Yet Another Creative Adjustment of Coloniality. A Critical Discourse Analysis of Connecting Classrooms through Global Learning School Links

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#### Abstract

Global Citizenship Education is increasingly being adopted by national policymakers in response to the mandates of the international agenda, which recognizes the interconnectedness and interdependence of people on a global scale and advocates for global equality and social justice. Connecting Classrooms Through Global Learning is a global program that promotes educational links between schools in the UK and schools in the Global South to achieve these aims. This thesis explores the paradoxical approaches that underpin the discursive construction of these links. In theory, they advocate reciprocity and equality through a critical and social justice-oriented pedagogy. In practice, they reproduce dominant discourses that marginalize the Global South to serve the UK national interests. Using Critical Discourse Analysis as a methodological approach, this thesis investigated the discursive indications of neoliberal, liberal humanist, and neocolonial discourses in these links and their impact on social relations, identities and subjectivities of teachers and students on both sides. Applying a decolonial framework revealed the interplay of these discourses in inculcating identities and enacting social relations that are consistent with the configurations of the global market, the humanist rhetoric of 'common good', and the modern/colonial imaginary, but at odds with the Global Citizenship Education pursuit of equality and social justice. While continuing to relegate the Global South ways of knowing and ways of being, binary representations and unequal power relations maintain the hegemony of the UK as a global power at a time marked by post-Brexit national anxieties and economic uncertainties. Key words

Global Citizenship Education, Global Learning, Critical Discourse Analysis, coloniality, neoliberal education

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# Dedication

I would like to dedicate this work to the souls of my parents Aisha and Othman and my two sisters Kheira and Jamila Hizaoui, who went out of their way to give me an education they never had. I thank my husband Faisal Riahi for everything. Faisal, I cannot remember an accomplishment in my life, big or small, you were not behind. I also thank my children, my sister and brothers for their unconditional love and unwavering support.

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#### **Key Terms**

*Links*: In this thesis, the term 'Links' is used instead of 'Partnerships' (used in my proposal) to refer to programs that connect two or more schools together to achieve educational goals. I have chosen to use this term after scholars have strongly recommended avoiding the use of the term 'partnership' when the relationship is based on charity (Fowler, 2000, as cited in Bailey & Dolan, 2011), lacks equal participation and contribution, or when funding issues are prevalent, and controversial and contentious issues related to social justice are avoided (Leonard, 2008).

*The Global South (GS):* I use the term Global South / the South to refer to countries in Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, and North Africa with which the UK school links, being aware of the political, economic, cultural, and historical divide between the 'developed' and 'developing' world which makes the term highly contested.

*Global Learning*: Global Citizenship Education is used interchangeably with Development Education and Global Learning in UK academic and educational settings and literature. However, in this study the term Global Learning (GL) is used as it aligns better with the terminology of Connecting Classrooms through Global Learning (CCGL).

*UK-Global South School Links (UKGSSL):* aware of the widely used term North-South School Partnerships, this study uses the term UK-Global South School Links (UKGSSL) as it is primarily concerned with educational links between the UK and countries in the GS and the specific political, social, cultural, and historical context associated with it.

#### Introduction

The profile of Global Citizenship Education (GCE) has risen significantly after it has been recognized and adopted by prominent international organizations as an agenda for educational policy and practice (Pashby et al., 2020). GCE was identified as one of the Sustainable Development Goals launched by the United Nations as part of its 2030 Agenda (Pashby et al., 2020, p. 144). It was also adopted as a strategic field of UNESCO's Education Sector Program (UNESCO, 2021), and assessed globally by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) as part of the Global Competence Assessment in 2018 (Sälzer & Roczen, 2018).

In compliance with this international agenda, national education policies around the world have adopted GCE as a means of overcoming the complexities that arise from the intersection of global and local contexts. It is conceived as a tool to transform the challenges associated with North-South encounters into intercultural awareness and understanding of global issues. In this specific context, GCE has been associated with a host of benefits. It broadens learners and teachers' understanding of development and global issues. It equips them with the critical analytical tools to advocate for social justice and equity and to critically reflect on their position and responsibility in the world to tackle these issues.

Global Learning (GL), the equivalent of GCE in the UK, found its way into the UK educational context through the work of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as Oxfam the Department for International Development (DFID), and the British Council (BC). With considerable political support, education policy has aimed for a global perspective by means of embedding global learning into the curriculum. Global learning recognizes the interconnectedness and interdependence of people on a global scale. Pedagogically, it is aligned with Development Education (DE) and aims to give students a global outlook by increasing their awareness of the local context and broadening their perceptions of the different cultures and global issues that affect their daily lives. Teachers and students are expected to use their knowledge and skills to critically examine concepts, challenge assumptions, and act on their moral values to make the world a better place for all.

# Contextualizing the Study

The development of partnerships with schools in GS has been the response of schools and organizations to operationalize GL by incorporating global issues and the global dimension into the curriculum (Leonard, 2008; Martin, 2011). With government funding available, linking programs and initiatives mushroomed after 2008 (Doe, 2008, as cited in Blum et al., 2017). Following this surge in the number of schools connected to GS, political interest and funding declined significantly, leading to the deactivation of several programs, such as BBC World Class Program, Link Community Development, and Plan UK (Blum et al., 2017). To date, Connecting Classrooms through Global Learning (CCGL) is the last available program linking the UK with schools in GS.

CCGL is a £37 million program delivered across the four nations of the UK and 29 countries in sub-Saharan Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and North Africa (UK Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office, 2020, p. 1). It was launched in 2012 by the British Council in partnership with DFID. It is currently in its third phase of funding (until 2021).

The program aims to build sustainable partnerships between schools and communities in the UK and developing countries. It claims to equip students with the knowledge, skills, and values they need to develop global awareness and competitiveness for the 21st century, contribute to the global economy and act on global issues. The program is designed to build the capacities of educators through training and professional development courses that help them incorporate eight core competencies and themes of global citizenship into the curriculum. The program's overarching objective is to increase students and teachers' awareness and knowledge "about development, giving them the opportunity to learn about the wider world, and inspire them to take pride in the work a global UK is doing to fight global poverty," serving thus the goals of UK AID (UK - Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office, 2020, p. 1).

# **Problem and Thesis Statement**

The literature suggests that discussions of GCE are characterized by limitations and paradoxes. (Andreotti, 2006a; Alasuutari & Andreotti, 2015; Arshad-Ayaz et al., 2017; Pashby et al., 2020). Discussions are narrowly concerned with "methodological and epistemological questions", while leaving out ontological issues (Pashby et al., 2020, p. 160). GCE is such a broad concept that it acts as "a floating signifier that different discourses attempt to cover with meaning" (Mannion et al., 2011, p. 443). These discourses are complementary at times and contradictory at others. Entrepreneurial/neoliberal, liberal/humanist, critical-postcritical, and technicist-instrumental are just some of the discourses identified in the debate on GCE (Pashby et al., 2020, p. 150). However different these approaches may be, they are framed by the colonial/modern imaginary "to create international and global relations that are continuously the antithesis and counter-practices of global justice and rights" (Abdi et al., 2015, p. 3).

Similarly, the problem with the UKGSSL - the mainstream vehicle of GCE in the UK- is that different approaches guide the interpretation of its concepts and the operationalization of its principles. Many of these are paradoxical approaches, where what is intended is the opposite of what is practiced. In theory, UKGSSL advocates a critical and social justice-oriented pedagogy. The aim of links is to equip teachers and students with the knowledge and skills they need to live in an increasingly interconnected world and to take responsibility for solidarity and social change. In practice, links reproduce dominant discourses that marginalize GS and privilege the UK to serve its national interests. Despite theoretical conceptualizations and revisions of pedagogical practices in response to critiques

of the field (Bourn, 2014b), liberal, neoliberal, and neocolonial discourses continue to underly UKGSSL. The pervasiveness of these narratives obstructs equality and reciprocity and leave assumptions, stereotypes, and controversies unchallenged.

# Gap in Literature

The CCGL program has been praised by researchers, scholars, and policymakers as different from its predecessors. It seeks to rectify controversial approaches to UKGSSL such as charity (Bourn, 2014a). It recognizes the educational agenda and the local needs of students and teachers (Bourn & Cara, 2013). It focuses on professional development and advocates mutually beneficial links (Leonard, 2012). These differences lead to the expectation that CCGL's approach to UKGSSL has moved away from neo-colonial, humanist discourses and instrumentalist practices that marginalize GS and use links to resource the UK curriculum. This alleged shift has not been explored yet. Although the literature on UKGSSP encompasses a range of theoretical perspectives and methodological approaches, research on CCGL has rather taken the form of evaluative reports. These evaluations tended to focus on examining the impact of projects on teaching, learning, and training in terms of knowledge acquired and skills developed, with the authorship being predominantly British. This is a significant gap. In this study, I undertake the task of examining approaches to UKGSSL within CCGL from the critical perspective of a southern educator using Critical Discourse Analysis.

#### **Purpose of the Study and Research Questions**

This study treats CCGL as a phenomenon where "those who suffer" are in a 'partnership' with "those in power" (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 11) from a geographical and bureaucratic distance. CCGL -as a global education program- is a social order that encompasses a network of social practices and relationships shaped by neoliberal, liberal humanist, and neocolonial discourses. These discursive constructs influence the nature of the school links between the UK and GS and impact on equality and reciprocity. My aim is to move away from narrow analyses of the impact of the UKGSSL on the personal dimensions of learning and teaching and the "systemic analyses and complicities in the reproduction of injustices" (Arshad-Ayaz et al., 2017, p. 20) to foreground the ideological agenda that underpins its construction. My aim is to engage in critical inquiry to explore the manifestations and expressions of these discourses, their epistemological implications for knowledge production and the ontological implications for the social relations within links as well as the identities and subjectivities of students and teachers in the UK and the Global South. I seek to answer two questions:

- 1. What are the discursive indications of the neoliberal, liberal humanist, and neocolonial discourses in CCGL's UKGSSL?
- 2. What are the effects of the dominance of the neoliberal, liberal humanist, and neocolonial discourses on the social relations between students and teachers involved in CCGL's UKGSSL and on their identities and subjectivities?

To answer these questions, I constructed a conceptual framework that draws on decolonial theoretical traditions. Decolonial thinking provides insight into how GL intersects with the colonial legacy at various points. Its key ideas and concepts serve to locate the colonial hegemonic discourses that support CCGL operating in a postcolonial context. The second component of my conceptual framework is a "cartography" of narratives proposed by Vanessa Andreotti (2015) as a basis for reflection on GCE (p. 33).

# **Contribution of the Study**

As a student and educator of GS, I consider this research a "safe space" (Denzin, 2016, p. 32) in which I can engage in an "ethically responsible activist research" (Denzin, 2016, p.46). I seek to combine my own personal history, my learning and professional experiences with academic research to reach a wider readership in order to "affect social

policy by getting critiques heard and acted on by policy makers" (Denzin, 2016, p. 33). In this study, I begin to interrogate global policies and practices that perpetuate social and cognitive injustice and inequality on a global scale. By critically examining programs that intentionally or unintentionally perpetuate power relations and sanction opportunities for global justice and possibilities for a different future, this study aims to contribute to policy debates in the region to shift discourses toward more "historicized, politicized, and contextualized" education policy (Arshad-Ayaz et al., 2017, p. 20).

# **Organization of the Study**

Chapter 1 is a review of the literature. It traces previous research on UKGSSL, examines theoretical frameworks that have been applied, and analyzes and summarizes the findings. In Chapter 2, I explain my conceptual framework. This brings together Maldonado-Torres' concept of the coloniality of knowledge (2004) and Vanessa Andreotti's cartography of GCE narratives (2014), which provide a lens for analyzing the dynamics of representation and construal of social relations and identities. I then move to Chapter 3, where I briefly provide an overview of CDA as a methodology and method used to conduct the analysis. In Chapter 4, I conduct an interdiscursive and intertextual analysis of the selected documents. I then summarize the findings of the analysis and those of the literature review in Chapter 5 and discusses the implications for the findings. Finally, I address the limitations of the study.

#### **Chapter 1: Literature Review**

This literature review has two objectives. The first is to examine the existing bodies of knowledge to identify the overarching themes and prevalent theoretical perspectives within the debate on UKGSSL. The second is to identify the dominant discourses in the literature in order to trace their ideological underpinnings in the CCGL documents selected for analysis.

Literature on CCGL per se is scarce; therefore, I focus on UKGSSL, which encompasses various linking programs including CCGL. I limit my review to empirical and theoretical research that addresses linking programs in elementary and secondary schools. I include reports for organizations, research centers, journal articles, and book chapters.

In this review, UKGSSL is seen as a site of negotiation and contestation of meaning, with scholars arguing for and against the UK's links with the GS. Driven by opposing theoretical orientations, the debate leads to three overlapping areas of research. The literature review is divided into three broad sections that correspond to the claims made in each body of research: First, the positive impact of links as demonstrated by evidence-based research; second, the positive impact of links when framed within the philosophical principles and pedagogical goals of Development Education (DE) and GL; third, the dangerous impact of links when interpreted through postcolonial theory. I then provide a summary of the dominant discourses that emerge from the themes.

#### Assessment of Impact: The Benefits of UKGSSL

Research that studied the impact of UKGSSL aimed to evaluate linking programs to provide evidence of positive impact to funding organizations. The research arises also from the need to respond to growing scholarly criticism of the field, which highlights the tendency to leave assumptions and stereotypes unexamined and to reproduce unequal power relations (Martin, 2007, 2011; Martin & Griffith, 2012; Andreotti, 2006, 2008, 2011). This body of literature includes the work of Karen Edge and her teams (2009, 2010, 2012) and the work of Sizmur, Brzyska, Cooper, Morrison, Wilkinson & Kerr (2011). Methodological choices included large-scale mixed methods. They served to support the claim that UKGSSL have benefits for schools, teachers, and students both in the UK and the GS. The findings are based on empirical research studies and reports involving thousands of students and hundreds of teachers in the UK (Sizmur et al., 2011) and overseas (Edge et al., 2009, 2010, 2012). The results show that links improve the quality of teaching and learning outcomes in most participating schools.

Studies in this literature cite improvements in the development of teachers' pedagogical knowledge, professional skills, and intercultural understanding as the most important outcomes. Both British and Southern teachers have reportedly benefited from improvements in leadership, team building, and communication skills in intercultural contexts. On a wider scale, it is argued, the links improved school life and community engagement (Sizmur et al., 20011; Edge et al., 2009, 2010, 2012). Data analysis shows that teacher collaboration and staff involvement in school life increased (Edge et al., 2009, 2010, 2012). Teachers gained expertise in community engagement that contributed to the creation of a whole-school ethos (Sizmur et al., 2011).

Improvement in students' academic performance was attributed to improvement in knowledge of local and global topics (Edge et al., 2009, 2010, 2012), intercultural understanding, interpersonal, and social skills (Edge et al., 2009, 2010, 2012; Sizmur, 2011). Studies in this body of literature also argue that students' engagement with global issues promoted their critical reflection and challenged their assumptions and stereotypes. The comparative study by Sizmur et al. (2011) highlights a transformative experience that affected the attitudes, awareness and behavior of both teachers and students in the UK. Similarly, in the South, long-term relationships had a positive impact on students' academic

achievement, social behavior, motivation, and commitment to school (Edge et al., 2009, 2010, 2012).

The mantra of this literature is encapsulated in the terms *benefit* and *positive impact*. Despite their large scale, mixed methods, collaborative and interdisciplinary approach, these studies have elicited some critical responses. The general focus of the research has been on demonstrating positive impact and exploring the success factors in order to project and charter the future of links. Edge et al. (2009) clarify that the findings "will provide organizations working to support partnerships and schools with the evidence they need to accelerate their work" (p.10). Douglas Bourn (2014a) argues that the pressure to demonstrate the benefits of links to funders interfered with findings and prevented researchers from taking a critical approach to development. He comments, "It was not perhaps surprising that a lot of the development assumptions went unquestioned, when the funding for such partnerships came from bodies that were responsible for aid and development budgets" (Bourn, 2014a, p.12).

# **UKGSSL: Linking Development Education and Educational Development**

A second strand of literature examines the impact of UKGSSL, but from the theoretical perspective of Development Education/Global Learning. These are research reports conducted by the Development Education Research Centre at the Institute of Education (DERC) and funded by DFID. Research in this area is led by a leading figure and strong advocate of DE: Douglas Bourn, Director of DERC, Editor of the International Journal of Development Education and Global Learning, and author of numerous scholarly works and evaluation reports on Development Education and related topics.

While the first group of studies examined UKGSSL as a vehicle and aspect of GL, these studies perceived DE as an impetus for learning about global issues and development themes (Bourn, 2014a, 2014b). DE/GL drives the whole teaching and learning process and shifts UKGSSL from a goal in its own right to a pedagogical practice with a clear theoretical foundation. Pedagogical principles are the criteria by which UKGSSL programs are evaluated. Success is measured by the impact on teaching and learning in terms of the inclusion of diverse voices and perspectives in line with the aims of GL (Bourn & Cara, 2013). In partnering with African schools, the criterion is to meet the educational development needs of rural schools and make progress in improving access to quality education and achieving the Millennium Development Goals in terms of capacity building (Bourn & Bain, 2012; Leonard, 2012).

#### The Difference that DE Makes in UKGSSL

Evidence from UK and African schools suggests that there is a tendency to embed GL-related outcomes and themes into the curriculum and the school ethos (Leonard, 2012; Hunt, 2012), which impact students' knowledge and skills and increases their motivation, attendance, and attainment. In addition, it is argued that the links act as a stimulus for professional development (Hunt, 2012). They help educators integrate development themes in their lessons, especially when offered by a development education provider (Bourn, 2014a). Leonard (2012) describes how a long-term link in Zanzibar benefited teachers and leaders through professional development and interaction with education practitioners in the UK. She observes that the link gave a 'real' aspect to abstract and complex issues. Leonard (2012) claims that the link is a successful example of integrating the MDGs, DE goals and educational development while "affirm[ing] the dignity" of the school and community in Zanzibar (p.20). It is considered that the link has developed local initiatives that have impacted on the link and achieved a sustainable human relationship where aid issues are addressed.

In a study conducted in schools in England to investigate whether links based on the principles of GL challenge assumptions about the GS, Bourn (2014a) found a change in

vocabulary among teachers and students. According to Bourn (2014a), this change reflected the emergence of critical thinking and cross-cultural understanding, which may be due to the tendency to question one's assumptions and stereotypical thinking about the GS. Departure from charitable approaches is also cited as another difference DE / GL is said to contribute to links. Furthermore, commitment to the aims of GL leads links to shift from a fundraising practice towards an approach that seeks equality, social justice, and mutual learning (Bourn, 2014b; Bourn& Cara, 2012). The more globally oriented a link is, the less focused it is on charity (Bourn, 2014b). This is attributed to the fact that the pedagogy of DE is more focused on raising awareness and understanding of global development issues. It enables teachers and students to challenge them and act positively as global citizens and support development initiatives (Bourn & Cara, 2013). Equipped with DE skills and concepts such as diversity, values and perceptions, teachers are likely to be better prepared to address funding issues (Leonard, 2012).

This body of research recognizes the ongoing tensions and controversies within UKGSSL and acknowledges their detriment to education. Researchers warn that links to charity practices could derail educational gains (Bourn & Bain, 2012; Bourn, 2014a, 2014b) and make the link a means to optimize the school's chances of gaining international awards or to improve the school's rating by the Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills (OFSTED) in order to raise the school's profile (Hunt, 2012). Scholars warn that issues of funding perpetuate notions of dependency and reinforce links to colonialism, which in turn threatens the sustainability of links and jeopardizes mutual learning (Bourn & Cara, 2013).

#### **UKGSSL: Walking Minefields**

The third body of research is the most critical of UKGSSL as practice and DE as theory and pedagogy. It critiques the practices of UKGSSL on several grounds.

# Uncritical Commitment to Discourses of Western Ethics of Care

This group believes that UKGSSL is constituted by and therefore uncritically committed to liberal/universal discourses of care and benevolence. Scholars in this group argue that policy makers and practitioners advocate a rhetoric of acting from a moral obligation dictated by the UK's privileged position to transform the lives of people in the South (Andreotti, 2006a, Andreotti, 2011; Martin, 2011; Martin & Griffith, 2012). Martin (2007) and Andreotti (2011) question the value of charitable action for education when it is culturally, politically, and historically decontextualized. Martin (2011) argues that educational/development initiatives can be culturally meaningless or even irrelevant. They exemplify how fundraising, and charity may represent the desired model of the active and informed citizen, but not that of the critically reflective citizen. Misunderstanding active citizenship, Martin (2011) argues, translates into a discrepancy between what young people learn and the way they act.

The discourse of benevolence that permeates policy and practice has consequences for subjectivity and identity formation. Martin and Griffith (2012) contend that this discourse reproduces the image of the South as one people, one culture, and one problem. The pervasive representation of the deficit South reinforces the paternalistic notions that UKGSSL projects were intended to counteract, thus jeopardizing the reciprocity, mutuality, and sustainability of links (Martin 2011; Martin & Wyness, 2013). Such "ethos of ahistorical, depoliticized, and uncritical ethnocentric benevolence", according to Andreotti (2011), has implications for the identities of students and teachers on both sides (p.143). Whilst providing self-affirmation to the youth of Britain as "triumphant global dispensers of knowledge,

technology, health, rights, democracy and aid, placed in a position to "teach" the global community" (Andreotti, 2011, p.145), it leaves those in the South statically framed, vacillating between internalizing oppression, and affirming Western assumptions and imaginary.

## The Development-Modernization-Education Package

Scholars in this body of research agree that UKGSSL frame Southern schools within the notions of poverty and aid. By the logic of economic superiority, schools in the UK are responsible for budgeting links and funding their activities. This economic advantage puts the power of decision-making in their hands. It is this implicit entrenchment of economic neoliberalism in political ideologies that allows development to be presented as beneficial to education (Martin & Griffith 2012, p. 909) and modernization as a universal approach to development (Andreotti, 2011).

Martin and Griffith (2012) show how the achievement of the United Nations MDGsembedded in school links with the South - moves learning and teaching into an economic direction. They position the UK as an active player in eradicating poverty and hunger through UK Aid to emphasize its role as a global donor and aid provider. In the absence of a critical examination of the historical roots of poverty, Martin & Griffith (2012) conclude, this not only perpetuates global economic inequality. It keeps "the UK's economic neoliberal goal of maintaining a superior position within the global economy [...] hidden under the rhetoric of political neo-liberal goals of social justice" (p. 911).

The literature in this group highlights the notion that development, modernization and education are anything but neutral or innocent. In a critique of the guidance document "Developing a Global Dimension in the School Curriculum" (a document that informs most of the UKGSSL in the UK), Andreotti (2008) notes how poverty and development are conceptualized along the conviction that modernity creates wealth and secures wellbeing for

the global community. Furthermore, Andreotti (2011) argues that the discourse underlying the promotion of a global dimension in the UK suggests a reform of education along neoliberal lines. Such reform facilitates the commercialization of education and investment in human capital by recentering teacher efficiency around managerial skills. The result is more marketable and exportable British expertise and knowledge.

# The Ongoing Impact of the Colonial Legacy

The conflation of education and development, whether deliberate, unwitting, or unintentional, is evidenced in the literature on UKGSSL (Andreotti, 2006b; Martin, 2011; Martin & Griffiths, 2012). Policies that guide UKGSSL are most often interpreted as practices that maintain and reproduce Britain's intellectual, economic, cultural, and moral superiority over the GS, which serves as the basis of colonialism. Martin (2011) claims that this conflation is "highly political" (p.9). It is reflected in the neocolonial discourse that permeates policy documents advocating education as a vehicle for global citizenship and interculturality (Martin & Griffiths, 2012, p.912). Such ideology facilitated comparisons that reproduced the orthodox binary opposition between the powerful, wealthy, advanced North and the poor, backward South. This binary confirms that "the colonial legacy pervades teaching and learning about the world" (Martin, 2011, p.7). This idea resonates strongly with Andreotti's (2008) persistent argument that school links are based on universal assumptions about the responsibility of the global North to educate and civilize the global South. Andreotti (2011) argues that educational reforms that promote a global outlook are reminiscent of the imperial educational strategies that were based on the romanticization of the British educational system and cultural superiority.

# **UKGSSL Dominant Discourses and Ideologies**

The findings of the literature review above provide an overview of the debate between proponents and critics of links with the Global South. Within these positions, diverse

approaches to UKSSL exist. Two major theoretical perspectives inform the debate about which approach to take: development education and postcolonial theory. Approaches are also shaped by political agenda. Tensions between/within the approaches reflect the conflicting political, academic, and instrumentalist educational agenda that contribute to the discursive constructions of UKGSSL. These agenda are products of different discourses and in turn produce discourses with different ideological underpinnings. Liberal humanist, neoliberal and neocolonial discourses constitute the discursive configurations of UKGSSL and GL.

In the case of the research led by Edge (2009, 2010, 2012) and Sizmur (2011), the discourse of evidence-based knowledge legitimizes UKGSSL's instrumental approach. Interpreted as a response to postcolonial scholars' critique of links, the focus is on evidence. Cannella and Lincoln (2016) make a relevant observation when they state that "the notion of evidence is used to reinforce the reinscribed appeal to reason, the will to truth that creates the claim to reason versus folly, labeling those who would be discredited as half-truths, without intellect, as relativist or nonsensical" (p. 255) .The extensive aggregated data was selectively interpreted into success stories that served the political agenda of the funding organizations who needed to fast-forward the implementation of the project despite academic criticism and despite limited empirical evidence to support the claims (Martin, 2011; Leonard, 2012; Bourn, 2015).

Such "narrow models of objectivity and impact" (Denzin, 2016, p.33) obscure issues of representation in cultural encounters and the unequal power relations that go unquestioned by researchers and educators. Both Martin (2011) and Leonard (2012) are critical of this type of research. Martin (2011) observes how Edge et al.'s (2009) "most schoolteachers were presenting knowledge about the world as universal and therefore certain and unproblematic"(p.13). Leonard (2012) remarks that the work of Edge and her colleagues promote links as emblematic of Western hegemony (p. 7). The research promoted instrumental, uncritical approaches to global issues without foregrounding the social and historical realities of the South and the controversies generated by power. It focused on the utilitarian benefits derived from the skills, knowledge, and values most prevalent in liberal humanist conceptions of global citizenship, in a clear alignment with the neoliberal education policies adopted after 2008 economic recession.

Despite their orientation towards the values of global social justice and equality, scholars examining the impact of UKGSSL within the theoretical perspectives of DE /GL critique injustices and unbalanced power relations yet still from within a Eurocentric position and liberal economic discourse. The concept of UKGSSL is firmly rooted in the discourse of international development and universal Western values supported by the DIFD agenda. Notwithstanding the recognition of tensions and advocacy of a 'critical' approach (Bourn 2014b; Bourn & Bain, 2012), Global Learning-based research treats highly complex problems as surmountable obstacles. It proposes 'quick fixes' (Andreotti, 2014) that evade political and historical treatment of controversial issues such as fundraising and aid. Leonard (2012), for example, suggests that fundraising could be seen as a "reassessment of justice" and act as a medium of empowerment (p. 14).

In the same vein, Bourn and Cara (2013) claim that charity relationships can lead to greater empowerment by providing better access to resources and infrastructure support when framed within the context of UN MDG. DE-based links are advocated as a pedagogically guided practice universally well suited to prepare teachers to deal with controversies, including notions of paternalism and neocolonialism, and their own deeply held assumptions. Development and skill-based professional development (Bourn & Cara, 2013) is touted as a panacea for these controversial issues. Among other benefits, it boosts Southern teachers' confidence to overcome "inferiority complexes" (p. 18) and feelings of dependency (Bourn, Blum, Mattingly & Ndaruhutse, 2017). In this regard, Bourn, Blum, Mattingly & Ndaruhutse (2017) write, "There are dangers of paternalistic and neo-colonial relationships between schools in the UK and the Global South, but the chances of mutual basis partnerships developing increases when professional development is an integral part of the link activities"
(p. 2). Leonard (2012) also argues that embedding DE / GL in the curriculum can help challenge stereotypes, motivate independent thinking, and initiate positive change.

What is also evident in the studies reviewed is a tacit binary opposition in the portrayal of UK versus GS schools ('well resourced' and 'managed' versus 'underfunded', 'poor infrastructure'), teachers ('committed', 'professional', 'reflecting', 'dialoguing' versus 'observing', 'emulating', 'borrowing') and curricula ('innovative', 'creative', 'teacher- trusting' versus 'strict', 'stringent', 'rigid', 'traditional', 'low level', 'narrow'). The high prevalence of these binaries in the literature challenges the researchers' worldviews of the South and their assumptions about the nature of global relations, positionalities, and privileges within links.

The work of researchers such as Andreotti, Martin, and Martin and Griffiths is representative of a more radical, counter-hegemonic, and critical stance that draws on postcolonial traditions. It is a reaction to the ideals of global citizenship formulated according to universalized Western norms that satisfy the UK's national economic, political, and cultural agenda. Postcolonial studies reveal that the field of UKGSSL abounds with neocolonial, liberal, and neoliberal ideologies and uncritical practices that render the possibility of reciprocity unachievable and mutuality unattainable. However, the championing of critical discourse around UKGSSL has been widely misunderstood by teachers in the UK and GS and taken as a skill, "a form of logical thinking rather than an outcome of a critical pedagogy designed to be logical, to reveal neo-liberal hegemony, and to offer radical alternatives" (Huckle, 2017, p. 70). It has been used as an adds-on, once adopted it transforms linking activities and programs into a worthwhile practice. Overall, the literature on UKGSSL can be seen as a field of contention between mainstream and critical narratives within a larger national and global educational and political agenda where theoretical, moral, and pedagogical conceptions of UKGSSL are contested. Over the course of a decade of discursive and academic struggle around school links, the literature moves along a continuum: from a beneficial pedagogical practice to a problematic field whose controversies are difficult to challenge if not theoretically grounded in the principles of GL; to a "minefield" (Andreotti, 2008) that requires radical pedagogical approaches.

#### **Chapter 2: Conceptual Framework**

There is evidence in the literature of persistent dominant discourses such as liberalism, neoliberalism and neocolonialism that leave assumptions and stereotypes about the GS unchallenged, preventing thus UKGSSL from achieving equality and reciprocity.

In this study I question the extent to which CCGL has been able to move away from these dominant discourses in its approach to UKGSSL. To answer the research questions, I construct a conceptual framework that draws on decolonial theoretical traditions. In this respect, I agree with Andreotti's (2011) view that "the complexity of global citizenship education cannot be captured by any single approach" (p.381). Decolonial thinking offers insights into how Global Learning intersects with colonial legacies at multiple junctures. Its key ideas and concepts reveal the colonial hegemonic discourses that support CCGL operating in a postcolonial context. The notion of the coloniality of knowledge and Maldonado-Torres' concepts of epistemic blindness and epistemic racism are useful to understanding the kind of knowledge that underpins CCGL. The second component of my conceptual framework draws on a "cartography" proposed by Andreotti (2014) as a basis for reflection on "the ethics of educating about/for global citizenship and international development" (p. 33). Two of theses narratives/ approaches to GL provide a lens for analyzing the dynamics of constructing social relations and identities within links: the liberal humanist and the technicist-instrumentalist approaches.

#### **Decolonial Thinking**

Decolonial thinking has emerged in South and Central America as a critical reaction to Europe's colonial legacy and its hegemonic global position as the guardian of knowledge. Central to decolonial thought is the argument that the colonization of the Americas and the exploitation of its land, labor, and knowledge mark the beginning of modernity and that

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coloniality is constitutive of modernity (Mignolo, 2007, p. 162).

# Coloniality and the Matrix of Power

Coloniality is the central concept in decolonial thinking. Nelson Maldonado-Torres (2004) distinguishes between colonialism and coloniality in this excerpt to be quoted at length:

Colonialism denotes a political and economic relation in which the sovereignty of a nation or a people rests on the power of another nation, which makes such nation an empire. Coloniality, instead, refers to long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, but that define culture, labor, intersubjective relations, and knowledge production well beyond the strict limits of colonial administration. (p.243)

This distinction explains the far-reaching effects of formal colonialism on all areas of non-Europeans' lives, including their subjectivities. As an embedded hegemonic structure, coloniality operates under different manifestations and through what Peruvian sociologist Anibal Quijano calls a "colonial matrix of power"/coloniality of power (Maldonado-Torres, 2004, p. 39). Waler Mignolo (2007) maintains that coloniality dominates people through "the control of economy, the control of authority; the control of gender and sexuality and control of subjectivity and knowledge" (p. 156).

#### Colonial Geopolitics of Knowledge / The Coloniality of Knowledge

Building on the work of Quijano, Maldonado-Torres (2004, p. 30) uses the coloniality of power as a tool of analysis to understand how coloniality "sustains an endless war on specific bodies, cultures, knowledges, nature, and peoples" (Maldonado-Torres, 2016, p. 2). This study focuses on the coloniality of knowledge as a form of domination of non-European knowledges and cultural systems.

In decolonial thinking, education is a site where coloniality manifests and reproduces itself. Maldonado-Torres (2004) sees contemporary notions of knowledge and education as

products of the modern/colonial world. Colonialism, he argues, "is maintained alive in books, in the criteria for academic performance, in cultural patterns, in common sense, in the selfimage of peoples, in aspirations of self, and so many other aspects of our modern experience" (p. 243). Both epistemic racism and epistemic blindness position the West in what he calls "a privileged epistemic site" (Maldonado-Torres, 2004, p. 30) whose educational systems are "modern" and "superior" (Maldonado-Torres, 2016, p.12). This racialized attitude towards knowledge production raises questions about reciprocity and mutuality as goals of UKGSSL.

**Epistemic Blindness.** Maldonado-Torres (2004) critiques the contemporary social theory scholars for conceiving of the global as a post-colonial network of relations divorced from any geopolitical dimension. He claims that this conception protects modernity by disconnecting its trajectory from spatiality and vindicates it from the exploitation and erasure of the colonized natural environment, labor, and knowledge. It detaches knowledge from the history of colonialism to grant it a universalistic aspect. Moreover, the "non-space of empire" (Maldonado-Torres, 2004, p. 40) renders the concept of spatiality irrelevant and obsolete. It de-localizes European sovereignty and gives it the ability to rule from afar, from nowhere and from everywhere. Maldonado-Torres (2004) shows that the notions of universality and "non-space" make European knowledge and the way knowledge is produced seem neutral and therefore context-free. These notions create a state of epistemic blindness and amnesia (p. 36) that pushes colonialism into the realm of forgetfulness (p.30). It denies and rejects other ways of thinking to reproduce coloniality.

It follows that the geopolitical dimension of CCGL influences knowledge and knowledge production. Twenty-five of the thirty-five countries involved in school links with the UK are British former colonies from sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia, the Middle East and North Africa. They were deliberately chosen after the Secretary of State for International Development stated in 1999 that "she wanted to see every school in the UK have a link with a school in a developing country by 2010" (Bourn et al., 2017, p. 4). In reviewing the relevant literature, we have noticed that these links lack geopolitical and historical perspectives/ contexts when it comes to global/environmental issues and defining the causes of poverty. This amnesia leads links to leave colonial history behind as part of "past realities or historical episodes that have been superseded by other kind of socio-political and economical regimes" (Maldonado-Torres, 2016, p. 10).

**Epistemic Racism.** According to Maldonado-Torres (2004), the modern/colonial world has established a set of universal epistemic criteria for inclusion into and exclusion from the Western world and hence humanity. By these criteria, non-European epistemology is irrational and incapable of any intellectual creation. Its people are therefore not fully human. This is what he defines as *epistemic racism*: "Epistemic racism disregards the epistemic capacity of certain groups of people. It may be based on metaphysics or ontology, but its results are nonetheless the same: the evasion of the recognition of others as fully human beings" (Maldonado-Torres, 2004, p. 34). The intentional non-recognition of non-European ways of thinking enmeshes non-Western subjects in a state of coloniality that transcends issues of knowledge production and places people in constant cycles of self-questioning and self-doubt regarding the validity of their knowledge and the worth of their being.

CCGL is beginning to use new conceptualizations in partner schools to address old issues such as poverty and human rights. The way natives approach these issues is seen as traditional and ineffective and needs to be upgraded to the neutral, universal, and modern thinking of European experts. A commissioned study shows how simply being with British teachers raises awareness of global issues. These encounters teach local teachers' creativity to solve problems and create and produce material. They bring self-esteem (Bourn & Bain, 2012) and prestige to the local community (Leonard, 2012). This attests to the high profile attached to the UK education system that portrays it as legitimate and reasonable, further obscuring the value of local knowledge and local people.

# **Decoloniality**

For Maldonado-Torres (2016), decoloniality means working continuously and collectively to liberate power, knowledge, and subjectivity from the hegemony of coloniality through "the production of counter-discourses, counter-knowledges, counter-creative acts, and counter-practices that seek to dismantle coloniality and to open up multiple other forms of being in the world" (p.10). This is possible when learners embrace a radical diversity that does away with colonial, racist geopolitics of knowledge and a critical view of Europe. Maldonado-Torres (2016) argues against decoloniality that overlooks the mechanisms and patterns of subordination and domination. They are deeply embedded in the social hierarchies created by the exploitative neoliberal arrangements that bring profit to the colonizers.

# Andreotti's Root Narrative Cartography

Vanessa Andreotti has raised several challenges in a series of publications on DE /GL in the UK context, critically examining projects and policy documents (Andreotti, 2008; 2011; Alasuutari & Andreotti, 2015). Bourn (2015) describes her contributions as "groundbreaking material" and "key to the progress of development education and its related fields of [...] global learning" (p.28).

Andreotti (2006a) calls for a stronger ethical and responsible engagement of DE, because "it is the only strand of education that organizes itself around North-South relations and therefore is located right in the middle of local-global processes and debates" (p. 8). This engagement should move DE away from the charity-based conceptions of the South and its people. However, according to Andreotti (2006a), insufficient theorizing, disconnection from other disciplines, and superficiality (p. 8) are some of the shortcomings that undermine DE 's ability to unravel complexities, confront assumptions, and provide a terrain for critical thinking in UKGSSL practice.

Drawing on the work of Andrew Dobson in political science and postcolonial theorist Gayatri Spivak, Andreotti developed a framework that contrasts a Soft approach with a Critical one. The framework draws the line between a liberal humanist and a critical approach to the theoretical and pedagogical underpinnings of GCE. Each approach has implications for the kind of citizenship and school link it seeks to engender. This "germinal" theoretical and pedagogical work is frequently cited and referred to in the field (Pashby et al., 2020, p. 147).

Andreotti has undertaken a revision of this distinction (Andreotti, 2014; Pashby et al., 2020). Four "root narratives" are added to the revised typology: the technicist instrumentalist, the liberal humanist, the critical and postcritical narratives, and the "other." This study draws mainly on the first two discursive orientations, which roughly correspond to the overarching neoliberal and liberal discourses. Although the scope of this study does not allow to cover the third narrative (critical- post critical), I decided to briefly highlight it due to its significance mentioned in the literature review. Based on this typology, I examine and identify the "inherent assumptions, patterns, trends, differences, similarities, paradoxes, and contradictions between and within different worldviews" (p. 42) at play in two brochures published by the CCGL program. Before doing so, however, I would like to briefly discuss the discursive orientations mapped by Andreotti.

#### The Technicist Instrumentalist Narrative

Within the spirit of "economic rationalization" (Andreotti, 2014, p. 42), the technicistinstrumentalist discourse revolves around economic growth as the main goal of national educational agendas. It is primarily concerned with the development of human capital through the optimization of competitiveness, employability, and performativity. These, Andreotti (2014) explains, are acquired through universal knowledge, skills, and competences. Deficiencies in this triad define poverty and explain delayed access to the global market. In this narrative, the business model of education is based on the pivotal role of experts. These are Western actors tasked with the social responsibility of assisting those lagging behind with their expertise. In this context, national interests in protecting, expanding, and creating markets define and shape cultural encounters.

# The Liberal Humanist Root-Narrative

Human progress, defined and directed by national representatives in intergovernmental organizations, is the foundational concept of the liberal-humanist discourse. In this narrative, local and global boundaries are blurred by the confluence of individual, national, and humanitarian interests (Andreotti, 2014, p. 43). Universal goals set by international organizations, such as human rights, are set as national goals and included in the educational agenda. Therefore, education has the role of "disseminating the international consensus on universal human progress defined in terms of access to education, healthcare, democracy and economic development" (Andreotti, 2014, p.43). Campaigning, doing humanitarian work, and implementing the human rights-oriented initiatives and goals are the moral responsibilities of global learners. Learners, who are global leaders in the making, are concerned with the eradication of poverty by dispensing aid in material and technical forms, universal knowledge, and global expertise.

# The Critical and Post-Critical Root-Narratives

In the critical and post-critical narratives, ordinary people take the place of representatives and experts in calling attention to inequalities, injustices, poverty, and marginalization perpetuated by the ideals of the technicist-instrumentalist and liberalhumanist narratives that serve minority interests. What distinguishes two perspectives within this narrative, namely the critical humanists and the postcritical, is their orientation towards the notion of "consensual human progress" (Andreotti, 2014, p. 45). The former sees the emancipation of the historically marginalized in their inclusion in the initiatives framed by the notion of human progress. The latter questions modern development-based human progress, deeming it an exclusionary, imperialist project designed by elites. In this narrative, education seeks to replace the dominant social order with an inclusive one that addresses difference by including the voiceless and oppressed. This can be achieved through "critical social analyzes of unequal power relations, the distribution of labor and wealth [...] and the politics of representation and knowledge production" (Andreotti, 2014, p.45).

Andreotti (2014) contends that these narratives support the dominant configurations that govern education in industrialized societies. Drawing from "the Renaissance, the Industrial Revolution, the Reformation, European colonialism and resistance to colonialism, and, particularly, the European Enlightenment" (p.45), these configurations are unable to imagine alternative ways of knowing and being. Appendix A provides a summary of the two narratives that correspond with the findings in the literature review.

What brings Nelson Maldonado-Torres and Vanessa Andreotti together in my study is their critical questioning of the power of "the modern/colonial imaginary" (Pashby et al., 2020, p.150). This power shapes identities and produces representations that create opportunities for a few while limiting opportunities for the majority of youth on a global scale. In addition to its social and political implications, the modern/colonial imaginary "project[s]a local Western/European perspective as a global design" (Pashby et al., 2020, p.146). Figure1 below illustrates the two narratives adopted from Andreotti's (2014) Metanarratives of Global Learning/ Global Citizenship Education along with the concept of Coloniality of Knowledge adopted from Nelson Maldonado-Torres.

# Figure 1

Conceptual Framework: Technical Instrumentalist, Liberal-Humanist Narratives,



#### **Chapter 3: Research Methodology and Method**

#### **Objectives and Research Questions**

So far, evidence from literature has pointed the persistence of neoliberal, liberal humanist, and neocolonial approaches to school links. The discursive constructs of these approaches influence the nature of the links, the social relations between the participants to impact equality and reciprocity. My objective is to explore the indications of these discourses

- 3. What are the discursive indications of the neoliberal, liberal humanist, and neocolonial discourses in CCGL's UKGSSL?
- 4. What are the effects of the dominance of the neoliberal, liberal humanist, and neocolonial discourses on the social relations between students and teachers involved in CCGL's UKGSSL and on their identities and subjectivities?

This research considers that discursive actions and interactions drive social relationships within CCGL. The CCGL website is a series of highly networked chains of texts and genres (conventional and digital) that include visual, written, and graphic material. Using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to describe the textual features of CCGL and interpreting their interdiscursive connections helps explain the social effects of dominant discursive practices on social relations and identity construal.

# **Critical Discourse Analysis**

CDA is a set of theoretical frameworks and methodological approaches that constitute "a problem-oriented interdisciplinary research movement" (Fairclough, Mulderrig & Wodak, 2011, p. 357, as cited in Sengul, 2019, p. 2) primarily concerned with the relationship between language and society. It emerged from a critical theory of language (Janks, 1997, p. 333) and has its roots in various linguistic schools. CDA combines principles of language theories and the theoretical foundations of Critical Social Theory (Rogers, 2011, p. 4). Committed to criticality, CDA departs from a descriptive approach to textual analysis to adopt an investigative approach. It seeks to understand and explain the ideological work that underlies normalized discourses. It is not what is to be read but what is implicit, assumed and missing (Wodak, 2001, p. 5) that moves into the focus of the researcher. In CDA, the concern with the linguistic forms and features present in a communicative event is not an end goal. It aims at "an analysis of the effects of power, the outcomes of power, of what power does to people/groups/societies, and how this impact comes about" (Blommaert, 2005 as cited in Rogers, 2011, p. 3).

CDA-based research requires an examination of how texts are produced through social processes and structures and how meaning is created through individuals' interactions with these texts (Wodak, 2001). Researchers and analysts therefore start from the "assumption that language is an irreducible part of social life dialectically interconnected with other elements of social life" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 2). Language as the epicenter of CDA is no longer an independent element or a neutral tool for communicating linguistic content, but rather a social construction that shapes society and is shaped by society (Wodak, 2001; Fairclough, 2003). Communication events are sites of meaning-making and struggle over power that shape relationships and construct identities (Wodak, 2001, p. 3).

# **Different** Approaches

There are several approaches to CDA ranging from Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory (2002) to Foucauldian discourse analysis, discourse psychology, linguistics discourse analysis James Paul Gee (1990), and Norman Fairclough's CDA as social practice (1992). While sharing common epistemic space, each approach applies theoretical concepts in different ways that lead to different theoretical propositions and analytical frameworks. Approaches diverge in their methodological orientation, for example, in the type of data to be worked with and the method by which it is to be collected, as well as in the way the analysis is to be conducted and in the definition of the criteria for assessing the quality of the analysis
and the validity of findings (Meyer, 2001, p. 18). Notwithstanding variations across approaches, CDA theoretical principles are the common thread that runs through these programs. First, CDA approaches are concerned with three fundamental concepts: the concept of power, the concept of history, and the concept of ideology (Wodak, 2001). Second, CDA researchers remain committed to the study of textual/linguistic forms in communication events - whether explicit or implicit (Meyer, 2001). They share the notion that discourses are socio-historically, culturally, politically, and ideologically constructed. This belief makes the context of language in use the target of interpretation, explanation, and critique and calls for an interdisciplinary (Wodak, 2001; Meyer, 2001) and transdisciplinary (Fairclough, 2003) approaches to analysis.

# The Approach to CDA Adopted in this Study

For my research, I adopted Norman Fairclough's CDA as social practice framework. This framework differs from others in that it assumes that discourse is both constitutive and constituent. Thus, discourse as a form of social practice not only constitutes and changes social practices such as identities or knowledge but is also changed by these structures and practices.

Fairclough's works contributed to the development of the social theories that underlie and operationalize CDA (Meyer, 2001, p. 22). Fairclough draws from many theories, including: the Marxist tradition, Foucault's social discourse theory, and Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (Rogers, 2011, p. 12). Fairclough's approach to CDA is consistent with Halliday's notion of the multifunctionality of texts and his emphasis on the social function of language, which serves to establish links between social and linguistic analyses and to view language as shaped by social functions (Fairclough, 2003; Meyer, 2001).

In exploring the manifestations of mediation between the text and its wider context, Fairclough problematizes this relationship by centering power at its heart. Therefore, treating language as a social practice implies that "discourse is a practice not just of representing the world but of signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning" (Rogers, 2011, p. 7). Discursive practices within a particular social order can have the controlling ideological power to naturalize, include/exclude, marginalize/hegemonize particular social practices and structures (Fairclough, 2003).

Fairclough's various works provide analysts with a range of analytical tools and concepts. In this section, I explain only the concepts that are crucial to my analysis and how they apply to my research object. These analytical concepts are mainly articulated in Fairclough's *Analyzing discourse: Textual analysis for social research* (2003). This book provides the foundations for a socially oriented analysis of language (p. 2). It provides researchers with resources for applying discourse analysis as a method in social science, with guidance on both social and linguistic analysis. Although sensitive to linguistic features, it responds to non-specialized researchers' "predictable uncertainties" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 2) about language analysis by "offer[ing] specific analytical procedures" (Woodside-Jiron, 2011, p. 156) that bring together invaluable insights from different social research frameworks and linguistic theories (Fairclough, 2003, p. 4).

Genres, Discourses, and Styles. Genres, Discourses, and Styles as dimensions of discourse, that respectively correspond to Ways of Interacting with individuals and within groups and organizations (e.g., emailing, visiting partner schools, toolkits, brochures), Ways Representing others and aspects of the world (e.g., what is a partnership, what does it mean to be a global learner/teacher, what knowledge is universal), and Ways of Identifying social actors (e.g., partnership coordinator, program director, expert, ordinary teacher). At the level of textual analysis, Genres, Discourses, and Styles correspond to and produce three types of meaning: Actions, Representations, and Identifications (Fairclough, 2003, p. 27).

Text as Action refers to interactions and actions in their linguistic aspect (e.g., report, email, evaluation form). Some genres are identifiable by the structural patterns of the text (p.17), others are not. Different genres can be networked (genre chains) or combined (hybrid genre) (p. 216). Text as Representation refers to the different ways of representing people, social relations, social events and their temporal and spatial contexts. The problematization of representational action is associated with the levels of exclusion and inclusion of events, actors and relationships and the degree of their abstraction and concreteness. (Fairclough, 2003, pp. 17, 215). Finally, Text as Identification corresponds to styles which are "the discoursal aspects of being, identities' (Fairclough, 2003, p. 160). Styles give us insight into how different people identify with different social roles and positions (Fairclough, 2003, p. 166).

Fairclough, like Foucault, argues for a dialectical relationship between Genres, Discourse, and Styles as aspects/types of meaning (Fairclough, 2003, p. 28). Actions (e.g., the use of business/management jargon) and identities (e.g., teachers as technology experts) are reflected representations of aspects of the world (e.g., the neoliberal discourse enacted through the corporate business advertising style in communication events by CCGL). Discourses, in turn, are acted out in ways of interacting and reproduced in individuals' ways of self-representation (e.g., the neoliberal discourse inculcated in children as contributors to the global marketplace).

Interdiscursive Analysis. This analysis allows us to examine how Genres, Discourses and Styles are articulated textually to sustain particular social relations between organizations (DFID), institutions (i.e., UK universities) and individuals (i.e., school leaders, educators, and students) from the UK and the Global South. I describe and interpret the internal relations of the text by selecting the most salient linguistic features that foreground the effects of each type of meaning (i.e., Actional, Representational, Identificational). Intertextual Analysis. CCGL comprises a network of texts belonging to different genres that are implicitly and explicitly linked to the project. The analysis treats these texts as a 'genre chain' (Fairclough, 2003, p.216), hence my concern with the concept of intertextuality. The intertextuality of a text refers to its connection to other texts (previous and existing) and therefore to other discourses. Navigating this mixture of texts, alongside interdiscursive analysis, is particularly important to understanding how meaning is created and interpreted, and in tracing how discourses have changed or persisted over time. In Figure (2), I illustrate the dialectical relationship between Genres, Discourse, and Styles and the way interdiscursive and intertextual analyses attend to both the internal and external relationships of the text.

# Figure 2





The interplay of the three modes of meaning (Actions, Representations, and Identifications) is what gives them the ability to connect what is in the text to the larger political, social, cultural, economic, and historical context in which the social event is textured. It is this dialectical relation that requires an interdiscursive and intertextual analysis that attends to both the internal and external relationships of the text.

### **Method and Analytical Categories**

### Text as Action: Analytical Categories of Actional Meaning

In describing text as Action, I focus on the kinds of social relations Ways of Acting imply and enact. This analysis focuses on the nature and purpose of genre, the types of exchange, and assumptions as analytical categories. Through the analysis of Actional meaning, we can examine how social actors (e.g., the CCGL executive manager) shape/ reshape social practices (e.g., setting new criteria for funding exchange visits), how certain types of interactions change or stabilize the way different social actors - individuals or organizations - interact and thus influence social relations (e.g., the partnership assessment form: designed and completed by the UK side). We can also track changes in organizations by the way they act discursively (e.g., meeting via Skype instead of exchanging letters).

**Text Hybridity.** A text is hybrid when it appropriates the characteristics of other genres. Mixing genres, as Fairclough (2003) explains, can mean combining social practices (p. 35). The CCGL Practitioner Research Fund, for example, is indicative of the incorporation of academic practices (e.g., conducting research, granting funding) in the program, suggesting a broadening of its scope.

**Types of Exchange.** To understand the purpose of the text, Fairclough (2003) suggests paying attention to whether the text is formulated communicatively or strategically (p.110), and whether it aims to achieve results or to impart knowledge. Each action entails implications for the purpose of the text and the nature of the exchange between individuals (i.e., students, headteachers/teachers, coordinators), organizations (i.e., the British Council / DFID and organizations in the GS) and between individuals and organizations.

Assumptions. Assumptions refer to meanings that are either explicitly or implicitly taken as common and for granted. They present ideas, practices, and perceptions as unchallengeable and therefore established and stable through cogent arguments that persuade,

hiding the ideology and interests behind the arguments. A key feature of assumptions is their influence on the text's "orientation to difference" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 41) and thus on its "dialogicality" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 42) (i.e., how different voices are included in the text). According to Bakhktin, a text is 'dialogized" if it is "relativized, deprivileged, aware of competing definitions" (Bakhktin, 1981, as cited in Fairclough 2003, p. 42). Fairclough lists five forms of orientation to difference, the last of which is the least dialogized: (a) an openness to, acceptance of, recognition of difference; an exploration of difference, as in dialogue in the richest sense of the term; (b) an accentuation of difference, conflict, polemic, a struggle over meaning, norms, power; (c) an attempt to resolve or overcome difference; (d) a bracketing of difference, a focus on commonality, solidarity; (e) consensus, a normalization, and acceptance of differences of power which brackets or suppresses differences of meaning and norms (p. 42).

## Text as Representation: Analytical Categories of Representational Meaning

In addressing text as Representation, I focus on the strategies used to represent people (social actors), their actions (verb processes), and the circumstances of their actions (time and space). These strategies can reveal the ideological effects underlying CCGL in terms of agency (who acts? Who receives the action?) and power (who is a dominant group with access to material and symbolic resources?).

**Transitivity Analysis.** Transitivity refers to the analysis of the three elements of clauses to examine the different meanings associated with the representation of Participants, Processes, and Circumstances in a text.

*Participants.* This part of the analysis is concerned with who is performing the action and who is passively benefiting from it or receiving it. This is particularly important because when actors are activated, "their capacity for agentive action, for making things happen, for controlling others and so forth is accentuated" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 150). The opposite is true when they are passivated, because then "what is accentuated is their subjection to processes, them being affected by the actions of others" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 150). I also examine how participants are represented through references (personalized, impersonalized, individualized, or collectivized).

*Processes.* I examine the choice of *processes* (i.e., verbs within clauses) and their impact on the representation of social actors and their positions (Fairclough, 2003). The use of the different types of processes leads to different meanings in terms of the forms of activities attributed to the different actors. Through the choice of verb patterns, we gain insights into who is doing what and what is being achieved. Halliday identifies six types of verb processes: Material, Mental, Behavioral, Relational, Existential, and Verbal (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p.172). As Figure 3 shows, each has implications for meaning making.

## Figure 3





NOTE From Halliday & Matthiessen (2004), p. 172

*Circumstances.* Even though Circumstances includes Time, Place, Purpose, Reason, Manner, Means (Fairclough, 2003, p. 151), I focus only on time and space (the tense of verbs / aspect of verbs (progressive and non-progressive, perfect, and non-perfect / adverbials / conjunctions and prepositions) to see how social actors are represented in certain spatial (local / global) and temporal (present / future / before and after joining CCGL) contexts.

Transitivity analysis and the kind of representation it reveals is particularly significant for this study because it allows to uncover the ideological effects of manipulating agency and thus power (Fairclough, 2003) and to see how they construe the image of global citizens (learners and teachers) and define the kind of activities CCGL promotes.

### Text as Identification: Analytical Categories of Identificational Meaning

Fairclough recommends looking at Modality and Evaluation to examine the textual process of identifying aspects of being. The texturing of identity (Fairclough, 2003, p.165) of coordinators, teachers and students can be understood by making visible their commitments to and evaluation of social practices such as funding, planning, management, and other aspects of partnership

**Modality.** The choices related to modality indicate the speaker/writer's commitment, attitudes, judgments, and stances toward various aspects of the world (Fairclough, 2003, p. 166). By examining Modality, I explore the degree to which these commit themselves to what is true and what is necessary. Fairclough (2003) suggests that Modality can be realized through different textual categories. Besides modal verbs as markers of modality (they indicate the speaker's assessment of whether something is probable or certain, obligatory, or optional), there are modal adverbs, participial adjectives, and mental process clauses. The analysis focuses on two types of Modalities: epistemic modality (realis), which signals the author's commitment to truth (p.167) (e.g., "Today's young people are growing up in a fast-paced world.") and deontic modality, which signals the author's commitment to obligation and necessity (p.167) (e.g., "Our young people must not only be globally competitive, but also globally competent".).

**Evaluation.** It allows us to explore the author/text's evaluation of what is good/desirable and what is bad/undesirable (Fairclough,2003, p.172). Evaluations can be realized through different types of statements: Evaluative adjectives (e.g., "It was a great success.") statements with deontic modalities (e.g., "They can all add to and gain something from a partnership."), statements with affective mental process verbs (e.g., "I think it is important a head teacher is involved.") and value assumptions (e.g., "It's a win for children in the developing world").

### **Data Collection and Data Corpus**

Data collection and sampling procedures are not particularly well defined in CDA (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 27). There is no specific phase where data collection is complete. My data corpus consists of a series of brochures accessible through the CCGL website and published by the British Council. These brochures serve as guidance documents to CCGL and links with the GS. Due to limited space, I selected two key texts from the brochures that best illustrate my claims. I nonetheless comment on each brochure as a context for the selected texts. In Brochure1, I focus on eight case studies as TEXT 1. These case studies are particularly important because they include the voice of educational practitioners and students from the UK and the Global South. TEXT 2 is extracted from Brochure 2. It consists of an introductory statement by two UK political figures.

To explore the broader context of each text, I select related reports from the BC published around the same period as part of a genre chain. However, I do not conduct any textual/ linguistic analysis of these texts. They are useful to further interpret the text and explain the effects discussed in the interdiscursive analysis. Table 1 provides details of TEXTS 1 and 2 and Brochure 1 and 2 from which the texts are extracted. The table also gives details of the reports selected for the intertextual analysis. (All texts can be accessed by clicking on them).

# Table 1

# Details of Data for Analysis

TEXT 1 Interdiscursive Analysis			
	Source	Year	Focus of analysis
Brochure1: International School Partnership.	BC	2012	TEXT 1: 8 case studies
Toolkit: How to build sustainable partnership			
TEXT 1 Intertextual Analysis			
1. <u>The global skills gap: preparing young</u> people for the new global economy	BC	2011	Context
2. <u>Culture means business</u>	BC	2013	Context
TEXT 2 Interdiscursive Analysis			
Brochure 2: Connecting Classrooms: Broadening	BC	2018	TEXT 2: Welcome
Horizons, Enriching Teaching and Learning			statements
TEXT 2 Intertextual Analysis			
1. <u>Soft power superpowers; Global trends in</u> cultural engagement and influence	BC	2018	Context
2. Migration Advisory Committee Students'	BC	2018	Context
<ul> <li><u>Commission Written evidence</u></li> <li><u>International Development Select</u></li> <li><u>Committee UK aid: other government</u></li> <li>departments</li> </ul>	BC	2017	Context

### **Chapter 4: Analysis Results**

### **TEXT 1: Interdiscursive Analysis**

### Text as Action: Ways of Acting

**Combining Communicative and Strategic Actions.** The eight case studies follow the same generic structure: a headline, a head paragraph, detail paragraphs, and wrap-up. All texts include photographs and highlighted quotes. The brochure does two actions; one is communicative, the other is strategic. On the one hand, TEXT 1 explicitly aims at "reaching an understanding" (Fairclough, 2003, p.110) of the nature of partnerships with the GS. By providing practical information drawn from previous experiences, it expands knowledge of the various aspects of school links, such as joint projects, curriculum development, and funding. The dominance of statements of fact (realis statements) suggests an exchange of knowledge. Examples from the text include: "The goal of an enduring partnership is for it to become embedded deeply and widely across the school", "Many large companies have corporate social responsibility policies for making donations." These facts are meant to communicate knowledge about UKGSSL's opportunities and challenges.

On the other hand, the case studies are purpose-driven narratives in the form of testimonies that promote the positive impact of linking with the GS. They represent a particular understanding of sustainability and a fixed model of linking that can be efficiently attained once the strategies prescribed in the how-to toolkit are adopted. The goal here is 'to get results' (Fairclough, 2003, p.71) with an implicit message about the missed opportunities if funding organizations do not support UKGSSL.

As Fairclough (2003) observes, it is typical of modern organizations to endorse the two types of exchange: explicit communication; implicit advertising (p.110). Despite being packaged as an exchange of knowledge and information, the text is implicitly committed to being efficient in getting results. The result is to convince the UK funding organizations that

UKGSSL through CCGL is worth the investment. This strategic orientation to communication is, according to Fairclough, akin to the systems of market operation by which products are marketized in what appears to advance knowledge. This market mode, according to Fairclough, is a sign of adherence to the "instrumental rationality in which people act (and act upon other people) in ways which are oriented to achieving results, greater "effectivity" or "efficiency" (p. 110).

**Dialogicality and Orientation to Difference.** Various voices are brought into the text by alternating authorial accounts and attributions. There are attributions of speech, thoughts, and perspectives of several program coordinators, teachers, and students (from the UK and the GS) mainly through direct speech (e.g., "Just maintain contact," he advises). Fairclough (2003, p.41) refers to this as intertextuality and suggests that bringing multiple voices signifies a high level of text "dialogicality." However, there is an intentional avoidance of contentious aspects of links, such as whether the appropriation of the global dimension is equally beneficial to different national curricula.

TEXT1 tends to focus on what brings these voices together as educators aspiring to be global, and as human beings. This is evident in these utterances by teachers, such as "the similarities are much more evident" "They [...] are able to celebrate differences in the way we live our lives, as well as finding mutual commonality and a sense of shared humanity". Consent among the voices to the claims of the authorial voices of the text prevails, albeit acknowledgments that challenges exist. Voices do not enter a dialogue in which they struggle over the conceptualization of meanings such as sustainability. Voices (the UK and GS) point to one conclusion: the positive impact of Connecting Classroom on the curriculum, the schools, teachers, and students as well as their community. This tendency might correspond to scenario (d), one of the five forms of orientation to difference identified by Fairclough (2003) where there is "a bracketing of difference, a focus on commonality, solidarity." This

tendency is in concordance with the work of Edge et al. (2009, 2010, 2012) and Sizmur et al. (2011), in which different views of school links and their purposes are put aside to focus exclusively on their positive impact on learning as common good.

Assumed Meanings. The pervasiveness of assumed meanings in the case studies further limits its dialogicality. Assumptions can be associated with various discourses. However, this analysis focuses mainly on those germane to the liberal humanist, neoliberal, and neocolonial discourses.

*Empathy in Intercultural Understanding Rhetoric.* The cultural exchange discourse is pervasive throughout the case studies. Value assumptions and evaluations link cultural exchange to a host of assumed benefits: "respect for diversity" "school improvement" "very compelling learning experiences". Participants from the UK tend to concretize culture, as evident in this statement by a student from the UK "We have learned about the culture and now I know what every day is like in Ghana." Another statement presupposes that culture can be reduced to celebrations, customs, culinary styles, and aesthetics: "They introduced prominent Nepali festivals to the UK students to give them a better understanding of Nepalese culture." These assumptions maintain the discursive strategy of essentializing and homogenizing the South and representing its culture as static.

In addition to its overlexicalization, the cultural exchange discourse is fused with humanist rhetoric that draws from the universal value system (Fairclough, 2003, p. 98) that foregrounds what the text describes as "mutual commonality and a sense of shared humanity" as well as the moral obligation towards people in the GS along with the notion of empathy. Let's consider these examples:

"Disheartened by the lack of support, [...] it became clear we needed to fund-raise for the link ourselves." "One challenge that Jako and his colleagues faced was finding the funds and resources to ensure teacher visits could continue, especially after previous visits had proved so productive and invaluable."

The choice of the emotionally loaded and evaluative adjective *disheartened* assumes that fundraising is a natural response and a human reaction to lack and deficit. It is part of the UK's moral burden as a leader of international aid. The second statement also uses evaluative adjectives (*productive and invaluable*) to assume that the link is too valuable to lose and therefore legitimizes arguments supporting fundraising and feelings of empathy that are translated into fund-raising activities and campaigns, like bag-packing, car-washing, and Keep Connecting Week.

*The Private Sector: An Invaluable Educational Partner.* There are several presuppositions related to the benefits associated with involving the private sector in supporting UKGSSL. A coordinator of a school link commented:

The manager of the Winklebury branch continued to express an interest in the partnership [...] as a result, not only has the manager become a governor of the local school, but the Climbing Mountains Partnership was also chosen as the store's 'Charity of the Year'. (p. 21)

In addition to the assumption that the partnership between the school and the Winklebury branch is normal and thus uncontentious, this argument advances the involvement of business in education as an ethical commitment to the community in which it operates. The causal relation of consequence marked by *'as a result'* advances the partnership as a win-win practice for those involved. Claims based on "the utility of institutionalized action" (Fairclough, 2003, p.98), such as school financial autonomy, are used in the text as a "rationalization" strategy (Fairclough, 2003, p.98) to make education-business partnerships a common ground. This is illustrated in this comment by a headteacher "There are advantages to funding the visits ourselves [...] it gives us a lot more freedom to pick and choose when the visits take place. This foregrounding the benefits of partnering with the private sector to resolve funding problems (e.g., exchange visits) mirror the government post-2008 austerity plans and the strategy of establishing partnerships with the private sector to diversify funding resources (Mawdsley, 2015).

*Skills and Techno-Scientific Knowledge; Tools of Instrumental Rationality.* There is a tendency in the case studies to foreground rationality (i.e., scientific research) and technological progress (i.e., technology-based projects) as key features of modern progressive education and society and pair them with efficiency and employability. The goal of education is explicitly set in neoliberal terms. It assumes the evidentiality of the knowledge economy which requires a set of known and shared skills without which students cannot access the global market and compete internationally. Through a semantic relation of purpose marked by the preposition "to" and evaluative adjectives and verbs, the text presupposes those global skills are necessary for students to have "a real, positive impact on their local and global communities", "to contribute to the global economy" and "thrive in the 21st century." The text goes on to illustrate this connection through an example from Pakistan:

Sara Awan, a student at Abbottabad, says, "I am very happy that I have a job opportunity," as she was offered the role of anchor for a youth program at Radio Abbottabad as a result of this experience. It is a real example of how school partnerships can develop skills for employability.

*Concealing the Colonial Legacy.* While the text assumes that the UK is a global power, it strategically avoids explicitness about the colonial history of the Empire. A comment by a coordinator from the UK encapsulates this backgrounding of the colonial history when she says, "I do feel it is very much my duty to respect the legacy of the Egerton family and to continue this historic partnership," referring to a partnership between two

schools bearing the name of the imperial settler Maurice Egerton. However, what is elided about this figure is related to the colonial history of Kenya. Duder (1993) informs us that Maurice Egerton established Egerton Farm School on land he was granted in 1939 for the white Europeans in the context of the land settlement scheme. This project was described as "the largest single allocation of land to white settlement in the colony's existence" (p. 70). As a white settler, Maurice Egerton represented the power of the Empire and the privilege of the white minority in Kenya. On this account, interpreting the text against a backdrop of colonial history can situate the statement "continue this historic partnership" within a pervasive neocolonial framework.

### Text as Representation: Ways of Representing

**Representing Actions: The Power of Making Things Happen.** In this sub-section, I focus my analysis on the choice of processes (verbs in clauses) to examine the type of actions and activities partners from the UK (UKP) and partners from the Global South (GSP) are being associated with. Appendix B presents the analysis of the processes associated with UKP and GSP. In TEXT 1, GSP are mostly depicted as passively receiving knowledge in the form of teaching practices, pedagogies, and skills. They are associated with *mental* and *relational* processes, with a focus on "things that have come about, rather than things that are the effects of causal agents" (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 144). Mental clauses of the cognition type, like *know*, signify the inception of knowledge and understanding among the GSP. They convey their own experiences and progress. Similarly, the use of attributive relational processes like *become* indicates a process of transformation with new attributes, such as 'aware', 'proud', 'confident'. When associated with material processes, GSP are either *affected by, beneficiary, recipient* of the process, or *passivated* with no agency.

Conversely, the UKP's process verbs are mainly of the *material* type. They are actors (if affected, it is by the project not the GSP's actions). They "do things and make things happen" (Fairclough, 2003, p.142). They transform, create, and achieve things for themselves and their partners. They translate actions into outcomes that go beyond their local boundaries. We can notice the dynamic effect of their actions form these examples:

"We've worked with a number of different professionals in Njoro, including school counsellors, and on a number of projects".

"She contacted the Local Authority International Co-ordinator".

The use of *mental processes* of thinking and perceiving (I think, I believe) associates the UKP with a high level of factuality and evidence-based knowledge: "I think it is important a headteacher is involved," "I guess inevitably the focus is on the teachers." By using Attributive and Identifying relational processes, they go beyond doing and sensing to classifying people and things, categorizing activities and relations, and constructing knowledge (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 225).

'Me vs. 'We: The Power to Represent. To further explore the choices of representing social actors, I look at the use of pronouns and grammatical roles. GSP use the pronoun 'I' for self-reflection and evaluation: "I knew absolutely nothing," "I was unaware." The pronoun 'Me' is mostly Affected by material processes whose subject is another actor, such as in "My involvement in Connecting Classrooms *has made me* see [...] Not only has it *taught me* how to share," "it has also *made me* aware of international projects."

The UKP generally use the pronoun 'We' to achieve three goals: the first is to differentiate the UK materially from the South, such as in saying "We have so much more as teachers." The second, to nominate UK practitioners and students in charge of the link: "We can now also step back and consider how often we need the visits to occur [...] we'll see."

The third serves to make claims on behalf of the GSP "we have both developed a considerable understanding of each other's culture and practice."

**Representing Time and Space**. *Before and After*. Interacting with the UK is a reference point that signals a transformation at the personal and professional levels of the GSP. This turn is realized through temporal semantic relations in the form of adverbials of time "before our involvement," "now," "until some time back," "since the early days." It is lexicalized through a set of near synonyms "improve," "move," "change," to indicate "moving away" from traditional practices towards progressive ones. Contrarily, the UK is not associated with the notion of becoming. The verb "continues" in this statement by a teacher from the UK "Our children continue to leave school as global citizens" points to the fact that UK students are seen as having always been global.

*The Land of Plenty, The Land of Deficit.* Countries in Africa and Asia are represented as geographically distant localities "thousands of miles away," "with Europe, sea and lots of Africa between us," "a student so far away," so much so that the encounter with the South is described as "magical." This construal serves to mystify, exoticize, and decentralize these localities. It also implicitly posits England/Europe as the center of the world from where distances are measured. The UK is by consequence represented as a global power with extraordinary reach. It can compress distance and address distance-related issues both virtually (e.g., online activities) and physically (e.g., exchange visits).

Locations are represented in contrastive semantic relations marked by "while," "but," "in comparison." The UK stands for the land of plenty regarding material, natural and technological resources "a wealth of resources at the pupils' disposal," "focused on the ease with which Scottish people could access it (water)," "in England we have so much more as teachers," "so many more resources." Conversely, the South is not only the land of deficit as indicated by statements such as, "[...] like a lot of schools in Pakistan, is very challenged in terms of resources," "just a blackboard and a piece of chalk." It is also, the land of issues: "I have learned that there is too much poverty in this world and that people are suffering at this very moment from sickness and lack of food."

### Text as Identification: Analyzing Identification Choices

The Implementers and the Efficient Leaders. Unlike the utterances of the GSP, those of the UKP include a wide range of explicit and implicit expressions of modality where they express their judgments of "what is true" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 164) about the different aspects of the link, such as funding, planning, and managing. The repetitive use of epistemic modalities in the form of statements signals a high degree of assertion. These assertions associate the UK educational practitioners with an authoritative tone and grant them authority to display their commitment to truth. One representative statement indicates "It [the partnership] has changed perceptions in a positive way."

Dave, Alison, Cassie, Flint, and Jako -teachers, headteachers and coordinators from the UK - are endowed with the rationality and efficiency that entitles them to manage the partnership and train others. They speak with confidence and provide evidence, such as this comment by a UK coordinator "The program provided us with a very strong, clear and highlevel framework to work with and the benefits have been evident". Southern educators on the other hand are implementors and receivers of funds. Their agency is limited to cultural exchanges due to a lack of rational knowledge and material and technological resources. Teacher become "recognized as an expert in teaching" only when they encounter educators from the UK.

The Desirable and the Good about Links. There are several evaluative statements around the positive impact of school links from both participants. However, while GSP's statements have a concrete aspect, those of the UK are more abstract. GSP tend to describe their immediate environments (i.e., classrooms) and the immediate outcome of school links

on local teachers and students' learning, as this example shows: "Their [the students'] communication skills have improved."

UKP tend to evaluate the project in terms of responsibilities, goals, challenges for both participants, as evident in this statement by a UK coordinator: "Managing a partnership *is* quite a big responsibility that involves lots of trouble-shooting and budget management." This ability to evaluate entails the power to make decisions on behalf of others. There is also this statement by a coordinator from the UK: "we *decided* that the partnership, embedded within our very identity as a school, was too important to lose". The evaluative adjective *important* points to this power of evaluation and decision making. Only UKP are associated with evaluative statements with obligational modalities that inform of what is good about links. For example, "*Maintain* contact; *involve* everyone; *engage* as many students as possible," is a series of imperative statements by a UK coordinator. They signal a commitment to obligation and convey a highly directive tone.

### **TEXT1: Intertextual/ Contextual Analysis**

In this analysis, I connect the concrete textual meanings to the contextual aspects of the social event by exploring external documents published around the same period by the British Council. These documents help us understand TEXT 1 focus on the connection between cultural awareness, knowledge of global issues, acquisition of scientific and technological skills to the UK economic growth at the national and global levels as well as its image and status as a leader of international aid.

# The British Council

The British Council is the "the oldest cultural relations organization in the world" (British Council, n.d) created by the UK government in 1934 through a royal charter. It has long been involved in transnational partnerships across the educational levels (Bourn, 2018) with schools in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and Latin America reaching 68 Southern countries (Allen, 2020).

The role of the British Council as a global multifaceted non-departmental organization with a charitable nature and a business dimension (generating income from English teaching and examination) is crucial in the development of my arguments about the intersectionality of education and neoliberalism. In discussing the rise of partnership-based organizations, Menashy and Shields (2017) argue that power of an organization is dependent on its access to resources, which is determined by the centrality and robustness of its connection to other powerful actors. Within this global network, the BC is an example of a bilateral central organization connected to a multitude of national governmental departments, such as DFID, and intergovernmental organizations like UN and OECD. This centrality allows the organization to direct information and ideas and control funds. In his critical analysis of BC, Pennycook (2017) draws attention to its role in the propagation of the British culture across the colonial and postcolonial eras. Pennycook (2017) argues that the layers of the rhetoric deployed in its annual reports- ever since it was founded- have been advocating cultural exchange and neutral language services at the surface, while the economic (as well as political and linguistic) agenda of expansionism and domination have constituted what lies beneath.

# Post-2008 Austerity Plans

Before moving to the analysis, it is crucial to locate Brochure 1 and TEXT 1 in the post-2008 economic crisis in the British context. Austerity was the general context of the time. Except for the foreign aid and health sector, several departments underwent budget cuts under the coalition government led by David Cameron in 2010 (Mawdsley, 2015). The reasons why the government continued funding and aid despite the austerity program, Mawdsley (2015) comments, was that the UK image as a leader in the international

development landscape needed to preserve its "external status and soft power" along with the "value" of foreign aid (Mawdsley, 2015, p.348). Despite pronounced shifts in the policy agenda of DFID (starting from 2011), UKGSSL continued to receive funding - a decision Bourn & Cara (2012) attributed to the influence of the DFID commissioned report by Sizmur et al. (2011) that evidenced the positive impact of UKGSSL. However, the restructuring and re-strategizing of the DFID and its orientation towards involving the financial and the private sectors as development partners impacted funding of UKGSSL (Mawdsley, 2015). Obtaining funding to manage programs and exchange visits became increasingly challenging. Programs had to provide evidence of their claims regarding the benefits of UKGSSL. This, I suggest accounts for the proliferation of reports of positive impact discussed in the literature review.

Around the same period, there was an increasing focus on culture, cultural exchange, and cultural diversity. This can be explained by what Mannion, Biesta, Priestley, & Ross (2011) call "the curricular global turn towards the global" in the UK (p.443). Alliances between the UK Department of Education, DFID, and various NGOs pushed towards embedding the global dimension into the curriculum under different slogans. Yet the real rationale, argue Mannion et al. (2011), is the urgent national mandate of "making an economic and cultural response" (p.450) to the globalized world.

### The Need for Cultural Fluency

A report released in 2011 by the British Council and Think Global entitled *The global skills gap: preparing young people for the new global economy* presents the perception of UK business leaders (500 chief executives and board-level directors) on the relation between global thinking and employability. Findings showed that 74% of the surveyed employers expressed alarming concerns about the UK youth's lack of skillsets, narrow horizons, and limited ability to operate in multicultural contexts (p.4). According to these leaders, the repercussions of an unprepared youth for a globalized world are detrimental. They

commented: "unless we improve how we support young people to think more globally, through teaching in schools, the UK is in danger of being left behind by emerging economies such as China, India and Brazil" (British Council, 2011, p. 4)

In this report, business leaders recommend an urgent shift of focus towards businesscivil society alliances that invest in embedding 'global thinking' into the curriculum and teacher training programs. The report suggests that "pockets of excellence already exist" (British Council, 2011, p .7) in reference to the British Council International School Award; one of the practices/services of CCGL. These pockets ought to target the UK school leavers to equip them with the cultural fluency needed for success beyond the UK. The report writes: "We cannot afford to let our education system fail young people and hinder the economy by failing to teach them to think globally and open their eyes to the world beyond our national boundaries" (British Council, 2011, p.10).

## **Culture Means Business**

The combination of culture, skills, business, and the colonial legacy can be traced in another research conducted by the British Council on youth outside the UK and released in the report *Culture Means Business* (2013). It explicitly states the following: "delivering positive specific outcomes in terms of improved functional skills, increased exposure to UK arts and culture [...] starts a chain of impact which, over the long term, can be reflected in increased trade and business activity with the UK" (British Council, 2013, p.4). This means that cultural exchanges are mere bridges to create opportunities for the UK youth and business. The research findings foreground cultural exchanges, science, and technology. For example, exchange visits feature as one of the top four types of cultural activities that increased trust in the UK and decreased barriers in doing business with the British people and corporations (p. 23). Furthermore, scientific research figures among the factors that motivate youth to do business with the UK in the future. These arguments are encapsulated in this comment by a company chairman who implicitly brings in the colonial legacy to complement cultural superiority in paving the way for the UK to be globally competitive: "Many business leaders already understand the impact culture can have [...], and it helps that in Britain we are blessed with a rich historical legacy of culture". (British Council, 2013, p. 2).

### **TEXT2: Interdiscursive Analysis**

### Text as Action: Ways of Acting

I start by commenting on the brochure as an overall context for TEXT 2. It is important to mention that by this time (2018) Connecting Classrooms had been the only program that secured funding and continued to operate into its third phase (Bourn et al., 2017). School links have become only one of four educational services provided by CCCGL. The program has encompassed Policy Dialogue, Professional Development, and International School Award. Each practice generates an array of services that range from technical assistance and curriculum reform to appraisal and accreditation. Several changes are recognizable in terms of Genre in the brochure (compared to 2012). These changes signal a shift in the project's audience, scope, scale, objectives, and aspirations.

**Hybridizing Genre, Appealing to the South Educational Market.** Brochure 2 seems to address the governments, institutions, and policymakers of the GS to advance arguments that support the promotion and expansion of the CCGL. To achieve that, CCGL adopts a more hybrid genre to meet the changing demands of the global market (Fairclough, 2003), which postulates evidentiality for objectivity and credibility. While the format is still that of a brochure, the content and style are more pertinent to a report. Factuality and evidentiality are marked by the high prevalence of statistical data ("[...] 750 policymakers, 13,000 school leaders, 30,000 teachers, and over five million learners in more than 40 countries") and diagrams (i.e., flowcharts, maps, bar graphs). To further emphasize objectivity and credibility, the brochure states that data have been taken from academic

reports that studied the impact of CCGL and have been validated by external "independent" evaluators (p.32).

Many changes point to the appropriation of the language of business/management along with a promotional style. The sophisticated layout and organization (e.g., illustrations, photographs, and quotes) are comparable to corporate advertising strategies used to convince and attract potential customers. The generic structure of the case studies follows that of a corporate status report. The pronoun "we" is representative of the corporate voice: Why *We* Wanted To (Improve Core Skills... / What *We* Did/ What *We* Have Achieved / What *We* Plan to Do in Future. Statements such as "we have delivered positive results across the vast majority of our targets, and indicators," and "we have reached over 750 policymakers" belong to the business repertoire.

**Suppression of Difference.** I turn now to the text's orientation to difference in the production of interactions between the UK and the GS participants. Two elements contribute to suppressing difference and producing an "undialogical" text. The first is the exclusion of divergent voices. The second is the prevalence of assumed meanings (i.e., common grounds).

*Tactics of Inclusion and Exclusion*. Five major Participants are present in the text: Daniel (An Ethiopian teacher), Daniel's pupils, young people in Ethiopia, pupils all over the world, Sir Ciaran Devane, Chief Executive of the BC and The RT Hon. Penny Mordaunt, Former Secretary of State for International Development speaking on behalf of DFID. Nevertheless, only the last two are given voice through an authorial account. Daniel's outer (actions) and inner (feelings, cognition, and perceptions) worlds are reported on by the chief executive of the BC. This excluded 'possible' divergent voices and minimized the possibility of recognizing and negotiating difference of meaning in relation to UKGSSL: the benefits they bring, the challenges they pose, the interests they serve, and the needs they respond to. The implication of this exclusion is twofold. It grants Sir Ciaran Devane what Fairclough (2003, p.48) called the "license to represent" Daniel and therefore accentuates the agentic power of the former and suppresses that of the latter. The second implication is that excluding Daniel from contributing to meaning making textually strips him from rights and privileges socially, such as taking part in management and decision-making processes. Both implications shape the relationship between social actors into a leader and a follower. These meanings are further stabilized through contentious assumptions that are advanced as common grounds.

*Neoliberal/Instrumentalist Common Grounds.* Let's examine this statement by Sir Ciaran Devane:

From Mozambique to Myanmar, from India to Iraq, today's young people are growing up in a fast-paced world. The rise of new technologies, digital communications and changing labor markets bring fresh opportunities but also present new problems to be resolved.

Speaking from a neoliberal/instrumentalist position, Sir Ciaran Devane assumes that changes are universal and self-evident. The nominalization of the process 'rise' (changing from verb to noun) obfuscates the agent responsible for these changes to make them seem inevitable. The use of the process "growing," and adjectives "fast paced" and "changing" takes for granted the universality of an uncontrollable linear movement that requires urgent adapting to changes.

The next statement carries more assumptions: "Through Connecting Classrooms, we are giving millions of young people the opportunity to develop the knowledge, skills, and values they will need to shape the future for themselves and generations to come." The statement explicitly assumes that there is a predetermined, agreed upon skillset and global themes and that the experts of CCGL possess them. The value assumptions signaled by terms such as *proud, giving the opportunity*, and *need* presuppose that the "knowledge, skills and

values" provided by the UK expertise are universal, neutral, context-free hence "recontextualizable."

Let's have a look at this statement by Sir Ciaran Devane "Our young people must not only be globally competitive but also globally competent – able to understand intercultural issues and with the social, emotional, and leadership skills to contribute to the world's challenges." Here, the notion of competitiveness, albeit highly controversial, is normalized as uncontested and regarded as a desirable attribute a young learner ought to acquire. He makes an interesting connection between being competent and acquiring intercultural skills and advances it as crucial to navigate the global market. Sir Ciaran Devane officially nominates cultural understanding and scientific skills (i.e., Math and digital technology) as intellectual resources mandatory to cope with the challenges of the global market.

Using evaluative adjectives such as *essential*, core skills are presented as prerequisites for integration into the global market and the 21st century, and therefore desirable. The preoccupation in the text does not seem to be whether Core Skills are useful and compatible with the different contexts in the GS. This has been settled through this evaluative statement (and assumption) "the essential skills they will need for life and work in a global economy." The task at hand now is to train "thousands of teachers and school leaders to embed core skills and global themes in their curriculum, interwoven with their own deep subject knowledge" a statement that again assumes through the adjective "interwoven" that core skills are compatible with any subject, hence unlikely to cause disruptions to curricula. A globalized, skill-oriented curriculum is taken for granted as equivalent to employability and access to the global market. We feel an undertone of warning that missing this opportunity might have serious implications for the ability of young people From Mozambique to Myanmar, from India to Iraq who are growing up in a fast-paced world to shape the future for themselves, which again embeds the assumption that at the time being their future is not within their hands but rather decided by global forces, including the UK.

*Liberal Humanist Common Grounds.* Penny Mordaunt speaks from a liberal humanist position to explicitly assume that linking with schools in the UK brings benefits to the children of the GS. She writes: "It's a win for children in the UK and a win for children in the developing world." The use of the relational verb *be (it's)* within a realis/statement of fact stresses the high degree of the self-assertion of the speaker regarding the benefits of ULGSSL. Instead, she could have said: It's a win for children in the UK and the developing world. But her original statements intended to imply a classification into those who get to be global citizens /global ambassadors of the UK and those who get knowledge and aid.

Reference to the charity provided by the DFID to participating schools has been intentionally concealed (The blurry logo "UK Aid" is backgrounded behind her photo). This "strategic avoidance of explicitness" (Fairclough, 2003, p.60) of charity can be attributed to the project's strategy to conceal the role of DFID in fundraising and charitable activities in response to critical voices advising to move away from a charity-based to more Global Learning-oriented practice mentioned in the literature review (Bourn & Bain, 2012; Bourn & Cara, 2013).

### Text as Representations: Ways of Representing

**Social Actors: Acting or Reacting?** Most actions in the text are represented as Processes with goals (i.e., who receives the action) and circumstances (time and place) to highlight what is done, who does it and where and when it is done. It therefore clearly foregrounds BC and DFID as actors and causal agents capable of altering the course of social practices (i.e., learning, teaching, training, developing curricula, exchanging visits). Like TEXT1, TEXT 2 juxtaposes two types of participants. Daniel and his students are those involved in a learning process: they "gain, begun, asked, increased, improve, benefit, developed, need." Even when associated with Material processes that signal happening and doing, the outcomes of their actions are self-serving. They do not affect other social actors or practices. They are mainly reacting to other social actors' actions.

The UK participants are those who "train, give, support, encourages, teach." This implies that they already have "the knowledge, skills and values" needed. The choice of processes also implies that the objectives CCGL sets for the young people of the world are different from those in the UK. Unlike TEXT 1, young people are associated with the relational process become "to become global ambassadors for the UK." As the next generation, they are being prepared for a higher social role: leading. Chief Executive of the BC's licence to represent the GS goes beyond describing the actions and outcomes associated with Daniel and his students. He dares to delve into their "inner experiences" (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 179) and show how they feel and what they want and love through the use of *mental* processes: "they love to share ideas," "many of his pupils felt Maths was a difficult subject".

**Problems and Solutions: Who Belongs Where?** The collectivization and *genericization* (i.e., presenting as a generic group) of learners from both sides contribute to the classification of social actors into two categories: "children of the developing world," as opposed to "the next generation" in reference to the UK students. If we consider the actions of each (mentioned above), these can be categorised as those who are part of the problem (i.e., lack of knowledge, skills, and values necessary for the modern world- in addition to infantilization) and those who are part of the solution and dispensers of the tools of modernity. Choices of representation in terms of nouns and pronouns show that while Sir Ciarán Devane and Penny Mordaunt are realised through the agentic "*T*" and "*we*," Daniel is

realised as "*he*." His students are referred to with reference to Daniel as "*his* pupils" "*his* students" or as "*they*." This referential strategy reduces their agency, accentuates their otherness, and identifies them as part of the problem. Conversely students in the UK are referred to as "*Our* young people," a pronoun that brings this group to the side of the solution providers.

Space: Who is Local Who is Global? Representation of space and time implicitly and explicitly contributes to the classification of the social actors. We have two types of spaces: the first refers to immediate, well-defined localities that are concrete and limited in scope: "a secondary school in Ethiopia," "Daniel's classroom," or "outside the school" (yet still in Ethiopia). But this limitedness changes once Daniel and his class encounter CCGL; Students from the South acquire a global dimension: "These young people in Ethiopia" become part of "the millions of pupils in over 40 countries worldwide" and "pupils all over the world." When interpreted considering the role of social actors, the notion of space means that only the UK students are entitled to be "global ambassadors" and to trespass their localities while Daniel and "the millions of pupils in over 40 countries worldwide" are locally situated in concrete circumstances.

**Time: Diagnosing the Present, Projecting the Future.** As with space, time in relation to Daniel is represented through a shift in tense: from the simple past to the present perfect. The past informs about the before of his teaching choices, his students' attitudes, and performance. The present perfect signals a change in the situation; that is, moving from one situation (i.e., "Many of his pupils felt Maths was a difficult subject and lacked the confidence to get involved") to a new one (i.e., "His pupils have gained confidence; they have even begun to organise their own Maths classes"). Daniel and his pupils' relationships to the present are established only through concrete tangible evidence of their success when

they joined CCGL: "their test results *show*." Students from the UK, on the other hand are already situated in the future as "the *next* generation".

Grammatical and semantic elements associate Sir Ciarán Devane and Penny Mordaunt with the notions of the present and the future. Using the present "we *are training*; *are developing*; we *are giving*; I *am proud*", they provide a diagnostic of the issues experienced by Daniel and describe their ongoing commitment to action to address these issues. The future is used to project a course of action based on a prognosis of how things should / must /will be: "they *will need* for life and work" "skills and values they *will need* to shape the future for themselves." While Daniel resides mostly in the past in concrete local circumstances, Sir Ciarán Devane and The Rt Hon. Penny Mordaunt are situated in the present and the future within a more abstract spatiality. This begs more exploration of the implication of space and time on the identity of each.

# Text as Identification: Ways of Identifying

The Ordinary vs. the Expert. What is remarkable in the case of Daniel is the absence of all the linguistic formulations that guide us to understand his commitment, attitudes, judgements, and stances (p.166) because we learn about him from Sir Ciarán Devane as a success story. The exclusion of Daniel obscures his identity, excludes his voice, and suppresses his agency. Added to the limited time-space within which he operates, this lack of agency translates into a lack of authority and classifies him into the category of "an ordinary person" (p.165), a teacher from Ethiopia.

Ciarán Devane and The Rt Hon. Penny Mordaunt on the other hand are "characters," "salient figures that make distinctive culture" (Fairclough 2003, p. 165). Their *functionalization* (Chief Executive, Secretary of State for International Development) is meant to represent them officially. The use of functional honorifics (Sir, The Rt Hon.<sup>1</sup>) attributes to them a high level of esteem and credibility and adds the weight of the Crown to their positions and persons. They derive their authority from their expertise, their bureaucratic experience, their access to resources, and their decision-making power over the distribution of those resources.

The styles of both are realized through modalized statements that reflect the power to diagnose present issues "young people *must not* only be globally competitive but also globally competent." More importantly, they project the future of education in response to the mandates of the 21<sup>st</sup> century: "they *will* need for life and work in a global economy," "skills and values they *will* need to shape the future for themselves and generations to come." This power of "futurology" (Fairclough, 2003, p.166) bolsters their agency and legitimizes and normalizes their social role as leaders worthy of trust (a key term that I will turn to in the intertextual analysis).

The use of the pronoun "*we*" contributed to reinforcing their identities as collective agents "capable of collective action and shaping social change" (Fairclough, 2003, p.160). This is where they come together as partners. Their sense of pride is what distinguishes them from Daniel (the ordinary teacher) but unites them as individuals: 'I am *proud* that, through Connecting Classrooms [...]" as well as institutions: "The Department for International Development has been proud to support the Connecting Classrooms programme since 2012"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Rt Hon. or Rt Hon: The Right Honorable an honorific style traditionally applied to certain persons and collective bodies in the United Kingdom, the former British Empire and the Commonwealth of Nations. The term is predominantly used today as a style associated with the holding of certain senior public offices in the United Kingdom. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The\_Right\_Honourable

### **TEXT2: Intertextual/Contextual Analysis**

This brochure comes at a crucial time of challenges and opportunities for the UK. Despite its status as the world leading "soft power superpower" in 2018 (British Council, 2018c, p.2), the general climate was overshadowed by post-Brexit uncertainties. Uncertainty was exacerbated by the rise of conventional and new global powers equally investing in cultural and educational relations as soft power. Most importantly, these global powers had been gaining positions in the educational international markets. The UK's ambitions and anxieties have been intentionally and cautiously shunned in the brochure. However, treating the brochure as an event in a chain of genres helps understand its social context. This genre chain consists of three reports by the British Council around the same period. In these publications anxieties and concerns are explicitly voiced as they address the UK domestic audience.

### **Post-Brexit Uncertainties**

In the report, *Soft power superpowers; Global trends in cultural engagement and influence* (British Council, 2018c), the altruistic rhetoric of common good for humanity is exposed to exhibit the ambition for a Global Britain in the perennial pursuit of economic interests and power. The report clearly warns that "Global Britain will remain little more than a slogan if the UK is monoglot and interculturally illiterate" (p. 35). It strongly recommends an "open" and "outward" Brexit. The report suggests recentering the UK as a global power by establishing new partnerships with "fast-growing economies in Asia, Africa, and Latin America" (p.34) and by repositioning "the Global South [as] an increasing priority for the government" (p. 36).

Cultural and educational institutions, therefore, are "part of the UK's international attractiveness" (British Council, 2018c, p. 34). They have the power to build trust between

the UK and leaders and entrepreneurs of established powers and fast-growing economies, namely, Nigeria, South Africa, Kenya, and Tanzania (British Council, 2018c). The report explicitly highlights neutrality as an asset that enables programs such as CCGL to play the role of a mediator and generator of opportunities. It says: "Its operational independence from government gives it credibility and legitimacy in the eyes of audiences, both internationally and domestically, making it a trusted actor even in countries where the UK government is viewed with suspicion" (British Council, 2018b, p. 35). The report goes on to recommend coupling this trustworthiness with the orthodox championing of international development and aid, humanitarian work, and universal human rights.

### CCGL and DFID: A Positive Client-Contractor Relationship

In a report submitted to the House of Commons in 2017 entitled *International development select committee UK aid*, the British Council describes its alliance with DFID as "a positive client-contractor relationship" in which both organizations "co-fund" and "cocreate" programs (British Council, 2017). According to the report, these alliances enable the BC to meet the goals of the UK Aid Strategy. While the explicit goal stated by the DFID in TEXT 2 is "a win for children in the UK and a win for children in the developing world," the goal in the report aims more at "ensuring that leaders and influencers globally know, understand, and experience the UK as an outward-looking and globally engaged nation" (p.8). This approach points to a strategy of image building rather than doing common good for humanity.

# No School Links! No International Students!

Migration advisory committee: Students' commission written evidence from the British Council is another report that helps us understand the crucial need to maintain UKGSSL and the desire to expand CCGL beyond links (British Council, 2018b). This is written evidence from the British Council submitted to the Migration Advisory Committee in 2018 about the positive impact of international students on the UK and the consequences in case of decline of demand for UK education considering the unclear future by Brexit negotiation results. The report warns that failure to reinforce the influence and attractiveness of the UK as a global leader in education and development would result in the weakening of international trust in its institutions, hence a decline in soft power, trade, and economic welfare (British Council, 2018b, p. 17).

The report issues a warning about the decline of international students stating that "a UK education system without international students would have devastating consequences" (p. 17). It goes on to list a host of implications such as a decline in the level of creativity and scientific innovation, lack of intercultural experiences, inward curriculum, decline of research, citing and funding, fall of international ranking, decline in the demand of the UK expertise, decline in knowledge transfer (British Council, 2018b, p. 17). This anxiety explains the long-term value of CCGL and linking with schools in the South as a gateway to leaders, policymakers, and influencers. It is an important outlet of what the report calls "previous UK study experience" (p. 11) for young people, which is (according to the report) one of the key factors that lead international students to choose the UK as their study destination.

These reports clearly frame CCGL and UKGSSL within the national duty of the BC and its responsibility to promote strengths of different bodies across the UK and locate needs in the global south that can be addressed by the intervention of these bodies, benefiting hugely from its access to the different countries' policy documents and connection with policymakers and influencers.

### **Chapter 5: Findings and Discussion**

In this chapter, I summarise the results of the analyses to answer the two research questions. I discuss these findings by mapping them within the conceptual framework I have constructed, namely the neoliberal (technicist instrumentalist), liberal humanist, and neocolonial discourses.

### **Identified Approaches to UKGSSL**

The results of the interdiscursive and intertextual analyses are consistent with the findings from the literature review on the tendency of the UKGSSL to fit into the neoliberal liberal humanist, and neocolonial ideological frameworks. These discursive constructions have implications for social identity and social relations within the links as well as implications for education at large.

# A Liberal Humanist Consensus on Universal Aims

Both TEXT 1 and TEXT 2 tend to foreground common humanity to establish a consensus about the connection between people and prescribe common goals and ways to achieve them. The consensus on human progress as "access to education, healthcare, democracy and economic development" (Andreotti, 2014, p. 43) engenders a consensus on universal aims. These goals derive from what TEXT 2 calls "internationally recognised frameworks" (p.4) in reference to the United Nations 2030 Agenda, UNESCO's Sustainable Development Goals, and UNESCO transversal competencies (British Council, 2016). Two factors legitimize the recontextualization of these goals in various global contexts: their promotion as uncontroversial, uncontestable, and beneficial to humanity and their validation through educational research (British Council, 2016).
#### Liberal Humanist Discourse of Moral Obligation

From 2012 (TEXT1) to 2018 (TEXT2), there has been a shift from foregrounding to concealing the charity-based approaches to educational links mentioned in the literature review. However, poverty is still referred to as a deficit of human progress due to the GS' lack of intellectual capacity and rationality (Andreotti, 2011, p. 387). In line with the discussed literature, acts of charity and feelings of empathy reflect the liberal humanist discourse of development in its tendency to legitimize aid by connecting it to tangible outcomes such as funding the visits to and from the GS. Actions and attitudes exemplify the quick fixes (Andreotti, 2014) that evade the political and historical investigation of global issues and treatment of global inequality. The notion of empathy prevalent in students' comments, remains the linchpin of UK aid agenda and narratives of poverty. Empathy is still officially advocated as a "normative ideal" (Kurian, 2019, p. 132) in dealing with different cultures, values, and ways of life. This "humanitarian jump to action", which Gounari (2012) describes as "pseudo-activity" (p. 72), uses human rights as " a brand name for diverse schemes of global governance in which vulnerability and inequality persist" (p. 80).

#### A Liberal Humanist Engagement with Difference

What is emphasized more in TEXT 1 than in TEXT2 is intercultural experience as an ethical imperative. Intercultural understanding is presented as a competency. It can be acquired by maximizing encounters with the Other (exchange visits) to optimize authentic learning. However, intercultural encounters are characterized by the "folklorization" (Kirova, 2008, p.107) of 'the Other', which is associated with a view that fixes and essentializes non-Western cultures. This view portrays the GS as having nothing to offer but exotic symbols. It "shift us dangerously back toward viewing others as beings who are profoundly and inherently different from ourselves" (Perry, 1992, as cited in Kirova, 2008, p. 107) With an orientation to difference based on the dynamics of exclusion and inclusion, exchange visits, for example, are planned and sponsored according to specific terms that abide by "a social hierarchy of cultures" (Alasuutari & Andreotti, 2015, p.66). By this hierarchy intercultural exchanges avoid any encounter outside the framework designed by CCGL. These pre-defined terms engender a pseudo-openness to difference, whereby a UK student or teacher "can only be open to that which he/she can 'understand' within its own terms of reference" (Alasuutari & Andreotti, 2015, p.83).

# The Neoliberal Ideologies and Technologies of the Market

Operating within the logic of the knowledge societies, school links aim to create and optimize human capital by accumulating students and teachers' skills and technicist knowledge as an imperative for national economic growth (Andreotti, 2014, p. 43). Deficit in these skills is deficit in human capital and the antithesis of progressive education and hence a barrier to employability, competitiveness, and economic growth. The rhetoric around the urgency of adapting to global changes, the pledge to contribute to the global market and the menaces of being left behind in TEXTS 1 and TEXT 2 contribute to the romanticization (Andreotti, 2011) of the UK education as a global progressive system keen on investing in the human capital and increasing teacher efficiency.

## The Neoliberal Conflation of Intercultural Fluency and Business

The analyses findings show that the UKGSSL's focus on engagements with other cultures is framed within nationally defined goals and economic interests (Andreotti, 2014). While both TEXT 1 and TEXT2 depict intercultural competence as a global pursuit, the intertextual analysis discloses a growing concern about the monocultural nature of the UK youth. Threats associated to multicultural illiteracy go beyond youth's lack of cultural fluency and global thinking to menace trade and business. This means that students who fail to think globally are unlikely to meet the demands of a global market in terms of exports (i.e.,

UK knowledge, expertise, or goods) and imports (i.e., international students).

# The Neocolonial Blindness to Time and Space

UKGSSL's conception of space carries different significations, yet none of them acknowledge the colonial complication of the socio-economic conditions of the GS and its implication in the global order of inequality and injustice. Operating across continents, UKGSSL are promoted as a pedagogical practice that challenges space in its historical and geopolitical dimensions to maintain a global aspect that normalizes its expansionism 'from Mozambique to Myanmar, from India to Iraq.' This global and delocalized dimension makes any attempt to challenge its benevolent humanist aspirations 'obsolete' (Maldonado-Torres, 2004, p. 40).

In the context of the Brexit, this expansionism points to the UK's efforts to relocate itself in order to be the center by itself: a global power in its own right- not part of Europe. The age of Britishcentrism hence explains the Global UK imaginary. In this imaginary the UK is an epistemic center from which global universal and neutral blueprints of knowledge, skills and values are produced and disseminated as "regulative ideals" for the people of the GS (Maldonado-Torres, 2004, p. 40). This universalistic perspective is completely blind to "the significance of the geopolitical location" (Maldonado-Torres, 2004, p. 37) of Gambia, Ghana, Nigeria, Pakistan, and other locations as former colonies whose people, lands and resources have been exploited on a large scale to enrich the British Empire.

In terms of time, the analyses have shown an explicit focus on "futurology" and its significance for progressive education in liberal societies seeking to contribute to the global economy. The future, then, is the other side of modernity, while the past is an obstacle to be forgotten. This "systematic amnesia" leads links to leave colonial history behind as part of "past realities or historical episodes that have been superseded by other kind of socio-political and economical regimes" (Maldonado-Torres, 2016, p. 36). This coloniality of knowledge

explains why poverty is attributed to a deficit of either human progress or knowledge, competencies, and skills to participate in the global economy (Andreotti, 2014) but never explained in historical or political terms.

## A Neocolonial Privileged Epistemic Site

As can be seen from the analyses, the GS' approaches to education and to global issues are traditional; the people are unprofessional, and their knowledge is incomplete until they meet the Western orthodox knowledge systems through CCGL professional expertise. After what Maldonado-Torres (2016) refers to as "inter-human contact" (p. 11), the knowledge of the GS, be it in the field of teaching, curriculum development, or policy reform, is upgraded and modernized. In Maldonado-Torres' (2016) terms, it is as if this mere contact enables them to cross to the modern world, to the realms of the 'human'.

This tendency has also been noted in the discussed literature. For example, Bourn (2014a) claims that the UK continues to shape education systems in sub-Saharan Africa and Asia through "deference" to its systems (p. 7). Links boost the "self-esteem" of Ugandans who befriend teachers from the UK (Bourn & Bain, 2012). These exchanges exemplify what Maldonado-Torres (2016) describes as "metaphysical catastrophe" that continues to plague "peripheralized territories in the modern world- system" and forms "the basis for nation-state and education models that are continually embraced as 'modern' and therefore presumably superior to any others" (p. 11). As the basis of coloniality of knowledge, epistemic racism is at the root of the exclusion of the role of spatiality and geopolitics in maintaining boundaries between the UK as a producer of knowledge and the GS as a consumer of that knowledge. Epistemic racism also maintains the position of the UK as a "privileged epistemic site" (Maldonado-Torres, 2004, p. 30) that possesses and distributes universal, neutral, and context-free knowledge without which the people of GS are unlikely to make it into modernity.

### **Implications for Social Identities**

In this section, I look at the possible implications for the formation of social identity of both UK and GS students and teachers with the understanding that social identity is what "defines the features shared by an individual with other members of a particular group." (Ghosh, Abdi & Naseem, 2008, p. 59). If we apply this definition to the claims of UKGSSL about humanity as an overarching category, the commonality of educational goals and mutuality of social relations, both the UK youth and those of the GS share the same features that assert their membership within the category of Global Citizens. The discursive strategies of exclusion, inclusion, and differentiation at play in the texts analyzed, however, lay bare a bold line that sets apart two identities, one is the antithesis of the other.

Both the interdiscursive and intertextual analyses point to CCGL's pursuit of inculcating the imaginary of Global UK into the identities of students and teachers through UKGSSL. The effectiveness of this inculcation is most evident in the way leaders, educators, and young people "own" these discourses and "position themselves inside them to act, and think, and talk and see themselves in terms of [these] discourses" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 208). The high level of assertiveness with which participants from the UK deploy voice and exercise agency speaks to the efficacy of inculcating this metanarrative (Global UK) into their identities. The discursive construal of identity in TEXTS 1 and TEXT 2 occurs through an ideological scheme of classifying (Fairclough, 2003) what counts as knowledge and who qualifies as an expert (teacher) and global citizen (student). This classification scheme naturally ascribes agency and voice to the British partners. The students and teachers of GS are the absent-present, the 'Other' whose presence is necessary only for the process of establishing consensus and "acceptance of differences of power" (Fairclough, 2003, p.42). Power in this context refers to "the transformative capacity of human action" (Fairclough, 2003, p.41) which Fairclough argues depends on certain resources (e.g., control over the text

as action) and facilities (e.g., the material resources for printing and distributing brochures) available to one group (the UK), but not the other (GS) and which accordingly grants agency and control over Genres, Representations and Styles.

According to the liberal humanist narrative, British youth are representatives of international development (Andreotti, 2014). Endowed with empathy and a natural inclination to do good and help others beyond their boundaries. They translate universal values into humanitarian action to fulfill their moral responsibilities (Andreotti, 2014) as "concerned citizen" (Gounari, 2012, p. 79) and global ambassadors for the UK. By this logic, students and teachers of GS lack control over material and intellectual resources, and thus agency and power. Their identities as global citizens only begin to take shape when they meet the UK knowledge system. Represented rather than representatives, they are neither licensed to set the terms of links, nor authorized to shape relationships and assign roles.

Within the technicist-instrumentalist/neoliberal vision of school links, the identities of students and teachers are shaped in accordance with national interests. UKGSS hold educators accountable for raising students' awareness of the constantly changing economic landscapes. They urge teachers and students to be competitive, cross-culturally fluent, and skill-oriented in order to adapt to change and adjust their goals according to the dictates of the marketplace. With these attributes, the construction of students' identities shifts from morally to socially responsible citizens. Their role is to export knowledge and expertise from those who are leading in economic development to those falling behind (Andreotti, 2014). Again, because of their privileged position in terms of access to material resources, UK students and teachers are entitled to distribute resources and impart skills, knowledge and values to the GS and lead their students and teachers into the global economy and knowledge society

When we compare the identity of 'the colonized' studied by Ghosh, Abdi & Naseem (2008) in the context of the colonial experience, we find that after decades of efforts

to decolonize, little has changed in the effectiveness of constructing and maintaining an "authentic identity" that "establishes true and reliable signposts in relation to the individual's historical package, current relationships and possibilities, and predictable or casi-predictable future locations and relationships" (Ghosh et. al, 2008, p.59). Crucial to the process of inculcating a neo-colonial discourse into the identities of youth are the conditions observed by Ghosh et. al, (2008) by which the British youth must believe in the legitimacy of their superiority and the GS youth acquiesce to their role as inferiors. Therefore, the former continues to play the role of "normative subjects" (Maldonado-Torres, 2016, p. 14) "distinguishing themselves qualitatively and naturally from all other peoples in the planet and making Europeans and everything that is produced by them superior to everyone else" (Maldonado-Torres, 2016, p. 11).

Those from the GS remain "bodies without land, people without resources, and subjects without the capacity for autonomy and self-determination whose constant desire is to be other than themselves" (Maldonado-Torres, 2016, p. 16). Worse than being "misidentified" (Ghosh et. al., 2008, p. 61), students and teachers in the GS engage in "selfblame" (Ghosh et. al., 2008 p. 62) for being both responsible for their backwardness ("I knew absolutely nothing," "I was unaware...") and for being the origin of global issues ("we ourselves are responsible for the degradation of our environmental resources," "I am aware of how my activities might eventually even harm others living in a different part of the world.") The teachers of the GS, who are portrayed as incapable of questioning or producing knowledge. They are "agents of coloniality" whose subjectivity is "split with itself" (Maldonado-Torres, 2016, p. 23). Fairclough (2003) argues that identities are necessarily relational because "who one is is a matter of how one relates to the world and to other people" (p. 166). Hence this thesis argument that identities impact and shape social relations, as much as they are shaped by social relations.

### **Implication for Social Relations**

The discursive construction of UKGSSL prioritizes reciprocity and equality as the basis for sustainable relationships. The partnership between the UK and the GS is rooted in a rhetoric of togetherness and mutual relations that create equal expectations for both partners. The partners contribute reciprocally and equally to the achievement of common goals that lead to the well-being of both and the common good of education and humanity. The analyses nonetheless have shown an orthodox socio-economic, cultural, and epistemic discursive binary that in turn generates a binary of identities. Both binaries maintain the dynamics of unequal distribution of roles and privileges within links. Social relations in UKGSSL are based on a cultural hierarchy as well as an unequal distribution of social roles networked in a leader-follower model framed by the material and epistemic dependence of the South on Britain.

## Social Hierarchy and Social Distance

I begin by considering the social relations between CCGL and educators in the UK and GS as social actors. Fairclough (2003) observes that interactions involving organizations and individuals are inherently "high in social hierarchy and social distance" (p. 76). The analysis of Text as Action (Genre) shows that in terms of social hierarchy, links are established, managed, funded, evaluated, and terminated by educators and experts from the UK. As an organization, BC exercises power over teachers, headteachers and school leaders from GS by setting terms and criteria for linking. In terms of social distance, CCGL operates remotely and on a global scale, which gives it legitimacy to be an epistemic center and mediator between educators and policy makers in GS and intergovernmental organizations and international institutes (e.g., UN, UNESCO). Despite attempts to "mystify social hierarchy and social distance" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 76) by embracing an inclusive discourse around shared goals and recruiting local coordinators, power continues to reproduce nonreciprocal and unequal social relations.

#### Knowledge Producer vs. Knowledge Consumer

Moving to social relations between students and educators on both sides, these are shaped according to two orientations to difference. Difference is bracketed whenever there is a need to set aside variations in the conceptualization of education and national goals. In this case, "Commonality and solidarity" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 192) are foregrounded in order to draw attention to notions of togetherness, global community and shared priorities. The aim here is to market British educational exports (e.g., knowledge, expertise, technology, policy reform packages, etc.) by promoting them as neutral and universal, capable of remedying GS educational pathologies. CCGL, representing the UK, is marketed as producing knowledge and expertise. The GS are consumers of this knowledge and expertise.

## Aid Donor vs. Aid Recipient

On the other hand, relationships are shaped according to "a normalization and acceptance of differences of power" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 192). Differences are made visible through the unbalanced representation of material/economic privilege and epistemic dispositions, as well as the implicit valorization of historical/colonial legacies that privilege the UK and normalize its superiority. These binaries reinforce the benevolent Global UK imaginary, bolstering the self-esteem of British youth while undermining that of the GS and freezing them in notions of poverty and aid. The former continues to be donors while the latter remain recipients of aid in the form of knowledge, skills, technology, and policy advice.

# Givers vs. Receivers

Maldonado-Torres (2016) defines intersubjectivity as the basis of "receiving and giving" (p.21). He places knowledge (and understanding) at the heart of intersubjective social relations (p.25). Therefore, those who control the tools of knowledge production are those

whose epistemology shapes notions of learning, teaching and being. In TEXT 1 and TEXT 2, knowledge production is an entitlement for the UK. Being part of the Western epistemological canon, they have the legitimacy to present their worldviews as universal. The marginalized subjectivities of the GS are excluded from the 'receiving/giving' equation. They cannot "reach out to others" (Maldonado-Torres, 2016, p.25), let alone produce or exchange knowledge. They have no choice but to accept the colonial relations embedded in UKGSSL that disrupt the meaning and essence of receiving/giving and erode notions of reciprocity and equality.

# **Implication for Education**

To examine the implications of the dominant discourses that underpin UKGSSL for education, I take these questions proposed by Andreotti (2011) as a guide for my reflection:

Where is one speaking from as a 'global citizen' or 'global educator'? How is one socially and historically constituted in this position? What are the non-negotiable universals in a global citizenship project? Whose perspectives are represented in these universals. Whose epistemology forms the basis of this project. Whose perspectives or epistemologies could have been silenced or absent in this project? Does this work reinforce the belief that people cannot get by without European/American help, ideas, or intervention? (Andreotti, 2011, p. 393).

### Implications for UKGSSL

Given the increasing academic criticism of international school links, I question why politicians and education policy makers still have such a stranglehold on the CCGL program. I argue that the dominant discourses underpinning UKGSSL are driving the national project of Global UK in the educational field. I suggest that the fulfilment of the educational, cultural, and political agenda of this project depends on the GS's uncritical reception and unconditioned adoption of the kinds of identities and the nature of social relations embedded in the links. UKGSSL serves as a platform where the Global UK meets the GS on unequal grounds, and where social relations and identities are constructed through a relentless control over representations.

British students and educators speak and act from their moral and social responsibilities vis a vis the agentless Other in Tunisia, Bangladesh, Tanzania, and other locations. The discursive construction of identities and relationships within the links suggest that UK students and educators do not consider the possibility of decentering the (British) self, nor allowing the 'other' to disrupt the British self-image (Alasuutari & Andreotti, 2015) in order to shake off historically accumulated privileges. Epistemic blindness blurs the distinction between reality and the imaginary because when "one has been socialized into believing in the superiority of one's culture and in the universality of one's knowledge, it becomes very difficult to see the value of working at the edge of this imaginary, rather than its center." (Alasuutari & Andreotti, 2015, p.77).

As for teachers, the conflation of development and education makes it increasingly difficult for them to detect and resist "the underlying liberal and neo-colonial discourses" (Martin & Griffiths, 2012, p. 914) or worse, it leads them to "unwittingly recreate colonial patterns of behavior and reinforce the very stereotypes and attitudes they seek to change" (Martin & Griffiths, 2012, p. 914). Therefore, UKGSSL are "the antithesis and counterpractices of global justice and rights" (Abdi et al., 2015, p. 3). They fail to equip learners and educators with the knowledge and skills needed to increase their ability to critically examine concepts, challenge assumptions, and act responsibly on their values to make the world more just and equal for everyone as per GCE principles.

Neutral universalism is at play in conceptualizations of interculturality and humanitarian work as imperatives for global equity and social justice. This suggests that it is impossible to conceptualize knowledge or knowledge production channels outside the frame of reference set by intergovernmental organizations, which renders any possibilities of including other ways of knowing absurd. UKGSSL is therefore a neutral and universal "template for being and knowledge production" (Alasuutari & Andreotti, 2015, p.85) blind to the socio-historical and geo-political conditions of the global issues it raises and the UK's complicity as a colonial empire in perpetuating these issues. Therefore, UKGSSL offers unequal access to the tools of knowledge production, unequal contribution to knowledge production, neo-colonial representation of identities and subjectivities, unequal distribution of roles and privileges, and non-reciprocal social relationship.

# Implications for the Role of CCGL

I suggest that - as part of the British Council's commitment to preserving Britain's historic heritage and interests - CCGL's role is to socialize Britain's youth into the national metanarrative of the Global UK as a superpower and leader in international development while preserving colonialism under the guise of a historical legacy that offers its citizens more pride than shame. CCGL uses educational links to promote the image of the United Kingdom and advance its national interests by protecting, expanding, and generating new markets. Taking advantage of the rise of a growing education market created by the mandates of the UN 2030 Agenda, BC treats the GS as raw data waiting to be interpreted into business opportunities. BC is using open access to policy documents and data to its advantage, to curate educational reform initiatives that are consistent with the SDGs and at the same time match the priorities of education agenda in GS.

Academic scholarship is another way in which CCGL is fulfilling the national agenda of a Global UK. Maldonado-Torres (2016) describes academic scholarship as a site where "modern/colonial attitude tends to take hold and reproduce itself" (p.8). A range of research that studied UKGSSL, commissioned by BC, has used quantitative or mixed methods, focusing on "what works" (Lincoln, 2016, p.198) and what promotes the national economic agenda of competitiveness (Torrance, 2016). It is a typical example of what Torrance (2016) describes as alliances between policy priorities and educational research that revolve around the utilitarian goal of developing capacity to train and prepare a research workforce that is willing to comply with funders' orientation to "value for money" from investment in research (p. 268). This orientation for research also confirms Pashby et al.'s (2020) argument that the debate on Global Learning is narrowly concerned with "methodological and epistemological questions", while leaving out ontological issues (p. 160).

# Implications for Global Learning

I argue that UKGSSL is an example of what GL / GCE should not be. The current understanding of GL/ GCE neutralizes education as a "zone of struggle" (Maldonado-Torres, 2016, p.3). By this conceptualization of GL/GCE, negotiations of social identities, subjectivities and social relations within a sociohistorical and geo-political context, and visions of other possibilities have been disqualified as irrational. The program offers an understanding of GL/GCE that accounts for "depoliticized, ahistorical, paternalistic, and decontextualized" forms of knowledge (Arshad-Ayaz et al., 2017, p. 20) that, rather than interrogating "complicity in the production of global inequities" (Arshad-Ayaz et al., 2017, p. 33), they reproduce injustices on a global scale.

Policy makers continue to downplay historical and geopolitical explanations for global issues and unequal access to knowledge production in favor of how-to scripted brochures and toolkits. These reinforce the dominant Western ideologies of objectivism, neutral universalism, and entrepreneurism that socialize youth into the liberal humanist, neoliberal and neocolonial ontologies, and epistemologies. They homogenize national educational agendas and ways of knowing and producing knowledge to perpetuate the dynamics of unequal power relations.

### **Unexpected Findings**

An important observation that was not within the scope of the research questions emerged from the analysis, namely that CCGL might be a soft mode of governance (Sellar & Lingard, 2013). The appropriation of the business/management discourse, the shift towards more pronounced promotional style and the move from the local to the global are, as per Fairclough's account (2003), indications that CCGL is a genre of governance. It has the power to "act upon and shape the actions of others over considerable distances of space and time" (Fairclough, 2003, p.30). CCGL has expanded in scope and scale. What began in 2012 as a platform for school links that facilitated people-to-people and school-to-school connections has burgeoned into a global program with a multifaceted role, operating hierarchically at the level of educational policies and liaising with national authorities overseas.

Taking into considerations the national aspiration for a Global UK and the increasing association of policymaking with the global dimension (Sellar and Lingard, 2013), I suggest that CCGL is replicating more influential global organizations policies of expansion, such as OECD. I argue that practices of international accreditation and appraisal of schools and teachers (e.g., International School Award) attest to the endeavor to apply international comparison on a smaller scale (i.e., Asia, North and Sub- Saharan Africa). What Sellar and Lingard (2014) call "epistemological governance" (p. 932) can as well be observed in CCGL program. CCGL has been marketed to the GS as a privileged epistemic site. It promotes it educational experts as "deterritorialized" and "trans-national" "policy elite" (Sellar & Lingard, 2014, p. 921). Its neutral universalism is rooted in the agenda of transnational and international non-governmental organizations like UNESCO and Oxfam with a focus on global values such as human rights, sustainable development, conflict and peace, and intercultural understanding.

#### Conclusion

This thesis started from the presupposition that liberal, neoliberal, and neocolonial discourses continue to underly UKGSSL, and that the pervasiveness of these narratives obstructs equality and reciprocity and leave assumptions, stereotypes, and controversies unchallenged. To answer the two questions related to this statement, I have analyzed a selection of documents that guide the principles, aims and practices that underpin UKGSSL using CDA as a methodological framework and Fairclough's dialectical-relational approach to textual analysis. There are claims that UKGSSL has moved away from neo-colonial, humanist discourses and instrumentalist practices that marginalize GS and use links to resource the UK curriculum. However, the combination of an interdiscursive and intertextual analysis was productive in proving these claims false. It has demonstrated how Ways of acting, Ways of representing, and Ways of identifying are consistent with the liberal humanist, technicist instrumentalist /neoliberal and neocolonial discourses identified in the literature on UKGSSL. The application of a conceptual framework grounded in decolonial perspectives has brought to the surface the interplay of these discourses with the hidden power of the colonial/modem imaginary that guides the global design of educational policy and practice.

Thus far, I have argued that the inculcation of identities and the enactment of social relations are consistent with the discourses identified. I have suggested that the technicist-instrumentalist discourse presents identities and relationships in complete harmony with the configurations of the global market. The humanist-liberal discourse enfolds a dichotomy between the rhetoric of doing common good and the reality of deploying intercultural exchange and development aid to maintain the UK global image as an international development leader. Finally, neocolonial discourse is embedded as a neutral universal framework in theory and practice. It reproduces colonial power through the Westcentric

frame of reference and a meta-narrative of the Global UK, while 'blinding' the global youth from recognizing the unequal, neocolonial, non-reciprocal power relations. I therefore have noted that discursive strategies in this long-term identity-building project aim to endow UK youth with superior subjectivity, while reproducing the GS' marginalized identities, oppressed voices, and suppressed subjectivities that remain 'shadow figures in someone else's story' (Chouliaraki, 2013, as cited in Bryan, 2013, p. 10)

What emerges from this work is that UKGSSL are just another "creative adjustment(s) of coloniality" (Maldonado-Torres (2016, p. 1). They are the non-coercive means by which Britain seeks to warrant its political agenda and economic interests and maintain its hegemony as a Global UK in a changing global order characterized by post-Brexit national anxieties as well political ambitions and uncertainties. The combination of humanist ideologies, neoliberal technologies, and a neocolonial imaginary enables the UK to remain the borderless center that determines the epistemological and ontological characteristics of global citizens and the spatial and temporal criteria of the production and flow of knowledge and technology.

# **Study Limitations**

By adhering to "textually-oriented discourse analysis" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 2) that attends to language, I have adopted Fairclough's position that "no real understanding of the social effects of discourse is possible without looking closely at what happens when people talk or write" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 3). To that end, I attempted a linguistic analysis while attending to the immediate social, economic, and political context in which they were produced and through which they produce and reproduce social relations. In choosing CDA as a methodological application, I do not claim to be a critical discourse analyst, nor do I claim extensive knowledge of linguistics. My approach to linguistic analysis throughout the study has been that of a researcher with some background in linguistics drawn from my learning experience in Applied Linguistics (as part of my training to teach English as a second language). My approach to contextual analysis is based on my previous professional experience as the coordinator of a CCGL program in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region from 2012 to 2015. However, I maintain that neither analysis is exhaustive or definitive. In fact, there are more issues and concerns that have been omitted due to space constraints than those addressed. Accordingly, there are limitations to my study. The first is of a theoretical nature. It arises from the principles of the CDA program itself. The second is methodological and arises from one of the most common criticisms leveled against the use of CDA.

The textual representation of the UK students as global representatives of liberal values and global ambassadors of human rights does not necessarily entitle them to this role in real life. Moreover, to say that teachers of the GS are recipients of knowledge and skills imparted by British experts does not automatically translate into the former being agentless emulators. None of these assumed consequences is the "automatic" causal effects of the text (Fairclough, 2003, p. 8) because discourse is not everything and social life cannot be reduced to language (Fairclough, 2003, p. 2). As a matter of fact, both social actors may be highly resistant to the discourses that underpin UKGSSL. The interweaving of Genres, Discourses and Styles, and the corresponding meanings that textual analysis brings to light, do have implications for social life (i.e., the nature of relationships between participants) and social structures (i.e., education: its aims, policies, practices). However, one must be careful enough not to assume the "mechanicality" and regularity of this causal relationship (Fairclough, 2003, p.8). Representations are "construals" of the text. But the transition from this "construal" to an actual "construction" of social life depends on a network of factors external to the text (Fairclough, 2003, p. 8). This does not refute the arguments I have made so far, nor does it disqualify the study from the efforts of critical social research to interrogate power

relations and achieve global justice and equality. Rather, it positions the study as open to difference and dialogue in terms of interpreting relationships in UKGSSL. The approach does also vindicate the study from "deterministic assumptions about the workings of discourse and social reproduction" (Breeze, 2011, p. 494).

For the sake of "methodological consistency," (Stubbs, 1997, as cited in Breeze, 2011, p.504), I explained the rationale for limiting the data analysis to short extracts from the brochures. I have undertaken an analysis of the data using a variety of linguistic features. I have also attempted to carry out a comparative analysis of TEXT 1 with TEXT 2 and with other texts from the selected documents to reach an informed conclusion about the language used and the meanings it produces. These are strategies suggested by Stubbs (2011) to optimize the rigor of research (Stubbs, 1997, as cited in Breeze, 2011, p.504).

However, using CDA in combination with other types of analysis can shed more light on the contextual factors of UKGSSL. "Triangulation" enhances interpretation by "obtaining multiple perspectives on the phenomenon under observation" (Breeze, 2011, p.504). I therefore suggest that an organizational ethnography of DFID and BC can offer a better understanding of the context of UKGSSL as a triangulation method. A direct outcome of this combination of analytical approaches helps to treat CDA as one of the resources, rather than 'the resource' available for researching UKGSSL, and to avoid treating the samples analyzed as representative of other social events within CCGL, which reduces the objectivity of the research and the rigor of the language analysis (Widdowson, 1998, as cited in Breeze, 2011, p. 540).

# **Further Research**

As I reflect on the expansion of CCGL in scope and scale and relate GCE to my professional experience and personal history as a citizen of the MENA region, more educational questions and concerns emerge. These issues are related to the hegemony of educational institutions that are increasingly establishing themselves as modes of global governance and attempting to operate in the GS. I have found that while agenda in the region promote education for national citizenship and identity affirmation in a postcolonial nationalist context, policy makers seek to respond to prescriptive global policies that shape a global identity for youth. Policy makers have been confronted with a harsh reality rooted in the order of global governance. This order favors Eurocentric epistemologies perpetuated by the "modern/colonial imaginary" (Pashby et al., 2020 p.150). This tension limits the possibilities of operationalizing GCE as a tool to equip young students with the knowledge and skills they need to think critically and act responsibly. It also diminishes avenues to achieve individual and economic well-being, justice, and equality. Despite the exponential attention that GCE has received globally, further research is needed in terms of its theorization and application in post-conflict post-revolution contexts. Of particular interest is the intersection of the field with the growing influence of global governance on national policymaking (Sellar & Lingard, 2014). Some of the questions that can be asked include: What are the challenges in operationalizing Global Citizenship Education within the national citizenry-oriented contexts of MENA? Do the modes of global governance hinder or contradict the national agendas and political ambitions of the regions triggered by the 2011 uprising? What are the implications of conflicting educational agendas for individual and national identities in the region?

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# Appendices

# Appendix A

# Three Meta- narratives of Global Learning /Global Citizenship Education

	Technicist Instrumentalist	Liberal Humanism
Focus	Creating human capital for national economic growth in knowledge societies	Human progress decided by national representatives
Interpretati on of concepts	Economic growth: acquisition and accumulation of universal knowledge Poverty: a countries or an individual's deficit of knowledge, competencies, and skills to participate in the global economy A way to maximize the	<ul> <li>Human progress: decided by national representatives in governance institutions through a process of international consensus on universal aims to be delivered by nation states Poverty: explained as a deficit in terms of human progress</li> <li>A means to prepare world leaders to</li> </ul>
Education	<ul><li>performance of individuals in global markets driven by services and innovation</li><li>An individual responsibility of lifelong learning and adaptation to ever-changing economic contexts</li></ul>	<ul> <li>bring order and progress for all</li> <li>A means of enculturation into a national defined by its political or intellectual representatives and international culture</li> <li>A vehicle for poverty eradication through partnerships between donors/dispensers and receivers of aid, knowledge, education, resources, technical assistance, human rights, or volunteer labor</li> </ul>
Goal of Education	To improve employability /entrepreneurial capacity To boost the country's	Disseminate the international consensus on universal human progress defined in terms of access to education, healthcare,
Implication for Education	<ul> <li>competitiveness in global economies</li> <li>Social responsibility: the export of expertise from those heading the way in terms of economic development to those lagging behind</li> <li>Engagements with other cultures: defined in relation to national economic interests (protecting, expanding, and creating markets)</li> </ul>	democracy, and economic development <b>Moral responsibility:</b> those ahead in terms of international development remove obstacles to human progress through government agreed targets, campaigns, and charitable and humanitarian interventions <b>Engagements with difference</b> requires the global learners to acquire knowledge about different cultures/ nationalities to work with diverse populations towards common/consensual goals. <b>Critical engagement:</b> welcome within pre-defined frameworks

# Appendix B

# Analysis of Transitivity Processes in TEXT 1

# Attributions of Voices from the UK

Example from text	Type of process	Sub- type of processor	Participant/ Role
It <b>gives</b> <u>us</u> a lot more freedom to pick and choose when the visits take place.	Material	Doing	Recipient
" <u>We</u> secured the International School Award	Material	Doing	Actor
<u>We've worked</u> with a number of different professionals in Njoro,	Material	Happening	Actor
<u>We</u> 've worked together a lot on safeguarding children, governance and school leadership."	Material	Happening	Actor
$\underline{We}$ use the post to send large pieces of work but	Material	Doing	Actor
To continue to build on all the good work <u>we <b>have done</b></u> already	Material	Doing	Actor
<u><i>I</i></u> even <b>called</b> them to wish them a happy Christmas."	Material	Doing	Actor
The challenges <u>we</u> faced have been minor hurdles on a path of many benefits	Material	Doing	Actor
<u><i>We</i></u> approached industrial sponsorship	Material	Doing	Actor
Is making <u>us</u> all more globally aware of diversity and equality issues	Material	Doing	Affected
The <b>programme provided</b> <u>us</u> with a very strong, clear and high-level framework to work with and the benefits have been evident	Material	Doing	Affected
(Experience) <b>does change</b> <u>you</u> , how you teach and how you work with your students.	Material	Doing	Affected
It also makes <u>you</u> so aware how, in comparison, in England	Material	Doing	Affected
<u>We</u> have both developed a considerable understanding of each other's culture and practice	Material	Doing	Actor
$\frac{We}{Me}$ have learned about the culture and now (thing act fact	Material	Happening	Actor
<b>I have learned</b> that there is too much poverty in this world and that people	Mental	Cognitive	

are suffering at this years moment from			
are suffering at this very moment from sickness and lack of food fact			
You <b>know</b> <u>you are a good</u>	Mental	Cognitive	
teacher	Man tal	-	
<u><i>I</i> think it is important a head teacher is</u>	Mental	Cognitive	
involved fact			
$\underline{I}$ also think <u>a head can do a lot to</u>			
raise a partnership's profile amongst	Mental	Cognitive	
governors, parents, and the local		U U	
community fact			
<u>I</u> do feel <u>it is very much my duty to</u>			
respect the legacy of the Egerton	Mental	Cognitive	
family and to continue this historic			
partnership fact			
<u>I</u> guess inevitably <u>the focus is on the</u>	Mental	Cognitive	
teachers who find themselves			
partnered together fact			
<u><i>I</i></u> <b>believe</b> through talking and emailing	Mental	Cognitive	
<u>The pupils</u> have not only learned	Mental	Cognitive	
about their topics things			
<u>We</u> decided that <u>the partnership</u> ,	Mental	Desiderative	
embedded within our very identity as a			
school, was too important to lose			
The students at Southroyd conceived	Mental	Receptive	
'Keep Connecting Week			
<u>I know what every day is like in</u>	Mental	Cognitive	
<u>Ghana,</u>			
We <b>are</b> able to maintain a professional	Relational	Intensive	Attributive
and personal dialogue			Carrier
Scottish pupils were amazed and			
happy to learn that Ghanaian children		<b>.</b>	Attributive
have access to Game Boys and such	Relational	Intensive	Carrier
like, as well as more traditional toys			
We are really one school with Europe,			
sea and lots of Africa between us, but	Relational	Intensive	Attributive
that doesn't matter.			Carrier
Global education is fully embedded in			Attributive
our curriculum	Relational	Intensive	Carrier
PCE Demonstration School are not			Attributive
just partners in global education	Relational	Intensive	Carrier
It <b>is</b> an incredible personal and			Attributive
professional challenge	Relational	Intensive	Carrier
Managing a partnership <b>is</b> quite a big			
responsibility that involves lots of			Attributive
	Relational	Intensive	Carrier
trouble-shooting and budget management and			
Teesdale <b>is</b> a relatively small school of			Attributive
•	Relational	Intensive	Carrier
700 boys and girls with, in comparison			Carrier

resources at the pupils' disposalImage: constraint of the provided in	to our partner school, quite a wealth of			
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6 6	· · ·	Existential		
	visits ourselves			

Note based on Halliday & Matthiessen (2004), p.168-26

# Appendix C

# Analysis of Transitivity Processes in TEXT 2

# Attributions of Voices from the Global South

Example from text	Type of process	Sub- type of processor	Role of Participant
Their (students') <u>communication skills</u> have <b>improved</b>	Material	Happening	Actor
All the global dimension issues <b>have made</b> <u>me</u> a more diverse person in all that I do	Relational	Intensive	Attributive Carrier
(experience) <b>left</b> a special mark <u>in my</u> <u>personal life</u>	Material	Doing	Scope
(Experience) added a vital asset <u>to my</u> development as a teacher!	Material	Doing	Beneficiary
Getting other teachers involved in the whole process <b>has resulted</b> in a more dynamic school and active learning <u>for</u> <u>pupils throughout their academic journey</u> .	Material	Happening	Beneficiary
It (My involvement in Connecting Classrooms) <b>increased</b> <u>my knowledge</u> about education	Material	Doing	Affected
My involvement in Connecting Classrooms <b>has made</b> <u>me</u> see things from a different perspective.	Material	Doing	Affected
It has given me confidence	Material	Doing	Recipient
it has also <b>made</b> <u>me</u> aware of international projects that have been of great help to my school.	Material	Doing	Affected
Connecting Classrooms has <b>contributed</b> <u>hugely to my professional life!"</u>	Material	Doing	Beneficiary
<u>My professional development</u> has been recognised by my school and in particular by the principal.	Material	Doing	Actor – Passivated
Not only has it <b>taught</b> <u>me</u> how to share my experience with colleagues	Material	Doing	Affected
"We <b>have been encouraging</b> our staff to move from the traditional way of teaching to more student-friendly methods.	Material	Doing	Actor
(1) am <b>recognised</b> as an expert in teaching	Mental	Cognitive	
I have now increased my professionalism	Material	Doing	Actor
<u><i>I</i>(knew</u> absolutely nothing) about the condition of the river.	Mental	Cognitive	

<u>I</u> understand what a global chain	Mental	Cognitive	
system is	Wiental	Cognitive	
we have realised that books are the main barriers to learning.	Mental	Receptive	
We have decided that the main motto of my school for the next academic session will be 'Let the students speak'	Mental	Desiderative	
teachers and students <b>understand</b> global issues better	Mental	Receptive	
I was unaware that we ourselves are responsible for the degradation of our environmental resources.	Relational	Intensive	Attributive Carrier
I am aware of how my activities might eventually even harm others living in a different part of the (world)	Relational	Intensive	Attributive Carrier
I <b>am</b> very happy that	Relational	Intensive	Attributive Carrier
I have a job opportunity	Relational	Possessive	Attributive
<b>I am</b> proud of my achievements, not least of all the effect of our work with the pupils.	Relational	Intensive	Attributive Carrier
I have been able to support improvements in our English department, new teaching methods and an up-to-date approach to education.	Relational	Intensive	Attributive Carrier
students <u>have become</u> more confident;	Relational	Intensive	Attributive Carrier
My involvement in Connecting Classrooms <b>motivated</b> me to learn about and get involved in worldwide issues.	Behavioral		Affected - Passivated
I have been motivated to use a hands-on approach to teaching here in Nepal too.	Behavioral		Affected - Passivated
this (being recognized) has <b>motivated</b> me to take up more responsibility and become more involved in strategic planning for a better learning environment.	Behavioral		Affected
(teachers and students) <b>talk</b> about them (global issues)	Verbal		Sayer

Note based on Halliday & Matthiessen (2004), p.168-263

# Appendix D

# Transitivity Processes in TEXT 2

Example from text	Type of process	Sub- type of processor	Participant
Processes associated with Daniel			
<u>Daniel</u> attended Connecting Classrooms training	Material	Happening	Actor
$\frac{He}{e}$ gained a range of new teaching techniques to help his pupils develop their critical thinking skills	Material	Doing	Actor
<u><i>He</i></u> began to introduce changes	Material	Doing	Actor
He asked his students to comment openly on his teaching	Verbal		Sayer
Daniel, the Maths teacher, wanted to improve participation in his classes	Mental	Desiderative	
Processes associated with Daniel's			
Students			
They lacked the confidence to get involved	Relational	Possessive	Attribute
Some pupils had missed lessons in the past	Relational	Possessive	Attributive
His pupils have gained confidence	Material	Doing	Actor
<u>Their participation</u> in lessons has increased	Material	Happening	Actor (Inanimate)
<u>They</u> have even begun to organize their own Math classes outside the school	Material	Doing	Actor
Their attainment in the subject has greatly <b>improved</b> ,	Material	Happening	Actor (Inanimate)
<u>Their test results</u> show	Material	Happening	Actor (Inanimate)
<u>These young people in Ethiopia are</u> <u>just a few of the millions of pupils in</u> <u>over 40 countries worldwide,</u> <u>including the UK</u> who <b>are benefiting</b> from the Connecting Classrooms programme	Material	Happening	Actor
Many of his pupils <b>felt</b> Maths was a difficult subject	Mental	Perceptive	
They love to share ideas	Mental	Emotive	
Many now <b>consider</b> Maths to be their favourite subject	Mental	Perceptive	
These young people in Ethiopia <b>are</b> just a few of the millions of pupils in	Relational	Intensive	Attributive/ carrier

over 40 countries worldwide,			
including the UK.			
They are more able to problem-solve	Relational	Intensive	Attributive Carrier
Processes associated with young			
people in the world			
Pupils all over the world are	Material	Doing	Actor
developing skills	Iviaterial	Doing	Actor
<u>Young people</u> are <b>growing</b> up in a	Material	Happening	Actor
fast-paced world	Iviaterial	Trappening	Actor
Processes associated with Sir			
Ciarán Devane/ CCGL			
<u>We</u> are <b>training</b> thousands of teachers	Material	Doing	Actor
and school leaders	Iviaterial	Doing	Actor
<u>We</u> are giving millions of young			
people the opportunity to develop the	Material	Doing	Actor
knowledge, skills, and values			
I am proud	Relational	Attributive	Carrier
Processes associated with The Rt			
Hon. Penny Mordaunt/DFID			
This unique education initiative			
encourages the next generation to	Mental	Emotive	
become global ambassadors for the	Iviciitai	Linouve	
$\sim$			
UK			
UK It <b>teaches</b> them about issues beyond			
UK It <b>teaches</b> them about issues beyond their immediate surroundings and	Material	Doing	Actor
UK It <b>teaches</b> them about issues beyond their immediate surroundings and makes them global citizens	Material	Doing	Actor
UK It <b>teaches</b> them about issues beyond their immediate surroundings and makes them global citizens It's a win for children in the UK and a			
UK It <b>teaches</b> them about issues beyond their immediate surroundings and makes them global citizens It's a win for children in the UK and a win for children in the developing	Material Relational	Doing Attributive	Actor Carrier
UK It <b>teaches</b> them about issues beyond their immediate surroundings and makes them global citizens It's a win for children in the UK and a win for children in the developing world.			
UK It <b>teaches</b> them about issues beyond their immediate surroundings and makes them global citizens It's a win for children in the UK and a win for children in the developing world. The department for international			
UK It <b>teaches</b> them about issues beyond their immediate surroundings and makes them global citizens It's a win for children in the UK and a win for children in the developing world. The department for international development <b>has been</b> proud to	Relational	Attributive	Carrier
UK It <b>teaches</b> them about issues beyond their immediate surroundings and makes them global citizens It's a win for children in the UK and a win for children in the developing world. The department for international			

Note based on Halliday & Matthiessen (2004), p.168-263