

How are international discourses on refugee education translated at the national and local levels of Uganda?

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Abstract

This research employs Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in order to explore discourse and power relations present within policy documents surrounding refugee education in Uganda. The research finds that the international scale has control over educational discourse in Ugandan refugee education policy. This research shows that colonial relationships are still present through current aid relationships, meaning powerful states and organisations sustain and reproduce power relations.

The discussion builds on relationships between ‘developing’ and ‘developed’ countries and the ways in which these relationships function within processes of globalisation. How do processes of aid, international policy making and the formation of powerful ‘international’ organisations, function to ensure refugees are provided with education. Fundamental to these complex relationships and this paper is education as a human right, which is enshrined within the ‘Universal Declaration of Human rights’ (1948).

The study primarily focuses on language, and how language is employed to sustain power relations and ideologies within the ‘global’ society. This is done by combining CDA with a multi-scalar approach to select a policy from each scale: the international; the national; and the local. These policies are then analysed using Fairclough’s (1989) Dialectical-relational approach to CDA, to understand how discourse on refugee education is translated from the international scale to the national and local scale of Uganda.

Introduction

A refugee is defined as:

‘Owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political

opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country' (UNHCR, 1951:14).

'Over half of all refugees today are under the age of 18' (Moorehead, 2016:iv) and many are living in inadequate 'camps' without access to basic human rights. One of these rights is education. Rights-based legislation and discourse arise from the UN, particularly within the 'Universal Declaration of Human Rights' (1948). 'Education is guaranteed legally' as 'States have the obligation to protect, respect and fulfil the right to education' (INEE, undated). Currently, there is a disconnect between human right policy with practise; for example, it is reported that up to 28 million children are out of school due to conflict (UNESCO, 2011a *cited in* Smith-Ellison & Smith, 2013:64). Is enough being done to ensure refugee children receive basic education?

This research aims to analyse policy documents to understand how discourse on refugee education is translated from the international to the national and local scales of Uganda, using the multi-scalar approach (Vavrus & Bartlett, 2014). Seeking to answer the following questions:

- What evidence is there of rights-based discourses in international policy texts concerning refugee education?
- How are international discourses on refugee education translated at the national and local level in Uganda?
- How does this compare with other apparent discourses, such as economic discourse; and do these discourses clash within policy?

Literature review

Definitions and current climate

Europe is living through a 'refugee crisis', as the quantity of asylum seekers are exceeding flows during the Second World War; with subsequent implications on regional stability and pressures on humanitarian action (Moorehead, 2016:iv; OECD 2015:2 *cited in* Lulle & Ungure, 2015:64). Global attitudes towards refugees have deteriorated (Moorehead, 2016:35; Ingleby and Watters, 2002 *cited in* Demirdjian, 2013:159), resulting in a political environment of fear and isolation, and rich countries

accepting less displaced than poor countries (Moorehead, 2016; Scholte, 2008): '... people on the move in this decade have few rights and little protection' (Moorehead, 2016:iv).

Collier (2013) claims that migration is a social phenomenon: '... moral positions on migration are confusingly bound up with those on poverty, nationalism and racism' (Collier, 2013:15). Nationalism is an important aspect of this political environment: 'The nation has become one of the most important modes of social and political organisation in the modern world', emerging with western capitalism (McLeod, 2000:68). The 'nation' is defined as a social construction of borders and identity which are defended (McLeod, 2000:69).

One explanation for increased refugee flows is conflict. Contemporary conflict sees an increasing number of wars being fought within, rather than between borders (Smith-Ellison & Smith, 2013:5; Collier, 2008; Shields, 2013). This has considerable implications for education (Smith-Ellison & Smith, 2013:62). Evidence from the 'Education for All Global Monitoring Report' (2011) concludes that there is a 'hidden crisis in conflict affected areas' (EFA GMR, 2015). In 2015, nearly 75 million school-aged children and youth, across 35 crisis-affected countries had their education disrupted (Nicolai, 2016). Children are not only out of school, but classrooms, children and teachers are targeted (UNESCO, 2011 *cited in* Smith-Ellison & Smith, 2013: 62-64). Educational disruption directly correlates with development reversal, as it hinders social and economic gains (Smith-Ellison & Smith, 2013:62).

Why is education important for refugees?

There are two main theoretical approaches to education. Firstly, human-capital perspective which sees investment in education as 'sound investment' for economic growth (Phillips & Schweisfurth, 2014:86; Tikly & Barrett, 2011:4); with high priority placed on economic development. Conversely the rights-based approach places high value on education as an enabling right, bringing social returns such as liberation and development (Phillips & Schweisfurth, 2014:84; Smith-Ellison & Smith, 2013; Graham-Brown, 1991:1). Education as a human right means 'education is guaranteed legally' as 'States have the obligation to protect, respect and fulfil the right' (INEE, undated).

Education has protective qualities, contributing to children's safety, resilience and well-being which is threatened during emergency situations (Dawes & Donald, 1994:19 *cited in* Smith-Ellison & Smith, 2013:27). It is reported that within the last decade, 10 million children have suffered psychological trauma due to conflict (Reichenbery & Friedman, 1996 *cited in* Moore & Hamilton, 2004:13). Education provides structure to chaotic environments: '... developmental and psychosocial opportunities for structure, stimulation and socialisation' (Demirdjian, 2012:134) (Nutbrown, 1996:39; Nicolai & Tripplehorn, 2003:9 *cited in* Smith-Ellison & Smith, 2013:27).

Aid and refugee education

Despite Education being a human right, education is not a priority within the humanitarian aid system (Smith-Ellison & Smith, 2013:71; Nicolai, 2016); accounting for 2 percent of the development assistance envelope: 'classified as "secondary" to lifesaving priorities' (Smith-Ellison & Smith, 2013:27). Aid provides access to refugee camps, providing assistance and shelter to refugees. Education can be used within camps as a multi-sectoral tool, to provide health care and information (UNHCR, 2015b:6; Smith-Ellison & Smith, 2013:29). However, access to education is a major problem (Graham-Brown, 1991:225). Smith-Ellison and Smith (2013) draw attention to problems with aid, stating that reliance on humanitarian/ development support and assistance creates a "culture of dependency" (Smith-Ellison & Smith, 2013:9; Opeskin, 1996:23).

Aid is an important aspect of refugee's lives, international agendas and national agendas, described as a 'complex transnational process' (Swiss, 2016:3). Aid emerged in the west towards the end of World War 2, with the establishment of IOs such as the World Bank (Yuan, 2013). Aid can be viewed in two ways, firstly as motivated by humanistic and moral values to relieve human suffering (Swiss, 2016:2; Opeskin, 1996:23). The second seeing nation state interests as fundamental in aid provision; aid is a tool for '... wealthy countries to achieve their desired foreign policy and commercial outcomes' (Swiss, 2016:2) (Lumsdaine, 1993:53; Opeskin, 1996:21; Swiss, 2016:2).

Evidence shows: '... concentrated aid flows between donors and their former colonies and current trade partners' (Swiss and Longhofer, 2016:1771). Neo-colonialism

theorises these relationships, claiming that former colonies remain politically, economically and culturally controlled, linking to theories of power capabilities (Willis, 2011:20). Colonialism viewed people in the colonised world as inferior, needing guidance and rule of the west, seen today as requiring 'development' (Young, 2003:2). The term neo-colonialism originates from Nkrumah (1965), who states:

'The essence of neo-colonialism is that the State ... is in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside' (Nkrumah, 1965).

Policy and Globalisation

The 'legal obligation' to provide education as a human right, is at an international level, as a global policy (Scholte, 2008:1490). Primarily within the '1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights'; which sets out non-discriminatory basic rights and freedoms and imposes specific duties upon States (INEE, undated). Policy describes statements of intended courses of action for desired outcomes and impacts (Olssen *et al.*, 2004:60; Peter, 2012; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010:4). Policy is not constrained to the state, but consists of a range of institutions holding authority, political power/capabilities and collectivity, allowing ideologies to be enforced within society (Rizvi and Lingard, 2010:4; Adams, 2014; Richardson & Mazey, 2015). Policy has changed due to globalisation:

'National policies are today the result of a "combination of political forces, social structures, cultural traditions and economic processes entangled in a matrix of intersecting multi-level, multi-scalar sites and spaces"' (Yeates, 2001:637 *cited in* Verger *et al.*, 2012:8).

Globalisation is 'built on the idea that boundaries were rapidly breaking down' with 'a new intensity of links across distance, among people, social entities, or regions' (Connell, 2007:371). It is claimed that processes of globalisation have contributed to homogenisation of policy, referred to as 'policy borrowing' (Garrett & Forester, 2012; Robertson & Dale, 2015b; Olssen *et al.*, 2004; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Lingard & Sellar, 2013). Within education, the 1948 Human Rights document, represented the start of the 'global' responsibility for providing education for all. The development of Education

for All (EFA) in 1990s represented access to basic education as an international agenda, through aid and IOs, exemplifying western influence on education and development (Robertson & Dale, 2015b:160; Verger *et al.*, 2012:15). The agenda saw aid for the modernisation agenda, a development perspective, with particular interest in education as a human right and as a form of investment, human-capital. These initiatives come from Rostow's (1960) model of development - modernisation theory. This example shows processes of policy borrowing as 'developing countries' borrow reforms from 'developed countries', as response to the demands of globalised knowledge economies and to demonstrate processes of modernisation (Verger *et al.*, 2012:11,203; Yuan, 2013).

This modernisation agenda now focuses on educational quality seen within the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (2015). This focus on educational quality and the spread of testing and measurement is connected with elite ideological "convergence" on conceptions of education for economic growth (Munday *et al.*, 2016:32; SDGs, undated). This convergence of policy is a sign of power: 'elite notions of modernity develop and spread because they are functional to elite interest' (Munday *et al.*, 2016:27). This example shows that NGOs and IOs have an important role in policy making and that this arena is an important site of political and social power (Ahmed & Potter, 2006; Lingard & Sellar, 2013; Verger *et al.*, 2012:5). As previously discussed, aid linked to processes of neo-colonialism and modernisation, are claimed to contribute to a diffusion of global educational norms through international power capabilities (Robertson and Dale, 2015b: 159-160; Burbules, 2002:158).

The literature here argues that education should be provided to refugees as it provides many positive normalising factors such as socialisation, psychosocial opportunities and identity formation to vulnerable children; and furthermore is enshrined within various human right policy documents. Education is also seen as crucial for economic development, through human-capital theory. Secondly the work of NGOs and IOs, such as the UN, is crucial within this context. However, processes of globalisation have changed the way society functions, meaning international organisations exert high levels of power in the global arena of policy making. This leads to homogenisation, 'policy borrowing' and dependency, linked to processes of neo-colonialism and modernisation which are perpetuated through aid relationships.

What effects are these international policies, which inflict obligations upon nation states having? Is aid used through international policies to spread values of western modernity? In order to gain answers to these questions, policies will be analysed to understand how discourses on refugee education are translated from the international to national and local scales of Uganda.

Methodology

The research is qualitative and is underpinned by the multi-scalar approach, examining multiple scales and their interactions (Vavrus & Bartlett, 2014). I have sampled three policy documents, one from each scale, the international, the national and the local, using purposeful sampling. I have then analysed these policy documents using Fairclough's (1989) Dialectical-relational approach to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA); to describe, interpret and explain social power relations (Hussin *et al.*, 2015:243; Newby, 2014:510; Rodgers, 2011:3). In order to find the extent to which discourse within international policy texts are translated to national and local scales of Uganda.

Theorising Power

The research methods and subject matter are concerned with power, linking to the philosophical underpinnings of the research, critical realism. The beliefs and assumptions of researchers guide the research process; in this case aiming to unmask ideologies that maintain the status quo by restricting human justice and democracy (Kuhn, 1970:75 *cited in* Usher, 1996:15-22; Newby, 2014).

Power is a multifaceted and complex term, defined as the ability to influence and control behaviour. However, 'understanding power merely in terms of domination, does not provide an adequate basis for social and political theory' (Kalberg, 2005:8; Sadan, 1997:40). Power can be understood by analysing 'capabilities', defined as '... material and nonmaterial resources that can serve as the basis for power' (Viotti & Kauppi, 2013:191). Capabilities are important as they allow actors the ability to be influential in international relations (Nye, 1990:154). This research deals with three main capabilities: political, economic and social/cultural.

Political capabilities refer to political ideologies, the political stability of a state and processes of development. At a national level, a states government has political power to make decisions and enforce laws which affects the local scale. At a global level, political organisations, for example the UN, have political power to enforce policy on states, such as human right laws. Furthermore, some actors have more influence at this global scale, dependent on political system/values, economic power capabilities, military power and social/cultural capabilities. Bacharach and Baratz (1970 *cited in* Kalberg, 2005:3) recognise that power can be exercised in subtle ways within political systems preventing groups from advancing their own self interests.

Social and cultural capabilities/power are complex. Power is social and takes place within social interactions, ultimately this affects both political and economic perspective. Theories of colonialism and neo-colonialism claim that a western culture is favoured within the globalised systems and that western states/actors therefore have more power and often greater economic and political capabilities. Furthermore, Nye (1990) highlights the importance of a states 'culture and ideology' fitting with international norms as key to success in international relations (1990:167).

A state's economic power/capabilities encompasses development, trade, including types of industry and poverty; and is a key focus in international relations (Nye, 1990: 158). This is usually measured by the GNP or GDP, and the higher these measurements the more diversified and so successful the economy is, within the global capitalist system. This economic power can be linked to political power, as economically successful states gain higher stakes in global political decision making and an opportunity to provide aid and therefore gain more power. The complexity and use of power capabilities and these issues, will be explored within this article.

Multi-scalar approach

A multi-scalar approach is used to examine multiple scales and their interactions simultaneously (Vavrus & Bartlett, 2014:131). Taking the perspective that the international, national and local have complex relationships which cannot function independently. This approach takes account of larger forces, structures, and histories to analyse how this informs local social interactions and understandings (Vavrus & Bartlett, 2006:97).

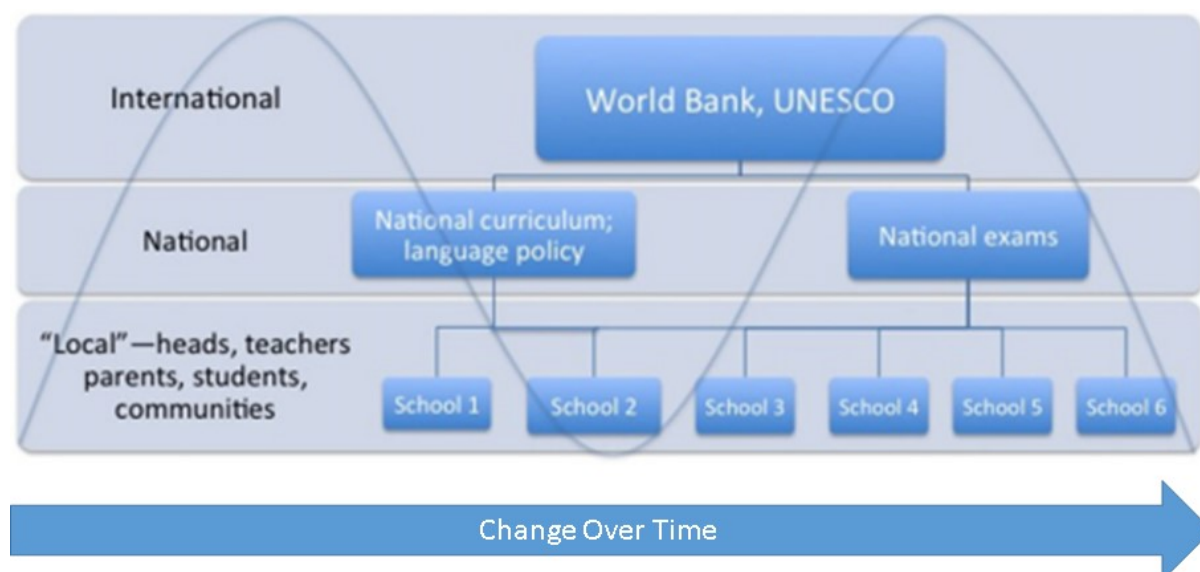


Figure 1: The Multi-Scalar Approach. (Vavrus & Bartlett, 2014).

Vavrus and Bartlett's (2014) approach incorporates vertical, horizontal, and transversal elements (see figure 1) (Vavrus & Bartlett, 2014:131). However, for this research the full transversal analysis is not feasible, for future studies this method would provide a further depth of intersectional data. This method has allowed the research questions to be answered as it questions the complexities of intersections and power relations across and between scales.

Case Studies

Within this research I have sampled a policy for the national and local scales from Uganda, therefore showing a unique case (Newby, 2014:257-258). Uganda is a landlocked country in east Africa and was colonised by the British until 1962. This colonial history influences the country's political, social and economic spheres and is an important consideration within analysis.

Uganda is a developing country, with more than a third of its citizens living below the international poverty line (The World Bank Group, 2016: x). Further economic strains are put on Uganda due to the high numbers of refugees accepted (Patton, 2017). For example, Uganda now has over 1 million south Sudanese refugees, due to conflict in Sudan, 85% of which are women and children (Robinson, 2017); around 30 refugees a day enter from Burundi (September 2016 data); and around 40,000 refugees from the Dominican Republic of Congo entered in 2016, due to harassment, military activity

and insecurity (ReliefWeb, 2017). Uganda's development in terms of poverty and low GDP, along with issues such as high refugee intake, mean educational provision '...is highly dependent on external assistance'; evident in more than half the budget being paid for by donors (DGIS, 2003 cited in Verger *et al.*, 2012:206). The Education Policy and Data Centre (2011) report that 14% of 6-12 year olds in Uganda are out of education, which raises to 25% for 13-18 year olds; data on refugees educational access and attendance is limited.

One of the key reason for selecting Uganda is due to colonisation and Uganda as a developing country, as theories of aid dependency and neo-colonialism can be explored in relation to refugee education policy. For example, how are colonial relationships present in aid relationships? How are international discourse regarding refugee education translated in Uganda? The findings from the research are specific to Uganda and therefore cannot be generalised. However, information regarding the extent of discourse flows from the international to national or local policies in Uganda will be provided; revealing power relations.

Sampling

Purposeful sampling was used to sample policy documents:

'The logic and power of purposeful sampling lie in selecting information-rich cases for study ... yields insights and in-depth understanding rather than empirical generalizations' (Patton, 2002:230 *cited in* Suri, 2011:65).

I have combined key aspects of three 'types' of purposeful sampling. Firstly, I have used 'criterion sampling'. This involves reviewing and studying all cases that meet predetermined criteria (Patton, 2002:238 *cited in* Suri, 2011:69; Palinkas *et al.*, 2013). I have applied this to identify and select cases that include reference to, or keywords: human-rights; UN human-rights convention (1948); refugee; refugee education; and policy. Secondly, I have employed 'Stratified Purposeful Sampling'. This technique captures major variations within phenomenon (Palinkas *et al.*, 2013; Suri, 2011:70-71). I have used stratified purposeful sampling to select key policy documents from a distinct IO. Thirdly, 'Convenience sampling' which involves collecting information which is easily accessible to the researcher. I have employed this method as it allowed flexibility regarding accessibility of policies.

Rationales

International: Stratified purposeful sampling resulted in selection of the UNHCR refugee education policy brief: 'Education and Protection' (UNHCR, 2015a). This was selected as the title and content reflect aspects of human rights. Furthermore, the UN is an international, transnational organisation with extensive contribution to human rights through advocacy and policy. The UNHCR coordinates and ensures refugees receive their basic human-rights (Smith-Ellison & Smith, 2013: 18) and dominates refugee education literature.

National: Criterion sampling along with convenience sampling resulted in selection of a Ugandan governmental policy document, the 'Ministry of Education and Sports: Uganda teacher and school effectiveness project, the Global partnership for education project (GPE)'. However, the policy includes direct involvement and funding from the World Bank (undated), which is discussed in the limitations and analysis. The policy sets out firstly the Uganda teacher and school effectiveness project and the global partnership for education project. Secondly the Resettlement Policy Framework (RPF) containing legal requirements for resettlement and compensation which takes place due to the project (MoES, 2013:6). I have analysed discourse from section one of the policy (pages 7-11).

Local: I have sampled 'discourse' from the charity CIYOTA, who provide education and support to refugees in Uganda (CIYOTA, undated). Convenience sampling, along with criterion sampling, was employed due to the difficulty of finding a 'local' organisation without direct involvement from western charities or IOs. No policy documents are available from this charity; therefore, sections of discourse have been sampled from the charity's website; this is a limitation of the study. This charity are mainly local individuals who have experience in education or as a refugee. Programmes provided include, providing refugee girls with school places and community involvement schemes.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

I have mapped out discourse trends across the international, national and local scales using CDA. CDA is a systematic attempt to examine the delivery of a discourse practice through description, interpretation and explanation of the social relationships

of language use. (Hussin *et al.*, 2015:243; Newby, 2014:510; Rodgers, 2011:3). Discourse refers to social practises, processes and products which are ‘non-neutral and embedded into social context’ (Hussain *et al.*, 2015:242; Rogers, 2011:6). CDA assumes that discourse is not just representing the world but signifying it through formal systems of signs which reflects and construct the social world and practices (Rodgers, 2011:1; Olssen *et al.*, 2004:65; Mortimer, 2016:59). CDA is used to understand firstly how texts produce meaning and generate social structure, but also how ‘... policy discourses work to privilege certain ideas and topics and speakers and exclude others’ (Ball, 2013:6-7).

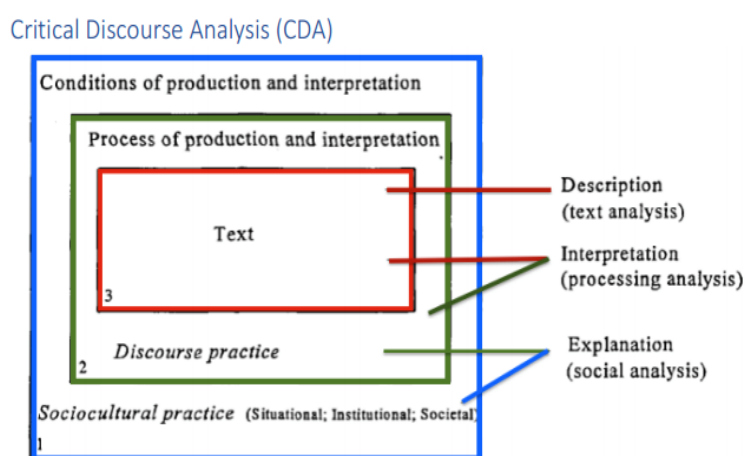


Fig. 1 Three-dimensional analytical framework (Fairclough 1989)

Figure 2: Dialectical relational approach (Fairclough, 1989).

I have used Fairclough's (1989) Dialectical-relational approach and writings on CDA to carry out this section of the analysis (figure 2). This approach uses a three-dimensional analytical framework, of description, interpretation and explanation. Description is the first dimension, with linguistic textual analysis. This includes identifying discursive practices of the text through linguistic devices such as: linguistic tropes, co-hyponyms, imperatives, slippage of time and additive clauses. Interpretation is the second dimension and thus analyses social discourse practice: the process of production, distribution and consumption (Davis, 2015:281; Hussain *et al.*, 2015). Explanation is the final dimension and involves social analysis of the text; analysis of discursive events and practices as instances of socio-cultural practice

(ibid). This method will allow understanding of social power relation through the flow of discourse between scales.

Trustworthiness

Ensuring trustworthiness of the study is essential to the research process and outcomes. Therefore, I have considered Lincoln and Guba's (1985 *cited in* Cohen & Crabtree, 2006) trustworthiness criteria: credibility; transferability; dependability; and confirmability. The research is transferable, as a rich set of detailed description concerning methodology is included (Anney, 2014; Cohen & Crabtree, 2006; Anney, 2014). The research is dependable as a number of tutors have 'externally audited' the work. The confirmability criteria does not fit the critical realists underpinnings of the research (Usher, 1996:23).

Ethics

Although I have not researched 'in the field', I have discussed vulnerable groups within society. I have also discussed 'developing countries' and need to ensure fair representation; this includes not applying a deficit model to these countries or groups (Steinmetz, 2004: 387; Connell, 2007:368).

Limitations

Limitations include case specific knowledge, generalisation of results, and the local data. Firstly, I have limited contextual knowledge and cultural understanding, specifically of national and local levels; consequently my understanding regarding the extent of issues faced by Uganda and refugees within Uganda are poor. Following this, the second limitation is the results are specific to Uganda and can therefore not be generalised; however, the results demonstrate how international policy discourse flows through scales. The results should be similar in other postcolonial, aid reliant, 'developing' countries. Thirdly, finding a local case was overcome by deviating from original sampling criteria to include other discourse types. Additionally, it is unclear the extent to which the international scale is involved within discursive formation at this local level; it is unclear who is involved with funding and producing discursive content. This therefore may not provide accurate presentation of the ways in which international policy discourse influences and is represented at the local scale.

Discussion and Findings

Here I discuss the key findings yielded from the CDA analysis in relation to the research questions:

- What evidence is there of rights-based discourses in international policy texts concerning refugee education?
- How are international discourses on refugee education translated at the national and local level in Uganda?
- How does this compare with other apparent discourses, such as economic discourse; and do these discourses clash within policy?

This will be achieved by discussing the evidence collected from CDA. Additionally, the socio-cultural aspect of CDA will be presented within this section. The discussion and socio-cultural aspect overlap, as both aspects discuss wider social and cultural influences.

What evidence is there of rights-based discourses in international policy text concerning refugee education?

CDA of the UNHCR policy brief (2015) demonstrated a rights-based discourse surrounding refugee education. This discourse is evident through language such as 'protection' and the portrayal of education as an enabling right (Phillips & Schweisfurth, 2014:84; Smith-Ellison & Smith, 2013; Graham-Brown, 1991:1). However, this was not a dominant discourse, as discourses of human-capital education, 'quality education' and themes of accountability and resilience are apparent.

The rights-based discourse serves the interests of the UN as a global power, policy maker and advocate for human rights. In the context of globalisation, the UN employ their political, social and economic power capabilities, enabling further control and political power at the international scale, in turn, contributing to loss of nation state power (Robertson & Dale, 2015a, 2015b:159-160; Munday *et al.*, 2016:27). The UN achieve political power through aid relationships, money is given with political terms attached, meaning the UN use economic and political capabilities to achieve political goals in poorer countries (see National and local analysis). Additionally, the UN is a 'western' organisation; tensions are caused as values and political structures are

imposed on 'developing' countries, showing dominant power relations (Scholte, 2008; Garrett & Forrester, 2012). These processes describe neo-colonialism, as 'developing' countries are seen as needing 'development' by former colonies, who remain culturally, politically and economically dominant (Young, 2000; Willis, 2011:10). For example, the dominant educational discourses identified at the international policy level, human-capital and so on, reflect western ideals and purposes for education, which may not be appropriate in poorer countries, or for the education of refugee children.

How are international discourses on refugee education translated at the national and local level in Uganda?

CDA revealed that the international scale is present at both the national and local scale. Firstly the 'international' influences policy within the 'process of production', through economic capabilities of funding; and through social and political capabilities, by prioritisation of international agendas. Secondly the 'international' is present at the national and local level through discursive flows.

The international uses economic capabilities to influence policy within the processes of production, revealing unequal power relations and visible hierarchical structures. For example, developmental organisations and agendas are heavily involved in Uganda's policy formation (MoES, 2013). The policy formation involves dictation of what should be happening in Uganda by the World Bank and other IOs and agendas. Economic power is mainly apparent through the World Bank providing Uganda with a loan of US\$100 million (World Bank, undated). Other international agendas are involved, tying directly into social and political capabilities/power: the policy is part of the Global Partnerships for Education, who support 'developing countries' with their education system (Global Partnership for Education, 2017); and the international agendas of EFA and the MDGs are discussed. The 'international' is using its economic power through processes of aid to reproduce oppressive/ hierarchical power relations and spread political and social ideologies (Fairclough, 2001:34; Smith-Ellison & Smith, 2013:9; Opeskin, 1996:23).

This can be linked to a number of development theories linked to colonialism such as modernisation theory and neo-colonialism. In terms of modernisation theory, a modern

state needs 'political change' for 'economic take off' (Rostow, 1960). This directly links with neo-colonialism, as post-colonial countries, such as Uganda, are reliant on colonial powers and IOs to 'produce' policy or through processes of 'policy borrowing' (Garrett & Forester, 2012; Robertson & Dale, 2015b; Olssen *et al.*, 2004; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Lingard & Sellar, 2013). Convergence of policy is a sign of political power: 'these elite notions of modernity develop and spread because they are functional to elite interest' (Munday *et al.*, 2016:27). This allows IOs to politically, economically and culturally reproduce power relations, linking to neo-colonialism (Willis, 2011:20). Conversely, in terms of the local scale, the influence of IOs/ 'western' organisations were less apparent. The interaction of the international is apparent through awards the founders have received, this shows the reach and influence of IOs.

In this way the interests of IOs are served as they gain more power and control over developing countries, described as neo-colonialism. Furthermore, reference to agendas such as EFA, and MDGs raise tensions between 'humanitarian' aid and 'development' aid. Should IOs control how countries develop or should they help save lives during emergencies?

Secondly the 'international' scale is present at the national and local levels through the flow of discourse (Bermeo, 2011; Berthelemy, 2006 *cited in* Swiss and Longhofer, 2016:1771). There is an unequal use of language which contributes to ideologies being spread and inequalities being reproduced (Hussain *et al.*, 2015:242). For example, the 'national' textual analysis showed direct reference to MDGs (UNDP, 2017). The importance of having a 'quality education', is clear within all documents and additionally, there was reference to education as a 'service', linking to discourse surrounding the marketisation of education. This could signify the start of 'policy borrowing' in reference to marketisation discourse which has been prevalent in developed countries education policies. A human-capital perspective was also identifiable at the 'local', education is portrayed as economically transformative, enabling positive impacts at community level. The discourse from international agendas, and discourse such as human capital and 'quality education' are coming directly from the international level to the national and local levels in Uganda.

This evidence shows that IOs control discourse along with financial and ideological processes, through exercising their political, economic and social power capabilities, contributing to loss of nation state power (Robertson & Dale, 2015a, 2015b:159-160; Munday *et al.*, 2016:27). Uganda is being controlled with political power through developmental agendas, to function and develop within the globalised capitalist system, which will benefit powerful IOs and states (neo-colonialism).

How does this compare with other apparent discourses, and do these discourse clash within policy?

Along with rights-based discourse, CDA revealed four other discourse types: human-capital; 'quality education'; accountability speak; and resilience.

Human-capital

This perspective views educational outcomes as directly correlating with economic growth (Phillips & Schweisfurth, 2014:86; Tikly & Barrett, 2011:4). The textual analysis found that rights-based discourse of education is constantly tied up with human-capital discourse; this revealed that ideologies of modernisation are privileged. This is evident in the national document with the focus on quantifiable measurement, achievement and the marketisation of education. Even within the local document, (which contains fewer examples of discourse flows), education was presented as a tool for entrepreneurship and high qualification and so success. This shows an ideology of human-capital education and modernisation despite rights-based discourse. These educational discourses clash. Human capital discourse is privileged working with the co-hyponym of 'quality education' to portray education as a tool for economic growth and modernisation; showing the spread of elite ideologies of modernity (Verger *et al.*, 2012; Munday *et al.*, 2016:27).

'Quality Education'

This discourse works with human-capital ideologies regarding education. Textual analysis revealed 'quality education' as a clear co-hyponym, mentioned in all documents. The new focus on 'quality education' links with elite ideologies of the role of education in economic growth (Munday, 2016:32). The translation of this discourse into Ugandan policy shows the political and social power of IOs in 'developing

countries'. Additionally, the change in discourse over time can be tracked, from the focus on 'enrolment' in EFA (1990) and MDGs (2000), to focus on 'quality education' within goal 4 of SDGs (2015) (UNDP, 2017; SDGs, undated). However, it is important to recognise that 'quality education' may have different meanings by the range of stakeholders involved; this may cause conflict both at national levels and between nation and international levels.

Accountability

Linking directly to 'quality education' and human-capital theory is accountability speak, which is concerned with the measurability of outcomes associated with educational funding and initiatives. As previously discussed the national, along with the international, contained this discourse due to the involvement of IOs and large budgets. Conversely, analysis of the local document revealed no accountability speak. This evidence shows limited uptakes of certain discourses and that involvement of IOs in policy formation and funding/aid contributes to the spread of discourses and so ideologies. It also raises differences in how different organisations run, high budget organisations place higher importance accountability speak in policy (Robertson & Dale, 2015b; Burbules, 2002:158; Swiss & Longhofer, 2016).

Aid dependency may contribute to flows of ideologies. Evidence shows: 'The Ugandan education system is highly dependent on external assistance' (DGIS, 2003 *cited in* Verger *et al.*, 2012:206). States provide aid, using economic and political capabilities, to integrate countries into the capitalist system, which works to serve donor countries and organisations goals and maintain dominance (Lumsdaine, 1993:53; Opeskin, 1996:21; Swiss, 2016: 2).

Resilience

This discourse was subtle within the text and only appeared within the international and local, this may be due to the national document being less refugee focused. This resilience discourse is seen within other IOs such the World Bank (Reyes, 2013:13) and is becoming a 'distinct policy objective' within development/humanitarian discourse (Barrett and Constatas, 2014). Ideas about how refugee children cope with conflict and displacement were key within the refugee literature as children become susceptible to mental health issues (Demirdjian, 2012; Nut-brown, 1996; Nicolai and

Tripplehorn, 2003:9 *cited in* Smith-Ellison and Smith, 2013). However, this discourse works to place the individual at the centre of their resilience by providing children with tools and 'social services'. This is problematic as it places vulnerable children and young people to recognise mental health problems and find help.

Conclusion of Findings

This study demonstrates that rights-based discourses are present within international policy texts, along with other discourses such as human-capital, 'quality education', accountability and resilience. Furthermore, these discourses are translated, to an extent, into national and local policy texts. This shows the international has and employs power through economic, social and political capabilities, to have power over educational discourses, these educational ideologies are maintained and spread through aid relationships, resulting in sustained power, working to privilege powerful IOs/ states to maintain power.

The use of language in the international document privileged modernisation and processes of globalisation; resulting in reproduction of social, cultural and economic inequality. An implication of these findings is that development theories, such as neo-colonialism, are relevant as the same nations who had power during colonialism, remain in power (Verger *et al.*, 2012:204; Burbules, 2002:158).

The key findings are as follows:

- The international scales role in text production and funding contributes to the flow of discourses.
- Discourses regarding the purpose of education, rights-based and human-capital, overlap in all policies.
- 'Quality education' is fundamental within current development discourse.

Conclusion

I conclude that power relations are clear, as discourse within the international document was translated into the national and local documents in Uganda. I have identified 5 main discourse types through CDA: rights-based; human-capital; 'quality education'; accountability speak; and resilience. The international 'scale' has power

over educational discourses, which are maintained and spread through aid relationships, and the use of the international scales, political, economic and social capabilities, resulting in sustained power. This educational discourse works to privilege powerful IOs/ states to maintain power and ideologies.

Further research using these methods will be important to understand the extent to which the 'international' scale has power and influence of refugee education policy and education policy more broadly. Questions regarding the extent to which these 'international' powers are tied up in colonial power relations; along with researching how processes of 'globalisation' work to sustain these powers? Furthermore, all documents were development based, specifically in terms of reference to international development agendas; this questions the purpose of refugee education and whether education should be humanitarian based or development based.

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