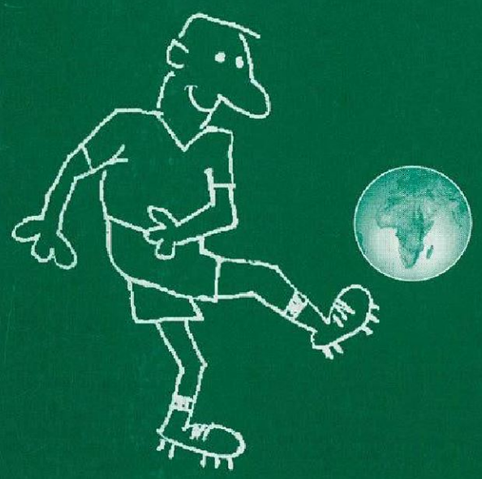
Global goals and own-goals in education

Lynn Davies



Teachers in development education DEC [Birmingham]

Tide~

This publication features the main part of Professor Lynn Davies' inaugural lecture given at the School of Education, University of Birmingham on May 1st, 1997.

Later that term Lynn spoke at the Tide~ Conference and helped generate a debate about the value of mutual learning between teachers and educationalists from different parts of the world. The need is, as part of thinking about development education, to take a fresh look at the impact of schools themselves on understandings of development.

The paper that circulated challenged us all ... the humour helped open the mind to realisation that this is about us ... about how we learn from other situations ... about how we begin to design schools which score goals, ie which meet the educational needs of young people growing up in a fast changing world.

Tide~ has published this paper to engage other teachers in these debates. **We are seeking feedback, responses and ideas for action.** See page 32.

See website *www.tidec.org*.

GLOBAL GOALS & OWN-GOALS IN EDUCATION

Lynn Davies

Cartoons by

BRICK

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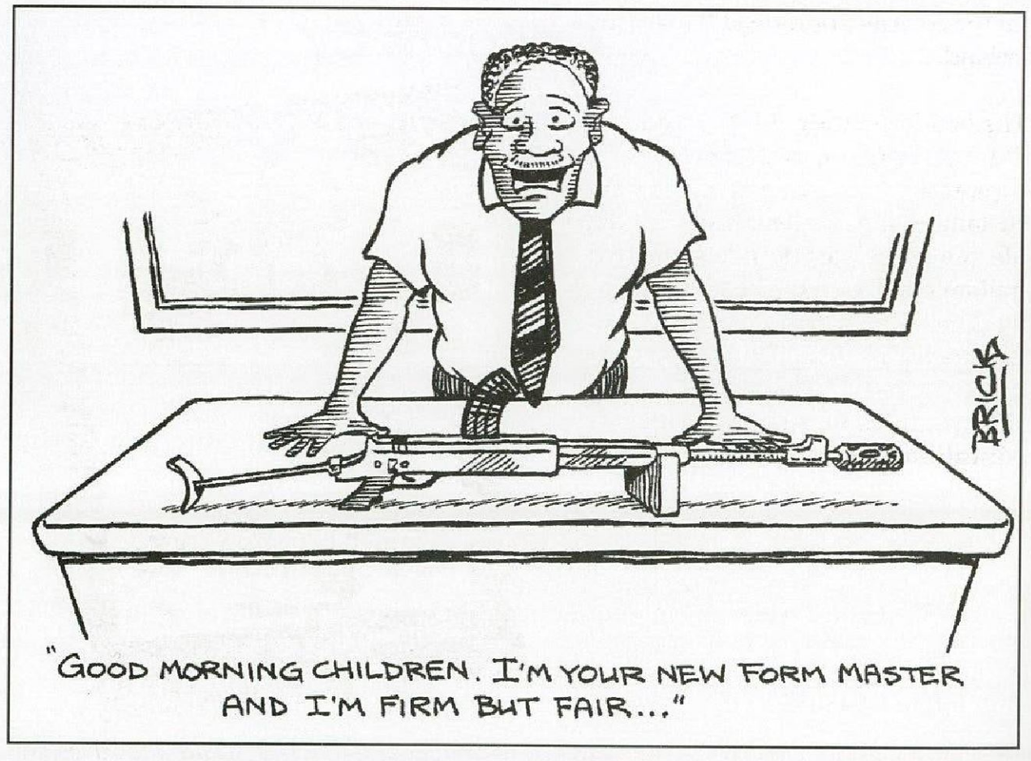
GLOBAL GOALS & OWN-GOALS IN EDUCATION

Professor Lynn Davies

My title is global goals and own-goals in education. I should first explain the concept of the 'own-goal' - particularly for the less sporting. This refers, in a competitive situation, to a goal scored into the net of one's own side, scoring a goal for the opposition - a common phenomenon in football because of 'passing back' to the goalie. In case you are concerned that this appears a masculinist theme, I have it on good authority that it is at least theoretically possible to score an own-goal in netball. However, women are usually far too skilled and too sensible to do this.

Metaphorically, own-goals are what in the military is called shooting yourself in the foot - unintentionally causing harm to oneself or one's own side through inept behaviour. Sometimes this is quaintly called 'killed by friendly fire': although what's friendly about it is not quite clear.

Education is full of goals, or grand aims; but it is equally full of own-goals, unplanned for activities which threaten or are directly counter-productive to those official aims. This lecture - and quite a lot of my research - has been about tracing those own-goals, theorising about them and attempting to find practical ways to avoid self-inflicted wounds.



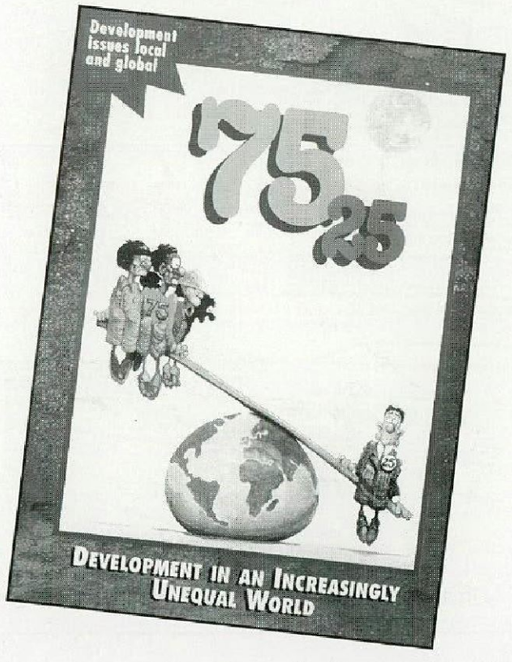
A little background first. In the field of international education, the twin concerns are the role of education in the development of a particular country, but also the role of education in global development and in global relationships.

With the shrinking of the planet and the ever-increasing inter-dependency of nations, the uneasy position of education - or as it appears, formal schooling - is at a critical stage. It absorbs large amounts of the public sector spending in most countries of the world. Yet in spite of an increasingly long history of formal systems, the evidence that education directly improves the quality of our lives is, to say the least, contested.

The first concern is not just the quality of life, but life itself. Many parts of the world are at war, either high intensity conflict, or 'low intensity' wars such as in Afghanistan, which has been going on for 20 years, or indeed Northern Ireland.

The first human right is the right to life, and the place to start is the exploration of the role of education in sustaining life or prematurely ending life. Over the past decade some two million children have been killed in wars, six million seriously injured or disabled, and almost 30 million turned into refugees. One in four children was wounded in Sarajevo. **What is education doing about this?**

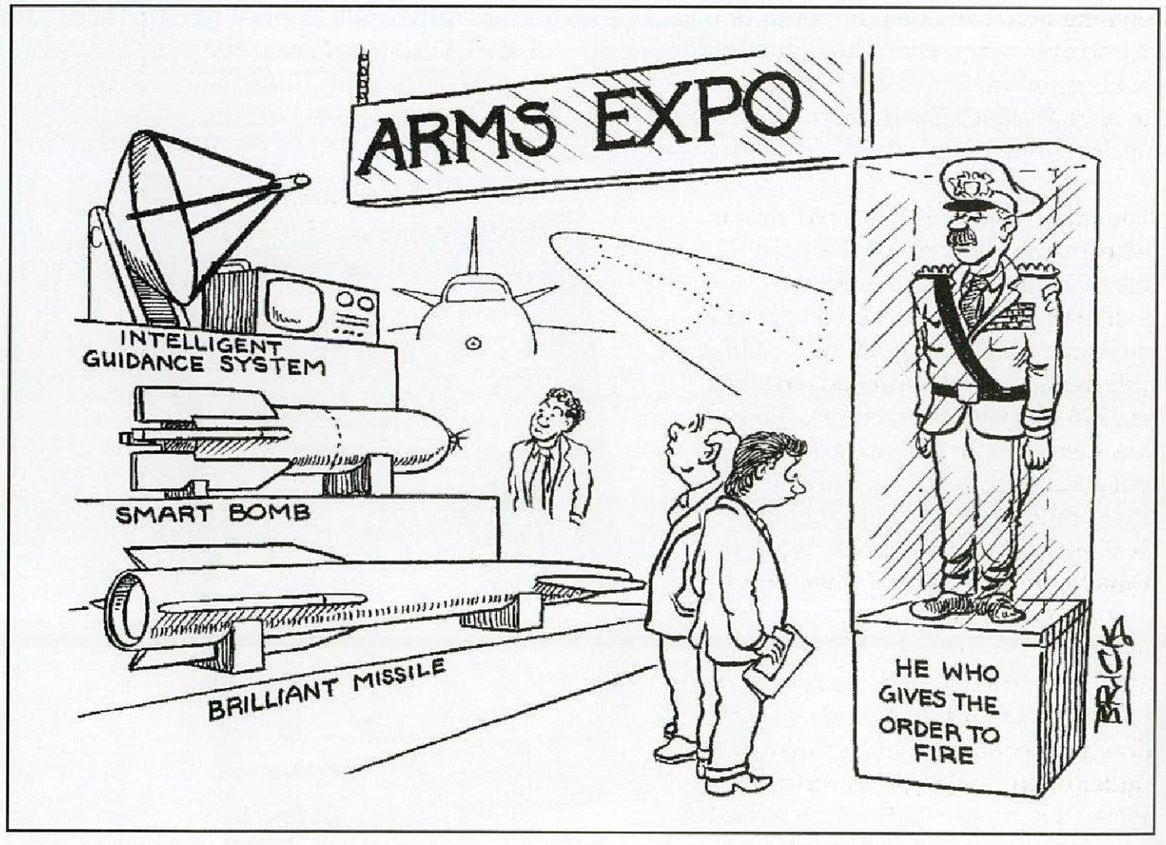
In terms of health, 35,000 children die every day from perfectly avoidable causes. 8,000 children will have died just today because of diarrhoea. We can treat diarrhoea with safe drinking water, sugar and salt - we have the technical capacity, but not the political will. We may not be responsible for mismanaged governments of other countries [although we are responsible this very day for our own government] - but the 'First World' of course is responsible indirectly for the poverty of other nations. 15% of the population and 90% of the resources are in 'the North'. The discrepancy between these figures means that the South suffers from the problems of what UNICEF calls PPE - population, poverty and environmental decay. Multinational corporations, the big lending banks and huge commercial interests are responsible not just for the price of cocoa, but for the continuation of the arms trade which enables long-term damage such as in the laying of mines.



See 75:25, Development in an increasingly unequal world, published by DEC

Some of these concerns are very close to home. In Europe we are seeing a crisis of nationalisms. The establishment of frontiers appears to be the main priority. In that this is a return to the past, it does not seem intelligent behaviour. The radio programme *Week Ending* recently announced that the Ministry of Defence have invented an intelligent bullet that can follow its enemy around corners. *"They are now working on a human being intelligent enough NOT to fire it."* **So our first question is what is education doing about the right to life?**

After the right to life is the quality of that life. This refers to human rights, peace is not just 'the absence of war' but the absence too of what is called 'structural violence'. There is an absence of human rights in El Salvador - even if there is no war, it is still 'violent'. There is also a growing socio-economic gap. You do not have to be a paid up member of Amnesty International to know that there are human rights abuses every day in many parts of the world.



Structural violence can also refer to poverty and the distribution of wealth. The per capita income of Japan is 30 times greater than that of Tanzania; but the per capita income of the 20% of the poorest people in Japan is 130 times larger than the 20% of the poorest in Tanzania. The mathematics of this are obvious: that there are income disparities in any country, but ironically in already poorer countries these can be so extreme as to cause immense problems for those at the bottom of the heap.

The other well-known statistic concerns the situation of women. Women are 51% of the world's population; they do two-thirds of the world's work, while receiving one tenth of the world's income and owning less than one hundredth of the world's property. These figures have remained remarkably stable, in spite of Decades for Women and the Beijing conference.

The ironic feature is the rapid shift in where these disparities strike: an infant born in New York is less likely to live to five years old than one born in Shanghai; in UK in 1979, one in ten children lived below the poverty line; in 1996 this was one in three. **There has been a huge decline, or polarisation in countries which have long traditions of formal education systems.** The UN Human Development Report of 1996 found that the total wealth of the world's 358 billionaires exceeds the combined annual incomes of 45% of the world's people. The idea that there is a trickle down effect of economic growth is under deep challenge: in the mid 1960s, the poorest 20 % of the world's people took 2.3% of global income; today the figure is down to 1.4%. We have to ask, **what is education doing about equity in terms of wealth, gender and ethnic disparities?**

The interesting thing is that the politicians who are responsible for war, health and distribution of wealth all have one thing in common - they have nearly all been to something called a school. Lending banks and governments have been chasing economic growth, and analysing education's contribution to this. However, the UN has cited five damaging forms of growth.

Five damaging forms of growth:

- that which does not translate into jobs;
- that which is not matched by the spread of democracy;
- that which snuffs out separate cultural identities;
- that where most of the benefits are seized by the rich;
- that which despoils the environment.

The last of these leads into the problem of sustainable development. Cuba is interesting. Cuba had very high development - one doctor per 130, 1 teacher per 40, and a high living standard which put it into the category of 'semi-developed'. Aid stopped. So now it spends 92% of its resources to buy 10% of the energy needed - and the result is poverty and economic decline. Now that could happen to 'us' in the UK. The world's energy needs and consumer needs are expanding phenomenally. How much did it cost to lay Cable TV - out of date apparently in a few years with digital technology, and then who knows what after that?

A UNICEF man told me a wonderful story of driving in a Red Cross convoy into a remote area of Malawi. They arrived at a village which looked at first sight as if it had been hastily abandoned. They approached with caution in case the village had been 'captured' by the rebels. Then they heard sounds from the village hall, and realised that the total population of the village was in the hall. Their first thought was that the villagers had been rounded up by rebels and were being kept hostage. When they very cautiously investigated, they found that all the people were inside in front of the only TV in the village, watching Dallas. His more serious point was that we do have interdependence in many aspects of our cultures; Malawians will know something of America; but how many people in the North know where Malawi is, what other countries it borders? Is the export of Dallas the best type of export for the development of Malawi?

What is education doing about energy, deforestation, global warming, and the delicate balance which might threaten not just a vague concept of 'the globe' and 'our planet' but actually Selly Oak?

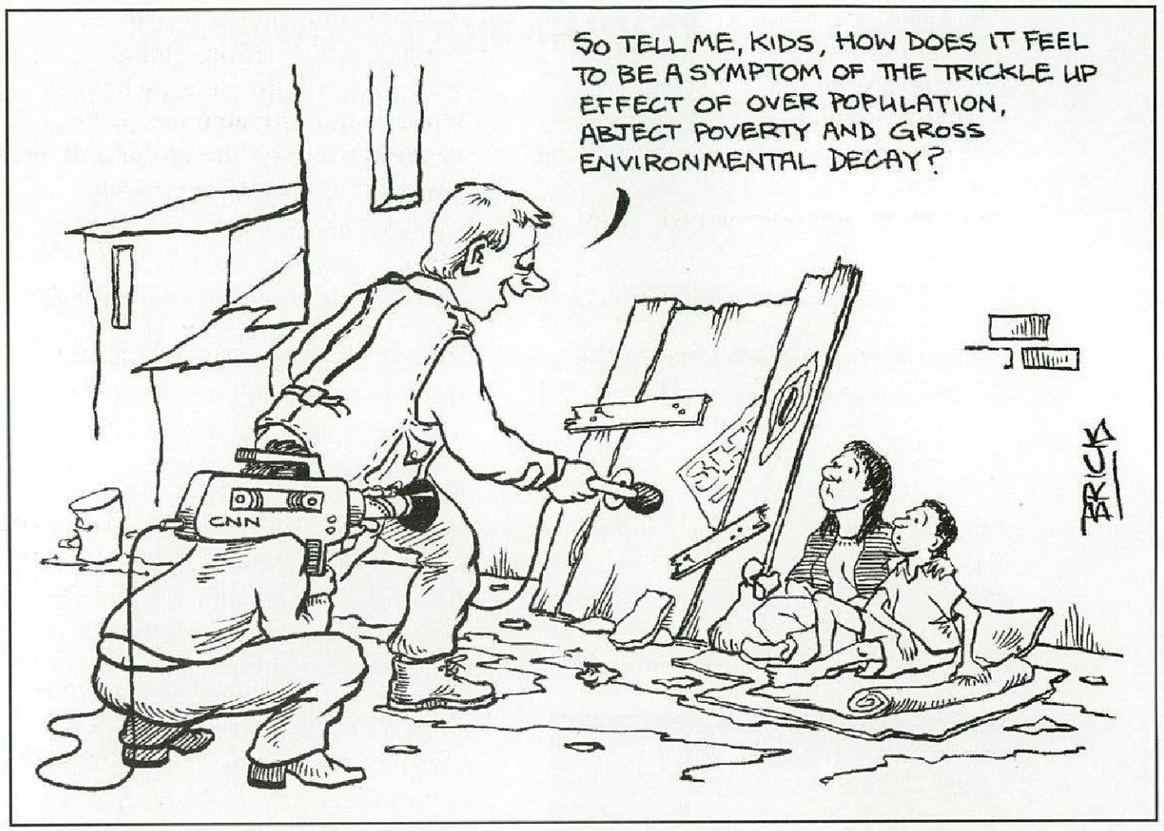
The prime goals for education [which are global goals in the sense that you will in fact find them in most Constitutions, five-year plans and government statements, as well as in curriculum statements] are to bring about peace and co-operation, equity and social justice, citizenship and adulthood - bringing up children to be law-abiding adults, economic growth and manpower, health, sustainable development and environment.

But what is education doing about these broad goals, and what is it doing to counteract the horrors in the world? Five year plans are often rhetoric. There was the Soviet official who was commenting on the success of his five year plan:

"Five years ago we stood on the brink of a great precipice. Now we have taken a great step forward".

My other favourite is Armenian radio:

"Yes, comrades worse times lie ahead. But I have one word of comfort: things will be better next year than they will the year after."



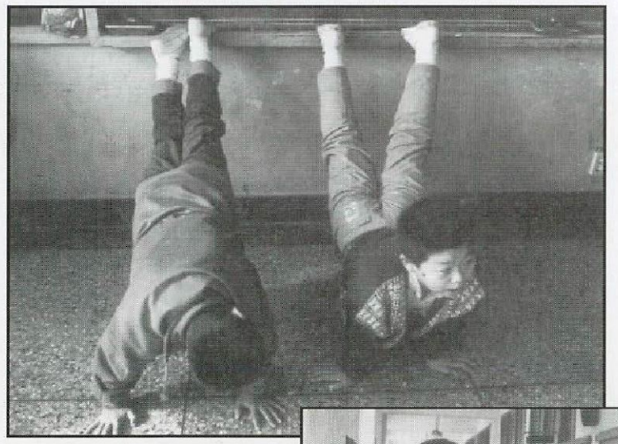
But my concern is how and whether the political statements are ever translated into appropriate education. I remember being in the Yemen two years ago at the time of the conflict, where we were helping the University to design a new Master's degree in education. The insistence, from them and the Jordanian experts, was a curriculum heavily centred around individual child development and Arabic studies. I asked the Director of the Programme what was the gunfire I could hear from my hotel during the night. *"Oh"* she said, *"that was just some people shooting each other. Now about these assessment procedures..."*. She thought my idea about peace education was a very quaint suggestion.

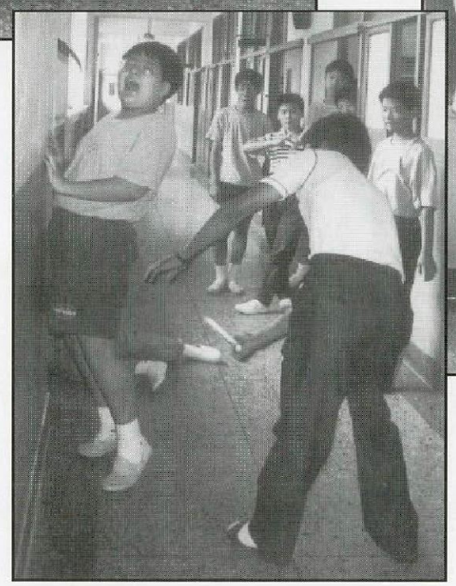
This leads me on to my theme for today which is that **formal education has not just been unable to prevent man-made disaster, but that it has actually contributed to its continuation. I am going to identify eight sorts of own-goal.**

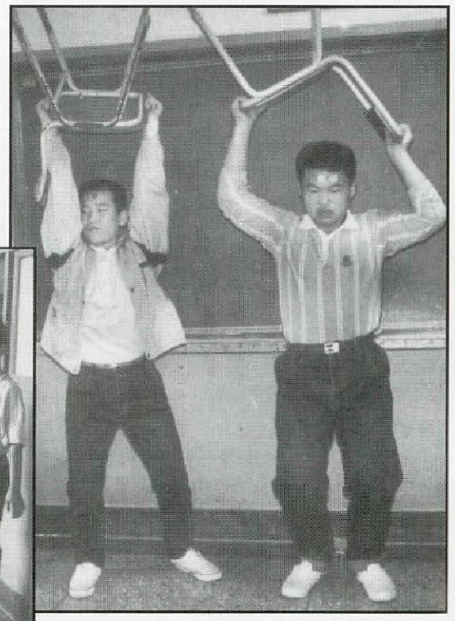
OWN-GOAL 1: Institutional Violence

The first own-goal is institutionalised and routinised violence. Below are pictures of normal discipline procedures in South Korean schools. Schools are supposed to be places that teach moral values of peace, respect, love; and yet on a daily basis, schools give out the message that brutalism, sadism and inflicting pain on people smaller and less powerful is OK.

This is what adults do when they are in charge. This is how discipline is done. These pictures show children undergoing painful punishments, children who committed the heinous international crimes of being late for school, for not doing their homework.

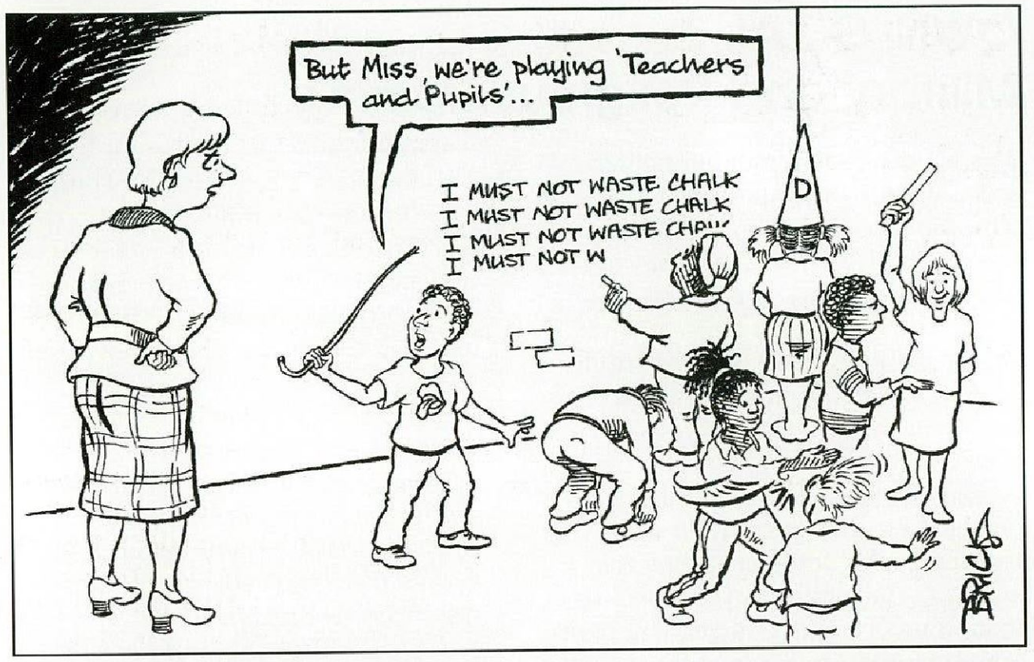






One of my favourite headlines in an African newspaper read *"Boy canned for lateness"*. What was interesting about this was that the ensuing correspondence in the newspaper complained far more about the spelling than about the senselessness and counter-productivity of brutalism for such a minor incident - which was in fact not in the boy's control, and arose because of the mismanagement of the bus company. A child's feeling of powerlessness can only be doubled by such a reaction. You don't have to be an expert in psychology to know that the results are more likely to be taking out that anger on others, less. powerful than oneself.

As I was accompanying an inspector round a primary school in Zimbabwe, he noticed in a class of eight year olds a length of fan belt on the teacher's



desk. He was displeased, and called her over. I thought it wasn't that untidy, but his remark to her was she shouldn't be using it, only the headmaster was allowed to use corporal punishment. Then I realised what it was for. In Botswana I have watched a teacher lazily kicking all the legs of children waiting in a line to get them into order. These same teachers in many parts of the world are the ones who bemoan children's lack of co-operation, lack of creativity, reluctance to speak in class. A recent survey of university undergraduates in Botswana found that the majority of male students thought it OK to beat their girlfriends in the interests of 'discipline'. Southern African children commonly end up in hospital because of corporal punishment. A Zambian child died after being caned for giving the wrong answer to a maths question. Can correctness really be that important?

We are not just talking developing countries here. Something like three-quarters of the British population in a recent survey would like a return to corporal punishment. The desire to spank and flog is never far beneath the surface of the English psyche. Under English law in the 14th century a man could beat both his wife and his children. He may no longer strike his wife. That is progress. But we are much less sure about removing the right to strike children.

I do not deny that schools and teachers themselves may be the subject of violence, whether by pupils or by extremist groups suspecting them of subversion. We are seeing apparently more attacks on teachers by pupils in this country. But this does not condone the continuation of unnecessary violence to pupils, and especially not in the name of good pedagogy.

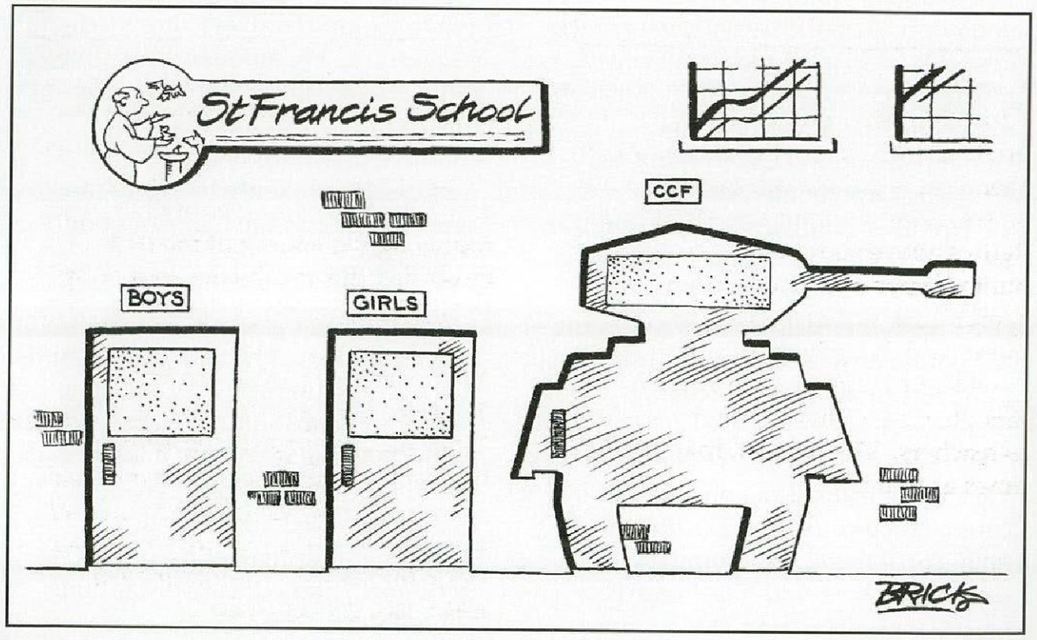
My point is not just that it is one of the gravest abuses of human rights but that it is a classic own-goal for education. It is a direct contributor to aggression and violence in the world. Not just the act itself and the messages it gives, but the institutionalised legitimisation of violence rather than other more permanent and educative solutions being found.

OWN-GOAL 2:
Military and Religious Training

This is the reason why I put militarism and cadet forces as another educational own-goal. The military has no place in what should be education for peace. I make a distinction between organised youth activities such as Duke of Edinburgh, or Woodcraft Folk, and training for the armed forces. The whole point about military training is that it has to be one which teaches unquestioning obedience to authority and teaches that the goal is dominance over the enemy - whether this involves killing, wounding or imprisonment. I am not arguing for the abolition of the military, but that it has no function in schools which are supposed to be about teaching children to question and argue, to resist dictatorships. Self-discipline is not enhanced by yet another set of uniforms and yet another set of commands to follow.

This fascinating account is by Hettie V, a South African feminist, of her childhood in a typical Afrikaner home under apartheid, and as a member of the Voortrekker Youth, an Afrikaner nationalist Christian youth movement.

"we were being prepared to deal with 'the black onslaught' and we used 2.2 guns which were loaded with real bullets ... in general children learn to shoot in Afrikaans schools from the age of about twelve. It is a part of the school cadet system for men; and the Youth Preparedness Programme teaches both girls and boys to shoot. In 1976 [the year of the Soweto uprising] the school cadets patrolled our school with guns from the school armoury ... Afrikaners are very political people. You never find an Afrikaner who is undecided about anything".



Military-social spending imbalance in the Third World
[1987-89]

Highest military/social spending ratios [%]

Iraq	511
Somalia	500
Nicaragua	318
Oman	268
Ethiopia	239
Pakistan	239
Syria	204
Saudi Arabia	177
United Arab Emirates	174
Bolivia	144

Lowest military/social spending ratios [%]

Algeria	18
Botswana	16
Cote d"Ivoire	14
Ghana	13
Sierra Leone	11
Fiji	9
Jamaica	9
Mexico	8
Mauritius	5
Costa Rica	4

Soldier-teacher ratios in the Third World
[1987-89]

Highest soldier/teacher ratios [%]

Iraq	625
Somalia	591
Ethiopia	416
Nicaragua	350
Syria	302
Mauritania	300
Vietnam	291
Singapore	280
United Arab Emirates	269
Cyprus	260

Lowest soldier/teacher ratios [%]

Zaire	17
Mexico	17
Trinidad	15
Sri Lanka	15
Indonesia	15
Cote d"Ivoire	14
Jamaica	10
Ghana	9
Kenya	8
Costa Rica	0

Education itself is, of course, caught up in the fact that many countries spend more on military than they do on social and development goals. The figures above show the ratio of military spending to education spending in selected countries; or more crudely, the soldier teacher ratio. Even Kenya, the second to lowest ratio, has eight times as many soldiers as teachers. The highest, Iraq, has 625 times as many.

There can be a direct connection - in northern Ireland, the Government has decided to shift £120 million from general services to 'security', following the ending of the IRA cease-fire; this means the loss of up to 600 teaching jobs.

The chair of the Northern Ireland Teachers' Council attacked the shift as *"immoral, obscene and reprehensible"*. He claimed that *"the Government was making the children of Northern Ireland the scapegoats for a security problem for which they were not responsible and which they did not create"*.

But protests such as his do little. Military spending all over the world is seen as sacrosanct, non-negotiable. A nice article by Mark Steel in the Guardian around the time of Comic Relief pointed out that taxation would be a much better way to help the poor than jangling buckets or wearing red noses.

"Which is why, if the Government really cares about something, it doesn't leave it to charity. It's very unlikely there'll ever be a night of Military Relief, with the Spice Girls raising money for a tank. Isn't it terrible that these soldiers have only one rifle between them?"

Yet we do this for everything else from water projects to rural schools.



Some Conservative strategists are trying to get more schools to start cadet forces [we currently have 241, of which 43 are in state schools]. But the combined cadet force costs £7.7 million a year. The Director of the National Youth Agency says 20 times more is spent on the CCF than the whole of the voluntary youth service - and, understandably therefore, asked for more support for Scouts, Guides, Woodcraft Folk and youth clubs.

A particular educational own-goal bracketed with military training is religious training. You will note I do not say religious education. People often query if there's any difference between education and training, but for me it is summed up by saying: you wouldn't mind your son or daughter having sex education, but ...

There would be a place for education about religion within a social science curriculum, for it is important to see the impact of belief systems on a country's history and current social composition.

It is revealing to analyse the function of religion in the perpetuation of, or challenge to, other divisions such as gender or ethnicity. Yet in some countries and schools religion is not introduced in this way, but as a set of facts and a set of supreme values, better than other religions or better than secularism.

This is an own-goal in two ways. First it does not teach the enquiring mind, the challenge to values, which is supposed to be what contemporary education is about. The presentation of the supernatural as fact not belief is contradictory to the other parts of the curriculum which teach the search for evidence and the weighing up of different sorts of evidence to solve problems. Religious training is probably unique in this, second only, of course, to the presentation of the belief in the holiness of league tables as factual evidence of good and evil in schools.

Secondly, it can be in direct contrast to the goal of tolerance. Some religious training actually teaches about 'the enemy'; it teaches hatred of disbelievers and the legitimisation of the eradication of such infidels. There are religious schools in northern Pakistan and Afghanistan which are actually military training establishments for waging war across the borders.

OWN-GOAL 3: Schools as strangely non-adult places



Most of you and most teachers would of course reject physical brutality and extremes of militarism. However, a more common own-goal is that of verbal violence, or the ritualised and routinised humiliation and bullying of children and young people. This is a classic own-goal.

I have observed teachers coming in five minutes late and berating the child who arrives six minutes late. I have watched scruffy teachers shouting at children for infringements of uniform. Awareness of these double standards goes right back to my research on gender and deviance when I was trying to understand the girls who were labelled by the school as 'difficult'.

These are the sorts of things they said:

"but when you see some of the teachers, you wish you'd played them up worser. They're so bigheaded, they're like they're kids and all. The way they say 'Here YOU, come here', you say, 'Wait, you don't say that to me. Who do you think you're talking to?' They say it as if they're kids to other kids." *[Dawn, 5F]*

"And if you say anything, he says, 'Shut your mouth or I'll get you out here.' I mean, that's the teacher, that is. I mean, you don't say things like that, do you, teachers to the kids ..."
[Elaine, 5F]

"When you come late, you have to stay til half past four - what about when the teachers come late? It's different then. And when the teachers are away, they don't have to bring a note, do they? They phone up."
[Debbie, 5G]

The reason why I call this an own-goal is because schools are supposed to be places where children are prepared for adulthood. Yet much of school life is profoundly non-adult. You do not make adults line up in single-sex lines in order to get into Safeways. You do not expect adults to sit still, to sit up straight, to sit on floors for hours on end. Adults do not have to stay in if someone else infringes a rule.

Things that adults are expected to do are to be polite, to say please, to look welcoming, to explain our actions and to tolerate fallibility. Many children are unable to learn these behaviours from adults. Their experiences of adult interactions are those that demand explanations of them all the time: 'Why are you late?' 'Why did you not get an earlier bus?' 'Why haven't you done your homework?' And the classic 'What do you think you're doing?' Daft questions, to which there is no reasoned and polite answer. Teachers then complain that children are uncommunicative, 'did not look at me' or even, triumphantly, 'he had no answer to that'.

If a child were to say to a teacher 'Why are you late? Why haven't you marked our books? Why haven't you prepared this lesson?' they would be berated for rudeness. Yet teachers are allowed to be rude. It is no wonder that children are confused and frustrated. If a colleague of ours did not hear something at a meeting, and asked it to be repeated, we would do so. We would not snap 'Why weren't you paying attention'. Even if we felt it, we wouldn't do it. Why? Because we know it is important to save face, retain dignity. So why is it we feel that young people, even more vulnerable than ourselves, do not have to save face? We also, as adults, act on principles of reciprocity - if we are rude or humiliating to others, they a] won't like us, and b] are likely to be rude back. So we don't do it. As Irene Peter said: *"always be sincere, even if you don't mean it"*. But we assume with children that these rules of reciprocity do not apply.

Sandra:
"She gets on my nerves. Calling us scum, and sluts. So I threw a pencil at her. Hit her glasses."

Linda:
"He says, by the way you're going on, you'll have to get married before you're sixteen. I went mad, I did."

Donna:
"He called her a prostitute."

We can insult them - like fish don't feel pain. When you hear a teacher in the UK saying to a 12 year old child with Downs syndrome *"if you don't behave I'll hang you up from the washing line by your balls"* you wonder what model of behaviour modification they are working to.





A nice article in the Times Educational Supplement about reading difficulty, recently pointed out that one of the origins of the problems of children's reading was poor self-esteem, linked to the practice of having the child routinely reading an unfamiliar passage out loud, which ensures 'a daily dose of demotivating and self-esteem-eroding failure'.

"No intelligent competent adult reader would ever think of reading an unfamiliar passage aloud to a listener. They would always read it through, at first silently, in order first to assimilate the intellectual content and only then would they expect to be able to deliver a fluent, error-free, loud reading with all of the tonal variations which signal their understanding."

This trial by fire is not found anywhere but schools. Research has found that reading aloud is a different cognitive skill from comprehending a text without reading it aloud - that is, children who were thought to have reading difficulties were found to understand the text perfectly, but simply could not read aloud.

My point therefore is **that much so-called discipline and much taken-for-granted pedagogy in schools is based on unusual and extraordinary sets of behaviours which do not occur in the adult world** and which do not prepare children to work out what is acceptable behaviour - nor what is more important than other sorts.

Teacher's wrath and scorn can be as much for not drawing a margin as it can for a very offensive racist remark by a pupil. It is not surprising then that children leave school with few benchmarks. Either there is a rejection of all adult authority as meaningless, or there is a blind acceptance that it is adults or others that tell you what to do. Neither position produces the internally responsible adult who can weigh up what to accept in a social or work situation, when to intervene, how to allow others to save face, how to arrive at mutually reinforcing self-esteem.

As one pupil said in a recent survey of pupil voices on their schools:

"She says she was 14 herself once but I don't see how she could have been"

OWN-GOAL 4: Teacher deviance



One of my favourite activities when I am overseas is collecting headlines in newspapers. It is often the only way in which you can get data on the underlife of schools and education systems. Here are just a few examples:

Pakistan: **165 teachers sacked** because they had allegedly forged documents at the time of appointment.

Hong Kong: **Bribe case headmaster 'in flat deal'** Headmaster of a primary school accepted bribes from Longmans about the buying of textbooks, bought a flat in Canada with the proceeds.

Korea: **University Officials face arrest for illegal Admission:** President and 2 high ranking officials masterminded 102 students' admission and accused of receiving 6.2 billion from parents of 50 of them, the other 52 being children of school officials.

Hampshire: **Primary provided false pupil figures** School has delegated budget withdrawn after auditors discover that information on pupil numbers inflated.

Uganda: **Defiler Teacher Jailed**: teacher defiles 11 year old pupil on the floor of a latrine.

Taiwan: **School Teacher imprisoned for gambling:** Teacher acted as a banker for the outlawed Mark Six Gambling Club in her own home.

Not only are schools supposed to prepare children for adulthood, they are supposed to prepare them to be law-abiding citizens. After pupil deviance, much of my research has been about teacher deviance - deeply unpopular research, and difficult to do systematically. But you do not have to go far to uncover the fact that we teachers and headteachers are no different from the rest of the population, and have the same proportions of the insane, the disturbed, the paranoid, the delinquent - and the criminal. I am not being moralistic about this - enough pens have fallen into my bag in my time - but merely pointing out the double standard of teachers and schools complaining about children's apparent lack of moral codes while daily infringing not just good practice but actual legality.



These are children in Sierra Leone striking in protest about a headteacher's embezzlement of funds.



Headteachers building 'empires' with PTA funds

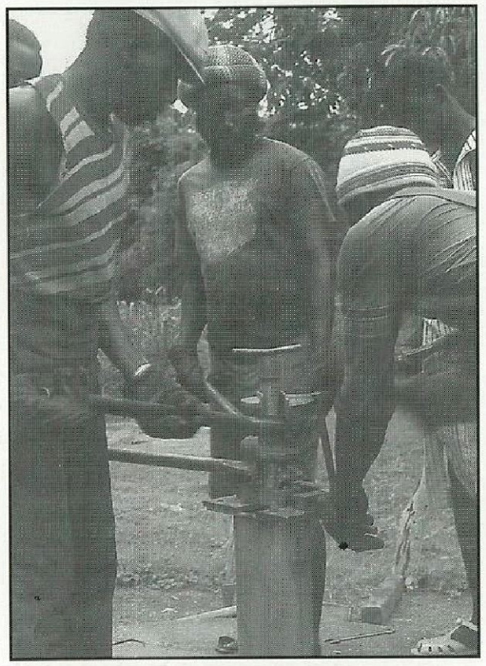
In China, junior secondary schools are officially free; but in fact a staggering 75% of the costs are borne by parents. There is private tuition to supplement lessons, without which a child will not pass; and there are charges made by the school - quite blatantly and with receipts provided. One receipt to a student included such items as 'desk and chair fee, water and electricity, maintenance of fans, public security, health check, and funds for teacher retirement'. In many countries, such as South Korea and India, parents have to pay teachers routinely to ensure good marks; in Korea too it is to buy the privilege of not being beaten. Poorer parents in these circumstances, avoid going to school so that they do not have to meet the teachers and feel obliged to give them a gift - sometimes the expectation is of quite large sums of money.

It is unsurprising therefore that bribery and corruption remain part of government and business practice; with the UK also having its fair share of cash for questions, arms to Iraq, the Pergau Dam scandal - rarely issues to be raised in schools.

I have come across, in Pakistan, in Sierra Leone and it is apparently the case in parts of South America, the phenomenon of the 'ghost school' or phantom school - one where money has been allocated to build a school, which then never goes up; however, bills come in to the Ministry every month for teachers' salaries, maintenance and so on - and get paid. One aid agency representative I talked to in Pakistan told of going out to visit the project of a whole cluster of schools they had funded in a rural area, only to get there and find none of them existed.

The word phantom always reminds me of one of my first jobs. I was not in fact going to be a teacher, but a supersleuth journalist. I got a job as the editorial assistant to the London correspondent of the Amrita Bazar Patrika. The London office turned out to be one room over a fruit and veg stall in Covent Garden. Mr Mukerjee, I think, had been banished there. He was simultaneously bone idle, sexist and a slow learner, and his English was rudimentary. He was working his way slowly through this vocabulary book. He had arrived at P. This had taken him about six months - that's around seven years in human terms. He was having difficulty with words beginning with 'ph'. I explained they sounded like 'f'. We practised. Ffilosophy. Ffemonenon. Ffantom. [This story is not going where you think.]. The next day, sidling round his desk, I asked him how it was going. 'It is very hard' he said, proudly, 'It is an uffill task'. It is even more of an uffill task to get children to behave morally if education officials are in moral decline.

OWN-GOAL 5: Reproduction of inequality



This is a picture of a vocational education programme where only boys are being introduced to pump maintenance - ignoring the fact that mainly women use the pumps. The sub-title of this in a UK context might be a remark made to me by a deputy head: 'Girls do very well at Maths, ... considering'.

Education and schools have always been seen as the key site for breaking down inequality, whether of wealth, gender, race or other structured social divisions. Indeed, the arguments for increasing female access to schooling has been, and still is, a key plank in the policies of all countries and aid agencies working where female enrolment is lower than male, or female illiteracy is higher. Similarly, education has been seen as the way to lift both individuals and societies out of poverty.

I do not want to go into the various economic arguments about education as human capital and investment, but just to point out that **if schools are about increasing equality then they are going a very strange way about it.**

Much of my and others' research has been about the demonstration of how schools are gendered places, that is, how there is not only segregation but the continued dominance of - usually - male over female. Those of you who know me know that I will inevitably take a gender or feminist example in illustrating inequality. I have been compared to Germaine Greer. People come up to me and say, *"compared to Germain Greer, you're rubbish"*.

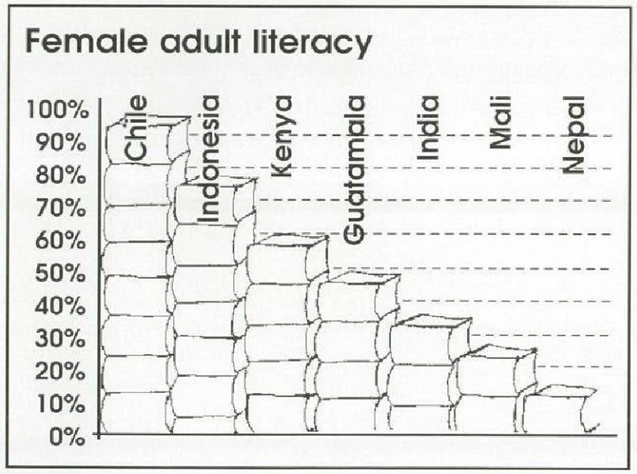
But the gender research is very familiar - textbooks, absence of women [and indeed ethnic minorities, those with disabilities] in senior roles, invisibility of women in curriculum, especially science, maths and technology - that is, the collusion by the educational establishment in the continuation of the presentation of a white, western, male-dominated, able-bodied world. With the question of gender, it is interesting of course how there is now a similar moral panic about boys' underachievement, particularly white working class male underachievement. It is significant how we bracket the inequalities in different ways at different times.

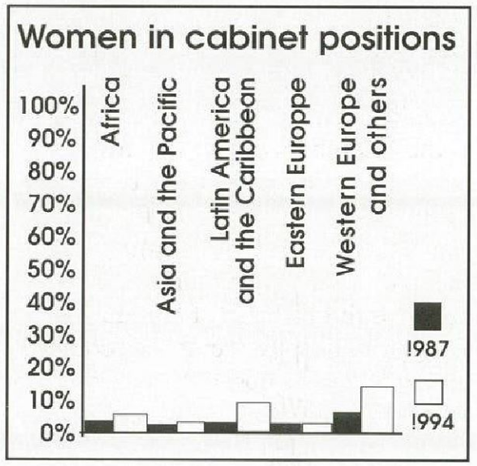


The key to much of this is the phrase 'underachievement'. It is a classic paradox of effectiveness research that it focuses on competitive achievement while claiming that we must do things to raise pupil self-esteem. Girls the world over have lower self-esteem than boys, everything tells them that they are the second sex. Even when they do better, the boys still value them less, and the girls value themselves less. Some teachers conspire in the protectionism of males. There was the dreadful case in Kenya when 271 teenage girls were attacked during a rampage by dozens of their male classmates in a boarding school. Chased into a dormitory where they were trying to hide, 19 girls died of suffocation during the crush. Doctors say another 71 were raped. What was more chilling was the reaction of officials. The Kenya Times quoted Joyce Kithira, the school's deputy principal, as saying *"The boys never meant any harm against the girls. They just wanted to rape"*.

I have not seen the girls' outstripping of boys academically in school resulting in an overload of women in government, industry, the top echelons of the church - there are remarkably stable patterns. Below are some interesting tables about female literacy and about female representation in parliament. Has education changed anything in these countries?

There is not exactly a glut of women professors in universities. Our new Vice Chancellor called a meeting of all the senior women in the University, and he didn't exactly have to hire a hall. The cheapest party he'll ever give. I think it was just part of the continued economy drive. Girls have always done better than boys at lower levels of education in many parts of the world, but it does not translate into power. It is as if schools are permitting girls to do well while making sure they don't get ideas above their station. **This is an own-goal because of the waste of human resources.**



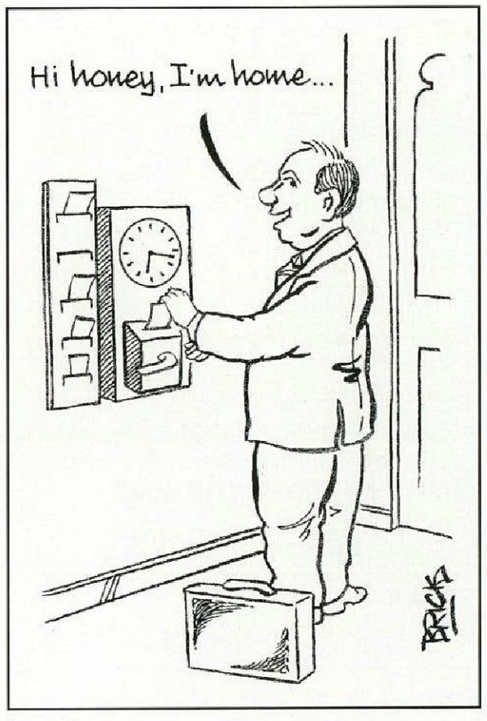


I am very wary of what's called 'entryism' therefore, while access [whether to primary school, to secondary school, to university, to educational management] is the first step, it is not enough. It is no social class accident that single-sex girls' schools do better. If there are competitive situations, in countless little ways, in mixed schools, every day, invidious little comparisons are made, nibbling away at the sense of self and capability.

One often hears about the 'under-utilisation of women'. However, in some ways it is women as an over-utilised resource which is a key and colossal brake on development. All the available time budget studies confirm that women have longer working hours, on average, than men when their unpaid as well as their paid labour is counted [with the exception of the Davies household, I hasten to add]. There is interesting evidence that redirecting investment resources towards women increases productivity more than if the same quantity of resources were directed towards men.

Diane Elson, writing on women and development, had the interesting proposition that designing jobs with the requirement that all employees, regardless of sex, will take some time away from paid work to help raise children, either their own or those of other members of the community, would ensure unpaid labour was recognised. Failure to fulfil this could then be a bar to advancement. Men would have a positive incentive to change the division of labour. We therefore have to recast the problem - it is not female absenteeism from the workplace, but male absenteeism from the home.

This isn't all education's responsibility of course, but my point about introducing the question of labour laws or employee rights is that education has a responsibility to start both males and females thinking about attitudes to family and work, giving information about basic income entitlements and legal provision, tackling the valuation of others and the valuation of core social activities; it is not just getting more women into science.

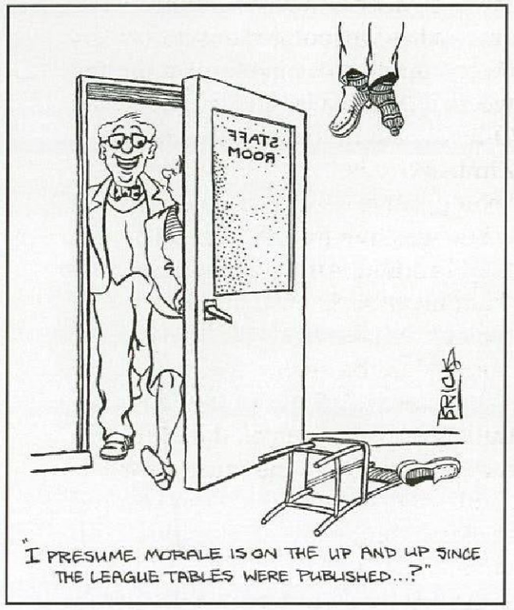


OWN-GOAL 6: League tables

This leads onto one the great educational own-goals of all time: schooling as competition. I am disturbed by the mentality of people and governments that say competition in education is a good thing. Anita Brookner in Hotel du Lac said of Aesop's fable of the tortoise and the hare:

"In real life of course, it is the hare that wins. Every time. Look around you. And in any case, it is my contention that Aesop was writing for the tortoise market ... Hares have no time to read. They are too busy winning the game..."

As soon as something is turned into a competition, there have to be losers, by definition, in spite of Kevin Keegan saying recently *"We deserved to win this game after hammering them 0-0 in the first half"*.



MORNINGTON 1997 LEAGUE TABLES

LEA Schools GCSEs

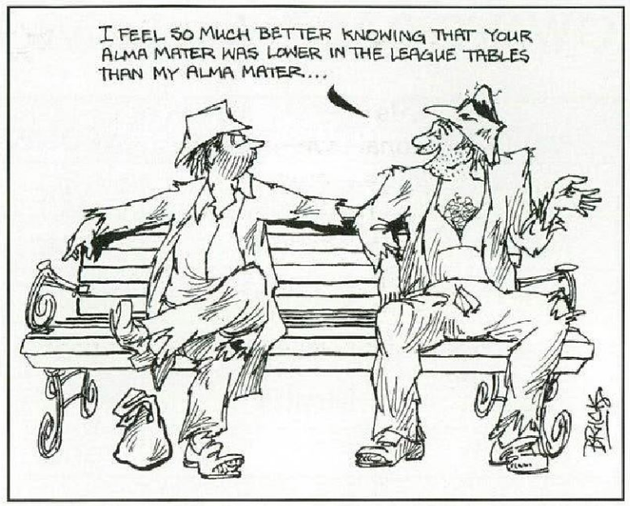
School name	Roll Jan 1997	Acheiving 5 or more A-C grades %	Acheiving 5 or more A-G grades %	no results %
Woodside	145	97	100	0
Wesley High	136	90	100	0
Springbank	145	72	95	2
Arley Court	118	55	97	1
Deerhurst	109	43	86	3
Wells Green	126	39	88	4
Parkswood	283	37	90	2
Alder Hall	269	33	87	6
ward	128	32	80	2
	240	30	80	4
		28	78	3
		28	77	4

In any ranking system, just under half of the list has to be below average. This then becomes seen as a problem, and children, or schools are labelled as disadvantaged, or at risk, or worse, failing. Which Minister of Education was it who complained that 'half the children in the country were below average in maths'? But half of this room is below average for the room, by definition. Children don't get taller by being measured; schools don't get better by being publicly listed. Worse, they are being listed on the wrong thing. I would be happier if there were a league table of schools that adhered to human rights for their staff and pupils. But having league tables for things that not every child or school could reach anyway is statistically as well as strategically daft.

I recall arguing this with a very senior official in the Ministry of Education in Zimbabwe. In Zimbabwe, every child takes O-level and an average of 22% of children pass each year. Secondary schools are ranked in everyone's minds

on this pass rate. I was involved in some work on performance management in the education service, and I asked inspectors of schools how they would assess the impact of their work. They nearly all replied, if the O-level pass rates went up. But in Zimbabwe, as in many countries, O-level is not designed for the majority. It is a selective examination, designed to fail certain numbers and legitimise that failure and subsequent unemployment or underemployment. They might be able to get the rate up to 23%, even 25%, but never more than that. In talking to the Ministry man, I said, given the budget for Zimbabwe secondary schools, what are you doing for the 75% who will never pass O-level? What are indicators of an effective school? He sort of frothed and started throwing his toys out of his pram, and accused me of trying to impose western democracy. Eventually he started talking of vocational education and work experience schemes, but it was a tricky moment.





League tables of schools rarely have any surprises to the people that matter. Parents in a locality always know which schools are 'best', and will not be surprised by the strange quirks that do appear. It is a colossal and tragic waste of time and money when one thinks what that time and money could be spent on, in real educational terms. Alan Shearer said "We [England] haven't been scoring goals, but football's not about scoring goals. It's about winning". League tables aren't about diagnosis, they're about winners and losers, ball in the back of the net, all how you play on the day, Brian.

Did you notice that nice little bit in the Guardian about Gary Waller, the Tory MP for Keighley? When the league tables for schools in the constituency were published, Gary was on the phone at once to congratulate the Bronte Middle School for coming fourth in the whole of Bradford. The deputy headmaster listened patiently before explaining that the list was in alphabetical order.

OWN-GOAL 7: Exclusive National Curriculum

MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
Maths	English	Physics	Maths	French
Maths	English	Physics	Maths	French
Chemistry	Geography	History	English	R.K.
Chemistry	Geography	History	Biology	R.K.
English	Maths	French	Biology	Maths
English	P.E.	French	Geography	History
Music/Art	P.E.	Assembly	Local lang.	Music/Art

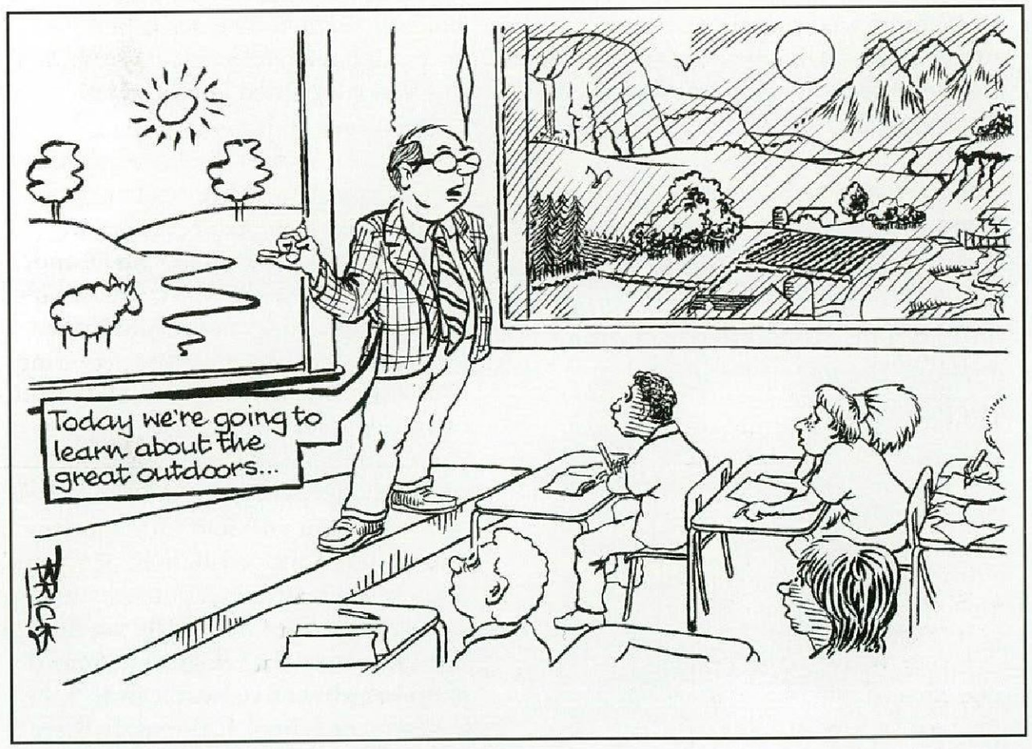
In international education, a key analysis is rates of return on certain sorts of educational investment. There is a correlation between numbers of years of schooling and the economic situation of a country, but the jury is still out on whether the schooling is a cause or a result of that economic position. Even less clear is the return to a country's economic growth of curriculum choices. Assumptions are made that investment in vocational education will make more productive workers, or, a focus on maths and science will lead to industrial renewal. There is, however, little evidence for this. Interestingly, there is not in fact much research. A fascinating study by Benavot used cross-national and a longitudinal research design to look at variations in annual instructional time in maths, science and six other subject areas over a 25 year period and link these to changes in GDP in 60 countries, 43 of which were less developed. There was indeed a positive economic impact of total yearly hours of instruction across all subjects, with two subjects having significant relationships with economic growth: science with a positive effect and pre-vocational/practical education with a negative effect.

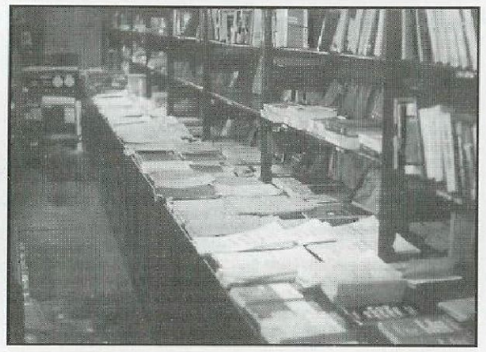
"Contrary to popular wisdom, no effect was noted of instructional time devoted to maths and language. There was a positive impact of instructional time devoted to the arts and music."

There are many interpretations of this. Fuller and Holsinger suggest that science curricula can serve important functions in relevant education: an empirical approach to the solution of problems; acquaintance with innovations associated with agriculture and rural development; sensitising to problems in the natural environment and introduction to innovations in health, nutrition and family planning. The arts and music one is interesting, but a significant interpretation would be the fostering of creativity, co-operation, self-esteem and enjoyment in learning. An American study found that pupils aged five to seven scored far better in mathematics after being given extra music and art lessons. Creativity and enjoyment are much better preparation for life-long learning than simultaneous equations or lists of battle dates.

Prof. Zoltan Paul Dienes, inventor of Dienes blocks [on which I cut my primary teacher's teeth] himself admitted that the amount of arithmetic you need to know for actual use is minimal, and could be learned in a matter of months. He asked, when did you last solve a quadratic equation at a superstore? It is interesting that mathematicians and physicists now reject linear equations because the approximations [rounding the decimal] make them too inaccurate to be of any real use. Textbooks abound in such exercises, the vast majority of them not adaptable for coping with real-life problems. We do need some basic maths, and, because I use them a lot, as you have seen earlier, percentages and ratios. Otherwise you get oddities such as when boxer Frank Bruno claimed *"I stand a 50-50 chance, if not 60-50 against anyone out there"*.

Dienes doesn't of course suggest reducing the compulsory maths curricula to 12 months, but argues for different ways of doing and using mathematical activity. The problem with many school subjects is that they are seen as individual pursuits. Music can be competitive in school, but in singing and playing it is more often a co-operative activity, requiring listening to each other, although admittedly not round the terraces. Fortunately for music at present, it is a low status subject, and not one that children are graded on for SATs. Enjoy it while you can.





This is a picture of a a bookshop in Colombo selling whole shelves of examination crammers. Research in Malaysia and Sri Lanka by Keith Lewin showed that of a sample group about 40% scored at or close to chance guessing levels on the national science exam. *"The prospect of teaching them at the next level as though they had mastered the previous one was simply unrealistic. In both countries unified national curricula did not allow much variation to cater for differences in achievement levels"*.

A particular own-goal is a rigid and exclusionary National Curriculum, and the emphasis on a massive testing or examination apparatus. As has been remarked:

"Intelligence appears to be the thing than enables someone to get along without education. Education appears to be the thing that enables someone to get along without the use of their intelligence."

Much is made, especially in European policy at present, about exclusion. This means exclusion of children or minority groups, but I am equally concerned about exclusion of learning areas. What is striking about the traditional school timetable is its omissions. The key areas are curiously missing. While we all need knowledge of the law of the society, both to adhere to it but also to know our rights, there is no compulsory subject 'legal education'. Where are we to learn of our rights as employees, as consumers, as teachers, as parents, and first and foremost as children? There is the omission of a direct focus on health. This may or may not occur in science, or in something marked personal/social education, but it is curious that 35,000 children can die every day, that AIDs is increasing, that everyday bacteria are becoming resistant to antibiotics, that food is becoming complex, and schools do not do health education as a key, examinable, high status subject.

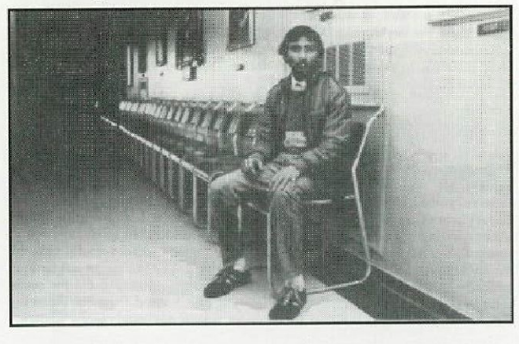
The same applies to political education. How many schools have actually taught their children today about the elections, about voting? A key event in UK history, we hope, but ignored in the formal school curriculum. It is an extreme irony that some schools are actually closed because they are used as polling stations. Some will teach about it - and will have had mock elections, but this is not included in National Curriculum.

Not all countries, of course, are as short-sighted as the UK in the imposition of a National Curriculum, nor in the choice of subjects. Indeed some of the old socialist states had political education as a core component, as do some of the African countries. It has to be admitted that if you examine the social science and political education textbooks in these countries, you will find little more than political indoctrination, or attempts at legitimising the existing government. **Yet in the UK we do not even have that at present, and it is up to subversive heads and teachers, or whom fortunately there are many, to keep the political awareness of young people alight.**

OWN-GOAL 8: Schools as anachronisms

It may well be that schools are just a hiccup in history. In this country, we have had formal schooling for quite a little while, and it seems self-evident that it is an essential and integral part of the social fabric. But it is in fact very short - not as long as Coco-Cola which was invented around 1867ish. Other countries have had systems even shorter. But everywhere seems to have come the instant acceptance that this is the way to do education and life-long learning. It reminds me of the Scottish Labour MP who asked *"Why do people take such an instant dislike to me?" "Because it saves time"* snapped his colleague in reply.

There are many alternative movements, including home-based education, which challenge this set-in-superglue view of the necessity for institutionalised schooling, but it is amazing that in this age of high technology we still have no real challenge to the way such schooling is organised. A run-down comprehensive can stand next door to a gleaming electronic Sainsburys and we wonder why the children find it irrelevant. One set of parents, whose child was a challenge to the school, were recently told to make home life less interesting so that the child wouldn't be bored at school. It's not just the arcane rules and non-adult behaviours which make schools unreal places. It is the reluctance to





engage head on with the newer needs for learning and newer technology which have revolutionised communications and will revolutionise life styles.

Radio learning is another way of taking the anxiety and humiliation out of formal schooling. I found an astonishing little piece of research tucked away in a small section on non-traditional schooling, where young children in radio learning centres in the Dominican Republic met every afternoon for one hour of radio lessons in mathematics and language, plus some social studies and science.

"The achievement tests demonstrate that the children in the radio groups learn as much language and more mathematics than children attending traditional schools in comparable communities. Furthermore, these radio schools cost about half what traditional schools cost."

My hypothesis for success is that it is a mixture of the quality of the transmissions and an atmosphere where the learners are taking responsibility. The teacher is there to supervise and help, not to instruct, all are learning together. Is this not a good model? Why don't governments turn all schools over to radio schools?

So by new learning needs and technologies I do not mean that every school should have banks of computers - this is not yet feasible for many developing countries. **What I refer to goes back to the absurd National Curriculum idea that we can know what children will need to know in the future.** That might have been acceptable in, say, the early part of the 19th century when the pace of change was, by comparison, snail like, and necessary skills could be predicted to some degree. Now we haven't a clue. Who could have predicted the end of the Cold War? Who could have predicted email, fax, CD Rom, the information superhighway? This whole lecture is in a time warp, in spite of the lantern show.

If we are to have schools, and I am by no means a de-schooler, then all we can do in them nowadays, given the rate of change, is to make stabs at what might be life-long learning. This is the old clichè, learning how to learn. How many schools actually teach study skills? How many give pupils alternative ways they might learn something, so they can find a style that suits them? We do not know what the learning needs or sources will be in the future.

One reason for stagnation is of course 'not-fairism'. When I had to do a literature search the hard way, poring over indexes manually, sending off for things by post, going by mule to collect data in the Andes [I made that one up], then it doesn't seem right that students can whizz off an annotated bibliographic list just by pressing a few buttons. So we continue to insist on the written examination, the individual thesis, bringing students back thousands of miles for the oral examinations as if we had shares in quill pens and cough lozenges, not to mention British Airways. When I compared my daughter's secondary school with my own experience, I found that nothing had changed in 40 years. She was slammed into detention in the first week of her school life for not being able to find her science overall. I would have thought they would at least have had a more up-to-date punishment like cleaning out the photocopier, or entering staff salaries onto a spreadsheet. Even the science overalls are the same - those wrap-over green jobs with the slot. Makes the girls look like something out of Acorn Antiques, or the canteen of the Women's Land Army.

While I think there should be a few core concerns which are necessary for survival for children and their families as we know it - health and nutrition, political and social education, legal education, and hence a basis of literacy and technology literacy and a modicum of numeracy to access this information in whatever current forms we have, the rest is better tackled by practising learning skills co-operatively in whatever children want to learn, **but with a focus on how they learn, not the content.**

Ironically, more content will probably be assimilated anyway. Individual, competitive, content-based learning based on memory is one of the greatest and most expensive anachronisms in contemporary schooling.

The association of learning with schooling and trapping children into a building is the other. Schools are, as Roland Meighan always refers to them, day prisons. I realised my contribution to this when I was teaching in Malaysia. I had always seen myself as a pretty liberal teacher. I was teaching in a primary school and my class of 8 year olds were doing creative writing. I'd only just stopped calling it composition and I was really proud. We were going to write something about fire. I had done all the right things, shown pictures, talked about the sights, the sounds, the smells. The class settled down to write. After a while Siu Ling came up with her story. I remember it to this day. It went:

"FIRE! One day there was a fire at our school. We were in the classroom and I could see the flames through the classroom door and hear the beams of the roof crashing down outside, and the smoke was starting to curl under our door. Everywhere people were running and screaming. And Mrs Davies said, 'Finish off the sum you are doing and line up at the door'".



Even in contexts of stringency, schools do not necessarily have the best learning resources. Turning them into day prisons does not enable that interaction with the community which is supposedly the goal of that learning. I am reminded of Michael Howard, who said in an interview *"Mr Lewis has been head of the Prison Service for two years and during that time a great deal of progress has been made, particularly in terms of escapes".*

Unfortunately, less progress has been made in terms of escape from schools, and many schools have of course cut down even on trips into the 'Real World' because of National Curriculum.

EXPLANATIONS

I have outlined eight types of own-goal:

- violence to children;
- military or religious training;
- non-adult treatment;
- illegal teacher behaviour;
- perpetuation of inequalities;
- league tables;
- irrelevant national curriculum and testing;
- anachronistic patterns of learning.

The puzzle for an academic researcher is why schools and education systems continue to score own-goals. We can put people on the moon, we've cracked DNA, more or less, and yet we continue to expend millions of the world's resources on counterproductive activities. Why? I, and Clive Harber, have been engaged in analysis of the theorising of this at three levels, shortly to emerge in a book - School Management and Effectiveness in Developing Countries [Cassell 1997].

Briefly, macro level arguments range around the function of schooling for social reproduction, schooling in the interests of the powerful. In the classic comment from Archbishop Desmond Tutu:

"When the missionaries came to Africa, they had the Bible and we had the land. They said, 'Let Us Pray'. We closed our eyes. When we opened them, we had the Bible and they had the land."

While the mission statements and government pronouncements claim schooling for equality, schooling is not actually designed to promote a redistribution of wealth and power. On the contrary, it is designed in the interests of those already in power. This is true whether we look at a country internally or externally. The key function internally is as a selection agency, so it is essential to have a focus on things that lots of people can't do - like maths - in order to sort out the wheat from the chaff, to legitimise those who through birth or merit, or both, occupy high status positions.

The argument within this analysis is, of course, about whether this is good for a country or not - whether the funnelling of ambition, forming the pyramid of education from the mass to the few, is in the interests of the whole country or not. Externally, there are similar arguments about whether the role of the West, of western selective education, and whether western technology has been good for 'Third World' countries or not - another enormous debate.

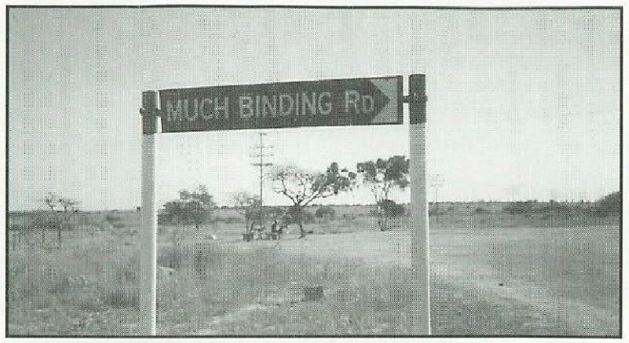
Is the supposed take-off of Pacific Rim countries due to the impact of multi-national corporations, a ten-hour schooling day or both? How far has this economic take-off improved the quality of life for the majority, and how much is reserved for the internal elite or funnelled back into multi-national coffers? Colonialism of course has a lot to answer for. You still see colonial administrators sitting in offices wearing the shorts that scared the hell out of Rommel. More importantly, neo-colonialism continues, whether for importation of books and teaching methods and language, or our constipated ideas. I have a photograph of a road sign in

the middle of the bush about 30 km from Bulawayo which reads:
MUCH BINDING ROAD

If one takes the view that schooling is deliberately designed to be inefficient for the majority, then of course many of the own-goals I have cited earlier are no longer errors.

Many developing countries, of course, need conventionally effective schools like a hole in the head. If schools suddenly started to have high examination pass rates, this would put pressure on the next level up, forcing either an expensive expansion of educational provision or a need to quell the social dissatisfaction from frustrated ambition. It is in the interests, particularly of poor countries, to maintain inefficient schools, high wastage, high drop-out, teenage pregnancy, anything which supports what Fuller has termed the 'fragile state'. Fragile states do not actually want politically and legally aware, challenging young people. It is easier to have bureaucratic forms, rigid hierarchies, deference to political or religious authority, and acceptance of failure. School improvement programmes, focusing on examination achievement and even female access, are non-threatening; those arguing for democracy and/or children's or women's rights less so.

A second layer of analysis looks at the meso level, that of the local culture or community. Here one can explain the workings of schools and their teachers through reference to their siting in a particular set of community relationships. Inevitably, I have looked at gender cultures as an interesting example. If, as I was told by an inspector in a remote part of Zimbabwe with no electricity, telephone, newspapers, there is



nothing for teachers to do, then getting drunk and defiling pupils becomes less shock-horror stuff. He explained that for a single young male teacher, the fourth form girls were the most intelligent and literate females around - therefore relationships happen. Similarly, when teachers have not been paid for 6 months, as in many countries with uncertain budgets, it is not surprising that they engage in illegal activity to raise funds if they have families to support. All the cultures of power, control, deference, finance - what others would label corruption or nepotism - all these have to be analysed before we 'blame' schools for being anything different.

A third layer is the individual level, where we start to put together structure and agency - and here I use Gidden's analysis. We are conditioned by the social structures in which we find ourselves, but the concept of agency allows for individuals and collectives to shape those structures, to subvert them, to subtly alter the discourse. Structures are actually fragile social products, dependent for their continuation on a daily basis by the reinforcement by individuals.

Every time we say *'this is our culture'*, we reinforce its acceptance and discourse; conversely every time we say *'I don't have to do this'*, we challenge the notion that things are ordained.



Want to challenge the notion?

We have published *Global goals and own goals in education* to generate debate. We are seeking feedback, responses and ideas for action.

Visit the Tide~ Centre website "www.tidec.org".

The website shares some of Lynn Davies' thoughts about practical responses to the challenges in this book, focusing for example on conflict, conflict resolution, co-operative learning and treating children as adults. As she put it: the underlying theme is about the practice of democracy in schools. This might be a useful starting point for new innovatory work.

❑ ***What resources, ideas, projects have you found useful in these areas of work?***

❑ ***What projects should networks like Tide~ be undertaking in response to the questions raised in Global goals own goals?***

Visit the Tide~ Centre website "www.tidec.org"
or write to us, Development Education Centre,
998 Bristol Road, Birmingham, B29 6LE.

Email: scott@tidec.org

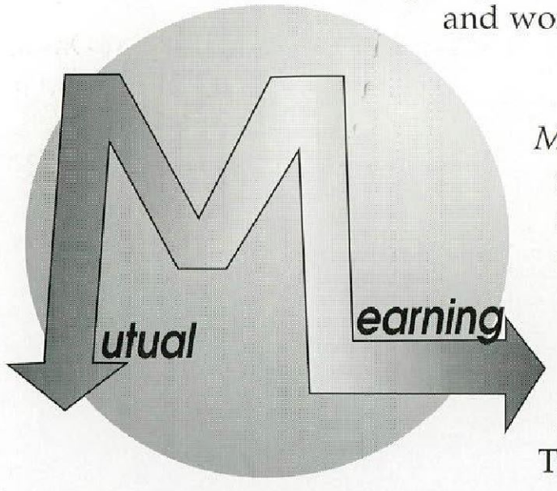
If you would like to contact Lynn Davies
Email: L.Davies@bham.ac.uk
or write to: School of Education, University of Birmingham,
Edgbaston, Birmingham, B15 2TT.

DEC is a small educational charity working in partnership with teachers in schools to bring a global dimension and development perspective to the curriculum.

This partnership is known as Tide~ [teachers in development education].

For details of other publications that have been produced as a result of Tide~ activity please ask for a catalogue or see website "www.tidec.org"

Tide~ has four inter-related initiatives which generate a wide range of teacher action. They include work on curriculum development, work on policy and how it affects development education and work starting with teacher understanding of contemporary issues and events.



Mutual Learning is a new initiative. It is about responding to the common agenda between schools [and teachers] in different parts of the world ... about the relationship between schools and dispositions to development ... about 'own-goals'. ***Global goals own-goals*** has been published to help launch Tide~ *Mutual Learning*.

Raising the debate about mutual learning