality (cf. below). The third quote also points to the importance of challenging, through the selection of content, rather than feeding into, simplistic and ethnocentric notions of developing countries. This brings us to typical teaching methods within the approach. These include values clarification exercises; narrations of different kinds (written as well as audio-visual); traditional knowledge transmission devoted to alternative perspectives and descriptions of different phenomena; and international exchange programmes. Now, from the departure point of *Fostering critical reflexivity* it is obviously of great importance that prejudice, ethnocentrism and dichotomous notions of 'us' and 'them' are challenged. However, several teachers expressed concern that international exchange programmes and field courses in developing countries might in fact work in the complete opposite direction. The teachers' consciousness of this problem reflects some of the basic points of *Fostering critical reflexivity*. In the following quotes two teachers with experience of field courses in developing countries express their concern:

There is a great danger in this that it turns into the power of the example. You know... *I have been there and therefore I know what I am talking about*. [...] You know they have seen it. They have been there. And then they go home and tell their girlfriend, boyfriend,

mother, father and so on. And there is a huge danger in that. I met a couple of Minor Field Study-students the last time I was in India, who shortened there stay and went home earlier than planned. They basically said that *it is impossible to be down here, it is completely hopeless... and these god damn cows and so on*. And I thought to myself... Jesus. Think of all the money we have invested in this. And then they go home. They have been down there. And all of a sudden they are authorities in their everyday life. Whatever work they might be doing... and in relation to friends and family and so on. They are only going to spread prejudice around (Int. N).

It's quite difficult to influence the pupils' worldview. They enter upper secondary school with quite strong prejudices about different things. Which all of us do of course. But they enrol with these prejudices and it is not always that they leave the school without them. And like I said we have another course here as well... that is particularly geared towards the field course. It's called cultural communication. It's kind of like a social anthropological course. And sometimes, when I sit at the seminars with pupils in grade 3, you can hear some of them say the most appalling things. Despite the fact that they have been on a field course, they still have the same black and white image of developing countries. That is... I don't know. I have never thought about whether there is something wrong with our approach, or if it is just generally very difficult to change people's attitudes (Int. J).

Both of the quotes point to the difficulty of overcoming prejudice, and that international exchange programmes and field courses can in fact feed into, rather than challenge, ethnocentrism. Below a teacher show proof of some critical thoughts, which correspond well with the basic departure-points of *Fostering critical reflexivity:*

The most important objectives... I think it is to bring about a meeting and to leave your own context somehow. [...] Well, and from my perspective, as I have been to Aburiria before, I think... well, how a society can be so extremely complex. To get an idea of that complexity. How different it can be and yet so many things that are similar. Particularly when it comes to youngsters. I think it is striking that even though there are differences, there are so many things that they have in common. Similar thoughts about the future. I mean... love, relationships, family, music. There are so many things that they have in common (Int. K).

The teacher points to the complexity of the Aburirian society and challenges dichotomous notions of 'us' and 'them' by pointing to the many things that the Aburirian and Swedish pupils have in common. In this particular case the teacher is referring to an ATHENA programme, and in this context that is not entirely uninteresting. According to the teacher, there is an important difference between this and many other international exchange programmes:

To a large extent I think it is an issue of class. Simply because many of our pupils too, if we should talk about their and our pupils at all, would otherwise never have had this kind of opportunity. And it is a fact that many of them had never been abroad before. And if you compare that to the university preparing programmes... they come from quite different economic and social conditions. That's the way it is (Int. K).

First, it is interesting to note that the teacher indicates an interest to think beyond the ethnic dichotomy, while at the same time introducing a new analytical category, i.e. that of class. When I asked whether it implied any particular difficulties to travel with working class pupils, I got the following reply:

> Well, both yes and no. In one way it can actually be an advantage. I mean our pupils sometimes are better equipped to understand what it is like to... Well, not to have any money. To come from a poor or disadvantaged home. And perhaps not to have the same confidence as... Well, I don't want to exaggerate, but still (Int. K).

What is interesting with this quote is that the teacher stresses the class dimension and thus that the experience of being in a subordinated position nationally can serve as a basis for a common experience that bridges the cultural barrier. The statement indicates a reflexive, problematizing approach and an insight that people have multiple identities. This line of thinking borders on some of the basic ideas of intersectionality research (cf. 3.4.5). This further opens up for thinking beyond ethnicity and nation as the primary identity. Yet another teacher, in a similar way, stresses the importance of creating a mutual partnership, and the importance of critically consider the way one leads one's life. Both of which are important elements within the approach.

> The global issues are so important. I am completely convinced that we have to cooperate if we want to solve the global problems. We need young people who understand the problems, but also that know how to communicate. [...] They have to be able to critically consider how they live, and what their values are. We are also trying hard to get rid of this *us* and *them* thing. That is very important. It is of course naive to assume that you will get there in just three years. But that still remains our goal. And, for example, when it comes to our field course it is totally unacceptable that we should only go down there. There has to be reciprocity. Reciprocity is an extremely important word. That is why we are going back to the same place. We have been cooperating. And they, now I use the word *they*, want us to come back. And youngsters from Zamba are coming to us, next spring. So, it's not just us going there. We try to establish mutual respect so to speak (Int. C).

Finally, on the topic of content and teaching methods, the following quote might be considered, where the teacher highlights the small narratives of individual human beings rather than grand narratives and aggregated images of the world. Here the teacher turns to the world of fiction to develop the pupils' ability to feel empathy with present day migrants:

> I am trying to down-scale a little bit by not only focusing on comprehensive and huge issues. Global issues this and that... but to move down to the lowest level, that of the individual human being. That's how I try to think at least. It is very difficult. It is difficult to affect them emotionally somehow. [...] I mean... For example today's streams of migration. The small narrative about an individual human destiny. Make them understand. You know... like in Kristina from Duvemåla... when she is lying there on

her deathbed with her Astrakhan apple. How did Karl-Oskar feel when Kristina who longed so much to go home, never got home? And he was left all by himself in America. Somewhere else. I mean that feeling. That's how I try to think (Int. I).

Turning to *Fostering critical reflexivity*'s take on development, the following could be stated. Unlike the three previous approaches outlined in this chapter *Fostering critical reflexivity* does not subscribe to any prima facie or one-sided view of development. Hence, the approach to development is primarily contextualizing and problematizing. Rather than providing answers the approach would propose questions such as: What does development mean? Can development have different meanings and effects for different actors in different contexts? Can development include both upsides and downsides for the same actor? Development for whom, by whom, in the interest of whom? And so on and so forth.

Fostering critical reflexivity's approach to globalization is largely similar. Globalization is accepted as a 'real' process, or rather several processes, but the approach refuses to propose any general opinion on whether globalization is good or bad. As in the case of development, the approach is contextualizing and problematizing. Globalization can have many different meanings and implications in different contexts and for different actors. Hence, from the departure point of *Fostering critical reflexivity,* teachers should attempt to discuss, problematize and open up for different interpretations rather than feed into one-sided images of the world.

Some of the basic assumptions, ideas and notions which are transmitted by *Fostering critical reflexivity* could be traced to the intellectual traditions of postcolonialism and postmodernism. Postcolonialism is an intellectual tradition which critically analyses, and opposes, the cultural legacy of colonialism. The prefix 'post-' is somewhat misleading, since the fundamental idea is that the legacy of colonialism is still very much alive, and that it lingers on in form of postcolonial discourses. A central component of postcolonial theory is that the self-image of 'the West' as modern, rational, developed, active and so forth is constructed – dichotomously – by means of picturing 'the others' as the complete opposite i.e. traditional, irrational, backwards, passive etc. In this process the voices and perspectives of 'the others' are completely ignored. Now, from the departure-point of postcolonial theory, these discourses have to be challenged and deconstructed, and a space has to be opened up for voices and perspectives of subaltern groups. In simple terms, the ultimate objective of postcolonialism would be to destabilize and move beyond these constraining postcolonial discourses, towards a more equal and critical discourse based on mutual respect. Postcolonialism could further be viewed as a particular branch of a greater intellectual tradition known as postmodernism. In very general terms postmodernism could be viewed as an intellectual reaction against modernism

and its basic assumptions about objective truth, objective values, an autonomous self and tendencies towards grand narratives. Postmodernist thinkers, inversely, tend to stress context, situatedness, perspectivism, relations, a fragmented self, multiple identities and small narratives.

It seems reasonable to primarily view *Fostering critical reflexivity* as a 'progressive' or change-oriented educational approach. Yet again, this depends on how you define concepts such as 'progressive' and 'reproductive' and this reminds us of the difficulty of applying them (cf. 3.4.5). Obviously, the approach does not transmit any radical critique of the capitalist economic system as such. In fact, economic structures and patterns of economic exchange are of limited interest to the approach. From a leftist perspective, it could of course be argued that if you do not criticize the economic system you contribute to its reproduction. On the other hand, *Fostering critical reflexivity* transmits a critique of postcolonial discourses which – in turn – are intertwined with the capitalist system and the prevailing world order. These discourses reproduce hierarchies and silence voices from subordinated positions. Thus, since the approach exposes and opposes postcolonial discourses it can be interpreted as an articulation of progressive societal forces.

Finally, three critical remarks will be raised against *Fostering critical reflexivity,* in order to illuminate some of the limitations of the approach as regards potential 'offers of meaning'. Firstly, there is an obvious risk that the focus on identity and discourses leads up to a situation where fundamental material aspects in relation to global education are disregarded or completely ignored. For example serious environmental problems that the globe is facing as well as basic economic structures and patterns of production might be overlooked. Put differently: there is a risk that the approach somehow gets stuck in issues of identity and discourse. From the departure-point of global education, this might be viewed as quite problematic. Secondly, there is a risk that the bias towards individual destinies and 'small narratives' leads up to a situation where broader perspectives and greater societal circumstances and conditions are ignored. It could very well be argued that it is a mandatory requirement that global education offers broad perspectives and analyses of global issues and processes. Thirdly, adversaries of the idea that identities are fluent, constructed and contextual can of course raise several critical remarks against *Fostering critical reflexivity.*

6.2.5. Fostering transdisciplinary academic thinking

As suggested by its name, *Fostering transdisciplinary academic thinking* attempts to apply a transdisciplinary scientific approach to the study of global issues in school. Pupils are to be trained in scientific thinking and the basic assumption is that a proper understanding of the globalized world requires a transdisciplinary approach. Thus, on the one hand scientific methods, concepts, theories and models – and the skills required to apply them – is at the heart of the approach.

On the other hand the approach simultaneously stresses the importance of transdisciplinary perspectives which combines methods and theories from several different academic disciplines. This take on global education is largely methodological, and accordingly it cannot be traced to any historical accentuations of global education. However, it can of course be noted that many of the transdisciplinay academic perspectives that serve as inspiration for the approach are products of the 1970s (cf. 4.4). Moreover, that global studies, as a new interdisciplinary academic subject has gained momentum in the last decade (cf. 4.7). The basic objective of the approach is to provide the pupils with basic knowledge of transdisciplinary scientific thinking, methods and theoretical perspectives. The following quote is illuminative. It is a direct reply by a teacher to the question what constitutes the most important objectives of global education:

> To me I think it is a transdisciplinary scientific approach to this problematic... that is global issues. I mean if you want to approach this kind of complicated structures and so on, then it is simply not suitable to do one subject at a time. That's my view. There is a lot of expert knowledge within each subject, but then it becomes that kind of thinking.... like drainpipes with a lot of special competencies. I guess what we do is to try and bridge them somehow (Int. J).

Now, albeit adding a transdisciplinary perspective, it should still be noted that the basic scientific logic mediated by the approach is largely coherent with the writings of *Lpf 94,* which states that the pupils should be trained to think critically, examine facts and their relationships, and gradually approach a scientific way of thinking and working (Skolverket, 1994b). In accordance with the problem-oriented character of global education *Fostering transdisciplinary academic thinking* is primarily concerned with our – assumedly – deficient and inadequate knowledge of the globalized world. Delimited understanding of the globalized condition is perceived as a societal problem which must be remedied. The shortcomings of traditional academic subjects, which are perceived as by-products of the modern nation-state system and largely characterized by a compartmentalization, are considered to form part of this problem. Accordingly *Fostering transdisciplinary academic thinking* attempts to provide pupils with the necessary scientific tools to be able to critically examine different phenomena in a globalized world and thus overcome this perceived knowledge gap. An obvious consequence of this is that *Fostering transdisciplinary academic thinking* is primarily concerned with developing the pupils' knowledge of the world, rather than fostering an inclination towards charity as was the case in *Fostering white man's burden*, or preparing them to become political activists, as was the case in *Fostering radical solidarity and environmentalism.* An illuminating quote as regards this balance between 'knowledge' and 'action' in global education:

> I think there has been a certain activism or what we should call it, which more or less implies that knowledge is not so important. As long as you can collect money to some

village or so, that's enough. Then you have achieved some kind of goal. I am totally allergic to that. But I don't think that we have been caught up in that trap. We are very clearly pointing out that we are not an aid organization (Int. M).

However, fostering transdisciplinary scientific thinking is not an entirely easy endeavour. One of the obvious problems is that the traditional academic structure still permeates our way of thinking, and that the school system largely mirrors this compartmentalization. When I posed a question about the biggest problem of global education, I got the following reply by one of the teachers:

> That it has no tradition. Within the Swedish school system and subject system. No academic tradition. I mean... we know from the history of ideas that university disciplines develop and fade away. School subjects are constructed from them and I think it is a big problem that this is huge field lack an academic tradition (Int. M).

Another quote, pointing in a similar direction is the following. Here the teacher expresses a severe dissatisfaction with the current organization of the university sphere:

> Break down these god damn departments! I mean... the world is bigger than the geography department. Not to mention history. Economic history. It is a laughing case. That's my opinion, and I am trying to pursue a transdisciplinary approach (Int. N).

Many people would probably subscribe to this criticism, although it might be worth reminding ourselves of, former economic historian, Hettne's ambition to marry *Development theory* and *International Political Economy* into a comprehensive, transdisciplinary, multi-level, *Global Social Theory*, better suited to study the new, and qualitatively different globalized context. As argued by Hettne, part of the greater Global Social Theory project(s), would also be the institutionalization of *Global Studies* as a transdisciplinary academic field, bringing together and drawing on knowledge, perspectives, theories and methods in IR, IPE, development studies, cultural studies, social anthropology, security studies, human ecology, environmental studies and so on (cf. 3.3.4 and 4.7.2). In my understanding the two quotes above constitute calls for the construction of academic disciplines similar to Hettne's vision. There are of course other examples of transdisciplinary approaches within the academia, although the strength and position of these disciplines can be debated. In this context it is of course also important to keep in mind the literature on global education which was reviewed in chapter 2.

As in the case of *Fostering entrepreneurship and consumption for sustainable development,* it is somewhat problematic to distinguish between content and pedagogical methods in *Fostering transdisciplinary academic thinking.* The content is composed of relevant, transdisciplinary and scientifically based, concepts, models, theories and methods. The pedagogical methods, in turn, are oriented towards student-centred, explorative working methods – individually or in groups – where the

pupils are trained to apply these concepts, models, theories and methods in relation to different empirical objects of study, i.e. global issues of some sort. This can be done in Sweden, but it can also be done abroad through international exchange programmes. Now, as indicated above, a crucial component in all of this is the attempt to combine several different subject disciplines into a more comprehensive and trans-disciplinary approach. A few illuminating quotes:

> We have a broad approach when we discuss different kinds of problems. And like when you talk about issues of global survival, because that is exactly what they are, then we are talking about very complicated issues which requires, in my opinion, a transdisciplinary scientific approach if you really want to understand (Int. J).

> At this school, several teachers from different subjects are continuously working together so that we can achieve a transdisciplinary scientific approach (Int. F).

> To understand, as I said before, how it is all inter-connected. Social scientists need knowledge to understand how… Take this thing with biological diversity for instance. How eco-system functions. So the social scientists need more knowledge about nature. And the natural scientists need more knowledge of social aspects (Int. C).

Obviously, all of these teachers stress the importance of a transdisciplinary approach and of opening up for a much more comprehensive take on the global issues than what is possible within the framework of the traditional subject structure. In accordance with the scientific perspective of *Fostering transdisciplinary academic thinking* what can further be noted is an orientation towards various methodological issues, including interviews and critical source evaluation. A few illustrative quotes follow.

> Cultural communication revolves a lot around how we function in our everyday life at home but also, in a very concrete way, *how do I conduct an interview in Zamba?* We learned quickly how difficult it was to conduct interviews with an interpreter when we went to the villages and a whole clan was listening to the interview and the principal held the girl who was subject to the interview in the arm so that she would reply in the *right* way so to speak. We learned how difficult it was to conduct an interview. So that kind of knowledge we are also trying to work with. To prepare the pupils for the problems and difficulties that they are going to encounter and that they are going to have to deal with (Int. M).

> We normally deal with literature search and critical source evaluation. And then other methods come in, particularly within the course Project Work. It is more or less a mandatory requirement that those who write a scientific paper make use of either questionnaires or oral interviews (Int. O).

> One thing that is very important to us is that the pupils write source evaluations within their projects. There they get the opportunity to think and reflect about the sources that they have made use of. And here they get in to issues such as objectivity and so on. [...] We use the global issues as content but also as a way to develop the different abilities

that we think are particularly important. It's about information competence, problematizing, communication, and critical thinking (Int. L).

We also try to work a lot with critical source evaluation. What is it that we see? Because it is a filtrated part of reality or the world that we get to see... and I mean you can't get all information from newspapers... and we are trying to use research reports to a certain extent (Int. C).

I concentrate quite a lot on mass media. So that they don't fall into all the different traps. It is extremely important that they learn critical source evaluation and to distinguish between different sources. So that they really grasp that. Because if they do, then a whole lot of other things become much easier (Int. A).

The first quote revolves around interview methodology and the difficulties that might be associated with conducting interviews in a different social and cultural context. The second quote illustrates that critical source evaluation is mainstreamed in most courses on global issues, but that the employment of scientific methods such as questionnaires or oral interviews are mandatory on some occasions. The three latter quotes all deals with critical source evaluation in relation to a study of global issues. Critical source evaluation naturally forms an important part of scientific methodology. Now, another important feature of *Fostering transdisciplinary academic thinking* is the application of different models and theories to the study of different global issues. A few interesting quotes follow.

For me, it all comes back to a continuous work with micro-macro-perspectives and past-present-future. In almost all the things we do we use these two perspectives. Micro-macro and past-present-future (Int. N).

The teacher stresses the importance of applying both a spatial dimension and a time dimension when working with global issues. The spatial dimension is based on multi-level analysis which can include global, macro-regional, national, micro-regional and local levels and the connections between them (cf. 4.5-4.8). Another teacher refers to the statistical tool and trendalyzer software Gapminder which, according to the teacher, is found to be very useful in the conduct of global education.[89]

I mean the historical aspect is really important. Now I am thinking about Gapminder that has come up as very good instrument to bring in history... and our image of history which very often is not all correct. You think that people are on a completely different level than they actually are and so on (Int. C).

The different models and instruments that the two latter quotes refer to obviously fit well within the logics of *Fostering transdisciplinary academic thinking*, as do the following quote, where the teacher accounts for the application of different social scientific theories. Here the pupils are exposed to different

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[89] http://www.gapminder.org/

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theories and models from different well-known social scientific scholars working with globalization in different ways.

> In civics, when we have been talking about different models... you know, like political scientists and so on. There are several interesting names that we have worked with. Held and Scholte and so on. That we have been doing. But that's more on a theoretical level. [...] We have chosen to work a lot with class, gender and ethnicity and we have used, amongst other things, Bourdieu and his theory.... even though it is a kind of grand theory we have used it as a way to understand (Int. J).

Obviously the pupils are exposed to quite sophisticated social scientific theories. As indicated by the next quote the teacher also stresses the importance of introducing the pupils to scientific thinking and methods due to the fact that most of them are moving on to university studies after graduating from secondary school.

> I mean... it is a very important goal to prepare them for further studies. We know for certain that many of our pupils chose university studies focused on global issues (Int. J).

Ultimately, the goal of *The transdisciplinary academic approach* would be to move beyond individual exercises in scientific thinking and induce an ability to formulate scientific problems and account for them in scientific reports. The following quote is quite illuminating:

> The formulation of a problem. What is a scientific problem? How do you pursue a problem scientifically and how do you write about it? What is the difference between results and final discussion? This kind of academic thinking (Int. O).

As regards *Fostering transdisciplinary academic thinking*'s view of development, the following can be concluded. Unlike the three first approaches, but similarly to *Fostering critical reflexivity*, *Fostering transdisciplinary academic thinking* has no prima facie understanding of development. In accordance with its scientific underpinnings, the approach primarily views development as a process that can be subject to empirical investigation. However, it is of course recognized that development can be critically examined, understood and explained from the departure point of many different conceptualizations and theories of development. For example, chapter 4 of this dissertation offers a very broad overview of such different conceptualizations of, and approaches to, development.

The view of globalization that is transmitted by the approach follows the very same scientific logic. Consequently, *Fostering transdisciplinary academic thinking* does not subscribe to any predetermined notion of globalization. Globalization is, just like development, a process or a set of processes that can be subject to empirical study. Such studies, though, can be underpinned by different conceptualizations and theories of globalization.

The rationalities and intellectual underpinnings of the approach can essentially be traced to transdisciplinary academic traditions. It should be underscored that such academic disciplines are not new phenomena, although it could be argued that it is just recently that they have received greater recognition in the academia. In the particular case of global education, several transdisciplinary university subjects may and have served as sources of intellectual inspirations, e.g. peace- and development research, international relations, human ecology, et cetera. As previously indicated, Hettne's vision of Global Social Theory has not yet materialized, but it could very well, in combination with the emerging transdisciplinary university subject Global studies, serve as an important academic foundation for global education in the future.

It is somewhat difficult to provide a single answer to the questions whether *Fostering transdisciplinary academic thinking* transmits a justification or a critique of the international economic system and the prevailing world order, and whether it should be interpreted as an expression of 'reproductive' or 'progressive' social forces (cf. 3.4.5). As indicated above, the approach is more concerned about understanding the world than contributing to its change. On the other hand, one might argue that understanding the world is a precondition for any intelligible political action. However, to a large extent the answer to these questions also depends on how the approach balances in-between, and to what extent the global education teachers mediate, a more 'positivistic' or more 'normative' scientific take on global issues in school. In *Curriculum as a political problem* Englund points to a historic tension in the Swedish curriculum between a more positivistic and reproductive *scientific-rational educational conception* and a more normative and progressive *democratic educational conception* (cf. 3.4.3) (Englund, 1986/2005). This distinction is probably still valid, if the scientific world view mediated by the teachers in global education is positivistic in kind. However, one must simultaneously recognize that the transdisciplinary academic traditions that underpin the approach normally do not stem from positivistic academic traditions. Rather these transdisciplinary traditions have normally emerged as a reaction *against* positivism and its adherent tendency towards compartmentalization. These traditions tend to defy the notion of value-free knowledge and favour more normative, critical and methodologically 'soft' approaches. This implies that whether *Fostering transdisciplinary academic thinking* should be viewed as an expression of 'reproductive' or 'progressive' forces, largely depends on the balance point between positivism and normativity, and how this contradiction is handled by the individual teacher. Moreover, it obviously depends on what kind of 'normativity' that is mediated. The bottom line is that teachers can mediate very different scientific approaches, and it could be argued that the typology should be expanded to incorporate both positivistic and normative scientific traditions. Obviously, this is not the case. Nevertheless, this brings us to some final critical remarks.

Finally, as a last step in the analysis intended to expose some the limitations of the approach in terms of its potential 'offers of meaning', two critical remarks will be raised against *Fostering transdiciplinary scientific thinking*. Firstly, the approach might have a problem balancing between positivistic and normative rationalities. As indicated above the approach mediates scientific thinking, methods and theories. Yet, the transdisciplinary traditions which underpin the approach are normally anti-positivistic in kind. Moreover, many of the issues that are dealt with in global education are so blatantly political that it is extremely difficult to avoid normative elements. This means that the teachers are facing a challenge as regards how to mediate scientific thinking. Teachers can of course attempt to make the pupils aware of the limits of science and that scientific approaches can be based on quite different meta-theoretical assumptions. However, for many secondary school pupils that would probably be quite difficult and demanding. Hence the approach is facing two dilemmas here. A balancing act between positivistic and normative approaches, and a balancing act between, on the one hand approaches that is suitable and attainable for secondary school pupils, and on the other hand, informs them about the limits of science and that there are different meta-theoretical takes on scientific work. Secondly, the approach has a strong bias towards university preparation. Obviously, the emphasis on scientific thinking, theories and methods makes the approach primarily relevant for pupils who will move on to further studies at the university level. Inversely, such an approach might be less relevant for or even marginalize pupils with other ambitions in life. Similarly, the approach runs the risk of feeding into class-based inequalities, i.e. favour pupils from a family background with strong academic traditions at the expense of pupils from families with poorer academic traditions. Yet, it can of course also be argued that pupils from academically disadvantaged homes are in need of training in scientific thinking at an early stage. Hence it can also be argued that such an approach is in fact conducive to these pupils.

6.3. Concluding remarks

The aim of this chapter was to expose different ways of conceptualizing and approaching global education. This objective was met by means of constructing a five-fold didactic typology based on practicing teachers' accounts of their global education teaching. It was further argued that the relevance of the study is primarily related to the typology's ability to expose different didactic alternatives and, moreover, that systematic knowledge of such alternatives constitutes an important component of didactic competence. The typology constitutes a tool which enables such didactic competence. It exposes that there are several potential approaches to global education and that these reflect very different, and contradictory, political and intellectual rationalities. Moreover, the chapter has argued that certain aspects of these different approaches can be traced historically to curriculum accentuations in previous periods. In this final section

a table which synthesizes, and makes it possible to compare, the different components of the fivefold typology will be presented. Moreover the section will provide some general concluding remarks.

As indicated in the beginning of this chapter, there is quite a remarkable variety of different modes of implementing global education in the contemporary Swedish upper secondary school system. In accordance with the main argument of this chapter, there are also several possible conceptualizations and approaches to global education. Through the construction of a didactic typology the chapter has exposed five approaches to global education: *Fostering white man's burden*; *Fostering entrepreneurship and consumption for sustainable development*; *Fostering radical solidarity and environmentalism*; *Fostering critical reflexivity*; and finally, *Fostering transdisciplinary academic thinking*. These approaches constitute, empirically grounded, theoretical constructs of what teachers *can do* within global education, and they expose that it is possible to transmit fundamentally different 'offers of meaning'. The fivefold didactic typology is synthesized in table 6.1 which facilitates a comparison of the different approaches. Now, it is important to keep in mind that the typology is a theoretical construct which isolates aspects of a complex reality. Hence there is no teacher in the Swedish school system that would fit perfectly into any of the five categories. Quite the contrary, teachers' tend to incorporate aspects of several different approaches into their teaching simultaneously, i.e. they cross-border and move in-between them in a quite convoluted way. This is not so strange, bearing in mind that the curriculum constitutes a field of tension between competing social and political forces and that the teachers are located in this 'centre of gravity'. This brings us to some important theoretical remarks.

In accordance with the socially and historically based curriculum theory approach which underpins this dissertation, the curriculum is viewed as a field of tension between competing social and political forces (cf. 3.4) (Englund, 1986/2005).

Table 6.1. Contemporary Approaches to Global Education – a fivefold didactic typology

	Fostering white man's burden	Fostering entrepreneurship and consumption for sustainable development	Fostering radical solidarity and environmentalism	Fostering critical reflexivity	Fostering transdisciplinary academic thinking
Objectives	Knowledge transmission on developing countries and development aid. Foster moral duty to help the poor.	Foster entrepreneurial skills and consumption for sustainable development.	Knowledge transmission on inequality, exploitation and environmental degradation. Foster radical solidarity and environmentalism. Promote activism.	Combat prejudice ethnocentrism and simplistic notions of the world. Promote reflexivity and problematization of world-views and categories.	Foster trans-disciplinary scientific thinking, methods and approaches.
Societal problems	Poverty, Backwardness, Underdevelopment.	Unsustainable development.	Inequality, Exploitation, Environmental de-gradation, Indifference, Egoism.	Postcolonial discourses, Prejudice, Ethnocentrism, Racism and Exotism.	Inadequate knowledge of the globalized world.
Content	Developing countries, Poverty (internal causes), Development aid.	Sustainable development, Entrepreneurship, Fair trade, 'Green' technology and consumption.	Global poverty and inequality, Exploitative structures, Environ-mental degradation.	Identity, Multi-cultural societies, Migration, Racism, Ethnocentrism.	Transdisciplinary scientific concepts, models, theories and methods.
Pedagogical methods	Traditional knowledge transmission, Fund-raising, Charity/ development projects, IEP's.	Entrepreneurship projects, Entrepreneurial learning, Experience based learning, IEP's.	Traditional knowledge transmission, Advocacy, Political campaigns, Demonstrations, IEP's.	Values clarification exercises, Role-play exercises, Small narratives, IEP's.	Student-active, explorative approaches, Application of scientific concepts, theories and methods, IEP's.
View of development	Development equals modernization. Modernization is *the* solution.	Development equals sustainable development. Sustainable development is *the* solution.	Development equals capitalist modernization. Capitalist modernization is *the* problem. Alternative development models are needed.	Development must be contextualized.	Development is an empirical question.
View of globalization	Limited under-standing of globalization.	Globalization is good.	Globalization is unjust.	Globalization must be contextualized.	Globalization is an empirical question.
Political or intellectual traditions	Social conservatism	Neoliberalism	Socialism, Radical environmentalism	Post-colonialism, Post-modernism	Transdisciplinary academic traditions
Justification or critique of international economic system	Justification	Justification	Critique	Critique (at least indirectly)	Depends (can be positivistic or normative)

As indicated in the table, and as have been argued throughout this entire chapter, the different approaches reflect very different and contradictory political and intellectual rationalities. Yet, despite the fundamental differences between these approaches, they can all be legitimized on the basis of formulations in *Lpf 94* (Skolverket, 1994b). This clearly points to the curriculum as a compromise product in a capitalist democracy, and to the fact that there is a wide scope of potential interpretations of the curriculum (cf. 3.4.2) (Englund, 1986/2005). The typology exposes that global education teaching can be conducted from the departure points of very different objectives, problem descriptions, content and

pedagogical methods. In accordance with the varying political and intellectual foundations of the approaches, they also transmit fundamentally different ideological messages. Consequently they can, explicitly or implicitly, transmit either a justification or a critique of the international economic system. All of this, point to the curriculum as a field of tension, where a war of position is taking place, between different social and political forces (cf. chapter 3). As indicated by figure 6.1 the teacher is located in the 'centre of gravity' between these different forces. Thus, due to the decentralisation of the school system, the tensions and wars of position have become increasingly tied up with the individual teacher project. However, as was discussed in chapter 3, and as have been argued throughout this chapter, it is very difficult to provide a clear-cut answer to the question whether a particular approach constitutes an expression of 'reproductive' or 'progressive' social forces (cf. 3.4.5). Thus, although some of the approaches tend to lean more towards a reproductive or a progressive logic, it is extremely important to avoid any premature conclusions and thoroughly problematize what these concepts mean in different contexts. Moreover it is probably more appropriate to talk about several different war(s) of position, and education(s) for social integration or change.

7. CONCLUSIONS

In a somewhat presumptuous manner, this dissertation has attempted to cover very broad terrain and take issue with extremely complex phenomena such as epistemic, societal and curriculum change. However, as indicated in the introduction, it is important to keep in mind that the research interest of this thesis is primarily *didactic*. Consequently, the basic arguments and fundamental claims that have been put forward must essentially be understood in the context of the discipline Subject Matter Education. The applicative aspect of knowledge production has been important and accordingly the knowledge claims of the thesis are close to what Alvesson and Sköldberg have termed 'pragmatic realism' (cf. 1.4) (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2008).

The overall aim of this dissertation was to examine historical legacies of, and contemporary approaches to, global education in the Swedish school system. This objective was justified against the backdrop of the contemporary policy pursuit of equitable and sustainable global development; the wide range of curriculum responses that this policy pursuit has brought about; an apparent – despite the aura of novelty – tradition of such curriculum content in the Swedish school system; and the surprisingly little attention that it has received in Swedish didactic research. The general argument of the dissertation has been guided by two basic assumptions. The first assumption suggested that we cannot understand the position and historical evolution of this knowledge content in the Swedish school system without understanding the intellectual history of development and the evolution of Swedish development cooperation. The second assumption stated, in accordance with Englund's argument, that the curriculum should primarily be understood as a political, rather than pedagogical, problem (Englund, 1986/2005). The three empirical sub-studies, with their subsidiary aims and research questions, have all contributed to the fulfilment of the dissertation's overall aim. This final chapter has three basic intentions. Firstly, to pin-down and highlight some of the most important contributions of the thesis. Secondly, as act of confession, to nuance these contributions by providing some notes on the dissertation's methodological shortcomings. Thirdly, to present a few considerations as regards future research. In accordance with this structure, the chapter is organized in three main sections: contributions, confessions, and considerations for future research.

7.1. Contributions

As a thesis in Subject Matter Education, written in the context of a Graduate Research School in Educational Sciences, it is not enough to merely make an

academic contribution but, in fact, a mandatory requirement that the research findings are also somehow relevant to professional practice and policy. In this first section, I will first elaborate briefly on the most important conceptual, theoretical and historiographic contributions of the thesis. Thereafter, a somewhat longer elaboration follows devoted to some didactic contributions of particularly importance. Finally, an attempt is made to link all of these findings to some more general contributions of relevance to policy and policy-making.

7.1.1. Conceptual contributions

As indicated in chapter 2, the literature on global education is full of prescriptive definitions, which, in my opinion, hamper rather than make possible interesting empirical research. In a somewhat paradoxical way, many of these allegedly 'critical' scholars argue that there is 'a right way' to pursue global education, and approaches that do not fit these normative criteria become subject to boundary-work, i.e. defined as 'something else'. Apart from the concealed contradiction between critical and prescriptive approaches (e.g. that the researchers turn themselves into experts and in the process of doing so tend to lose analytical distance), such definitions are not very suitable for empirical research. If researchers are interested in how teaching on global development issues is actually pursued in the school system, relatively open definitions are needed. More importantly, if researchers are interested in exposing the variety of socially and ideologically constituted approaches to global education – i.e. study the curriculum as a political field of tension – then such prescriptive definitions becomes more or less useless. Hence, despite the fact that global education scholars often have critical and political ambitions, their approaches tend to obscure, rather than enable, research on the 'political' in education. On the other hand, it is also important to recognize that the weak classification and weak framing of global education as knowledge content in school constitutes a serious problem in terms of data selection and definition of the object of study (Bernstein, 1971). Thus, in order to make global education amenable to empirical research, an open, but not too open, definition is needed. The thesis has made a small, but important, conceptual contribution by means of introducing a new operational definition. In accordance with this definition, Global education refers to a knowledge content in comprehensive and upper secondary school which: revolves around global development issues, processes and events; is problem-oriented; is formed in a field of tension between different social and ideological forces; is implemented in school through many different modes; and, has historically received, and still receives, curriculum support through different organizational arrangements, where a key role is played by the national development cooperation authority (cf. 2.4).

7.1.2. Theoretical contributions

Chapter 3 described the theoretical and conceptual apparatus that underpins, and attempts to compound, the three empirical sub-studies of the dissertation. The apparatus, largely inspired by the work of Englund, and Hettne and Abrahamsson, suggests that societal, epistemic and curriculum change is formed in a dialectical war of position between different social and ideological forces (Abrahamsson, 2003b, 2007; Englund, 1986/2005, 1997a, 1997b; Hettne, 1982, 1995, 2009). The apparatus is the result of abductive, data-theory interplay, and in the context of this thesis it has been indispensable. However, looking beyond the delimited context of the dissertation, the theoretical contributions are modest. Nevertheless, the thesis has presented a few theoretical insights that deserve to be recapitulated. Firstly, the dissertation has put forth two critical remarks as regards Hettne's and Abrahamsson's tripartite analytical model of the historic bloc. I have argued that this model might need elaboration since it assumes that each party in the social configuration that makes up the historic bloc – i.e. state, market and civil society – articulates a fairly coherent interest. In my view, these institutions must not be regarded as monoliths. Rather, what is needed is a theoretical approach that enables us to dig deeper into the potential internal wars of position of each of these institutions. Moreover, there is a need to rethink the historic bloc merely as a site of zero-sum games, i.e. the notion that an actor in the bloc can only strengthen its position at the expense of weakening another. Although this is a common characteristic of a war of position, more complex alliances can emerge and there is a need of theoretical models able to handle such complexity (cf. 3.3.5). Secondly, the thesis has yielded two critical remarks against Englund's concepts of education for social integration (reproduction) and education for change (progression). These concepts were introduced by Englund to differentiate between education that reproduces the social position of the working class and other subordinated groups, and education that aims to emancipate and advance their position. In my view, the problem is that Englund tends to treat the working class and other subordinated groups in quite a homogenous and abstract way. This approach is questionable since different subordinated groups can articulate quite different interests, i.e. what is progressive from one subordinated position is not necessarily progressive from another. Further, a partly interrelated problem is that Englund's analysis takes as its starting point the nation state as the self-evident unit of analysis. In the context of accelerating globalization, the problem of defining education as reproductive or progressive becomes ever more complicated (cf. 3.4.5). It should be acknowledged that I do not really provide any solutions to these theoretical problems, and in many respects I actually reproduce the very imperfections that I accuse the scholars of exposing. Hence, these theoretical remarks are not theoretical contributions in a real sense but rather critiques, and as such merely contributions to a theoretical discussion. In my view, a substantial theoretical contribution requires something more, an

alternative proposal of how things are interconnected, function and operate, i.e. a new way of looking at things. The final theoretical insight this dissertation has presented might, though, at least potentially, carry the seed of a more substantial theoretical contribution. This is the development of Englund's idea that the curriculum is formed in a particular societal configuration based on two contradictory conditions: capitalism and formal democracy. In my argument, this inherent contradiction of the curriculum has been extended with yet another dimension: that of environmental sustainability. This fairly recent component has made the inherent contradictions of the curriculum even more severe, and this requires further theoretical consideration (3.4.5).

7.1.3. Historiographic contributions

The historiographies in chapter 4 and 5 of this dissertation have brought about a range of findings. Here, attention will be drawn to the most important contributions in relation to the overall argument of the thesis. Chapter 4 outlined the intellectual history of development with particular reference to Swedish development cooperation. In many respects, the empirical contributions of this study are limited. It largely aligns itself with previous work in this tradition although a few arguments are framed differently (Hettne, 1995, 2009; Nederveen Pieterse, 2001, 2009; Odén, 2006; Rist, 1997, 2009; Schuurman, 2000; Thorbecke, 2006). Hence, the contribution of the chapter must primarily be understood in the context of the didactic project of which it forms a part. In accordance with the assumption that we cannot really understand the position and evolution of global education in the Swedish school system without understanding this historical legacy, the chapter constitutes a crucial backdrop for chapter 5 and 6, respectively. Chapter 4 concluded that the tremendous enrichment of development thinking since World War II can be interpreted, in an epistemic sense, as a widening of the potential repertoire. There are two elements in this widening. On the one hand, new schools of thought have emerged and stacked up, one upon another, often contradicting each other, implying a parallel evolution of development thinking. On the other hand, there has also been a substantial degree of mainstream co-option of critical counterpoint ideas, particularly in recent years, which means that the mainstream of development thinking has also become increasingly complex and multi-dimensional (Hettne, 1995, 2009). The first process constitutes a challenge to global education teachers insofar as the potential repertoire of development thinking becomes wider, and more difficult to scope. However, from the departure point of this dissertation, the second process is more problematic, and constitutes a greater challenge to the teachers, since it tends to conceal the inherent contradictions of the mainstream development discourse (cf. 7.1.5).

Chapter 5 sketched the historical evolution of global education in Sweden. This was done with a particular focus on historical processes of change as regards this

knowledge content as such, as well as the organizational arrangements for its implementation. The chapter makes a unique empirical contribution by outlining an updated, comprehensive curriculum history of a knowledge content which has been largely neglected by Swedish didactic research. The chapter argued that the potential content knowledge repertoire that global education teachers can choose from has widened substantially since the 1960s, and that this is related to the widening potential repertoire of development thinking, and accelerating globalization of more and more elements of society. The chapter also concluded that, despite a great deal of topical continuity, certain aspects of global education tends to be accentuated in different historical periods which, in turn, demonstrates that knowledge content is historically contingent. These historical accentuations reflect major concerns in the development debate of each historical period and this, in turn, illustrates the point about global education being essentially problem-oriented. However, problem descriptions are never socially neutral, and the chapter made the argument that global education has evolved in a field of tension, and that its trajectory must be understood in relation to a war of position between different social and ideological forces. However, this war of position seems to have been played down, or at least concealed, in later years. Here the argument was made that there are reasons to believe that this is related to the sustainable development discourse, and in this context it might be important to remind ourselves of Gramsci's idea that hegemonic activity increases in times of crisis, and Hettne's argument about mainstream co-option of critical counterpoint ideas (Gramsci, 1971; Hettne, 1995). It is probably also useful to relate this evolution to a more general post-political trend in Western societies (Mouffe, 2005). Finally, the chapter argued that the Swedish development cooperation authority has historically been very influential as regards global education and the organizational arrangements for its implementation. However, and this argument is significant since it has influenced the design of chapter 6, the chapter concluded that the decentralization of the Swedish school system in the 1990s, and the reorientation of Sida's information mandate, have resulted in substantial changes as regards the organizational arrangements for implementing global education. This decentralization process is, as argued by Englund, of particular importance in that the determinants of the curriculum have become more difficult to detect and the inherent tensions of the curriculum have become more related to the individual teacher project (Englund, 1997b).

7.1.4. Didactic contributions

As previously indicated, this dissertation can be thought of as a didactic contribution in its entirety. Nevertheless, in accordance with the logics of 'pragmatic realism', this section will highlight a few contributions of particular relevance to professional practice. Chapter 6 exposed that global education can be conceptualized and approached in very different ways. The chapter was

theoretically informed by the idea that the curriculum constitutes a field of tension, and that these tensions, due to decentralization of the Swedish school system, have become increasingly related to the individual teachers' projects. Hence, by means of constructing a didactic typology based on practicing teachers' accounts of their teaching, the chapter was able to demonstrate that global education can be conceptualized and approached in five different ways. These approaches constitute empirically grounded, theoretical constructs of what teachers *can do* in global education, and they expose that it is possible for teachers to transmit very different 'offers of meaning'. As a theoretical construct, the typology isolates aspects of a complex reality. Consequently, there is probably no teacher in the Swedish school system that would fit perfectly into any of these categories. On the contrary, teachers seem to incorporate aspects of several different approaches simultaneously, i.e. they cross-border and move between them in quite a convoluted way. This is not strange bearing in mind that the curriculum constitutes a field of tension between competing social and political forces and that the teachers are located in this 'centre of gravity' (Englund, 1986/2005, 1997b). The typology further exposed that the five approaches reflect very different intellectual and political rationalities, and that they transmit different ideological 'offers of meaning'. Yet, despite the fundamental differences between these approaches, they can all be legitimized on the basis of, and be viewed as coherent with, the written curriculum *Lpf 94* (Skolverket, 1994b). This clearly illustrates the point about the curriculum as a compromise product in capitalist democracy, and that the curriculum is open to a wide range of interpretations. Finally, the chapter argued that it is difficult to provide simple answers to the question of whether an approach constitutes an expression of 'reproductive' or 'progressive' social forces. It basically seems impossible to find a stable reference point for such an appraisal. Nevertheless, the chapter has attempted – although with some caution – to position the five approaches in relation to this question. But ultimately, it would probably be more appropriate to talk about several different war(s) of position, and education(s) for social integration or change.

As argued by Englund, systematic knowledge of different didactic alternatives constitutes an important aspect of didactic competence (Englund, 1986/2005, 1997a, 1997b). The didactic typology developed in chapter 6 can serve as a tool for initiating discussion about such alternatives in relation to global education. The typology can be used in pre-service and in-service teacher training as well as in teacher team discussions in schools. It can also provide input to individual teachers engaged in professional reflection. However, apart from making a contribution to such didactic discussions and reflections in a more general sense, two points will be stressed, which is particularly important to take into consideration.

Firstly, I would like to make a case for a more systematic 'perspectivation' of global education. As has been thoroughly argued throughout this dissertation, particularly in chapters 3 and 4, development is not socially neutral. It conveys considerable contradictions, and it can be perceived and understood in many different ways. This implies that development is ultimately a question of political struggles, trade-offs, priorities and choices. As indicated in chapter 6, teaching about global development issues can also be done from many different perspectives and ideological points of departure. A reasonable didactic approach to global education would thus be to expose pupils to several different 'offers of meaning'. This would hopefully make it more obvious to the pupils that global development issues are not socially neutral. However, considering the complexity of global development issues, it might be important to push such a didactic approach one step further and pursue a systematic 'perspectivation' of global education. As indicated in chapter 6, teachers tend to move in-between approaches in a quite convoluted way. In my opinion, a more systematic, theorized and comparative approach is preferable, i.e. whereby a particular global development issue becomes approached in a systematic, comparative way, and where the pupils are exposed to different theoretical and ideological perspectives. Through such an approach, pupils would become trained in 'perspectivation' while simultaneously gaining insights into the basic conditions of politics, i.e. that politics revolves around conflicting interests. The didactic typology presented in chapter 6 can hopefully make a contribution to building up such a systematic 'perspectivation' of global education. There are, of course, some downsides to such an approach, i.e. the likelihood that we reduce the world's complexity and fix theoretical positions. It is, of course, important to learn to destabilize, deconstruct and think in-between theoretical categories. On the other hand, a prerequisite for this is that pupils first develop notions of different perspectives. If they are not trained to do so, there is a great risk that we will end up in a completely post-political condition. From a democratic standpoint that is hardly a desirable option.

The second proposition I would like to make is that practicing teachers should not only attempt to implement education for sustainable development but also critically challenge the concept's hegemonic status. A huge number of teachers in Sweden, and worldwide for that matter, are currently struggling in different ways to implement education for sustainable development. Their legal obligation to do so does not exclude the possibility of a more critical approach. Rather than just attempting to implement education for sustainable development, I find it equally important that teachers expose the pupils to the inherent contradictions of sustainable development. As well as pursuing the one-sided, and in my opinion uncritical, idea that sustainable development is both possible and desirable, it seems reasonable that teachers should also present the 'offer of meaning' that the inherent contradictions make it impossible to meet all ends. If the idea that the natural environment sets boundaries for economic development is accepted,

then it is not so difficult to conclude that we are ultimately facing conflicting political interests, priorities and choices. However, in my opinion, these conflicts tend to be concealed by the sustainable development discourse. Andersson's global ethical trilemma can be used as one possible way of unpacking the inherent contradictions of sustainable development (J. O. Andersson, 2003, 2006). A more critical approach to education for sustainable development can also, similar to the 'perspectivation' suggested above, contribute to insights about the basic conditions of politics. Now, it is, of course, possible to argue that my perspective is too gloomy, and that I underestimate the potential of sustainable development. Maybe so, but that does not invalidate the argument that pupils should not only be exposed to the 'offer of meaning' that sustainable development is possible and desirable, but also the 'offer of meaning' that the inherent contradictions makes it unattainable and that, ultimately, painful choices between different political options will have to be made. In my opinion, the pupils are entitled to be exposed to both of these perspectives. Not just one of them.

7.1.5. Policy-relevant contributions

This thesis has also provided a few contributions of relevance to policy and policy-makers. In this section a few remarks will be provided in relation to four policy contexts: Sida's information work; Sweden's Policy for Global Development; Education for Sustainable Development; and, international exchange programmes in the education sector.

As indicated in chapter 5, Sida's information work was fundamentally reformed in 2003. Previously, it had been oriented towards disseminating information about developing countries and Sweden's development contributions. From 2003 and onwards, the aim of the information policy has been to disseminate knowledge and stimulate debate on global development. In accordance with the general arguments of this dissertation, this policy reorientation seems to be a step in the right direction. As argued in chapter 3 and 4, the whole context of development cooperation has been fundamentally transformed, and it has become increasingly relevant to conceptualize development as a global problem. However, somewhat paradoxically, the findings of chapter 5 indicate that the fierce debate surrounding global education in earlier periods seems to have been downplayed in the very decade that the information work became reoriented from information dissemination to promoting debate. Nevertheless, the policy reorientation towards stimulating debate opens, at least potentially, for a more democratic and critical development dialogue. As I have been arguing, global development issues are indeed complex and difficult to scope, but what is more important is that the issues convey contradictions, and that they ultimately revolve around conflicting political interests. Consequently, it is extremely important to stimulate debate in order to make political contradictions and

disagreements visible. This implies that the reorientation of Sida's information work – if it is implemented according to the original ideas - fits in well with the general arguments of this thesis, i.e. that a more animated debate on global development issues and different political alternatives is needed.

This is hardly the right place to initiate a large-scale discussion of Sweden's Policy for Global Development. However, some brief remarks will be made on how I think teachers and other representatives of the school system ought to approach the policy. In my opinion, Sweden's Policy for Global Development can basically be perceived in two ways. A more troublesome position, from the starting point of this dissertation, is to view it as an administrative instrument for implementation of global development. Such an understanding of the policy would be grounded in an almost apolitical notion, or at least an extremely liberal idea, that all 'good' forces can and are willing to pull in the same direction. A more interesting and fruitful approach is to view it as a Geiger counter of political conflicts, i.e. as a tool that will enable us to expose the inherent contradictions of different policies and the fact that different stakeholders have conflicting objectives. It is not until these contradictions and conflicts become visible that they will be amenable to political debate. From such a standpoint, the policy can help us to expose that politics is a matter of conflicting interests, trade-offs, priorities and choices. Thus, as far as schools and teachers are concerned, they should attempt to 'unpack' rather than implement Sweden's Policy for Global Development, i.e. expose the inherent contradictions and conflicts between different policy priorities and make them subject to debate in the classroom.

The proposal that teachers should not only attempt to implement Education for Sustainable Development but also critically challenge the concept's hegemonic status has already been presented. My arguments in relation to policy-makers are largely similar, although one must, of course, recognize that policy-makers, as well as teachers, are constrained by the policy discourses in which they operate. The Swedish Government Official Report *Learning for Sustainable Development*, and a series of succeeding publications on the topic, contains a broad range of constructive suggestions as to how schools and teachers should work to implement Education for Sustainable Development. For example, the report underscores that economic, social and environmental issues should be illuminated from many different angles; that conflicting interests and needs should be highlighted; and that critical thinking should be encouraged (SOU 2004:104). This is of course very good, but the problem is that critical thinking as regards sustainable development as such is not really encouraged in the report. Sustainable development has basically become an axiom that cannot be called into question. In Gramscian terms, it has become 'common sense', i.e. hegemony. For instance, it seems to be assumed that if the teacher initiates a critical discussion of different contradictions, then she or he somehow pursues

Education for Sustainable Development, but it can equally well be argued that it is these very contradictions that make sustainable development unattainable from the very beginning. Hence, just as in the case of Sweden's Policy for Global Development, I think it would be more fruitful to 'unpack' rather than attempt to implement Education for Sustainable Development. The simple point, which was underscored by the support for the reorientation of Sida's information work, is that a vivid political debate about global development issues is needed. However, if sustainable development gets to hold the position as an unchallenged axiom or as 'common sense', then I fear that such a debate might become seriously circumscribed.

Finally, a few of the dissertation's findings will be related to contemporary policies regarding international exchange programmes in the education sector. As indicated in chapter 6, international exchange programmes – often supported by the International Programme Office for Education and Training – are frequently used as pedagogical tools in contemporary global education. Such exchange programmes offer fantastic opportunities for teachers and pupils and can serve as powerful entry points to global education. However, the findings in chapter 6 suggest that one should not presume that international exchange programmes are always desirable, and that they will automatically result in something 'good'. Normally, the intention of international exchange programmes is to somehow bridge cultural barriers and combat prejudices. This they can do, but they can also quite easily move in the other direction, i.e. reinforce cultural barriers, strengthen prejudices and feed into postcolonial notions of 'the other'. Hence, it would be a mistake to assume that international exchange programmes are 'good' by default. This is entirely dependent on the design, preparation and implementation of such programmes. Here, I think it is of great importance that funding authorities such as The International Programme Office for Education and Training maintain a critical perspective when selecting applicants and, equally important, that they prepare them properly in order to avoid the pitfalls of cultural prejudice. Obviously, other stakeholders such as the teacher training programme, national and local school authorities, principals and teachers themselves, also have a responsibility. The point is that policy-makers and officials engaged in international exchange programmes with reference to global education, need to recognize that despite the fantastic potential of such programmes they can also entail problems. In order to pursue excellence, such problems must be attended to and dealt with.

7.2. Confessions

In the final chapter of a thesis, it is always appropriate for researchers to present a few reflections as regards methodological shortcomings and other limitations of their work. This is to nuance the alleged contributions and increase the transparency of the dissertation. Writing a Ph D thesis is a long and laborious

learning process. Towards the end of the process, one realizes that a lot of things could have been done differently and better. In this section, I will first give some very brief and general comments as regards the methodology of the thesis and the character of the scientific claims I am trying to make. This is to make sure that the thesis is criticized on its own terms. Thereafter, I will elaborate briefly on a few shortcomings and limitations that I find particularly bothersome.

In accordance with the dissertation's meta-theoretical perspective, knowledge of reality is always conceptually mediated. Hence, even though there is a reality independent of the researcher, this reality is only accessible indirectly through language and thought operations where the researcher actively contributes to the construction of knowledge. The object of study in this dissertation is regarded as both socially defined and socially produced. The examination of such objects of study requires a 'double hermeneutics' supported by a theoretical apparatus. Hence, the historiographies in chapter 4 and 5 must be understood as theoretically informed, and the didactic typology constructed in chapter 6 obviously also resides in a particular theoretical tradition. However, recognizing that knowledge is theory-laden is not synonymous to it being theory-determined, i.e. to state that knowledge is theoretically and socially impregnated is not to say that any description of the world is just as valid as any other. If one truly believes that 'anything goes', it seems like a very strange decision to devote four years of one's life to writing a scientific dissertation. There are, of course, better and worse ways of studying the world, and this thesis obviously contains several methodological shortcomings. Here, I will briefly elaborate on some of them. Hopefully, this will increase the transparency of my knowledge claims.

As indicated in chapter 1, the thesis is limited insofar as it is based on oral and written accounts of the object of study, i.e. not direct observations. In the case of the historiographies in chapter 4 and 5, this was, of course, inevitable. However, despite the inevitability of accounts, there are indeed other pertinent methodological problems that hamper these two sub-studies. The scope of chapters 4 and 5 is extremely wide, and to some extent I feel that the accounts on which I attempt to base these grand narratives, despite a substantial body of data, are somehow insufficient. This is not due to the quality of the data as such – most of the interviews and documents are wonderful accounts – but rather to the fact that I am trying to say too much. Ultimately, this problem is, of course, related to the pretentious ambition to write such grand narratives, particularly within the context of a dissertation based on no less than three different sub-studies. This also forms part of classic dilemmas in social scientific research such as striking a balance between rigor versus relevance, and between narrow versus broad objects of study. Personally, I have always been inclined towards the latter and this, of course, comes at a price. Another serious problem in these chapters is that certain types of accounts are privileged, i.e. the voices of old, white men. This is largely a consequence of the historical orientation of the studies – e.g.

that the majority of potential informants (i.e. with relevant professional backgrounds) are old, white men – but I still feel a bit uncomfortable about this. However, as regards chapter 5, it is probably also related to the snow-ball sampling procedure, and here I must admit that it is with a certain degree of embarrassment I conclude that chapter 5 has ended up as a clear-cut example of how the snowball approach can make a researcher end up with a gender-biased sample. As indicated in chapter 5, I did make some effort to get around this problem but apparently it was not sufficient. In chapter 6, the gender-balance is better due to a more purposive sampling approach, but as previously indicated, there are other problems. This study is obviously also based on accounts and, accordingly, I have made no observations of what is actually happening in the classroom. It is, of course, possible to criticise this procedure. However, since chapter 6 sets out to construct and present a didactic typology that exposes what teachers *can do* rather than any empirical generalizations of what teachers actually *do* in the Swedish classrooms, I think the methodological approach can be justified. On the other hand, it is, of course, well worth considering whether direct observations might have led to other or supplementary conclusions.

Another problem with this dissertation is that I attempt to write myself into the third wave of Swedish curriculum theory without really accomplishing what is required of a thesis in this tradition. Moreover, in some respects chapter 6 almost seems closer to the fourth wave than the third wave of Swedish curriculum theory. On the other hand, the dissertation lacks the necessary theoretical base founded in 'the communicative turn', which is required of a thesis in the fourth wave of Swedish curriculum theory (Englund, 2007a). Hence, to some extent I fear that the thesis has ended up in a 'no man's land' in-between the third and the fourth wave. I do point to the relationship between the evolution of development thinking and global education, but I do not really manage to pin-down any clear-cut determinants as would be customary in the third wave. Nor do I manage to historically discern any coherent conceptions of education, which could also be viewed as a requirement for a dissertation in this tradition (Englund, 1986/2005). I have managed to show that global education, in each historical period, is marked by tensions between different social and political forces, but I have not managed to translate these empirical patterns into coherent analytical categories such as competing educational conceptions. Moreover, I have managed to point to the relationship between the historical accentuations (outlined in chapter 5) and contemporary approaches of global education (outlined in chapter 6). This insofar as certain aspects of the historical accentuation linger on in the contemporary approaches, but ultimately this must be viewed as a halfway solution at best. Now, there are probably several reasons for these shortcomings. One problem – if I may be allowed to resort to excuses – is that I have attempted to follow a scholar, i.e. Englund, who has gradually developed and reoriented his line of thinking through the years, and this might partly explain the thesis' halting position. It is, of course, also easy to resort to

the conclusion that the extremely complex and broad object of study has contributed to the difficulties in pinning down determinants and discerning educational conceptions. A third explanation might be related to the abductive research process. There is an obvious downside to the abductive process in that the theoretical tools are not at one's disposal from the beginning. I am certain that the dissertation's design would have been somewhat different if I had been more familiar with Englund's work from the beginning of the research process. For example, the design of the second sub-study would probably have been somewhat different. The abductive approach is probably also more productive if you are able to get back to your informants with follow-up interviews after readjusting your theoretical tools. In the case of this dissertation, this was not possible due to practical circumstances, and this obviously constitutes a severe shortcoming.

My last reflection revolves around a certain paradox that seems to have crept into my argument. On the one hand, I have expressed quite strong criticism of the prescriptive definitions of global education that permeate much of the international literature. Apart from the argument that these definitions hamper empirical research on 'the political' in education, I have suggested that it is quite problematic that these allegedly 'critical' scholars argue that there is 'a right way' of pursuing global education and that approaches that do not fit these authors' normative criteria become defined as 'something else'. The argument is that the scholars turn themselves into experts and that they, as a consequence of doing so, tend to lose analytical distance. Now, and here comes the paradox, at the same time I have stressed that there are several didactic implications of my own work and that it is a mandatory requirement for a thesis in Subject Matter Education, written in the context of a Graduate Research School in Educational Sciences, to produce knowledge of relevance to professional practice. This paradox is not that easy to escape. However, in an attempt to justify my own approach, I would argue that there is a qualitative difference between the didactic propositions I have presented and those of many of the more normative scholars of global education. Whereas these normative scholars have suggested that there is 'a right way' to teach global education, I have argued that: (1) Global education can be taught in many different ways, that it is important that teachers engage in a critical discussion of these different didactic alternatives, and that is important that pupils are exposed to different 'offers of meaning'. (2) That it is important that teachers apart from trying to implement Education for Sustainable Development also critically consider the inherent contradictions of the concept and expose the pupils to the offer of meaning that it might be impossible to make all ends meet. Both these suggestions highlight the importance of critical discussion and pedagogical approaches that expose pupils to different 'offers of meaning'. In my opinion, this is quite different from attempting to offer a blueprint for global education.

7.3. Considerations for future research

It was argued at the beginning of this thesis that global education has so far been relatively neglected by Swedish didactic research. This dissertation has now offered some minor contributions, but in all essentials global education is still wide-open for future research. In this final section, a more general suggestion for such research will first be given. Thereafter, I will elaborate a little bit further on some potential future avenues, which, in my opinion, are particularly relevant.

On a more general level, I would like to suggest that future research on global education take the operational definition offered in chapter 2 into serious consideration. Regardless of whether future research decides to subscribe to, refine, or defy, the proposed definition, I would strongly advise against the type of prescriptive definitions of global education that have so far permeated much of the international literature. This proposition is based on the argument that these kinds of prescriptive definitions tend to hamper, rather than enable, interesting empirical research on 'the political' in education.

In more specific terms, I find a number of avenues for future research interesting to consider. Firstly, I would like to encourage classroom research on global education. As argued by Lundgren, Swedish curriculum research has largely re-oriented its focus and distanced itself more and more from the classroom in recent years.[90] Curriculum research on global education is, of course, no exemption to this general rule.[91] This dissertation has offered potential input for further classroom research through the proposed operational definition and the didactic typology. Classroom research can, beyond any doubt, provide the global education debate with new and important input. Secondly, in line with the general argument of the thesis, I would like to suggest that future research focus on the inherent political contradictions of this curricular content, e.g. as regards the concept of sustainable development. It would be extremely interesting to know more about whether, and if so how, teachers and pupils deal with and reason about these inherent contradictions. Consequently, I would suggest that a much more critical avenue of research as regards sustainable development and other global concerns is opened up. Such research should recognize the fundamental political contradictions that development conveys. Thirdly, the theoretical proposition outlined in chapter 3, that the curricular contradiction between capitalism and formal democracy has been extended by yet another dimension, i.e. environmental sustainability, deserves further theoretical reflection. This proposition deserves to be carefully considered as it might lead us to think in new ways about the political field of tension in which the curriculum is formed. Fourthly, I would like to suggest research that critically

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[90] Lundgren, U.P., Personal communication. September 14, 2009

[91] It should be noted that a very recent contribution to classroom research on global issues, although with completely different theoretical and conceptual orientation, is offered by Sandahl (J. Sandahl, 2011).

investigates international exchange programmes. Such programmes are becoming more and more common in the Swedish school system. As I have argued, they offer fantastic opportunities, but it is also important to recognize that they can in fact also reinforce cultural barriers and strengthen prejudices. Consequently, there is a great need of research that can help us to build a better understanding of the potential 'pros and cons' of such programmes, and how they can be designed in order to avoid the pitfalls of prejudice. Finally, I think there is a need to consider and look into what consequences the new upper secondary school Gy 11, and the reduction in Sida's information budget might have for global education. Both these aspects deserve further scrutiny.

My hope is that these and other matters regarding global education will be addressed by the didactic research community, and that the debate on this increasingly common and important curriculum content will become more animated and more critical in the future.

Inledning

Sedan millennieskiftet har vi kunnat notera en omfattande spridning av policys och politisk retorik som betonar vikten av en rättvis och hållbar global utveckling. På internationell nivå är FN:s *Millenniedeklaration* det mest uppenbara exempel på denna förändring av utvecklingsdebatten. Den svenska regeringens svar på millenniedeklarationen utgörs i sin tur av den sammanhållna *Politik för Global Utveckling* (PGU) som antogs 2003. I kölvattnet av dessa övergripande policyförändringar har det dykt upp en ny, eller kanske snarare återupplivad, debatt om hur skolan skall hantera de globala utvecklingsfrågorna. Under senare år har vi också sett en kraftig ökning av diverse profilskolor, program, ämnen, kurser och projekt i det svenska skolsystemet där globala utvecklingsfrågor utgör ett centralt kunskapsinnehåll. Även om detta innehåll har fått förnyad aktualitet under senare år så är fenomenet egentligen inte nytt. I själva verket finns en tradition av undervisning om liknande frågor som åtminstone kan spåras tillbaka till 1960-talet. Trots det stora genomslag som kunskapsinnehållet haft på senare tid, och trots att det kan återföras på en lång historisk tradition, har den svenska didaktiska forskningen i stor utsträckning försummat det. Denna avhandling vill förmedla ett bidrag till en sådan didaktisk forskning genom att studera historiska och nutida aspekter av detta innehåll.

För att avhandlingens grundläggande struktur och argument skall kunna begripas är det viktigt att vara medveten om att den vilar på två grundantaganden. Det första grundantagandet är att vi inte kan förstå detta kunskapsinnehålls plats och historiska utveckling i svensk skola utan att samtidigt förstå framväxten av svenskt bistånd. SIDA (idag Sida) fick 1965 ett informationsmandat från riksdagen att informera om situationen i u-länderna och svenska biståndsinsatser. Skolan blev i detta sammanhang en viktig målgrupp och SIDA:s informationsbyrå tillsatte en speciell enhet som helt ägnade sig åt informationsarbete gentemot skolan. Det finns också starka samband mellan de olika utvecklingsdiskurser som dominerat biståndsdebatten under olika årtionden och skolundervisningen om globala utvecklingsfrågor. Det andra grundantagandet som avhandlingen vilar på är, i enlighet med Englunds argument, att läroplanen i första hand skall förstås som ett politiskt, snarare än pedagogiskt, problem. Läroplanen i den kapitalistiska demokratin är att betrakta som en kompromissprodukt, öppen för olika tolkningar, som formas i ett positionskrig mellan olika ideologiska och samhälleliga krafter. Läroplanens innehåll skall således inte förstås som givet utan som kontingent (Englund, 1986/2005).

Studieobjekt

Ämnesdidaktisk forskning behöver inte i strikt bemärkelse begränsas till studium av specifika skolämnen utan kan även inbegripa andra innehållsliga aspekter av utbildning och undervisning (Englund & Svingby, 1986; Marton, 1986). I denna avhandling studeras globala utvecklingsfrågor som ett *kunskapsinnehåll* i skolan – vilket inte låter sig begränsas till ett enskilt skolämne – som är teoretiskt avgränsat men som kan förstås och hanteras på olika sätt med ytterst olikartade didaktiska implikationer (Englund, 1992a). Det bör dock understrykas att det är ett ganska besvärligt företag att studera globala utvecklingsfrågor som kunskapsinnehåll i skolan. För det första är studieobjektet relativt flyktigt i jämförelse med t.ex. ett traditionellt skolämne med väl definierade kursplaner, timplaner, nationella prov, hegemoniska läroböcker etc. I enlighet med Bernsteins terminologi utmärks således studieobjektet av såväl svag avgränsning som svag inramning (Bernstein, 1971). För det andra ger den akademiska tradition som studerat detta kunskapsinnehåll i skolan begränsad vägledning. Även om den svenska didaktiska forskningen till stor del försummat detta studieobjekt finns på det internationella planet en relativt omfattande forskning som primärt går under beteckningen *Global education*. Någon enkel översättning till svenska låter sig knappast göras och i brist på bättre alternativ har jag valt benämningen *utbildning om globala utvecklingsfrågor*. Denna befintliga forskning ger dock ett splittrat intryck och det figurerar en stor uppsättning preskriptiva definitioner som i min mening begränsar, snarare än öppnar upp för, intressant empirisk forskning. Därför introducerar denna avhandling en ny operationell definition baserad på fem karakteristika. *Utbildning om globala utvecklingsfrågor* refererar således till ett kunskapsinnehåll i grund- och gymnasieskolan som: behandlar globala utvecklingsfrågor, -processer och -företeelser; är problemorienterat; formas i ett spänningsfält mellan olika samhälleliga och ideologiska krafter; implementeras i skolan i många olika ämnen och former; och som historisk fått, och fortfarande får, läroplansstöd och fortbildning genom olika organisatoriska arrangemang där en nyckelroll spelats av den nationella biståndsmyndigheten.

Syfte

Avhandlingen drivs av två grundläggande intressen. Det första är en vilja att bättre förstå hur historiska villkor och omständigheter påverkar ett kunskapsinnehåll i skolan. Det andra att bättre förstå hur ett kunskapsinnehåll kan bli föremål för olika pedagogiska uttolkningar och ansatser, på basis av konkurrerande politiska rationaliteter. Det specifika innehåll som fokuseras i denna avhandling är *utbildning om globala utvecklingsfrågor*. Avhandlingens övergripande syfte är således *att undersöka den historiska framväxten av, samt nutida ansatser inom, utbildning om globala utvecklingsfrågor i det svenska skolsystemet*. Avhandlingen består av tre empiriska delstudier med olika delsyften (se nedan)

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och frågeställningar som alla på sitt sätt bidrar till realiserandet av detta övergripande syfte. Det är viktigt att poängtera att avhandlingen fokuserar på undervisning, samt läroplansdokument och andra organisatoriska arrangemang för implementering, av *utbildning om globala utvecklingsfrågor*. Däremot behandlar den inte frågor om lärande. I detta avseende är avhandlingen tydligt avgränsad. I läroplansteoretiskt språkbruk fokuseras således den föreskrivna och förmedlade, men inte den mottagna, läroplanen. Avhandlingen har också en tydlig begränsning så till vida att den helt baseras på muntliga och skriftliga redogörelser, d.v.s. inga direkta observationer.

Kunskapsanspråk och metateoretiska utgångspunkter

Avhandlingen försöker fånga verkligheten i termer av dialektiska historiska processer samtidigt som stor tyngdpunkt läggs på den praktiska didaktiska tillämpbarheten av den kunskap som produceras. Utifrån Alvessons & Sköldbergs trilaterala sanningsbegrepp – i enlighet med vilket sanning kan förstås utifrån de tre kriterierna korrespondens, användning eller mening – kan avhandlingens kunskapsanspråk således sägas ligga nära det författarna kallar *pragmatisk realism*. Alvesson & Sköldberg understryker dock att forskning i praktiken oftast inbegriper aspekter av samtliga dessa kriterier och således bör den pragmatiska realism som utmärker föreliggande avhandling förstås som en tyngdpunkt snarare än som en exklusiv position (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2008).

Metateoretiskt är avhandlingen inspirerad av den *kritiska realismen* vilken vuxit fram i polemik med såväl positivism som socialkonstruktivism. Den kritiska realismen utgår från det ontologiska grundantagandet att det finns en verklighet oberoende av forskaren. Den kunskap som forskaren producerar om denna verklighet är dock begreppsligt förmedlad samt historiskt och socialt situerad. Epistemologiskt innebär detta att all kunskap är teoriladdad vilket dock inte skall förstås som att den är teoriddeterminerad. All kunskap är felbar, men inte lika felbar, och således kan den kunskap som produceras vara mer eller mindre "sanningslik" (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2008; Danermark, Ekström, Jakobsen, & Karlsson, 2003).

Avhandlingens placering i en ämnesdidaktisk tradition

Då avhandlingen är producerad inom ramen för forskarutbildningsämnet ämnesdidaktik kan det vara värt att säga något om dess placering i en svensk ämnesdidaktisk tradition. Historiskt har det ämnesdidaktiska forskningsfältet i Sverige kommit att delas upp i två olika grenar: en fenomenografiskt inspirerad och en läroplansteoretiskt inspirerad gren. Den första av dessa grenar har

primärt intresserat sig för hur elever förstår ett givet innehåll medan den andra i första hand intresserat sig för innehållets historiska och samhälleliga bestämning (Englund, 1997a). Denna avhandling skrivs inom ramen för den läroplansteoretiska grenen av den svenska ämnesdidaktiska forskningstraditionen.

Litteraturgenomgång

Avhandlingens andra kapitel har tre grundläggande intentioner. För det första att ge en överblick av den existerande litteraturen inom *Global education*, fritt översatt till *utbildning om globala utvecklingsfrågor*. För det andra att positionera avhandlingen i relation till denna tidigare forskning. För det tredje att, i polemik med de preskriptiva definitioner som dominerar litteraturen, introducera en ny operationell definition av *utbildning om globala utvecklingsfrågor*.

Kapitlet konstaterar att litteraturen kan delas in i tre övergripande teman. Det första temat består av begreppsliga och preskriptiva debatter om vad *utbildning om globala utvecklingsfrågor* "är" eller vad det "borde vara". Det framgår här att litteraturen är splittrad och att det råder en relativt stor begreppsförvirring. Det andra temat består av redogörelser för *utbildning om globala utvecklingsfrågors* historiska framväxt i ett antal olika länder och det framgår här att det föreligger en del likheter länderna emellan vad avser t.ex. historisk utveckling; institutionell inblandning (t.ex. nationella biståndsmyndigheter); implementeringssystem; och politiska positionskrig. Det tredje temat består av olika empiriska kartläggningar, d.v.s. empirisk forskning med fokus på lärares, lärarstudenters och elevers relationer till globala utvecklingsfrågor. Ett gemensamt drag för dessa kartläggningar – såväl geografiskt som över tid – är att lärare, lärarstudenter och elever alla säger sig ha ett stort intresse för globala utvecklingsfrågor och upplever dem som mycket viktiga att ta upp i skolan, men att man samtidigt upplever frågorna som svåra och att de egna kunskaperna inom området inte riktigt räcker till.

Vad avser avhandlingens positionering gentemot den tidigare litteraturen kan följande konstateras. Avhandlingen tar avstånd från de preskriptiva definitioner som dominerar litteraturen och ger ett tydligt bidrag genom att introducera en ny operationell definition av *utbildning om globala utvecklingsfrågor* (se ovan). Då det finns ett flertal genomgångar av detta kunskapsinnehålls historiska framväxt i andra länders skolsystem, men saknas en sådan övergripande och uppdaterad historisk genomgång i en svensk kontext, ger avhandlingen också här ett tydligt bidrag. De befintliga historieskrivningarna i litteraturen tenderar vidare att vara relativt teoretiskt grunda. Avhandling försöker också här ge ett mer generellt bidrag genom att förmedla en mer teoretiskt driven historieskrivning. Som indikerats ovan har det genomförts empiriska kartläggningar av svenska lärares relation till *utbildning om globala utvecklingsfrågor*. Dessa har dock haft karaktären av just kartläggningar och varit teoretisk grunda. Även i detta avseende försöker

avhandlingen att förmedla en mer teoretiskt förankrad analys av lärares redogörelser av sin egen undervisning.

Teori- och begreppsapparat

Avhandlingens tredje kapitel har som intention att presentera och diskutera den teori- och begreppsapparat som ligger till grund för, och som försöker binda samman, avhandlingens tre empiriska delstudier. Apparatens olika teoretiska och begreppsliga komponenter beskrivs ingående. Dessutom granskas vissa aspekter hos teorierna och begreppen kritiskt, och det förs en diskussion om hur de (re)applicerats på det empiriska materialet. Teori- och begreppsapparaten är i stort ett resultat av ett abduktivt samspel mellan empirisk data och teori, varvid såväl data som teori bidragit, och omtolkats i relation, till varandra. Detta innebär att apparaten skall förstås som ett resultat av en dynamisk vetenskaplig process och inte som ett på förhand givet ramverk vari empiriska data enkom infogats.

Teori- och begreppsapparaten består av två huvudsakliga teoretiska inspirationskällor. Den första är utvecklingsteori – möjligen på väg mot global social teori – så som den utformats av Hettne (Hettne, 1982, 1995, 2009) och Abrahamsson (Abrahamsson, 1997, 2003b, 2007). Den andra är historiskt och socialt baserad läroplansteori så som den utformats av Englund (Englund, 1986/2005). Utöver dessa huvudsakliga teoretiska inspirationskällor med sina respektive begrepp består apparaten av ytterligare ett antal begrepp "möjlig repertoar" (Liedman, 1997); "avgränsning" och "inramning" (Bernstein, 1971); samt "världsekonomins etiska trilemma" (J. O. Andersson, 2003, 2006). Samtliga dessa teorier och begrepp används och förstås mot en mer generell gramsciansk fond som förenar och sammanbinder apparatens enskilda komponenter (Gramsci, 1971; Jones, 2006; Ransome, 1992).

I enlighet med den abduktiva processen utsätts som indikerats ovan dessa teorier och begrepp även för vissa kritiska inlagor och kapitlet inbegriper även några mindre försök till teoriutveckling eller åtminstone bidrag till en teoretisk diskussion. Ett sådant bidrag är förslaget att Englunds (1986/2005) idé om att läroplanen tar form i ett spänningsfält mellan kapitalism och formell demokrati nu möjligen bör breddas till att även inbegripa ekologisk hållbarhet och att skolan i denna mening har att förhålla sig till ett komplicerat trilemma.

Delstudie 1: Utvecklingens idéhistoria (1945-2008)

I det fjärde kapitlet presenteras avhandlingens första delstudie. Syftet är här är att teckna utvecklingens idéhistoria under efterkrigstiden med viss referens till framväxten av svenskt utvecklingssamarbete. Delstudien utgör en nödvändig idéhistorisk fond gentemot vilken övriga delstudier måste förstås. I metodisk mening är detta en traditionell idéhistorisk skrivbordsstudie. Materialet kan

indelas i fyra huvudsakligen kategorier: tidigare publicerade översikter av utvecklingens idéhistoria; "klassiska" originalverk som fick stort genomslag i utvecklingsdebatten under en viss delperiod; diverse internationella och nationella policydokument som berör utvecklingsfrågor; samt, övrig akademisk litteratur som bidragit till den historiska kontextualiseringen av varje delperiod. Den totala undersökningsperioden sträcker sig från andra världskrigets slut år 1945 till och med den globala finanskrisens utbrott och valet av Obama som USA:s nye president år 2008. Inom ramen för denna övergripande undersökningsperiod delas utvecklingens idéhistoria in, och presenteras, i sex olika delperioder med följande rubriker: *Återuppfinnandet av utvecklingstänkandet* (1945-1960); *Moderniseringens och utvecklingsoptimismens glansdagar* (1960-1970); *Beroende och föreställningar om alternativ utveckling* (1970-1980); *Neoliberalism, hållbar utveckling och återvändsgränden* (1980-1990); *Mänsklig utveckling, god samhällsstyrning, och de nya krigen* (1990-2000); *Komplexitet, koherens, kris och global utveckling* (2000-2008).

De viktigaste slutsatserna kan sammanfattas i tre punkter. För det första har utvecklingstänkandet berikats enormt under de senaste 50 åren och ur epistemisk synpunkt innebär detta att möjliga repertoaren har vidgats. Det finns två element av denna vidgning. Å ena sidan har nya "skolor" och teoretiska perspektiv ständigt tillströmmat och radats upp sida vid sida, varvid en parallell evolution av utvecklingstänkandet kan noteras. Å andra sidan har vi under hela perioden kunnat notera att den dominerande strömfåran i utvecklingsdebatten kooptererar kritiska perspektiv (Hettne, 1995, 2009). Denna process tycks dessutom ha accelererat på senare tid. Detta innebär att även strömfårans föreställning om vad som konstituerar utveckling har vidgats rejält och blivit alltmer multidimensionell och komplex. För lärarnas vidkommande innebär den första aspekten av den vidgade möjliga repertoaren en utmaning i så motto att det finns fler teoretiska skolor och perspektiv att förhålla sig till. Den andra aspekten är dock mer problematisk och utgör en större utmaning för lärarna eftersom den tenderar att dölja de interna motsättningarna i strömfårans utvecklingsbegrepp. För det andra visar delstudien att globaliseringen i grunden förändrat förutsättningarna för utvecklingstänkandet. Föreställningen om staten som den självskrivna utvecklingsagenten har idag blivit obsolet. Istället betraktas utveckling som en process som inkluderar och kräver insatser från en mycket bred uppsättning aktörer. För lärarnas vidkommande är det alltså idag fler aktörer att hålla reda på än tidigare. För det tredje krävs i allt större grad flernivåanalys för att förstå dagens utvecklingsprocesser. Dessutom har globaliseringen ritat om världens ekonomiska och sociala geografi varvid Nord återfinns i Syd och vice versa. Sammanfattningsvis tyder detta på ett allt större behov av att på något sätt sammansmälta utvecklingsteori och internationell politisk ekonomi till det Hettne kallar "global social teori" (Hettne, 1995, 2009).

Delstudie 2: Den historiska framväxten av utbildning om globala utvecklingsfrågor i Sverige (1962-2008)

I det femte kapitlet presenteras avhandlingens andra delstudie. Syftet är här att skissera den historiska framväxten av utbildning om globala utvecklingsfrågor i den svenska grund- och gymnasieskolan. I fokus står historiska förändringar av såväl kunskapsinnehållet som de organisatoriska arrangemangen för dess implementering. Metodiskt bygger denna delstudie på semistrukturerade intervjuer med 15 informanter, vilka identifierats genom ett snöbollsförfarande, samt dokumentstudier. Studiens undersökningsperiod sträcker sig från år 1962 till 2008. Året 1962 är en logisk startpunkt då det sammanfaller med flera formativa händelser: den nya läroplanen Lgr 62; beslutet att införa 9-årig grundskola; antagningen av biståndspropositionen Prop. 1962:100; och etablerandet av Sveriges första biståndsmyndighet – Nämnden för internationellt bistånd. Den övergripande undersökningsperioden har delats upp, och presenteras, i fem delperioder med följande rubriker: *U-landskunskap och etableringsfas* (1962-1968/69); *U-landskunskap(er), expansion och politisering* (1968/69-1980); *Freds-undervisning, konflikter och organisationsförändringar* (1980-1990); *Europeisering, inter-kulturell undervisning och omstrukturering* (1990-2000); *Globalisering och hållbar utveckling* (2000-2008).

De viktigaste slutsatserna kan sammanfattas i fyra punkter. För det första har repertoaren för det möjliga kunskapsinnehållet inom *utbildning om globala utvecklingsfrågor* vidgats enormt. Detta måste i sin tur förstås mot bakgrund av utvecklingstänkandets vidgade repertoar och en accelererande globalisering av alltfler samhälleliga fenomen. För det andra – trots en stor grad av historisk kontinuitet – att visa typer av kunskapsinnehåll accentuerats under olika historiska perioder. Dessa accentueringar tenderar att reflektera de globala utvecklingsfrågor som upplevts som mest alarmerande, eller angelägna att hantera, i respektive periods utvecklings- och samhällsdebatt. Detta illustrerar också tydligt poängen om *utbildning om globala utvecklingsfrågor* som ett i grunden problemorienterat kunskapsinnehåll i skolan. För det tredje att *utbildning om globala utvecklingsfrågor* historiskt utvecklats och formats i ett positionskrig mellan olika ideologiska och samhälleliga krafter. Det finns dock mycket som tyder på att detta positionskrig tonats ner – eller snarare kommit att döljas – under senare år i samband med det ökande genomslaget av utbildning för hållbar utveckling. I detta sammanhang blir det extra viktigt att erinra sig Gramscis idé om att hegemonisk aktivitet ökar i kristider och Hettnes teori om strömfårans kooptering av kritiska kontrapunkter. För det fjärde att omstruktureringen och decentraliseringen av det svenska skolsystemet, i kombination med de förändrade målsättningarna för Sidas informationsuppdrag, till stor del förändrat

förutsättningarna för implementering av *utbildning om globala utvecklingsfrågor* i det svenska skolsystemet.

Delstudie 3: Samtida ansatser inom utbildning om globala utvecklingsfrågor i Sverige

I det sjätte kapitlet presenteras avhandlingens tredje delstudie. Syftet är här att blottlägga skilda sätt att förstå och förhålla sig till *utbildning om globala utvecklingsfrågor* som kunskapsinnehåll i skolan. Detta görs genom att utveckla en didaktisk typologi baserad på praktiserande gymnasielärares beskrivning av deras egen undervisning om globala utvecklingsfrågor. Delstudien har inte som målsättning att producera empiriskt generaliserbara resultat om vad lärare faktiskt "gör" i den svenska gymnasieskolan utan snarare att teoretiskt konstruera en empiriskt grundad didaktisk typologi som hjälper oss att förstå vad de "kan göra", d.v.s. vilka olika typer av meningserbjudanden som i princip kan förmedlas. Typologin utgör således ett verktyg som hjälper oss att blottlägga olika didaktiska alternativ. Metodiskt är delstudien baserad på semistrukturerade intervjuer med 15 praktiserande gymnasielärare som på olika sätt arbetar med undervisning om globala utvecklingsfrågor. Urvalet av lärare baseras på ett "maximal variation"-urval som utvecklats i samarbete med ett antal nyckelinformanter.

Den typologi som konstruerats visar att det i princip finns fem idealtypiska ansatser eller sätt på vilka lärare kan förhålla sig till utbildning om globala utvecklingsfrågor. Vidare att dessa didaktiska alternativ kan spåras till olika politiska och intellektuella traditioner. De fem ansatserna har tilldelats följande beteckningar: *Fostran till den vite mannens börda*; *Fostran till entreprenörskap och konsumtion för hållbar utveckling*; *Fostran till radikal solidaritet och miljömedvetenhet*; *Fostran till kritisk reflexivitet*; samt, *Fostran till tvärvetenskapligt tänkande*. Det är viktigt att vara klar över att typologin är en teoretisk renodling och att ingen lärares undervisning passar perfekt in i någon av dessa ansatser. Istället tenderar lärarna att överlappa, och rör sig mellan, ansatserna på ett ganska invecklat sätt. Detta är inte så konstigt då läroplanen formas i ett spänningsfält mellan olika ideologiska krafter och lärarna befinner sig i centrum för detta spänningsfält. Typologin visar att ansatserna reflekterar ytterst olikartade rationaliteter vilka förmedlar skilda ideologiska budskap. Samtidigt kan samtliga ansatser återföras på, och legitimeras utifrån, Lpf 94. Detta illustrerar tydligt poängen om läroplanen som en kompromissprodukt i den demokratisk-kapitalistiska samhällsformationen, och att den är öppen får många olika typer av uttolkningar.

Slutsatser

Avhandlingens sjunde och avslutande kapitel har tre intentioner. För det första att sammanfatta avhandlingens viktigaste bidrag. För det andra att nyansera dessa bidrag genom att förmedla några bekännelser beträffande avhandlingens tillkortakommanden. För det tredje att begrunda några alternativ för framtida forskning.

Under rubriken "bidrag" sammanfattas först kortfattat de begreppsliga, teoretiska och historiografiska bidrag som skisserats ovan. Därefter följer en diskussion om avhandlingens didaktiska bidrag. Här föreslås att den typologi som utvecklas i kapitel 6 bör utnyttjas av lärare och lärarutbildare för att diskutera olika didaktiska alternativ och att ett sådant samtal kan och bör leda fram till en mer systematisk, perspektiverande undervisning om globala utvecklingsfrågor. Vidare förs idén fram att lärare inte enbart bör ägna sig åt att försöka implementera utbildning för hållbar utveckling utan även utmana begreppets hegemoniska status genom att exponera sina elever för meningserbjudandet att idén om hållbar utveckling bär på grundläggande interna motsättningar vilka mycket väl kan peka mot en chimär. Eleverna bör således *också* exponeras för idén vi kanske behöver förhålla oss betydligt mer kritiska till detta begrepp och organisera våra samhällen utifrån helt annorlunda ekonomiska modeller. Den första sektionen avslutas med en diskussion om avhandlingens policyrelevanta bidrag. Avhandlingen positioneras här gentemot den förändring av Sidas informationsuppdrag som skett under senare år vilken, givet att den efterlevs, bedöms som förnuftig eftersom den uppmuntrar till en mer demokratisk och kritisk dialog om globala utvecklingsfrågor. Vidare positioneras avhandlingen mot PGU och utbildning för hållbar utvecklingsdiskursen. Här förs argumentet fram att lärarnas bör använda dessa policys som verktyg för att få upp interna motsättningar till ytan snarare än att betrakta det som något som skall implementeras. Sist positioneras avhandlingen mot några av de program för internationalisering som för närvarande existerar inom gymnasieskolan. Här lyfts såväl förtjänster som kritiska synpunkter fram.

Under rubriken "bekännelser" förs några självkritiska resonemang fram beträffande avhandlingens metodologiska tillkortakommanden. Dessa kretsar bland annat kring avhandlingens breda anslag och de problem som är förknippade med detta; vissa bekymmersamma snedvridningar i urvalet; svårigheten att leva upp till de krav som ställs inom den tradition jag försöker skriva in mig i; samt problemet med att å ena sidan kritisera preskriptiva forskningsperspektiv samtidigt som avhandlingen själv förväntas leva upp till utbildningsvetenskapens s.k. "relevanskriterium".

Under avhandlingens allra sista rubrik "begrundanden rörande framtida forskning" konstateras först att det didaktiska forskningsfältet med fokus på

utbildning om globala utvecklingsfrågor i princip är vidöppet. Därefter förs fem förslag fram till sådan didaktisk forskning som jag finner speciellt angeläget för forskningssamfundet att ta itu med.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR SUB-STUDY 2

- Can you briefly account for your professional background?

- The point of departure of this interview is that teaching on global development issues in the Swedish school system is historical contingent and that it has changed character over time. When, in your opinion, did teaching on global development issues 'take-off' in Sweden? What year or decade constitutes, in your opinion, the relevant starting point of this curriculum history?

- How would you periodize the history of teaching on global development issues in Sweden? Do you conceive any historical change patterns? Is it possible to sub-divide this history in different periods? How? Can you help me construct a historical timeline?

- Was there any particular kind of content that dominated curriculum and teaching on global development issues in each of the different periods? If so: can you account for these content accentuations?

- How did authorities and teachers motivate these different content accentuations? How were they legitimatized?

- Where there any particular pedagogical methods that dominated curriculum and teaching on global development issues in each of the different periods? If so: can you account for these methodological orientations?

- Was there any kind of political or academic zeitgeist that affected the content accentuations in each of the different periods? If so: how?

- What were the most important national steering documents for each of the periods? To what extent, and how, did they affect the content accentuations?

- Have there been any international declarations or curriculum documents that have been of importance?

- What institutions have been most important in supporting, and pushing for, teaching on global development issues? In what way?

- In general terms can you summarize the most important forces that was important in relation to the content accentuations in the different periods?

- Anything else you would like to add that might be of importance?

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR SUB-STUDY 3

- Can you tell me a little bit about your background and how it was that you started teaching global development issues? For how long have you been teaching global development issues?

- How do you work with global development issues in your teaching? How is teaching on these issues organized? What subjects, courses or projects are involved? Are you using any particular pedagogical methods or approaches?

- How do you select content when teaching global development issues? Can you give some examples of different types of content? Is there any particular kind of content that tends to dominate? Why does this content dominate your teaching? How do you, as a teacher, think about selection of content? What is important to think about when selecting content in relation to global development issues?

- To teach is ultimately a matter of selection and deselection. What kind of potential content do you tend to deselect when teaching global development issues? Why is this content deselected? How do you, as a teacher, think about deselection?

- Do you think that there is any correlation between the way you organize teaching on global development issues and the kind of content that tends to dominate your teaching? If so: how and why?

- What do you think are the most important objectives of teaching global development issues? How are you doing in terms of realization of these objectives? Why do you think that is?

- What are the greatest weaknesses and the greatest strengths with you way of organizing teaching on global development issues?

- In a more general sense: what do you think are the greatest problems regarding teaching on global development issues in the Swedish school system? In what way do you they can be solved or, at least, remedied?

- Do you regard teaching on global development issues as political? If so: how do you think about this? How do you deal with it in your own teaching?

- Global development issues are very broad and complex. How do you think about this complexity? How do you deal with it in your teaching?

- To what extent and how often do you change your teaching on global development issues? In what way do you tend to change it? When you change it what are the main reasons for doing so?

- Anything else you would like to add that might be of importance?

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