EDUCATION POLICY AS A ROADMAP FOR ACHIEVING THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS
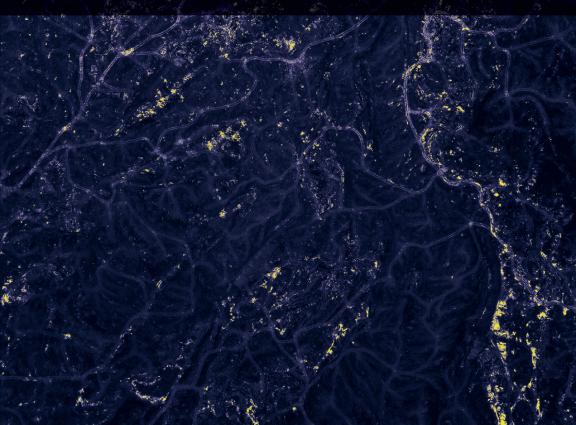
EFFECTING A PARADIGM SHIFT FOR PEACE AND PROSPERITY THROUGH NEW PARTNERSHIPS

ALISON TAYSUM

Education Policy as a Roadmap for Achieving the Sustainable Development Goals

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Education Policy as a Roadmap for Achieving the Sustainable Development Goals: Effecting a Paradigm Shift for Peace and Prosperity through New Partnerships

BY

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I dedicate this book to
Jo Taysum, Roy Taysum, Katie Taysum and Dr Peter Taysum
and
The Rev Michael Parker whose teachings at Knowle Parish Church have been full of the Holy Spirit and wisdom and encouraged me, to Stewart Wallace, Professor Derek Sheldon and the choir who have been a joy to worship God with,
and
Professor Richard Pring who has devoted his precious time to support the development of the ideas of this book and the evolution of the BELMAS DRIG and BELMAS SRN.
Professor Jim Conroy who devoted his precious time to help me work up a paper focusing on the social contract that became Chapters 4 and 5 of this book.
Professor Peter Ribbins who inspired me to do this research and introduced me to Socrates and my dear friend Dr Rene Saran of the Society for the Furtherance of Critical Philosophy.
I also dedicate this book to my international research partners and to all who work tirelessly to bring reason and faith together so that peoples of all faiths and none may work in new partnerships for a more inclusive society that honours and respects the protected characteristics of the UK Equality Act (2010).
Together we can achieve the sustainable development goals for lasting peace and prosperity for our planet and our people.

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Preface

The Council of the European Union's (2019, p. 1) The European Union Youth Strategy 2019–2027 recognises that young people are architects of their own lives, contribute to positive change in society and enrich the EU's ambitions, and that youth policy can contribute to create a space where young people can seize opportunities and relate to European values. In light of the changing employment landscape, the European Union should support young people's personal development and growth to autonomy, build their resilience and equip them with the necessary resources to participate in society, thus contributing to the eradication of youth poverty and all forms of discrimination, as well as to the promotion of social inclusion.

Young people are the future hope for achieving the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (United Nations, 2016):

(1) No Poverty;
(2) Zero Hunger;
(3) Good Health and Well-being;
(4) Quality Education;
(5) Gender Equality;
(6) Clean Water and Sanitation;
(7) Affordable and Clean Energy;
(8) Decent Work and Economic Growth;
(9) Industry Innovation and Infrastructure;
(10) Reduced Inequalities;
(11) Sustainable Cities and Communities;
(12) Responsible Consumption and Production;
(13) Climate Action;
(14) Life Below Water;
(15) Life on Land;
(16) Peace, justice and Strong Institutions;
(17) Partnerships for the Goals.

The SDGs have been agreed globally in an unprecedented ambitious and innovative agenda for prosperity and peace for people and planet. What is currently missing is a road map for achieving the paradigm shift to achieve the SDGs. This monograph charts how education policy can provide a road map to

achieving the SDGs with A Blueprint for Character Development for Evolution (ABCDE) with Assessment for Personal and Social Learning (APSL).

ABCDE starts with SDG 4: 'to ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote life-long learning opportunities for all'. Once citizens can apply ABCDE to SDG 4, they have the thinking tools and skills they need to move from immature to mature citizen in becoming. As autonomous citizens of good character, they are able to understand their moral duties within a social contract with an embedded economy. Their moral duties are fully and explicitly known to them, and as Kant suggests, might even be written by them. With these forms of knowledge young people are the future hope for building new partnerships. These partnerships can achieve peace and prosperity with knowledge to action strategies that are kind to the people and the planet by achieving all the SDGs (United Nations, 2016). The SDG targets address wicked problems/professional challenges.

ABCDE is in five stages. (A) asks questions to **get a sense of the problem/ professional challenge**; (B) **explores different, even conflicting beliefs** about the professional challenge; (C) **provides methods to collect trustworthy data** across sectors, nations, regions and globally; (D) **test hypotheses** regarding (1) redistributing wealth or (2) creating opportunities and incentivising the socialisation of risks, investment and rewards for the means of production, below minimal harm, of public and private goods. Goods range from artisan to mass produced within sustainable eco-systems. The hypotheses are tested and benchmarked against predetermined specific, measurable (of both the effective and affective dimensions), realistic and timebound key performance indicators, and (E) arrive at **universal principles that inform theories of change** for mobilising top-down state policy that incentivises socialised risk taking, investment and rewards in the public, private and third sectors, coupled to regulations that both safeguard and empower grass roots up innovation and achievement of each SDG target. Safeguarding includes impartial opportunities for mitigation at every stage of the process with adequate funding to protect innovators who may be challenging confused and irrational bureaucracies.

This book demonstrates how HEI Vice Chancellors, Deans of Faculties and Schools of Education may work in partnership with Senior Seasoned Credentialled Educational Leaders of Compulsory and Post-Compulsory Education systems, all professions, medicine, law, criminal justice services, societal finance, business, and industrial sectors, architects, planners, social and public services, governance systems, trusts and foundations, agents from pharmaceutical industries, Science, Technology, Engineering and Maths, the Social Sciences, Arts and Humanities, the professions, energy and renewable energy industries and consortia, the third sector, and all dimensions of the wider society, to come together in community partnerships to implement theories of change by applying ABCDE. This book builds on a previous Emerald book Taysum and Arar (2018) that identifies policy and networks are required to achieve social justice and build trust in governance systems. This book provides ABCDE as a step-by-step road map to achieve a paradigm shift away from populism and a persistent global narrative of Violence, Uncertainty, Complexity, and Ambiguity. The paradigm shift moves

from behaviour control to behaviour empowerment by engaging with attitudes and the virtues that bring the aesthetic to the human experience. Thus ABCDE is a road map that empowers citizens to become critical autonomous problem solvers who know how to replace fear with virtues, and can create theories of change and mobilise community partnerships to achieve the SDGs.

The road map unfolds chapter by chapter and explains how to build philosophies, sociologies, psychologies and ethics of trust and equity in governance systems using ABCDE supported by policy. How risk, investment and rewards in the public, private and third sector Empower Young Societal Innovators for Equity and Renewal (EYSIER) are explained.

This book does not offer a critique of the SDGs, or their underpinning moral, even universal principles. These have been carefully documented and critiqued with clear logical, empirical and ethical rationales. The transparency of the underpinning moral principles can be fully and explicitly known and challenged by the reader so that they have proof of concept; that global commitment from nation states in a unique commitment to achieving the SDGs is morally rational and empirically essential.

Rather, what this book offers is how education policy needs to provide a road map for giving citizens the thinking tools they need to make sense of the SDGs as autonomous rational mature citizens in becoming. The education policy needs to include Intended Learning Outcomes that will allow the road map to direct citizens to know how to associate with the different SDGs, and how they can work with institutions/segments of society where universities bridge between knowledge and the wider society to mobilise innovations to meet the SDGs. Here each target of each of the SDGs can be seen as an Intended Learning Outcome.

Education policy that provides a road map to achieve SDG 4 using ABCDE through APSL provides young people with a road map to achieve all the SDGs without (1) overwhelming citizens or (2) individually responsiblising them for achieving the SDGs. Universities can develop community engagement groups and develop infrastructure through Professional Educators' and Administrators' Committees for Empowerment (PEACE) and citizens can choose which SDG grass roots up committees they participate with or not, as they wish. This book explains how Education Policy provides a road map to achieving the SDGs chapter by chapter, and step by step, taking a grass root up approach.

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Chapter 1

Sustainable Development Goal 4 Quality Education, Inclusion and the Philosophies of Trust

The 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) have been agreed globally in an unprecedented, ambitious and innovative agenda for prosperity and peace for people and planet (United Nations, 2015). What is currently missing is a roadmap for achieving the paradigm shift to achieve the SDGs. This monograph provides a roadmap with A Blueprint for Character Development for Evolution (ABCDE) for the paradigm shift to achieve the SDGs. The book focusses on Education Policy as a road map to achieve SDG 4. This is not about responsiblising the teaching profession to achieve the SDGs that is neither desirable or not possible. The focus is on education policy that provides curriculums with Intended Learning Outcomes (ILOs) to empower citizens to understand their duty mapped to rights and responsibilities. Taysum (2019b, p. 11) identifies these as:

A. can ask good questions that address a sharply focussed professional challenge/ real life problem that is sensed, but not yet understood;
B. selects appropriate methods from a range of methods to answer or address their good questions that address a sharply focussed professional challenge/ real life problem;
C. knows how to access and critically analyse and reflect on the best that has been thought and said throughout the epochs of the Earth's history linked to changes in geographical boundaries including power relationships of and between all cultural heritages, philosophies, holy texts and laws to help them understand their questions on a deeper level;
D. collects evidence that they can test for characteristics of 'fake news' because they can draw on a range of methods to establish the quality dimensions of their findings to optimise confidence in the warrants for the claims made;
E. synthesises traditional knowledge with their new contextualised knowledge and puts this knowledge to action by creating new solutions to old problems leading to effective self-governance as an individual and has a clear

understanding of the role of societal institutions in creating equity, access, renewal, cultural respect and sharing and mobilising transparent entrepreneurial economies that fairly recognise and reward hard work and eliminate exploitation in the division of labour where privilege may be perpetuated based on race, gender, disability or any of the protected characteristics of the Equalities and Human Rights Commission (2010) UK Equality Act leading to community cohesion and peace;

F. decodes politicians' manifestos and their Key Performance Indicators and timelines rather than vote for a state person's personality that is not mapped to a manifesto and has no lines of accountability, and they can hold their government to account for delivering the manifesto;

G. knows how to review amendments to the manifesto once the statesperson and their government are in power, and knows how to participate with due process of Chair's Action, that becomes 'Public's Action'.

The teaching profession requires time and space for professional development to understand how ABCDE may be operationalised in the classrooms, and they need time for Assessment for Personal and Socialised Learning (APSL) that connects in real ways to economies that balance the socialisation and privatisation of investment, risk and rewards. The book provides a road map to achieving SDG 4 which is part of a paradigm shift for achieving the SDGs.

Part 2 focuses on Education Policy for a Paradigm Shift for Universities Mobilising SDG 4 and a road map to achieve the 17 SDGs. Universities are a public service and are made up of faculties, and departments of different disciplines that often prepare students for entry into a profession such as: doctors of medicine, nurses, law, engineering, architecture, accountancy, personnel, politicians, teachers, police, soldiers and so on. Most of these professions have professional standards that are revised on a case basis through logic, empirical evidence and ethical frameworks (Taysum, 2006, 2007, 2017; Taysum et al., 2017). The Universities therefore bridge between knowledge creation, and the wider society to mobilise knowledge to action strategies. Science, Technology, Engineering and Maths (STEM) have experts who create knowledge. Nyame and Taysum (2019) identify that the social sciences are helpful in translating the innovative STEM knowledge to the everyday language of the wider society. This is necessary for members of the wider society including professional bodies, trade, industry and commerce to mainstream the innovations and propel entrepreneurial economies through Small and Medium Enterprises that underpin the eradication of poverty and achieving the other SDGs. Further, the Humanities and Arts are necessary for providing a documented history throughout ages of the aesthetics of human cultures and their relationships with economies to understand how humans have navigated conflict and understood the moral inquiry into ethical frameworks.

The book demonstrates how University Vice Chancellors, Deans of Faculties and Schools of Education may work in partnership with Senior Credentialed Leaders of compulsory and post-compulsory education systems, societal finance, business, and industrial sectors, public services and the third

sector to come together in community partnerships to implement theories of change applying ABCDE. The book builds on a previous Emerald book Taysum and Arar (2018) that identifies policy and networks are required to achieve social justice and build trust in governance systems. This book provides ABCDE as a step by step roadmap to achieve a paradigm shift away from popularism and a persistent global narrative of Violence, Uncertainty, Complexity and Ambiguity. The paradigm shift moves from behaviour control to behaviour empowerment by engaging with attitudes and the virtues that bring the aesthetic to the human experience. Thus ABCDE is a roadmap that empowers citizens to become critical autonomous problem solvers who know how to replace fear with virtues, and can create theories of change and mobilise community partnerships to achieve the SDGs.

The book provides a tool kit to A Paradigm Shift to Mobilise SDG 4 to achieve 17 SDGs with resources that support the previous chapters to effect a Paradigm Shift for the development of the professions in partnership with HEIs and the wider society, and their advocating organisations to Mobilise SDG 4 to achieve all 17 SDGs.

The book presents A Blueprint for Character Development for Evolution: to ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote life-long learning opportunities for all as part of the SDG 4 (United Nations, 2015). Once citizens can apply ABCDE to SDG 4,they have the thinking tools and skills to move from immature to mature citizen, and are able to address all SDG targets that address wicked problems/professional challenges.

ABCDE is in five stages. (A) asks questions to **get a sense of the problem/ professional challenge**; (B) **explores different, even conflicting, beliefs** about the professional challenge; (C) **provides methods to collect trustworthy data** across sectors, nations, regions and globally; (D) **test hypotheses** regarding (1) redistributing wealth or (2) creating opportunities and incentivising the socialisation of risks, investment and rewards for the means of production, below minimal harm, of public and private goods. Goods range from artisan to mass produced within sustainable eco-systems. The hypotheses are tested and benchmarked against predetermined specific, measurable (of both the effective and affective dimensions), realistic and timebound Key Performance Indicators and (E) arrive at **universal principles that inform theories of change** for mobilising top-down state policy that incentivises socialised risk taking, investment and rewards in the public, private and third sectors, coupled to regulations that both safeguard and empower grassroots up innovation and achievement of each SDG target. Safeguarding includes impartial opportunities for mitigation at every stage of the process with adequate funding to protect innovators who may be challenging confused and irrational bureaucracies.

The roadmap unfolds chapter by chapter within the three parts to explain how to build philosophies, psychologies and ethics of trust and equity in governance systems using ABCDE supported by education policy and social and economic policy. The book explores duty, and how citizens can understand how to act dutifully within logical, empirical and ethical frameworks underpinned by universal principals. This will help citizens understand how risk, investment and

rewards in the public, private and third sector Empower Young Societal Innovators for Equity and Renewal (EYSIER) are explained.

The United Nations have set out a strategy for achieving the SDGs. My extensive research into international education policy in partnership with experts from over 33 nation states and my editing, authoring and co-authoring of more than 35 education policy articles, chapters and books has demonstrated a pattern of continued commitment to a narrow curriculum from the 1980s. This agenda has been driven by neoliberal market forces that focus on winning in a material struggle for resources that is not sustainable (United Nations, 2015, 2016). Ball (2003) identifies that a neoliberal agenda has focussed on the materialistic management of budgets, actual spend and profits. Measuring what a person's duty is to the self, the family, a social contract, the economy and the rationale for different forms of duty and their underlying principles, if such principles exist, are not ILOs of these curriculums (Taysum et al., 2012, 2014, 2017b). The kind of thinking tools that empower people to understand their duty and move beyond being told what to do, to becoming autonomous individuals who can make logical, evidence informed and ethical decisions that have been tried and tested, are not found in international curriculums for the masses (Taysum et al., 2012, 2014, 2017). These thinking tools, Outhwaite and Giuliana (2017, p. 402) argue, are found in the 'International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme':

> The access to the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme (IBDP) is restricted with regard to both geographical and social mobility and that current access to the IBDP in England is helping to sustain a globally mobile transnational elite group, thus reinforcing the connection established between the IBDPs wider curriculum and global capitalism.

Chapter 2 explores how Education policy can provide a paradigm shift and empower citizens with the thinking tools of A Blueprint for Character Development for Evolution (ABCDE). ABCDE enables citizens to challenge the crisis of contemporary culture and popularism by examining how to build trust in education governance systems, and institutional governance systems associated to other professions with an embedded economy. The book presents evidence from my scientific research conducted in many international partnerships over the past 21 years on institutional, and governance effectiveness, improvement, transformation and sustainable leadership and policy. The research draws on the philosophies, psychologies and ethics of trust drawing on the best that has been thought and said throughout the aeons (Dewey, 1916). The research reveals the crisis in contemporary culture is citizens with different levels of entitlement depending on their status within a context of a Black vs White achievement gap, a poor vs rich achievement gap and a male vs female achievement gap, those recognised as having special educational needs vs those without special educational needs, and achievement gaps between those with protected characteristics and those without protected characteristics drawing on the UK Government (2010) Equality act. These different intersectionalities of discrimination may be summed

up as 'marginalised citizens' vs 'dominant citizens' achievement gap (Taysum & Arar, 2018).

Education Policymakers at state level in the United States identify that USD millions have been invested in narrowing these gaps but the gaps are widening (Morgan, 2015). The UK Government have produced school league tables where 53% of all primary schools in England have pupils that meet the expected standards, and 49% of all secondary schools in England have attainment eight score and 23% attained the English Baccalaureate (gov.uk, 2017).[1,2] Therefore about 50% of students and schools are not meeting expected national standards which is roughly the same number as those below average on a normal distribution curve. Half of all children in English primary and secondary schools did not meet the expected national standards. Half of each future generation in England, when they are children, are currently labelled as failures by the government statutory attainment tests in English, maths and science, by the age of 11 years old. Teachers are operationalising Assessment for Learning in this context. The standards are mapped to standards from the Programme for International Student Assessment (OECD, 2015) findings and results from 2015, 2012, 2009, 2006 and 2003 in league tables.

In England, the 2018 results were higher but in a context of claims of grade inflation with Progress 8 (Abrams, 2017; Gershenson, 2018; OECD, 2011; Ofsted, 2017). Weale (2017, p. 1) states: the Association for School Leaders (ASCL) have:

> grave concerns about the impact of the Statutory Assessment Tests (SATs) on the curriculum, and on children's broader experience at primary school. It cannot be right that the performance of primary schools is judged on a set of tests taken over just four days in May at the end of the seven years children spend at primary school.

Education Policy memory from the Central Advisor Council for Education (1963), the Robins Report (1963) and the Department of Education and Science (1967) that focussed on the child's broad education including character development, have not informed Assessment for Learning to address the untapped intellectual potential of the people of England. Callaghan in his speech at Ruskin College presented a need to focus on a more technocratic education because 'progressivism and comprehensive education for all' was the cause of economic decline (Taysum, 2012b). The pragmatic impact of this economic decline was

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[1]Schools get a score based on how well pupils have performed in up to eight qualifications, which include English, maths, three English Baccalaureate qualifications including sciences, computer science, history, geography and languages and three other additional approved qualifications.

[2]The English Baccalaureate is not a test or qualification; it is a measure used to provide information about a particular range of qualifications. A pupil is considered to have 'achieved' the English Baccalaureate if they got a grade C or better in the following subjects: English, maths, sciences, a language and either history or geography.

reduced Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita (Bartlett & Burton, 2003). This is significant because The World Happiness Report (Helliwell, Layard, & Sachs, 2019) identifies six key variables in measuring happiness which GDP per capita, social support, healthy life expectancy, freedom, generosity and trust in governance systems, or absence of corruption. Callaghan did not state how a technocratic education will improve these factors, and thereby improve citizens' good lives with happy endings. Lauder, Jamieson, and Wikely (1998) argued that a narrowing of curriculum led to incapacity to think differently and therefore removed the opportunities for constructive critical thinking that underpins evidence-informed choices and Learning to Critically Analyse and Reflect for Emancipation or Learning to Care (CARE) required for full civic participation (Taysum, 2012c). Confucius (2015) in *The Analects of Confucius* identifies that such an educated public is required for self-governance, and yet, in 2000 years, we still seek ways to educate a public that can self-govern. People who have been subject to a narrow curriculum are unlikely to have had the chance to get to know themselves in relationship to a social contract (Socrates) or develop observations and beliefs about the impact of different strategies in different contexts. Neither will they have had the chance to consider the methods for developing strategies that synthesise the old traditional knowledge and practice with innovative knowledge informed by new generations' technologies. They will not have had the chance to develop hypotheses and principles for living good lives hallmarked by moral and ethical self-governance for the future, with missing information (Dewey, 1909). Their lack of ability to infer with confidence prevents their ability to plan for long-term priority of goods, and their production. Rather they are dependent on an authority figure telling them what to think and do. Being told what to think and do reduces uncertainty about what to do, but can cause angst if the citizen senses something is wrong in the governance system, but cannot articulate what is wrong and has no tool box to put things right. These ideas are explored in detail in Chapter 2 using a Model ABCDE.

In Chapter 2, I also examine global trends in governance and international testing industries that prevent personal and social equity, access, well-being and people making informed choices about what an educated citizen thinks and does and what education they want to become and educated citizen. I draw on John Dewey to argue there are tensions when the people/statespeople, who the force of the public as a whole elect to represent them, are required to develop Education Governance Systems. The Education Governance Systems are required to empower students with the thinking tools they need for democratic deliberation. However, these statespeople, who have often enjoyed elite educations have the most to lose if citizens gain such democratic deliberation leading to social mobility and challenge the statespeople's extra entitlement by accessing the same quality of education and developing participatory top-down and bottom-up democratic deliberation through a process of meritocracy. More democratic deliberation may be hallmarked by developing Education Governance Systems that can decode politicians' manifestos and demand Key Performance Indicators to the manifestos so that if they vote for a manifesto

rather than a statesperson, they can hold the state person and their government to account for delivering the manifesto. Further, through democratic deliberation taught in school curriculums, citizens will know how to review amendments to the manifesto once the statesperson and their government were in power, there would need to be due process where Chair's Action, or in this case the 'Public's Action' would accept or reject the suggested amendment. This is summed up very well by Dewey (1916, p. 1920) identifying there is a challenge to educate the private personality for social aims: 'Parents educate their children so that they may get on; princes educate their subjects as instruments of their own purpose…who then shall conduct education so that humanity may improve?'. Here Dewey identifies that in a world of conflict that has resulted in war, who has the power to call for democratic deliberation, and if they have that power, will they use if for the good if it means they will lose their own extra entitlement? Who has the power to shape institutional and governmental policy to assure an educational offer that:

Passes on 'old opinion handed down by ancient tradition, and science which is hoary with age' (Plato some 2000 years ago in *Timaeus in p. 16376)*?

Passes on the democratic deliberative method for Enlightenment so that citizens can recognise the character of an orator, critique the substance of their words, ancient traditions and science hoary with age (pathos), logically interrogate these forms of knowledge (logos) and reveal for themselves a moral compass and ethical framework (ethos) that shapes their own good life in becoming (Taysum, 2017; Taysum et al., 2017)?

Assures enlightened humans organise education to bridge shared world views and address a clash of interests, and imbalances of power, that may also be seen at intergovernmental and integration level that facilitates democratic deliberation through supranational organisation that respects cultural identities and diversity with overarching legislation of a court of justice.

Organises Education Governance Systems to empower education to be a cultural project in the state of becoming as moral training that presents the method of democratic deliberation, coupled with excitement to join the economy in good and respected enterprises as foundations to living good lives in becoming, with the right order of goods and their forms of production shaped by ethical rules (Taysum, 2019a, Dewey Chapter in Charles Lowerey)?

These elements are missing in an education that focusses on core skills of language, and maths, and high-stakes testing that promotes fixed mind sets and potentially a fear of VUCA which may create the conditions of VUCA in an iterative way. The chapter explores Dewey (1916, p. 1920) statement:

> We must depend upon the efforts of *enlightened humans* in their private capacity…The full development of private personality is identified with the aims of humanity as a whole and with the idea of progress.….and the very idea of education as a freeing of individual capacity in a progressive growth directed to social aims.

To become self-governing, citizens need to de-code contending political parties' manifestos that include Key Performance Indicators mapped to each manifesto statement if they were voted into power. Further, such an educated public would need a clear understanding of how to hold elected statespeople to account for delivering their manifesto and how to vote on any new clauses to the manifesto.

An example of a new suggestion that was not part of a manifesto is Jo Johnson's proposal for a two year accelerated degree to reduce the cost of the degree (This is Money, 2017). However, Jo Johnson, after attending one of the most elite schools in the world; the private school Eton went on to achieve: a degree at Balliol College Oxford University, a degree from Université Libre de Bruxelles and a degree from European Institute of Business Administration. Whilst I recognise that Jo Johnson did not create a two tier nation of private education and state education, I do think it is fair to suggest that such a person of privilege, who has been elected by the public tax payers to represent the public tax payer, can be expected to seek to provide all citizens with the education that gave him access to become a policymaker, rather than actively seeking to reduce the quality of education of the people he serves that stops them from accessing pathways to becoming policy makers. To reduce the quality of education offered to tax payers is a barrier to achieving the SDGs, equity and social justice.

For Jo Johnson to have three degrees from elite Higher Education Institutions from different nation states and propose that the British public and tax payer he serves only has access to one, two-year long accelerated degree provides different access to: (a) the role of education in facilitating moral inquiries into the philosophical, political and economic patterns of governance; and (b) how these shape patterns of human behaviour, people's identity and capacity to self-govern and hold statespeople to account for delivering their manifestos. So yet again, Jo Johnson's policy to reduce the higher education offer is driven by economic austerity. Callaghan's speech aimed to reduce the education offer to 'reading, writing and arithmetic' to improve the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita because progressive education was responsible for low GDP per capita.

I explore these arguments in Chapter 3, focussing on high education outcomes in reading, writing and arithmetic, and the PISA positions on the league table do not correlate with a strong economy and do not correlate with a strong, competitive economy. The chapter reveals what does correlate with a strong and competitive economy is GDP and Unit Labour Costs (ULC). *Drivers to improve GDP and ULC include changes in exchange rates, and labour market mechanisms such as hours worked, minimum pay and unemployment* (Mertsina & Jänes, 2017).

An alternative to the high-stakes testing as Assessment for Segregation and the promotion of intersectionalities of discrimination is offered within Chapter 3 as 'Assessment for Personal and Social Learning' (Dewey, 1909). Such an alternative to Assessment for Learning is required to Empower Young Societal Innovators for Equity and Renewal (EYSIER) with the problem-solving skills they need to work for equity, solidarity and renewal. I agree with Einstein that humanity will not solve problems with the same kinds of thinking and doing that created them.