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Contents

Viewpoint

Resource reviews

Editorial

RETHINKING CRITICAL APPROACHES TO GLOBAL AND DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION

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For decades, critical approaches to global and development education have pushed back against mainstream liberal – and more recently, neo-liberal – approaches. Many of these more critical approaches are rooted in the Freirean tradition of critical pedagogy, including several contributions to this Issue 27 of *Policy & Practice*. Critical perspectives on education remain more important than ever, and critical pedagogy in particular has fostered fruitful strategies for denaturalising the presumed inevitability of capitalism as an economic system, and resisting its influence on educational systems. It has also been the subject of feminist, post-colonial, and post-structural engagements that consider its potential limitations and circularities alongside its potentially transformative gifts (e.g. Andreotti, 2016; Ellsworth, 1989; Lather, 1998). There is much value in reframing and reclaiming critical traditions in order to consider their implications for our own time, as both Cotter and Dillon do in their distinct but complementary contributions to this issue on the history of development education in Ireland, and as McCloskey does in his contribution on the renewed relevance of Marx's critique of capitalism.

However, rather than debate or advocate the relative merits and limitations of a particular tradition of critique, in my brief editorial introduction to this issue, my intention is to take a step back and consider whether any single arsenal of educational tools – including liberal and critical approaches – can adequately equip us to respond generatively, strategically, and ethically to the complex local and global challenges that we currently face. Rather than defend a particular perspective or approach to global and development education, I suggest it is crucial that we prepare students with

the self-reflexivity, intellectual curiosity, historical memory, and deep sense of responsibility they will need in order to collectively navigate an uncertain future for which there are no clear roadmaps. This in turn requires that we prepare educators to engage confidently with a range of conflicting perspectives so that they can make critically-informed, socially-accountable pedagogical choices that are responsive to the complex shifting conditions and challenges of their own contexts.

Scott (1995) has suggested that 'since at least the end of the eighteenth century', both liberalism and many critical traditions that emerged in response to liberalism have been 'anchored in the restructuring project of the Enlightenment', that is, a modernising project that seeks universal 'Truths (about reason, about History, about Progress)' (3). However, Scott also suggests that these inherited organising frames and conceptual oppositions, which emerged in a different era in response to a specific context, might not be sufficient for responding to our own 'current ethical-political conjuncture' (ibid. 5). Scott offered these reflections nearly 25 years ago, in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union and other revolutionary alternatives, which was accompanied by declarations about the so-called 'end of history' and the triumph of the liberal capitalist West. By then, financialised, shareholder capitalism had taken hold, as had just-in-time global commodity chains that mapped onto colonial divisions of labour, both of which have turned out to be largely unsuccessful efforts to restore economic growth levels to their post-World War II highs (Clover, 2016). However, despite a slow shift toward privatisation of social services, flattened wages, and increased household debt, many in the global North would not confront the full effects of these shifts until the financial crisis of 2007-8.

Ten years later, capitalism continues to limp along, but the promise of perpetual economic growth appears increasingly dim; meanwhile, if we want to have any chance at forestalling further climate catastrophe, we likely cannot afford such growth in any case (Klein, 2015). This has not stopped some from declaring that overall the world has never been happier, healthier, or wealthier – consider, for instance, Stephen Pinker's (2018) *Enlightenment*

Now: The Case for Reason, Science, Humanism and Progress. Indeed, increasingly polarised interpretations of the present make the task of the global and development educator an exceedingly challenging one, and the pursuit of universal truths appears more arrogant than ever. For Scott (1995), if the categories and concepts of analysis and critique that we have inherited from the Enlightenment no longer offer strategic impact for making sense of and making change in the present, it is nonetheless by no means obvious what should come in their place. He suggests:

> "What the concepts are that will have to be produced – that will have to be reappropriated or worked over – in order to give us a critical purchase on alternative futures are perhaps not self-evident. But these concepts, whatever they are to be, can only emerge out of an interrogation, from within, of our common and uncommon present" (1995: 23).

Further, it is not only concepts that might need to be rethought, but also our modes of critical engagement, knowledge production, and theories of change. In the remainder of this editorial, I gesture toward this work by considering three particular challenges that characterise 'our common and uncommon present', and that might prompt us to rethink how we frame critical approaches to global and development education.

Three educational challenges of the present

The first challenge is the *cacophony of perspectives* that circulate in educational contexts and elsewhere. One of the most well-known critiques coming from the critical pedagogy tradition is Freire's (2000) characterisation of modern schooling as 'banking education'. According to this critique, banking education transfers predetermined, universally relevant knowledge and information from teachers to passive students. There is little active engagement in this process of 'filling' the student, presumed to be a blank slate, with knowledge. As Bauman (2001) notes, since the Enlightenment, education has been understood as 'a tightly structured setting with its supervisors firmly in the saddle and having all the initiative' (126).

For Freire and others working in this tradition, problem solving education is offered as a counter-proposal to banking education and is much more dialogic, as knowledge is actively constructed in the relationship between teacher and student, and theory is merged with action in praxis toward making social change.

Beyond banking education, other critical traditions challenge the monopoly on knowledge production and dissemination that is claimed by mainstream institutions, including not only schools and universities, but also government agencies like the Department for International Development (DfID) in the United Kingdom (UK) or the US Agency for International Development (USAID) in the United States (US), which produce specific ideas about what development is, and how it should be achieved. The concern is not only that this sanctioned knowledge tends to be Eurocentric, and thus tends to naturalise European supremacy and hegemony, but also that it normalises existing inequalities by unquestioningly socialising people into unequal societies. In response, many critical educators propose that there is a need to pluralise the knowledge that is considered valid, provincialise European knowledge, and value knowledge that is produced 'from the ground up', especially by marginalised communities. For instance, in this issue Saúde, Zarcos, and Raposo note the imperative 'of giving a voice to minorities and the excluded, so that they can show their sociocultural identities and have a say on their future', while Rooney emphasises the value of a grassroots toolkit for context-specific community conversations within post-conflict societies, and Mallon identifies an 'urgent need to ensure the inclusion of young people from a minority ethnic background within the planning and practice of peacebuilding education'.

Even as mainstream schooling comes under critical review by many global and development education scholars, others argue for the potential benefits of embedding these perspectives into formal curricula. For instance, in this issue Quirke-Bolt and Jeffers note, 'DE should not be marginal to school practice or an optional extra; it needs to be an essential and cross-curricular part of the curriculum and life of any school'. While the

assumption may be that formally including this content will grant it more social legitimacy, today the epistemic authority of mainstream institutions has also come under significant challenge not only from critical perspectives that question its universality and neutrality, but also from the increasing cacophony of ideas and conversations from all directions, aided by information technologies that make it easy to access and share information, shattering previous limits imposed by time and space. Within this crowded field of competing authorities, traditional institutions still maintain a fragile hegemony, but they no longer hold a monopoly. While the break-up of this monopoly can be considered a welcome shift toward potential democratisation, in fact we find another set of challenges: competing for the attention and interest of young people, and preparing them to navigate the complicated contemporary landscape of competing knowledge claims. As Bauman (2001) notes, the kind of learning that is necessary for today's world is 'a kind of learning which our inherited educational institutions, born and matured within the modern ordering bustle, are ill-prepared to handle' (127). If we fail to make our education responsive to shifting contexts and thus, fail to adequately prepare young people for the complex, unequal world they will inherit, they might simply take what is most convenient, useful, and gratifying from different, often-conflicting knowledge traditions and authorities, with little consideration of the context from which that knowledge has emerged, its implications, and the incommensurabilities between them.

The second challenge we face is the *conditionality of inclusion* within mainstream institutions. While marginalised populations have resisted their oppression since the emergence of the modern philosophies of both education and development that have excluded and often denigrated them, only fairly recently have mainstream institutions started to offer more space for 'difference'. At the same time, the space that is granted still tends to be narrowly circumscribed, and difference itself remains defined in relation to a supposedly neutral white, global North, middle class, male normativity. Generally, only forms or expressions of difference that are not perceived as threatening to the status quo are given room; anything or anyone that exceeds

this limit tends to be excluded or even punished or demonised. Further, the newly included are often expected to express gratitude for their inclusion, as if it were a benevolent gift from the dominant population, rather than a step toward the correction of structural injustice (Ahmed, 2012). Thus, what at first glance might appear to be substantive institutional shifts often turn out to be efforts to neutralise critique by offering the appearance of change without changing much of anything, and by only permitting forms of difference that make no difference (Povinelli, 2002). As Biccum (2016) notes with regard to recent shifts in mainstream development discourse:

> "despite a change in rhetoric and acknowledgement of some of the discursive arrangements of power pointed out by some of the twentieth century activisms…the [World] Bank continues to marshal its instrumental approach to knowledge and human behaviour for economistic developmental outcomes" (4).

There is a double-bind here (Spivak, 2012), in which historically-excluded communities that recognise the conditionality of their inclusion in mainstream institutions and do not wish to be incorporated into Euro- and capital-centric normativity are faced with a difficult choice: either refuse inclusion and build or regenerate other forms of social organisation (which is rarely an option, given how these institutions have taken on such a central role in the organisation of modern social life); or continue to struggle within and against these institutions toward the possibility of transforming them, knowing that these efforts will likely always be co-opted, and that there are many unforeseen effects of bringing different knowledges, practices, and peoples into spaces that have been historically constructed on their exclusion (Ahenakew, 2016). These two choices, of course, are not mutually exclusive, as many indeed live in and with this double-bind, struggling within the institutions of empire while also fighting to keep non-Western knowledge traditions and practices alive (Ahenakew et al., 2014).

The underlying fragility of modern institutions has increasingly come to the surface, as nation-states fight for political legitimacy and capital

fights to resist the tendency of the rate of profit to fall. It may be that this instability is precisely what is needed for truly new and different horizons of possibility to emerge, rather than merely tinkering with existing institutions. Perhaps it is only in this context, as the available mainstream and counter-narratives falter, that the different concepts and narratives of change that Scott (1995) called for can emerge, and marginalised ways of knowing and being can begin to truly thrive again. Bauman (2012) suggests we are in the midst of an interregnum, that is, a liminal, transitional moment in which:

> "the extant legal frame of social order loses its grip and can hold no longer, whereas a new frame, made to the measure of newly emerged conditions responsible for making the old frame useless, is still at the designing stage, has not yet been fully assembled, or is not strong enough to be put in its place" (50).

We are therefore in a space of deep ambivalence, in which the future appears increasingly uncertain, provoking anxiety but also creating opportunity. However, there is no guarantee that the new system(s) that will ultimately emerge will be more equitable or just – which leads me to the third challenge for global and development education in the present.

The third challenge is what we might call the *'backlash' or reaction to critical perspectives*, which have gained increased traction in mainstream outlets. These responses should make us all the more conscious of how our uncertain, volatile times can shift in many possible directions. As the certainties and securities that had previously characterised mainstream modern institutions – for better and for worse – start to appear increasingly unstable, this can activate or intensify discourses that scapegoat already marginalised populations (Stein et al., 2017). Indeed, some have suggested that the true culprits of our current instability are those communities that have offered those most strident critiques of those institutions, rather than considering that those institutions were in fact built on inherently unsustainable premises and systems of re/production.

We can see this in the rise of the xenophobic nationalisms that accompanied the election of Donald Trump in the US, drove many to support the UK's Brexit referendum, keep a conservative and highly nationalistic party in power in Hungary, and feed the growing popularity of right-wing parties in Germany, Sweden, Austria, and more. Undoubtedly, few scholars within the global and development education field are likely to defend these movements. However, it is not only at white nationalist rallies where these sentiments emerge, but also in more mainstream defences of the virtues of liberal democracy. Consider, for example, Goldberg's (2018), tellingly titled, *Suicide of the West: How the Rebirth of Nationalism, Populism, and Identity Politics Is Destroying American Democracy.* Our field is not immune from these kinds of arguments.

Take the recent blog published by the well-respected Smart CSOs Lab, in which Narberhaus (2018) claims:

> "conversations in social justice and environmental activist spaces have changed considerably. These conversations have increasingly been captured by an ideological agenda where all problems are seen through the lens of patriarchy, racism and colonialism".

In response, he calls for 'the honest willingness and ability to explore ideas beyond a dogmatic post-modern ideology that is inherently anti-intellectual'. This critique is not offered as an outright dismissal that oppression exists, but rather as a narrative of concern that its impact is being harmfully exaggerated through an 'anti-intellectual', 'ideological agenda' that distracts us from making the necessary social and ecological changes. Meanwhile, the author presents himself – and the authors he cites from evolutionary biology and psychology – as neutral, objective, and implicitly, non-ideological, which is of course the most ideological position one can take. This then enables him to make statements like, 'Of course the hierarchies of the future should be free from oppression and domination, and they should be democratic and transparent'.

We see here an attempt to reclaim the narrative of universal Truth and Progress from its perceived threats – critiques of patriarchy, racism and colonialism. As long as we remain within this interregnum, these kinds of responses are unlikely to disappear, and indeed might only continue to proliferate if things become even more unstable. Those of us working in global and development education therefore need to remain aware of how these discourses circulate, be attentive to their impact (which often means looking beyond their stated intent), and be prepared to respond when these perspectives emerge in our classrooms or in our conversations with colleagues. If the only response in our educational repertoire is to dig our heels in defensively, we might only reaffirm the claim that we are advocating critical dogmatism, even if that claim is made in bad faith. We will need to consider how our approaches to global and development education can facilitate agonistic, self-reflexive engagements between conflicting perspectives while remaining attentive to the power inequities that also permeate these very engagements.

Concluding thoughts: rethinking our role as (critical) educators

By every indication, the foreseeable future will only become more volatile, and many have looked to global and development education for guidance about how to prepare young people to face this future. While there is much to be celebrated in the legacy of these fields, it may be that, as both Scott (1995) and Bauman (2001; 2012) suggest, the critical strategies that have served us thus far were more fitting for another era, and are no longer adequate for responding to the deep challenges of the present. Conversations about the role of development and global education in social change often unfold through the narrative patterns of the modern episteme in which the intent is to ultimately arrive at universal 'Truths (about reason, about History, about Progress)' – that is, the underlying purpose of engagement is a competition for epistemic authority. These patterns of engagement tend to be at best circular and at worst enable the continued triumph of those 'Truths' that already hold more social power, but under the guise of 'open debate'. This is not to say that our cherished critical traditions no longer have value and need to be replaced with alternative traditions, but rather that perhaps we

need to develop alternative approaches to critique itself. How might we imagine forms of global education and engagement that are premised neither on competition for universal truths, nor an absolute, anything-goes relativism?

Perhaps our role as educators is not to transfer any particular set of skills or values, but rather to prepare young people to face the storms that characterise these complex, uncertain times with an internal groundedness in the face of unpredictable weather, an ability to adapt to and strategically respond to rapidly shifting conditions, a sensibility that enables them to recognise the contextual relevance of different knowledges and perspectives and then make informed decisions about how they will navigate them, and the humility to learn from their inevitable mistakes. In doing so, we might follow Bauman (2001) in thinking of the role of education today as 'preparation for life', that is:

> "cultivating the ability to live daily and at peace with uncertainty and ambivalence, with a variety of standpoints and the absence of unerring and trustworthy authorities...instilling tolerance of difference and the will to respect the right to be different...fortifying critical and self-critical faculties and the courage needed to assume responsibility for one's choices and their consequences...training the capacity for 'changing the frames'...with the anxiety of indecision it brings alongside the joys of the new and the unexplored" (138).

In order to do this work, as Hibberd suggests in her contribution to this issue, we will also need to prepare teachers and other educators working in informal educational contexts to 'interact with complex and potentially controversial and difficult topics'. However, rather than require one standard set of materials and curricula, or government standards, which are unlikely to be relevant across different contexts, we can instead support educators to develop the confidence they need to address difficult issues and chose the most relevant materials for where they are. For instance, Payne in this issue considers the possibilities (and challenges) for incorporating global education

into Catholic secondary schools in Ireland, which will surely look different than global education at a public postsecondary school in Canada, or a private primary school in China. However, if we want educators to develop a degree of comfort with uncertainty, plurality, and conflict, and to respect and encourage the emergent and collaborative dimensions of learning with their students, then we will also need to work to ensure that parents, schools, and relevant government and other funding bodies respect their professional authority and support them in the difficult task of preparing young people to inherit an uncertain, interconnected world.

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Focus

CRITICAL HISTORY MATTERS: UNDERSTANDING DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION IN IRELAND TODAY THROUGH THE LENS OF THE PAST

Eilish Dillon

Abstract: This article argues that adopting a critical historical perspective can enhance our understanding of development education (DE) today. Drawing on a genealogical approach which emphasises power relations, it focuses on discursive and institutional influences which have helped to shape different and contradictory understandings of DE in contemporary Ireland.

Key words: Development Education; Critical History; Ireland; Discourses of Development Education; Global Citizenship Education; Education for Sustainable Development; Human Rights Education; Genealogy; Power.

Introduction

Many of us see history as about the past or something which should be confined to it. Where approaches to writing history of development have often been linear, uni-vocal, predictive or progressive, as any trawl of development theory texts would show, the relevance of critical history for understanding the present is increasingly being recognised, as is the importance of adopting a historical perspective for analysis of DE policy and practice (Fiedler, Bryan and Bracken, 2011; Khoo, 2011; Bourn, 2015; McCloskey, 2016). This article contributes to this historical work, emphasising the discursive and institutional influences on different understandings of DE in Ireland today. While the history of DE in Ireland mirrors many of the trends and influences at a wider European level, the focus here is less on exploring similarities and more on examining the Irish Case. Readers will, no doubt, see both similarities and differences with their own contexts.

When history is critical, it is written to challenge taken-for-granted assumptions and power relations which marginalise people. It can see its role as political and the past and the present as inter-related and non-binary. In some cases, critical history identifies silences in the histories of the past, it critiques historiography as white, male, heteronormative and Eurocentric, and it attempts to create histories based on different voices, especially those of the most marginalised, e.g., feminist or post-colonial histories. As the field of critical history is itself diverse, here I attempt to apply just one such approach, based on Foucauldian inspired genealogy.

Genealogy explores 'the history of the present' (Foucault, 1979) by investigating discursive, professional and institutional power relations and practices which have helped to shape current thinking and practice. As Tamboukou puts it:

> "instead of seeing history as a continuous development of an ideal schema, genealogy is oriented to discontinuities... our present is not theorised as a result of a meaningful development, but rather as an episode, a result of struggle and relations of force and domination" (2003: 9).

Thus, 'its intent is to problematise the present by revealing the power relations upon which it depends and the contingent processes that have brought it into being' (Garland, 2014: 372). Garland goes on to explain that a genealogy 'is motivated not by a historical concern to understand the past... but instead by a critical concern to understand the present' (ibid: 373).

The starting point for this short critical history of DE in Ireland is the fact that those involved in DE in Ireland understand and talk about DE in different, contradictory and often uncritical terms. This 'diagnosis', to use a genealogical term, is based on research undertaken with DE facilitators in Ireland in 2016 which focused on discourses of DE. In the research, discourses are understood as broadly coherent sets of assumptions or patterns of making sense of the world. They are 'socially organised frameworks of

meaning that define categories and specify domains of what can be said and done' (Burman, 1994: 2). 'They form regimes of truth… meaning-resources and sense-making repertoires constitute the discourses' (Ryan, 2011: 3). Despite some common understandings, findings from my research with DE facilitators suggest that understandings of DE in Ireland, at least among those involved in the research, are eclectic, contradictory and often ambiguous. Some people, for example, talk about DE building relationships of solidarity on the one hand while also emphasising accountability on the other. They see DE as creating mindset change, linking it to individualised action, while others emphasise its role in mobilising support for campaigns on poverty in the global South. Some talk about DE as an open-ended process whereas others highlight the need for it to have measurable results.

DE facilitators draw largely on a critical discourse of DE (Andreotti, 2006; 2014) which sees DE as playing an important role in facilitating understanding of global realities for active global citizenship. Rather than seeing the world in North-South terms or development activism as charity-based or individualistic, a critical discourse assumes a role for DE in facilitating understandings of structural power relations and collective approaches to addressing them. While drawing largely on a critical discourse, they also, and often simultaneously, draw on other discourses which are less critical, more individualistic or rooted in Eurocentric or modernist notions about the value of North-South development. In tandem with discursive eclecticism and contradictions, findings suggest discursive ambiguity, with many of the same terms being used by DE facilitators albeit with different meanings and a discursive style which can be characterised as abstract, idealised and apolitical.

Here, I argue that a critical look at the history of DE in Ireland helps to understand why there are so many different, and often uncritical, understandings of DE and the power relations which have helped to shape them. I agree with Bourn (2015: 24) who argues, with reference to Mesa's generational account of DE, that the trends in DE are 'from linear'. Thus, rather than presenting an evolutionary account of the past, critical history, at

least as influenced by a genealogical perspective as this one is, analyses the past with a view to understanding its many and sometimes competing influences on the present. In this sense, understanding the past as imbricated in the present, and framings of the past as shaped by the present, turns the history of DE into a critical and dynamic exploration which is essential for understanding the complexities of DE today.

I structure the discussion below in relation to organisational and discursive influences and struggles over three phases – informal beginnings in the 1970s and 1980s; the formalisation and institutionalisation of DE in the 1990s to mid-2000s; and the fallout from the financial crisis and new professionalism of DE from 2008 to the present.

Informal beginnings – 1970s and 1980s

In the early years of DE, what became understood as DE in Ireland was significantly influenced by missionary and non-government development organisation (NGDO) (especially Concern Worldwide and Trócaire) involvement in DE, with shared but different emphases when it came to the type of DE they promoted. Early on, DE in Ireland shared some similarities with its origins in the UK, other European countries and North America (Bourn, 2014), where it began by focusing on the delivery of 'content'. At the same time, at its establishment in 1973, Trócaire emphasised DE's broader role in contributing to awareness raising and structural change (Trócaire, 2012). Fiedler, Bryan and Bracken argue that in the 1970s both Trócaire and the Irish Commission for Justice and Peace (ICJP), as well as Comhlámh, played significant roles in establishing DE as a core dimension of development cooperation in Ireland. Ireland's membership of the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1973 was also influential as it required the Irish government to establish a programme of development cooperation or overseas development assistance (ODA).

Making the case for DE as an important aspect of development cooperation was a significant challenge at the outset and one of the first priorities 'was to promote DE within the NGOs themselves and among the

public at large' (Dóchas, 2004: 7), as 'DE was treated with a measure of scepticism by some of the NGOs' (ibid). For Fiedler, Bryan and Bracken (2011), the 1970s brought an 'opening up of the agenda' and in 1978 the government – in response to both internal and external pressures and recommendations – introduced a dedicated budget line for funding DE initiatives. Despite threats to ODA funding in the 1980s, due at least in part to the recession at the time, in 1981 the first Minister of State at the Department of Foreign Affairs with special responsibility for development cooperation was appointed, followed in 1985 by Ireland's membership of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (Fiedler, Bryan and Bracken, 2011), an extremely influential body promoting professionalised development cooperation.

In the 1980s there was growing civil society activity in DE in Ireland. Kirby (1992) highlights the influence of liberation theology and returning missionaries from Latin America on the establishment of solidarity groups. Comhlámh ran its popular, nation-wide debates (Hanan, 1996) and it established a branch in Cork in 1979. Trócaire appointed its first DE officer in 1983 and a resource centre was opened in Dublin. Throughout this period, also, the focus of DE on formal education was firmly established with Trócaire's work on the development of resources and support for teachers and Concern's focus on its Concern debates. CONGOOD's (now Dóchas) DE Commission, or working group, was also involved in the development of publications including the first '75:25 Ireland in an Unequal World' in 1984 (Dóchas, 2004) – its seventh edition (now titled '80:20: Development in an Unequal World') was published in 2016 by 80:20. Partnerships were established between people and places in Ireland and in the countries of the South, e.g., the Waterford Kitui partnership, and local development education centres (DECs) were established. Thus, DE became the framing for education and awareness raising which involved public debate on development issues, campaigns, solidarity, workshops, courses and curriculum development. Despite overlaps, differences in approach were also evident.

Organisationally and discursively, the 1970s set the tone for the DE which would follow in Ireland. Fiedler, Bryan and Bracken (2011) argue that there were three broad discursive strands associated with the DE work of NGDOs and other civil society organisations. The first is a value-based DE, which is based on global justice and equality and influenced by liberation theology, structuralist analysis of global North-South inequalities and the transformative education work of Paulo Freire (1970). This approach was advanced initially by Trócaire and the Irish Commission for Justice and Peace (ICJP). Invoking United Nations (UN) resolutions on the need for DE, through publications like 'Dialogue for Development', Trócaire helped to define understandings of DE in the Irish context including various attitudes, knowledge and skills involved and different components of DE such as action outcomes (Trócaire, 1984). Trócaire's involvement in Latin America, e.g., through the publicity surrounding Bishop Eamon Casey's attendance at the funeral of Archbishop Oscar Romero in El Salvador in 1980, and protests over President Ronald Regan's visit to Ireland in 1984, also helped to bring a 'solidarity' hue to some DE activity in Ireland.

A 'solidarity' discursive strand was exemplified in solidarity movements as well as in the DE approach of Comhlámh, through its membership groups, debates and campaigns. Established to enable returned development workers to 'bear their own particular experience in order to further international development cooperation', one of the objectives of Comhlámh at its outset was to promote 'awareness and knowledge among Irish Government and people and public education' (Hanan, 1996: 14-15). A third discursive strand was also in evidence in the 1970s and '80s, which Fiedler, Bryan and Bracken (2011: 23) call a 'development-as-charity perspective'. Focused on humanitarian concerns and economic development (largely understood in modernisation terms) or 'underdevelopment' in the countries of the global South and drawing its influence from Irish missionary and non-governmental development organisation (NGDO) development work in Africa and Asia, this perspective involved promoting awareness and understanding for fundraising purposes especially in schools. At the time there were also the beginnings of a state discourse on DE, i.e. the framing of

DE within development cooperation with emphasis on individual action through overseas development work; working in partnership with voluntary agencies.

Thus, from the outset, though all were labelled DE or associated with it, there were different emphases among different organisations and groups, with some promoting value-based education for justice, others emphasising awareness raising and solidarity, some promoting awareness raising to support development efforts and others focused on individual action and volunteering. Each of these emphases are still evident in DE in Ireland today, albeit with modifications and nuance which has emerged over time, as is the debate about the relative value attached to DE as an element of state development cooperation and the work of NGDOs.

The formalisation and institutionalisation of DE – 1990s to mid-2000s

In the 1990s, the role of DE in development cooperation became more formally established. With the development of government strategic plans, an emphasis was placed on mainstreaming DE in curricula (Fiedler, Bryan and Bracken, 2011) and on capacity building among development educators. Discursively, DE was opened up with the introduction of emphases on related 'adjectival educations'.

In terms of curriculum development in the late 1980s and 1990s, two development education support centres (DESC) were set up in Dublin and Limerick by the Department of Foreign Affairs, with the aim of supporting professionals working in DE. In addition, Trócaire continued to forge partnerships and projects with organisations such as the National Youth Council of Ireland (NYCI) and in relation to citizenship education, with the City of Dublin Vocational Education Committee Curriculum Development Unit (CDVEC CDU), and Civic Social and Political Education (CSPE) was introduced to the Junior Cycle curriculum in 1997 (Dillon, 2009). Though the introduction of CSPE brought with it a lot of hope for the inclusion of DE perspectives and content into the formal second-level curriculum, there were

significant challenges in its implementation (Jeffers, 2008; Bryan and Bracken, 2011; Doorly, 2015). DE activity also began to expand at higher education level with the start of links between DE organisations and initial teacher education.

In terms of civil society DE, Hanan (1996) refers to two Comhlámh projects, 'Bringing it All Back Home' (BIABH) (1987 – 1990), which tried to harness the interest of returning volunteers in DE in Ireland, and 'Network Outreach for DE' (NODE) (1991 – 1998). These consolidated the DE work of Comhlámh and other DE groups in Ireland, especially One World Centres – there were 12 in existence by 2002 (Kenny and O'Malley, 2002). Other notable civil society DE initiatives active in the 1990s were 80:20, which published many important resources, including the book of the same name; the Lourdes Youth and Community Services (LYCS) DE training with community activists; Development Education for Youth (DEFY), a youth DE project run by the National Youth Council of Ireland and funded by Irish Aid; and Banúlacht, a feminist DE organisation primarily engaged in DE with community women's groups.

Institutionally, in the 1990s, DE also became more integral to Irish official development cooperation. This was influenced by the growing recognition for the need for DE and human rights education at an international level, for example, through the Convention on the Rights of the Child, by the emphasis on human rights by the Labour Party in government and by a growth in professionalism in the Irish DE sector which promoted DE as integral to development cooperation and to formal education curricula. Various bodies were established by the government to promote DE, e.g., The National Development Education Grants Committee in 1990 followed by the National Committee for Development Education (NCDE) in 1993. State funding for DE also grew throughout the 1990s, albeit with a percentage reduction in funding by comparison to overall overseas development aid (ODA) by the end of the 1990s (from 1.14 per cent of ODA in 1992 to 0.55 per cent in 1999). Throughout this period there were a number of important reviews, including the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and

Development (OECD) Development Assistance Committee (DAC) Peer Review in 1999 which influenced a time of broader re-structuring within state development cooperation, and by extension, DE in Ireland. This was exemplified in the Review of Ireland Aid (2002), which reviewed the structures, organisation and funding of Ireland Aid and its activities. Research was also commissioned by Dóchas into DE in Ireland (Kenny and O'Malley, 2002). Their report argued that there was:

> "urgent work to be done. The definition of DE is still unclear and is being interpreted diversely... there is a need for a structure to support DE activists, paid and unpaid, on an on-going basis" (ibid: 8).

They highlight the need for 'instituting a model of "best practice" that promotes the highest standards in all aspects of DE work' (ibid: 8).

The disbandment of the NCDE, recommended by the Report of the Ireland Aid Review Committee, centralised DE provision through the establishment of the Development Education Unit of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade in 2002. This signalled a move away from more active participation by civil society development educators in the strategic direction of DE. The first government strategic plan for DE was developed in 2003. Its mission was that:

> "every person in Ireland will have access to educational opportunities to be aware of and understand their rights and responsibilities as global citizens and their potential to effect change for a more just and equal world" (2003: 11).

Such high, and potentially radical, ideals for DE were promoted through mainstreaming which, paradoxically, presented challenges for criticality. Highlighting 'the mainstreaming of DE within education in Ireland' as a key aim (ibid: 12), institutions were put in place to facilitate the mainstreaming of DE, e.g., with the Development and Intercultural Education project (DICE)

and through NYCI. On the one hand, McCloskey argues that 'the DE sector was therefore becoming integrated into official development policy having previously languished in the 1970s and 1980s on the margins of education policy and practice' (2014: 10). On the other, with growing professionalisation of DE came concerns over civil society engagement in the direction of DE and questions about whether or not a growing emphasis on mainstreaming led to the de-radicalisation of DE (Khoo, 2011). McCloskey goes on to argue that the increased support on the part of Irish Aid contributed to:

> "reduced support for DE from within the non-governmental development sector which prioritised other areas of activity such as campaigns, fundraising and overseas aid ... this left the sector more dependent on government resources and vulnerable to changes in policy" (2014: 11).

The Irish Aid DE strategic plan (2003) also focused on supporting capacity building within civil society organisations. From 2004, civil society promotion of DE was channelled through the Irish Development Education Association (IDEA), which was established at the behest of Irish Aid as a network of support. Through IDEA, capacity development, representation of the sector and advocacy, which were outlined as weaknesses in the Kenny and O'Malley report (2002), were advanced and membership grew rapidly. The establishment of IDEA streamlined Irish Aid's engagement with and support of civil society involvement in DE, placing emphasis on professionalism and working in partnership.

A significant feature of policy discourses of DE in the 1990s and 2000s was the rise of 'adjectival educations' and challenges to the unitary framing of global critical education in development terms. Discursively, they represent the coming together of influences from international policy as well as domestic politics and organisational influences. From the Rio Conference in 1992 with its emphasis on sustainable development to the 50th anniversary of the UN Declaration on Human Rights in 1998, these 'adjectival

educations' were identified as related to DE and fundable by Irish Aid under its DE scheme, once they involved a global dimension. These included education for sustainable development (ESD), human rights education (HRE), intercultural education (ICE) and global citizenship education (GCE).

The promotion of HRE was significantly advanced through work in this area by Trócaire and Amnesty International in the light of the ratification of the Convention on the Rights of the Child by Ireland in 1992. Stipulating that all children should have access to HRE, a UN Decade for HRE was declared in 1995. At the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) in South Africa in 2002, commitments to ESD were developed and in 2005, the UN United Nations Decade for ESD was launched. In the end, it was not until 2014 that a strategy for ESD was developed in Ireland. Though in other countries the strategy usually built on an existing environmental education strategy, in the Irish case, its natural companion was considered to be DE (DES, 2014). Like other adjectival educations, many development educators not only embraced ESD but contributed to shaping its policy articulation.

Where ESD and HRE had their origins in international development and human rights policy, ICE was framed as an important education strategy for promoting integration and anti-racism in the face of a changing Ireland. Growing references to GCE reflected the emphasis on citizenship education at second level, the taskforce on citizenship (2006) as well as growing concerns about the need for citizenship education in East and Central Europe following the fall of the Berlin Wall and the expansion of the European Union (EU) in the 1990s and early 2000s. In general, by the time the first DE strategy was published in 2003, the link was already made by government between DE and related adjectival educations, with their promotion often advanced using a DE framing. The question was whether they would divert attention away from DE or help to re-shape it, and if the latter, would it be in more mainstream or more critical terms?

Fall-out from the financial crisis and the new professionalisation of DE – from 2008 to the present

There is little doubt that the period following 2008 has been characterised by the fall-out from the global financial crisis and the subsequent recession and austerity in Ireland. As a result, there were immediate and significant cuts to ODA overall, and disproportionately to DE, e.g., government allocations to DE fell from €5.71 million in 2008 to €2.9 million in 2014. Institutionally, Irish Aid's dominance of DE grew through funding, partnerships, and accountability, good governance and measurement requirements. From a discursive point of view, there was growing emphasis on promoting development engagement, on the global, as well as on accountability. In advance of the recession, Irish Aid's second strategic plan (2007-2011) was developed, which made a commitment to promote DE in a variety of settings and Khoo argues that around that time 'an ambitious agenda began to emerge around the mainstreaming, formalisation and professionalisation of DE' (2011: 1). At the same time, she argues, the recession moved DE 'from an expansionary to a contractionary or survivalist mode' (ibid: 2).

The Synthesis Paper (2011), which was produced from a set of reviews undertaken on behalf of Irish Aid, highlighted extensive DE activity going on in Ireland at the time. Despite this, it identified the need for Irish Aid to work more strategically in partnership with key DE providers and through commercial contractors. Global Education Network Europe (GENE) has argued that this has 'led to the successful and widespread integration of DE in some cases' (2015: 54). At the same time, it has contributed to the construction of a 'two-tier' DE sector with the bigger, better funded, more organised partnerships and NGDOs on the one side and smaller, more financially vulnerable and less 'mainstreamed' organisations and groups on the other. This can be partly explained by what Khoo (n.d) calls the fragmented but state-centric nature of civil society, which is highly dependent on the state. For her, 'being too coordinated with the state also results in a civil society that does not raise the necessary critical, alternative and counterbalancing views' (ibid: 6). Many smaller DE organisations became more dependent on Irish Aid and IDEA (2014) argues that cuts in

Irish Aid funding severely affected regional DE and One World Centres (2014), while others carved out their own independently or externally funded engagement in DE.

By working in partnership with NGDOs, education institutions and DE organisations, Irish Aid also established its position of dominance through consultation and consent. In this, IDEA's role in consolidating the DE sector in Ireland over recent years has been widely acknowledged, especially in enhancing 'the coordination of those engaged in DE, in strengthening their capacity, and in providing a vision for its membership' (GENE 2015: 27). As such, it has facilitated consultations on a number of aspects of DE on behalf of Irish Aid and their work is viewed by Irish Aid as 'commendable and a welcome initiative to help strengthen coherence among stakeholders in the field' (Irish Aid, 2016a: 26).

Despite their contribution to IDEA and their work in DE more broadly, some commentators argue that the bigger NGDOs are less interested in DE now than in the past and that this has also helped to cement Irish Aid dominance of the field. Regan (2016) argues that:

> "there has been the significant withdrawal of (too) many NGOs from effective and sustained DE ... At present the dominant 'site' of energy around DE is that of the Irish Aid agenda and its modalities ... it will lead to scenarios witnessed in other countries where government effectively controls the agenda, its priority foci and its politics".

Contrary to this view, spending on DE by Concern and Trócaire, for example, is relatively high. In 2015, Concern's budget for DE and advocacy was €3.68 million and Trócaire's budget for DE and communications was €2.5 million. While this is the case, the proportion of this allocated to DE is unclear and proportionate funding for DE and advocacy has declined from a high for Concern in 2007 of 3.64 per cent to 2.08 per cent in 2015 and, in relation to DE and communications in Trócaire, from a high in 2004 of 7.8

per cent to a low of 3.9 per cent in 2015. It is also the case that they still play a relatively significant role in their own DE work as well as in allocating DE grants to smaller organisations.

Apart from funding cuts and new working relationships, another key influence on DE in the 2000s was the growing emphasis on good governance, accountability and measurement. Driven by new managerialism and framed in DE in terms of aid effectiveness, emphasis on it was enhanced in Ireland following the recession in 2008. This was reflected in Irish Aid DE strategic plans as well as in the governance and funding mechanisms which were instigated as a result, e.g., the current strategic plan's priorities which are framed in what it calls its 'logic model' and its Performance Management Framework (PMF). Hardiman and MacCarthaigh (2013), for example, reflect on the centralised control and rationalisation associated with the politics of reducing the state in the wake of the recession. The need for the state to respond to its debt crisis served, in this case, to further justify the application of performance management frameworks to the DE wing of development cooperation. It also represented a way of showing 'value for money', initially at a time of projected growth (up to 2008) followed by budgetary restriction and increased public criticism of spending on aid (Delaney, 2012). Though not as powerful a lobby as in the UK, such criticisms helped cement support for accountability and NGDO governance mechanisms even among NGDOs who might otherwise criticise them. This was buttressed by scandals and questions over governance in NGDOs and the consequent support by government for new charity regulations. Through accountability, good governance and measurement tools and legislation, Irish Aid was therefore able to exert more direct control over what DE organisations and activities were funded or not.

In the context of a more professionalised, results-oriented and state-led organisational context, discourses of DE have begun to move beyond DE and educators have embraced a range of influences, including the push to build support for aid and development through 'development engagement', a focus on the global and on citizenship, and notions of 'best practice' and

accountability. Fielder, Bryan and Bracken (2011) highlight that one of the key themes and tensions, which has pervaded DE in the Irish context, is the relationship between public information or awareness of aid, and DE. Increasingly, public information and communications, as well as advocacy and campaigning have found a home along with DE under the terms 'development engagement' or 'public engagement'. The DAC Peer Review in 2009 encouraged the Irish government to 'strengthen its efforts to communicate its role in Ireland's development cooperation and illustrate the impacts of using different aid modalities' (OECD, 2009: 28).

IDEA, in its consultation document around the review of the White Paper on Irish Aid, agrees that there is a need for deep public engagement on development but argues that public communication and information exercises are not sufficient. Where these are prioritised 'support will remain "a mile wide and an inch deep"' (2012: 11), IDEA argues. It calls on NGDOs to 'adopt far more ambitious policies for public engagement. Public engagement in Ireland is crucial – not only to support aid – but to eradicate structural global inequalities' (ibid). The key issue here is the growing conflation between DE which is or can be critical of development and aid and development engagement which is usually not. With Irish Aid pushing the value of and funding for the latter, where does this leave critical DE?

Concerns about the blurring of lines between DE and development engagement are even more acute with the big NGDOs also moving away from talking about DE and embracing the language of public engagement. Though it still sees DE as central to its work, Concern, for example, argues that 'public education, advocacy and campaigning are all essential components in equipping people to take informed action for change, deepening their commitment to international development and to eliminating extreme poverty' (2016a: 13). Trócaire's 2012 strategic framework was framed in terms of 'mobilising for justice'. Trócaire describes DE as remaining 'a flagship programme' while it has continued to 'build our campaigning and advocacy work' and 'external communications profile' (Trócaire, 2012: 22). In its latest strategic plan, it talks about the

opportunities for Trócaire to 'increase the levels of public engagement in our work for a more just and sustainable world' (2016: 21).

This increasing focus on development engagement has been influenced significantly by changing priorities and understandings of DE in the international development context, for example, both Irish Aid and IDEA refer to the OECD DAC's work in this area. The move among NGDOs towards short-term results-based activism rather than more long-term DE is mirrored, Weber argues, in Canada and England where there has been 'a shift in the nature of INGO development education programming from a sustained dialogical focus of learning towards programming that emphasizes the shorter-term outcomes of fund-raising and advocacy campaigns' (2014: 24). The growing conflation between DE and development engagement, with its emphasis on campaigning and advocacy alongside communication and public information, is in danger of shifting DE towards education for development with its 'support for' rather than 'critical engagement with' development.

Another shift 'beyond DE' towards 'the global' has come in light of the move from the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which feature prominantly in the Irish Aid DE Strategy 2017 – 2023. It highlights the 'important role for global citizenship education including DE' in target 4.7 of the SDGs (2016: 10). The SDGs indicate a shift internationally from focusing on poverty and inequality in 'the Global South' to addressing these issues globally, and there is greater focus on sustainability and environmental challenges and responses. At the same time, as they are still framed broadly within a goals, targets, and measurement approach, they are potentially prone to repeating the inadequacies of the MDGs, especially if North-South notions of development are not challenged. In addition, IDEA argues that 'the SDGs require active citizen participation and broad partnerships in order to achieve the transformative change which they promise' (2016: 3), and it reiterates the role that DE can play in that.

In tandem with a shift in emphasis in the development goals, other terms such as GCE have become popular (Bourn, 2014), and the most recent Irish Aid DE strategy frames DE under GCE, a significant departure from previous understandings (2016). Though there has been some debate about terms and understandings of DE in Ireland, which have featured over the years in various reports (Kenny and O'Malley 2002), there is a reluctance in the Irish context to let debates about DE over-shadow the work. While the shift to the global and GCE represents a more connected understanding of global development, its potential to challenge existing North-South development assumptions in DE remains a challenge.

Along with the professionalisation of DE, a key feature of discourses of DE in recent years has been the increasing prominence of the notion of 'best practice' or 'good practice' in DE. Following an Irish Aid recommendation in its strategic plan (2007), IDEA has promoted good practice through the development of various guidelines, e.g., for schools (2011), for producing DE resources, and for DE in adult and community settings (2014). Other sets of 'good practice guidelines' developed include those for DE in volunteering (Comhlámh, 2013) and in primary schools (DICE, 2014). Currently, general 'good practice' guidelines are being piloted among some IDEA members. This emphasis supports a type of professionalisation of DE which conflates 'good' or 'best practice' with accountability, good governance and measurement for results, with IDEA and NGDOs following Irish Aid in advancing the calls for accountability in the face of 'huge challenges and a potential crisis of trust' (IDEA, 2014: 5). Though the language of accountability has become pervasive, it is not understood in uniform terms throughout, with some emphasising accountability in terms of responsibilities to donors, whereas others regard it as 'helping civil society become involved in holding governments, institutions and the private sector to account' (Trócaire, 2012: 31). At the same time, there is very little open critique of accountability or governance frameworks and their influence on DE in Ireland, and even where the emphasis on, or approaches to, measurement are questioned, its overall value is often taken for granted.

Many of these recent global trends were emphasised in the GENE Review of Global Education in Ireland (2015). The review process which GENE undertook on the request of Irish Aid, involved significant engagement among DE practitioners and policy makers in Ireland and it served to focus Irish Aid on DE and to contribute to its articulation of a third strategic plan for DE in Ireland (2016). While the GENE Review recommendations largely reflect submissions to the review on behalf of IDEA members, its influence remains to be seen. As yet, there has been little significant change in the structure and organisation of DE since the publication of the GENE Review or the latest Irish Aid strategic plan.

Conclusion

The approach to critical history I have adopted here, which is influenced by Foucault's approach to genealogy, shows that understandings of DE are not fixed but created, shaped, negotiated and struggled over in different institutional contexts. As such, it does not regard the reality of DE as natural or as a progressive result of the past but shaped by the very real day-to-day living out of decisions and struggles. Exploring the past to understand the present it calls us to question our assumptions about and understandings of DE, where they might have come from and what they might mean. As evident here, there have been different waves of discursive and institutional influence in the Irish context where discourses are embedded in layers over time. While emphasis on some is replaced by others, they often linger in complimentary or contradictory co-existence.

In adopting this critical history approach, this article gives some insight into why critical discourses of DE are often accompanied, and sometimes overtaken, by more technical, individualised or charity ones e.g., with growing emphasis on development engagement and talk of accountability, good governance and the need for measuring results. It highlights the power relations shaping our understandings and practices of DE, showing the rising dominance of Irish Aid in DE in Ireland in consultation and partnership with NGDOs, which has resulted in growing threats to the potential criticality of DE.

A critical understanding of how DE has been shaped by different influences offers insights into how it can be shaped more critically or instrumentally, collectively or individually, through more or fewer resources, in formal or non-formal contexts. It also invites more critical histories of DE, which place emphasis on different voices or experiences and which can provide new and alternative insights into the past of DE in Ireland so that we can more critically understand the present and shape the future.

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Illuminating the Exploration of Conflict through the Lens of Global Citizenship Education

Benjamin Mallon

Abstract: Citizenship Education has been suggested as a means of addressing conflict, both as an issue for the island of Ireland, and more recently as a global matter. With the challenges presented by national forms of citizenship, particularly in Northern Ireland (NI), educators have considered models of citizenship which engage with broader forms of identity (Kerr, McCarthy and Smith, 2002; McCully, 2008; Smith, 2003). As one such approach, Global Citizenship Education (GCE) seeks to deepen understanding of global injustice and to promote transformative action (Bourn, 2015; Bryan and Bracken, 2011; Davies, 2006; Griffiths, 1998).

GCE can also be considered as education for peacebuilding which addresses violence at local and global levels (Ardizzone, 2003; Harris, 2004; Smith, 2010; Reilly and Niens, 2014). Indeed, peacebuilding has been identified as a specific focus for several approaches to GCE (Davies, 2006; Goren and Yemini, 2018; Niens and Reilly, 2010; Reardon, 1988; Noddings, 2005) yet research into such approaches remains scarce.

This article draws on a qualitative doctoral research study which explored the theoretical frameworks underpinning 13 peacebuilding education programmes developed for schools in NI and the Republic of Ireland (RoI), to consider how the global dimension of conflict is addressed within such interventions. The article finds that GCE provides an important framework for exploring conflict. A focus on distant conflict is perceived as a less controversial entry point into teaching and learning about conflict. The process of reflecting back onto local issues presents challenges, yet Education for Humanitarian Law (EHL) offers a robust and agreed framework where distant conflicts can be analysed and introspection is possible. This is particularly important when a critical GCE lens is applied to

the space between the local and the global, and interconnections, problematic allegiances and notable absences are revealed.

Key words: Peacebuilding Education; Global Citizenship Education; Education for Humanitarian Law; War.

Introduction

Global Citizenship Education (often used interchangeably with Development Education within the Irish context, and throughout this article) seeks to empower learners to develop their understanding of local and global injustices and act to create a fairer world (Bourn, 2015; Bryan and Bracken, 2011; Davies, 2006; Griffiths, 1998). Approaches to GCE, structured around the work of Galtung and Freire explore conflict as a matter of injustice perpetrated through direct and structural violence (Harris, 2004). From this perspective, GCE is education for peacebuilding which addresses violence at local and global levels (Ardizzone, 2003; Harris, 2004; Smith, 2010; Reilly and Niens, 2014). Indeed, peacebuilding has been identified as a specific focus for several approaches to GCE (Davies, 2006; Goren and Yemini, 2018; Niens and Reilly, 2010; Reardon, 1988; Noddings, 2005). The relationship between globalisation and violent conflict has prompted calls for education systems to attend to GCE (Peters and Thayer, 2013; Pigozzi, 2006). As Davies explains:

> "global citizenship identity is the recognition that conflict and peace are firstly rarely confined to national boundaries, and secondly that even stable societies are implicated in war elsewhere - whether by default (choosing not to intervene) or actively in terms of aggression and invasion" (2006: 10).

Importantly, existing research suggests that many young people are inquisitive about the causes and consequences of conflict (Davies, Harber and Yamashita, 2005; Niens and Reilly, 2010; Yamashita, 2006).

Education has been promoted as a means of addressing violence across the island of Ireland (Dunn, 1986; Smith, 1995; Pollak, 2005) with programmes focused on the development of cross-community relations, particularly within NI (Cairns and Cairns, 1995; Duffy, 2000; Robinson, 1983; Smith, 1995). Increasing numbers of Citizenship Education programmes, often developed and facilitated by outside agencies have been noted (Richardson, 2008; Rooney, 2008; Smith, 2003) yet there has been limited research exploring how such approaches are developed and delivered (Bajaj, 2004; Gill and Niens, 2014; Novelli and Smith, 2011). This article draws on the findings of a doctoral research study which addressed the research question: what theoretical frameworks underpin the design and practice of peacebuilding education programmes developed for schools across the island of Ireland?

The programmes in this study addressed different dimensions of conflict including conflict at an interpersonal level, a consideration of the Irish conflict, and engagement with the global dimension of conflict, which considers violent conflicts outside of the island of Ireland, but, as is considered shortly, which may be deeply connected to local issues. This article explores how conflict, as a global theme, is conceptualised in the development of peacebuilding education programmes and seeks to provide an analysis of the potential of such approaches in supporting young people to better understand violent conflict and to act for a more peaceful world.

Education for conflict or education for peace?

International research argues that educational policies and practices may perpetuate conflict (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000; Davies, 2004a; Harber, 2004; Sommers, 2002; Smith and Vaux, 2003; Smith, 2005, 2011; Tawil and Harley, 2004; Buckland, 2006). Education has at times fuelled conflict by increasing inequality and reducing social cohesion (Brown, 2011). Schools are places where direct violence occurs (Harber, 2004; Cremin, 2015). In her 'Typology for Teaching and Learning about Conflict', Davies (2005a) argues that different educational practices can contribute to negative conflict. Further supported by more recent literature, these include the omission of

conflict from the classroom (Cole, 2007; Salmi, 2000; Sánchez Meertens, 2013), instances where war is portrayed as routine and peacebuilding ignored (Davis, 2002; Perera, Wijetunge and Balasooriya, 2004), teaching of stereotypes and promotion of negative international allegiances (Davies, Harber and Schweisfurth, 2002), teaching for militarisation (Davies, 1999, Gor, 2003; Najcevska, 2000) and at the most extreme, educational approaches which promote hate by denigrating other groups (Bar-Tal 1996; Bar-Tal and Rosen, 2009; Du Preez, 2014; Firer and Adwan 2004; Frayha, 2004; Mitter, 2001; Papadakis, 2008; Stabback, 2004). Indeed, Davies (2005c) suggests that 'without a massive dismantling of the examination system and a radical rethinking of the goals of education, the most it could probably do is to do no further harm' (639).

Nevertheless, educators attempt to tackle the complexities of violent conflict in the classroom, and there is increasing global interest in the potential role of education in supporting peacebuilding processes, particularly in post-conflict societies (Akar, 2014; Novelli and Higgins, 2016). Davies (2005a) suggests that teaching and learning for peacebuilding has often focused on tolerance (Bar-Tal, Rosen and Nets-Zehngut, 2010; Dunn, 1986; Harris, 2004; Salomon, 2002, 2006), personal conflict resolution (Salomon, 2006), humanitarian law (Tawil, 2001), dialogic approaches (du Preez, 2014; Gill and Niens, 2014; Quaynor, 2012) and finally encounter, which has received much attention in the NI context (e.g. Cairns, 1982; Hewstone, et al., 2006). However, peacebuilding education programmes are perceived as difficult to develop (Kupermintz and Salomon 2005; Firer 2008; Maoz, 2011) and there is a need for research which offers a deeper exploration of educational interventions aimed at building peace (Buckland, 2006; Davies, 2005a, 2010a; Tomlinson and Benefield, 2005; Salomon, 2002, 2004, 2006).

Curricular GCE in RoI and NI
Increased ethnic diversity within the RoI had prompted questioning of national-oriented forms of citizenship, and alongside developing European Union (EU) membership, provided the context for the emergence of active participatory forms of citizenship education (Hammond and Looney, 2000;

Kerr, McCarthy and Smith, 2002). The 2003 inclusion of the Civic Social and Political Education (CSPE) syllabus within the RoI curriculum provided an important avenue for GCE. Alongside the participatory methodologies which underpinned the syllabus, the inclusion of an action project component was an important milestone (Jeffers, 2008; Redmond and Butler, 2003). An emphasis on fundraising constituted a quarter of action projects; however war and conflict were increasingly noted as common themes (Wilson, 2008). Several civil society and political groups supported the curricular and extra-curricular delivery of GCE within schools (Barry, 2008; Tormey, 2006). The work of these organisations is recognised as important in shaping GCE in formal education in Ireland (Bryan and Bracken, 2011) and requires consideration within any exploration of educational programmes.

Developing the practice of Citizenship Education in a divided society such as NI posed several challenges (Smith, 2003). With a history of political conflict, the relationship between nationalism and violent conflict threw doubt on the appropriateness of national-oriented forms of Citizenship Education, yet there remained a belief in the potential of alternative approaches (Niens and McIlrath, 2010). Gradually, NI moved from the Education for Mutual Understanding programme to a curriculum-based model though the piloting of Social, Civic and Political Education and in 2007 to Local and Global Citizenship (Arlow, 1999, 2004; Richardson, 2008). Centred on diversity, democracy, equality and human rights this curriculum sought to provide a balance between rights and civic republicanism and the opportunity to move beyond disputed national identities (McCully, 2008).

The global dimension was considered an important asset of this curriculum in NI, particularly in relation to issues of conflict. McCully (2006) argues that exploring other conflicts at a distance, in contexts geographically and temporally divorced from the sensitivity of local and national issues may give young people the opportunity to consider controversial themes in a manner which avoids overemphasis on local and national issues. More recently, McCully (2008) suggests that turning the

gaze back upon NI has, when structured carefully, facilitated deeper understandings of conflict closer to home. How the connections and reflections between conflict within local and global contexts requires deeper exploration.

Methodology

This article draws on a research study which sought to investigate the theories underpinning the development of peacebuilding education programmes designed for schools across the island of Ireland. After gaining university ethical approval, the study employed a qualitative approach to undertake deeper examination of both peacebuilding education (McEvoy-Levy, 2001) and GCE practice (Bryan and Bracken, 2011; Fiedler et al., 2011). More specifically, it explored the perspectives and experiences of 15 educators involved in the development and delivery of 13 school-based peacebuilding education programmes. This research employed a combination sampling approach (Cohen and Arieli, 2011) utilising quota sampling, where advertised programmes were identified and approached, alongside parallel snowball sampling, where existing participants suggested potential participants (Cohen and Arieli, 2011; Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007; Wessel and Hirtum, 2013). Such an approach has been utilised successfully with existing research focused on GCE (Bryan and Bracken, 2011) and peacebuilding education (Bickmore, 2005a, 2005b, 2010; Levy, 2014; Nasser, Abu-Nimer and Mahmoud, 2014).

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with fifteen consenting educators to explore the theoretical frameworks which had shaped the design of peacebuilding education programmes. These audio-recorded interviews lasted between 60 and 120 minutes and were transcribed verbatim. Documents pertaining to the programmes were also collected to provide an opportunity to compare data (Angrosino, 2007; Flick, 2007). Data were analysed through the NVivo qualitative software package using a framework of thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006). This involved a reading and re-reading of data, an initial descriptive coding which attributed labels to

sections of data, followed by the development and refinement of key themes, which included the global dimension of conflict.

Findings

Overview of the programmes

The 13 programmes explored within the study were developed by agencies outside of the schools which they served. These organisations were primarily non-governmental organisations (NGOs), but also included education bodies such as third level institutions. Whilst each of the programmes served post-primary schools across the island of Ireland, two programmes also engaged with primary schools in both jurisdictions. All but one of the 13 programmes directly worked with children and young people in the classroom, delivering student workshops, utilising specially developed learning resources and, for seven of the programmes, facilitating opportunities for students to meet and work with students from other backgrounds. Eight of the programmes also offered some aspect of teacher education.

Participants identified citizenship components of the post-primary curricula in both jurisdictions (CSPE in RoI and Local and Global Citizenship in NI) as important points of connection for their programmes, with the Transition Year programme, a one year post-Junior Cycle course for schools in RoI, identified as an important space for teaching about conflict in line with existing research (Honan, 2005; Kinlen et al. 2013). Most programmes identified extracurricular time as important for the delivery of the programme in some schools. Throughout the study, programmes included a focus on several ongoing conflicts in Israel-Palestine, Ukraine, Afghanistan, Lebanon and the Democratic Republic of Congo, as well as referring to historical conflicts.

There were contrasting ways in which the global dimension of peacebuilding was approached both within and between programmes; however, it appeared that educators have sought to move beyond the acritical addition of international material to citizenship education programmes, or raising 'global awareness' (Davies, 2006; Davies, Evans and Reid, 2005).

This article now considers how the exploration of distant conflicts is perceived as a meaningful and less controversial engagement with conflict. It then explores how such learning might be reflected on to local issues, before utilising a critical GCE lens to consider issues of interdependence, allegiance and absence within the space between the local and global.

<u>Distant conflicts and the challenges of local reflection</u>
Although young people express desire to know more about conflict (Davies, 2005a), addressing conflict within Citizenship Education classrooms is often perceived as deeply challenging and controversial, particularly within post-conflict societies (Arlow, 2004; Davies, 2005a; Smith and Robinson, 1996; McCully, 2008). However, for programmes within this study, providing an opportunity for young people to engage with such issues was a key aim:

> "[Through a global focus] they develop a better understanding of what conflict really means, you know?" (Fergal, Peace Initiative, pseudonyms here and throughout).

Such an approach was perceived as providing young people with the opportunity to compare the causes and consequences of violent conflict in different contexts throughout the world. For some participants, a focus on distant conflicts provided an opportunity to shift focus away from the Irish conflict and 'relentless introspection' (McCully, 2008: 4):

> "I think [global perspectives] are important because I think in Northern Ireland we are quite insular. [Northern Ireland] gets very set in its ways. I think with the other work you definitely get a different perspective and they are not so caught up with community relations" (Iris, Building Peace).

There was also the perception that focusing on distant conflicts might lessen the discomfort often associated with addressing local conflict in Northern Ireland.

> "We weren't honing in on Northern Ireland, the island of Ireland. We were bringing it in by default, we were sneaking it in the back door if you like … Well, focusing on the outside can help to deflect the difficulties, or the discomfort" (Eugene, Peacebuilding Schools).

Within the Peacebuilding Schools programme, the initial exploration of conflict concentrated beyond the island of Ireland, before returning to local issues. Using distant conflicts to reflect on to local issues, as suggested by McCully (2006), was perceived as a viable strategy within some of the peacebuilding programmes. More specifically, programmes considered controversial themes in a manner which avoided an overemphasis on local issues. Several participants referenced the potential of a comparative approach, not only to the violence associated with conflicts further afield, but also to the peacebuilding processes associated with such events:

> "I was conscious, when we talked about examples of peacebuilding in the past, which we hadn't had time to explore properly. One example was when France and Germany got together to ensure there was a peace process" (Brendan, Peace and Reconciliation).

Speaking of his lengthy experience in the area, Brendan expressed belief in the importance of exploring peace processes beyond the Belfast/Good Friday Agreement. Fiona similarly noted that common features of peace processes could be important avenues for exploration with young people:

> "[Commonalities between peace processes include] I suppose that the notion that you have to bring people to the table. There has to be some kind of give and take. There has to be some kind of negotiation on it, some kind of implications for everyone. I think that can go across the board" (Fiona, Transform).

With a focus on peacebuilding processes in other contexts, these programmes provide a contrast educational approaches criticised for a focus on violence in

conflict at the expense of the work done by individuals and organisations building peace (Davis, 2002; Perera, Wijetunge and Balasooriya, 2004).

<u>Education for humanitarian law as a framework for conflict analysis</u>
Drawing on the work of Tawil (2001), Davies (2005a) identifies that educational approaches built around International Humanitarian Law (IHL) have been utilised in Djibouti, NI, Lebanon, South Africa and Morocco. Focused explicitly on IHL enacted in times of war, Education for Humanitarian Law (EHL) aims to support learners to view complex local and global conflicts with a humanitarian perspective, and to facilitate action around the protection and promotion of humanitarian attitudes (Tawil, 2000). Both Peace Blocks and Transform were peacebuilding education programmes developed around frameworks of IHL. However, as Eileen explained, young people often knew little of the rules governing conflict situations:

> "Not enough people know what the law is. Young people should know that there are limits in armed conflicts, and humanitarian consequences for the people involved" (Eileen, Peace Blocks).

Despite the challenge of young people's lack of prior knowledge, an approach rooted in law provides a robust framework for the analysis of conflict. This solidity was of importance as the Progress Peace programme explored the conflict between Palestine and Israel:

> "It was important to hang [the programme] on a framework because for some people it's a very contentious issue. It's reported in the media a lot in a certain way and people can have certain personal feelings about it" (Fiona, Transform).

Humanitarian law provided the programme with a widely agreed framework for a critical analysis of incidents within the Israel-Palestine conflict. For the Peace Blocks programme, Eileen explained that maintaining such a stance sometimes presented challenges: 'things like impartiality and neutrality can

be quite difficult in different situations' (Eileen, *Peace Blocks*). Importantly, Fiona perceived that using an IHL framework was a means of assuaging any possible criticisms of bias.

> "[The programme] couldn't be seen as lobbying or forcing people into viewing the conflict in a certain way. Whether it was to come down on the Israeli side or the Palestinian side, it had to be, 'You're looking at the facts. You're looking at international law. What are you going to do?'… It's like you're on a tightrope and you have to try and keep everybody happy and not stray too far (Fiona, Transform).

Fiona's attempts to avoid accusations of bias resonate with those educators attempting to develop a neutral or politically balanced programme (Solhaug, 2013). However, whether educators can come close to impartiality or neutrality is deeply contested (McCully, 2006; McCully and Barton, 2010). Indeed, peacebuilding programmes with a specific focus on the Irish conflict have been criticised for claiming to hold a neutral position (Emerson, 2012). The 'tight-rope' that Fiona describes appears to come about as she navigates two positions. Firstly, there is the need to communicate how failure to adhere to international humanitarian law has resulted in death and destruction. Secondly, there is the need to avoid employing, or being perceived to employ, an educational approach which perpetuates negative conflict through allegiance (Davies, 2005a).

Within her practice, Patricia had considered the extent to which EHL focused on distant conflicts could be developed to offer a reflective lens:

> "I guess it is something we have been talking about and discussing. How does [international humanitarian law] relate to [the Irish Conflict]? For me personally, you can look at some of the activities and in your debrief, bring it back to 'What about here? What if that was in your own context? If there was a violent conflict here, who

should be protected? Do you think there should be rules to protect people if there's violent situations?'" (Patricia, Peace Blocks).

McCully (2008) argues that any global-local reflection requires careful planning and, within these examples, EHL appeared to offer a powerful framework by which young people could deepen their knowledge and understanding of IHL, develop the skills of critical analysis across different conflict contexts, and could critically reflect onto conflict on the island of Ireland.

Critical Global Citizenship Education and conflict-related interdependence

Despite increased recognition in both NI and ROI, there remain significant barriers to the implementation of more critical forms of GCE (Bryan and Bracken, 2011; Reilly and Niens, 2014). With citizenship in NI often concerned with addressing the challenges of education in a post-conflict society, Deborah suggested that looking across the border offered alternative perspectives:

> "I just find it useful from a development education angle, the work with organisations [in the RoI]. I think that a global justice campaign is stronger in the south than it is in the north. There's a lot [Northern Ireland] can learn from that you know" (Deborah, Point Forward).

GCE has been an important aspect of the educational landscape of the RoI since the 1970s (Connolly, 1979; Lane, 1978) and Deborah suggested that this experience offered an interesting contrast and compliment to the existing peacebuilding approaches in NI. Drawing on critical approaches to GCE, some programmes offered a different view of the relationship between the local and global dimensions of conflict:

> "There's the local focus and the global focus. Young people are living in a globally interdependent world where they see these conflicts on the news. They seem so distant to them and might seem

that they're not relevant… British armed forces could be involved in these conflicts. These young people could end up in the armed forces. They are going to be voters one day who are making decisions. This is relevant" (Patricia, Peace Blocks).

The identification of conflict-related interconnections also provided fruitful focus for other programmes:

"We would give them a little bit of input on, for example how much money is spent on weapons in the world. So young people have some sense of the money that's spent on weapons versus money that's spent on anti-poverty work in developing countries. That's always something they get quite engaged with" (Fergal, Peace Initiative).

The interviews revealed that some programmes would emphasise the exploration of the interconnections between local spaces and wider conflict-related themes.

The development of such interconnections is deemed a central component of educational approaches concerned with both understanding violence (Salmi, 2000) and building peace (Niens and Reilly, 2010; Reilly and Niens, 2014; Synott, 2005). Furthermore, exploring the interconnection between local and global issues is seen as a prerequisite of 'critical' forms of citizenship education (Bryan and Bracken, 2011). Ideas of interdependence move beyond what Andreotti (2006) defines as the 'soft' forms of GCE and equal interconnection, to consider the critical aspects of GCE, as asymmetrical relationships connected to globalisation and military action. Certainly for the Peace Initiative and Peace Blocks, exploring interconnection offered the opportunity to consider national issues, such as military budget or policy, which have often been left out of those peacebuilding approaches which jump from personal conflict to global issues without considering the problematic national level involvement in armed conflict (Davies, 2005b). Furthermore, the direct engagement with themes

such as militarisation suggests a clear challenge to themes associated with negative conflict such as education for 'defence' or 'militarisation' (Davies, 2005a; Gor, 2003; Najcevska, 2000).

Eugene explained that the Peacebuilding Schools programme had unearthed several interconnections between local spaces on the island of Ireland and the Israel-Palestine conflict:

> "And the other interdependence point is that there are Israeli companies in Ireland. There's the whole question of the boycott. There are Irish people going out on pilgrimages out there. There are Israeli holiday makers over here. We're involved with the European Union. There are the United Nations Irish troops in Lebanon … We need to work more on the interdependence idea a little bit more, make it clear" (Eugene, Peacebuilding Schools).

Participants revealed the importance of critical analyses of the relationships between NI, RoI and elsewhere across the globe. Indeed, the action or inaction of countries in relation to violent conflict is seen as an important component of peacebuilding forms of GCE (Davies, 2006). In addressing peacebuilding in both NI and RoI, these programmes offer an important opportunity for young people in both jurisdictions to consider how local spaces, national policies and global issues are interconnected, and propose a challenge to the 'omission of the national' (Davies, 2005a: 29), or the gap between personal conflict and large-scale violent conflict.

In a divergent example, Deborah suggested that exploring cross-border interconnection between NI and RoI could serve as a stepping stone to exploring interconnections with global issues and themes. She explained:

> "And where better than to start on an island that's really divided? I mean to create that sense of interconnectedness, solidarity, spread that out all across the world" (Deborah, Point Forward).

Indeed, educational programmes tasked with overcoming the numerous challenges of division and conflict on the island of Ireland, may indeed offer a great deal in terms of informing the challenge of developing broader conceptualisations of interdependence and interconnectedness. Finally, it is important to note that these interconnections are a means of connecting local spaces to global issues, whilst at the same time illuminating how national themes are deeply connected to violent conflict. The exploration of such interconnections would also appear to correspond to the 'knowledge for global survival' that Davies (2005a: 30) argues can underpin students' positive action and which appear pressing when consideration is given to ineffective responses to the forced migration of people fleeing conflicts across the world (Park, 2015), damaging EU trade practices connected to violent conflict, such as the relationship between timber export and the conflict in the Central African Republic (Global Witness, 2015) and the involvement of EU member states in arms production and trade underpinning contemporary conflicts across the globe (Valero, 2015).

Global Citizenship as negative allegiance
Whilst many participants considered the development of local-global interconnections to be a positive tool for exploring conflict and supporting young people's deeper understanding of complex issues, there was one incident which raised questions about the relationship between local and distant conflicts. Eugene described an introductory session to the Peacebuilding Schools programme which took place in a school in Belfast. He was introducing the Israel-Palestine conflict which included sharing basic information about Israel and Palestine such as the respective flags:

> "I'll never forget the girl, a Belfast girl, when I showed the two flags. [I said] 'Have you seen these flags before?' And the girl said 'My Da has that [Israeli flag] on the roof of the house. I don't even know what's it's about'" (Eugene, Peacebuilding Schools).

The young person participating in the programme identified that an Israeli flag flew on the roof of her father's house. Although she appeared unable to

explain why it was placed there at the time, the presence of such a flag within the local space symbolised existing connections between the Irish conflict and the Israel-Palestine conflict. Hill and White (2008) have identified that both Israeli and Palestinian flags have been flown in certain areas of NI since 2002, signifying a perceived allegiance between communities in the conflict-affected regions.

This highlights two challenges faced by peacebuilding programmes which explore conflicts beyond the island of Ireland. Firstly, young people within programmes across the island of Ireland may have evolving understandings of the Israel-Palestine conflict which may take the form of allegiance to one side or another. Davies (2005a) argues that allegiances are a contemporary feature of certain conflicts, with individuals or groups announcing solidarity with groups involved in violent conflict elsewhere in the world. These allegiances may be forms of identity which transcend legally defined citizenships (Heater, 1997). In one example, Davies, Harber and Schweisfurth (2002) found evidence of young people in Qatar demonstrating solidarity with Palestinians through the burning of the Israeli flag. Furthermore, Niens and Reilly (2012) identified that within a study on young people's experiences of GCE, Gaza was addressed as a topic within two maintained schools and that even the choice of conflict topic may represent allegiance.

The second factor here is the impact of negative allegiances with distant conflicts upon local conflict. The flying of Israeli or Palestinian flags not only highlights the existence of allegiances, but also represents how these symbols are drawn upon to reinforce existing divisions in relation to the Irish conflict (Hill and White, 2008; Nolan and Bryan, 2016). As such, there would appear to be a risk that young people may utilise distant conflicts to reinforce negative local conflict within the Irish context. On one hand, in addressing conflicts beyond the island of Ireland, there is a possibility that certain educational approaches could increase the risk of young people forming negative allegiances which undermine peacebuilding and perpetuate violent conflict. On the other, the negative connections between violent

conflicts may already shape young people's understanding in this area and should not be omitted.

Although research has suggested that incorporating proximal and remote conflicts within peacebuilding education may provide an important opportunity for learners to broaden their understanding (Kupermintz and Salomon, 2005), evidence within this study suggests the need for a deeper exploration of the connections between conflicts, such as the Irish (proximal) and Israel-Palestine (remote) conflicts, which feature within certain education programmes. Certainly, this reinforces the need for careful planning of peacebuilding education approaches which involve apparently abstract conflicts (McCully, 2006). It also supports the call for GCE 'which is inclusive of local identities and divisions' (Reilly and Niens, 2014: 72). Furthermore, it places added importance on placing young people and their local spaces at the centre of peacebuilding approaches, for it is within these local spaces that the interconnections between violent conflicts may appear.

The inclusion of young people from a minority ethnic background
Although both the RoI and NI have experienced increasing ethnic diversity in recent years, the limited educational inclusion of young people from minority ethnic backgrounds remains alarming (Bryan, 2010; Biggart, O'Hare and Connolly, 2013). Approaches to peacebuilding have engaged with a bifurcated perspective on conflict as an issue for those living on the island of Ireland. Indeed, programmes featured in this study had been developed with sensitivity to how some young people's understanding of conflict and peace may have been affected by familial and community connections to the Irish conflict (an analysis of which is beyond the scope of this paper). But it is important to recognise that participants also questioned who was being excluded from both peacebuilding education and broader approaches to building peace. Brigid explained that although Founding Peace was not developed with the inclusion of young people from a minority ethnic background in mind, it was part of a broader network of peacebuilding approaches which sought to include alternative local perspectives including perspectives from members of the Traveller Community.

The inclusion of minority ethnic individuals and communities signified the development of a more inclusive approach to peacebuilding citizenship education. Indeed, some participants highlighted the need to ensure an inclusive approach to citizenship education which involved the full diversity of the island of Ireland, not just those from a nationalist/republican/catholic or unionist/loyalist/protestant background. Frank suggested that the inclusion of the perspectives of young people from minority ethnic backgrounds was an important component of successful peacebuilding Citizenship Education, when employing methodologies based around dialogue, which required 'diverse people in the room' (Frank, Progress Peace). Iris suggested that peacebuilding education was beginning to expand its focus beyond the identities central to the Irish conflict:

> "[Peacebuilding education] is starting to recognise other ethnic minorities … It was always protestant or catholic. I just always feel like young people are just fed up with the protestant/catholic thing. You know, that there are other issues we could look at even together" (Iris, Building Peace).

Within an Irish context, Gallagher (2004) has called for an engagement with the 'voices and perspectives that have been traditionally excluded' (155). Indeed, the inclusion of young people from a minority ethnic background is considered a vital component of critical peacebuilding education, yet in many cases their perceptions and experiences are undervalued and ignored (Bickmore, 2012). In a CE study in the UK, Warwick (2008) identifies that for some young people, a concern about war stemmed from personal and familial connections to regions affected by conflict. It is important that education approaches seeking to address conflict should be inclusive of the perspectives and experiences of young people across the island of Ireland whose local understanding of conflict may be informed by personal, family and community experiences of the Irish conflict, but also conflicts in regions beyond the island of Ireland.

At another level, a specific focus on the inclusion of young people from a minority ethnic background would support wider social inclusion central to conflict transformation (Dupuy, 2008). In failing to include the perspectives of young people from minority ethnic backgrounds, there is danger that peacebuilding education approaches may mirror the national-oriented forms of citizenship education recognised for excluding certain minority groups (Niens, O'Connor and Smith, 2013; Scott and Lawson, 2002) which, within certain contexts, have served as a basis for violent conflict (Banks, 2004). For peacebuilding education to function as a transformative form of citizenship it must recognise young people's cultural identities (Banks, 2008) and balance engagement with conflict and addressing other forms of social division (Niens, O'Connor and Smith, 2013).

Conclusion

In providing the opportunity for young people in schools across the island of Ireland to engage with peacebuilding education, the educators and programmes in this study present a challenge to the omission of conflict from formal education (Davies (2005a). Levy (2014) argues that research which explores the teaching and learning of conflict must consider all levels of conflict and those programmes including a global dimension within their study of conflict offer an important contribution in that regard. Furthermore, a focus on peacebuilding as well as violent processes offers a challenge to the ideas of war as routine (Davies, 2005a) and the continued development of such spaces for young people to develop their understanding of both conflict and peacebuilding is imperative.

McCully (2006) argues that focusing on distant contexts may allow young people in NI to explore violent conflict without the need to immediately engage with controversial local and national issues. Some programme developers reasoned that in focusing on conflicts further afield, programmes had provided young people, particularly from NI, with a deeper general understanding of conflict, without having to consider more controversial local issues. McCully (2008) also suggests that a global focus

may support a meaningful reflection on local issues. Whilst this approach was a consideration for some programmes, a particularly robust framework for this reflection appeared to be through EHL and a focus on IHL in times of conflict. Such an approach may offer a valuable introduction for educators seeking to grapple with addressing conflict within the classroom.

The lens of critical GCE within peacebuilding education clearly illuminates issues of conflict–related interconnection and interdependence within a globalised world and raises questions of what types of action required to support a global peacebuilding. Several educators made strong arguments that any focus on distant issues of conflict should highlights issues of interconnection and interdependence. GCE offers a valuable opportunity for young people to consider local peacebuilding issues and cosmopolitan global themes (Kupermintz and Salomon, 2005; Reilly and Niens, 2014) as well as a consideration of implicatedness in conflict in a globalised world. Whilst connecting local and global themes is recognised as an important aspect of peacebuilding education (Synnott, 2005; Niens and Reilly, 2010; Reilly and Niens, 2014) further research is required to explore whether distant conflict-related issues being taught as a means of local reflection can operate alongside exploration of interconnection, interdependence and critical GCE (Andreotti, 2006; Bryan and Bracken, 2011).

Whereas national-oriented forms of citizenship education are criticised for a failure to develop practice inclusive of minority ethnic students (Niens, O'Connor and Smith, 2013; Scott and Lawson, 2002), the inclusion of the perspectives of young people from marginalised backgrounds is recognised as an important issue for GCE (Banks, 2004) and peacebuilding education (Bickmore and Parker, 2014; Bickmore and Kovalchuk, 2012). However, in this study, a significant minority of programme developers questioned the extent to which young people from minority ethnic backgrounds were considered in the design and practice of peacebuilding education. This has important implications for how 'the local' is considered within peacebuilding and citizenship education, and more specifically, who is excluded from these spaces (Schierenbeck, 2015).

Young people from minority ethnic backgrounds may have experiences of both local conflict and conflicts in other regions of the globe (Warwick, 2008). Aside from a right to inclusion within peacebuilding GCE, the experiences of young people from minority ethnic backgrounds would enrich the peacebuilding education process (Bickmore, 2012; Gallagher, 2004). There is an urgent need to ensure the inclusion of young people from a minority ethnic background within the planning and practice of peacebuilding education, and at a broader level to consider how their perceptions and experiences can contribute towards peacebuilding. Ultimately, a failure to include young people from minority ethnic backgrounds is failure to engage with the full range of factors underpinning a positive peace (Niens, O'Connor and Smith, 2013).

A focus on cosmopolitan forms of GCE must not ignore young people's attachment to their political or local communities (Niens and Reilly, 2012; Parekh, 2003). In an important vignette, one programme developer explained how a young participant on the Peacebuilding Schools programme revealed that her father had flown an Israeli flag from the roof of their house. The flying of Israeli or Palestinian flags in NI represents an allegiance taken up by Unionist and Nationalist communities respectively which reinforces existing conflict (Hill and White, 2008; Nolan and Bryan, 2016). This example has important implications. Whilst exploring conflict in another context may appear to avoid problematic local issues, there are occasions where local and distant conflicts are linked. In such circumstances, even if the connections are symbolic, peacebuilding education should consider young people's existing understandings and experiences of distant conflicts and their connections to local issues.

Certainly, peacebuilding education programmes must ensure that in teaching about distant conflict young people are not strengthening stereotypes of national and transnational groups, and in doing so forming allegiances which reinforce negative conflict (Davies, 2005a; Davies, Harber and Schweisfurth, 2002). As Niens and Reilly (2012) identify, there remains

a challenge for teachers, teacher educators and policy makers in developing global citizenship without reinforcing conflicting identities.

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JUSTICE DIALOGUE FOR GRASSROOTS TRANSITION

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Abstract: This article deals with how a community conversation about transitional justice in a disadvantaged and deeply divided area of North Belfast led to the publication of a grassroots toolkit that is now translated into Arabic and Spanish for others to use in their own settings (Rooney, 2012). The toolkit aims to empower, equip and encourage people to examine the local practicalities of transition in a social justice conversation about the future. The article contributes to a growing interest in grassroots activism in development and transitional justice studies (Lundy and McGovern, 2008; McCloskey, 2014). I argue that the toolkit is a rights- based programme that supports local action, social repair and community transformation.

Key words: Transitional Justice; Toolkit; Conflict; North Belfast; Development Education; Community Change.

Introduction

What happens in a local district when a peace agreement is reached that brings an end to a protracted violent conflict? After the international spotlight turns away, how do people in a divided society get on with day-to-day life? What happens in women's groups that have worked across the divide? In a situation where political progress is stalled and uncertain and when accountability for past human rights violations is resisted and contentious, how are the pressures of transition managed on the ground? Are there ways that the experience of living through a conflict can be utilised as a resource for social repair? Some answers to these questions were considered in a conversation about transitional justice in North Belfast that was convened by Irene Sherry, Head of Mental Health Services in Ashton Trust's Bridge of Hope. As a community activist and member of the Transitional Justice Institute at Ulster University, I was invited to facilitate. The conversation became the basis for designing the Transitional Justice

Grassroots Toolkit (Rooney, 2012) so that others could join in and have their say. The workbook and guide are freely available online in Arabic, English and Spanish for others to use in their own settings (Transitional Justice Institute, n.d.).

The experience of post-conflict transition in resource limited circumstances is of major interest to social justice academics and activists in development and transitional justice studies (Lundy and McGovern, 2008; McCloskey, 2014). This article argues that the toolkit can be adapted to support community dialogue in other troubled and politically divided circumstances. Using it, participants examine the local challenges of transition and consider what needs to happen next. Disadvantaged urban areas of Northern Ireland, like those in North Belfast where the toolkit conversation started, experienced disproportionate concentrations of human rights violations during the thirty-year conflict (Fay et al., 1999). When the conversation started in January 2011, the local peace process was already the subject of a substantial and influential literature. It was viewed globally as a remarkable twentieth century success story (Campbell and Connolly, 2003). Its influence continues to flourish (*The Irish Times*, 10 December 2016). This grassroots exchange, however, looked at the process from a very different angle. The initial conversation involved political ex-prisoners and former members of the IRA, UDA and UVF. The conversation began with the question 'what is transitional justice and what can it do for us?' The programme that ensued was the basis for designing the toolkit. Two women's groups from republican and loyalist districts tested it and recommended a user's guide. The groups had worked across the political divide for more than twenty years and yet the toolkit programme was the first time they had ever talked about their conflict experience (Magee and Sherry, 2017).

The men and women who participated in the early dialogue were all experienced community activists involved in truth seeking campaigns, women's issues, trauma services and restorative justice (Rooney and Swaine, 2012). Restorative justice promotes alternative approaches to violent

punishment for crime in local communities (Gormally, 2015). Hence, these participants were already active in the bottom- up transition processes of working with victims and survivors and engaging in post-conflict community transformation. The toolkit offered an opportunity for them to exchange views on their conflict experience and the impacts of the 1998 Belfast Agreement (Gov.uk, n.d.), which ended thirty years of conflict in Northern Ireland. The kind of post-conflict grassroots activism toolkit participants engage in is generally overlooked in transitional justice research (McEvoy and McGregor, 2008). It amounts to community 'change from within' and it occurs informally in troubled circumstances everywhere (Collier, 2007: 12). Grassroots organising empowers the people concerned and can help to improve life where it is organised. The toolkit programme engages with and informs this local agency.

Altogether, the workbook has eight tools and a full programme usually consists of one session for each. The title of Tool 1, 'Dig Where You Stand', is a shorthand description of toolkit pedagogy. Everyone using Tool 1 is asked to reflect on their local conflict experience and make brief notes in the grid (see Tool 1 below). Individual grids are compiled into a single grid that represents the resources that everyone brings to the programme. The second tool introduces transitional justice in a five-pillar framework. The pillars are: institutional reform, that involves changes to public institutions intended to right past wrongs; truth, that addresses how a society deals with accountability for human rights violations; reparation refers to forms of social repair that are normally made to victims and their families; reconciliation addresses harm done to social relationships as a result of armed conflict; prosecution and amnesty relates to legal and other ways of bringing an end to armed violence and encouraging actors to tell what happened. Each measure is the title of the five tools that follow. The last tool (Tool 8), 'Map Making', is where everyone makes a map of the local transition and its milestones. The programme ends by looking to the future and thinking about what needs to happen next.

Part one of this article outlines the context for the initial toolkit conversation and introduces the toolkit's simple and radical 'dig where you stand' pedagogy. Part two illustrates how some tools have been used. In part three, I reflect on intersectionality as the conceptual pivot of the toolkit design and method. A note on takeaways for the development educator precedes my conclusion on the remarkable necessity of seeing hope as a practical form of agency in the context of local frustrations and a growing sense of global despair.

Part 1: Place for conversation

Like many democratic states across the globe, the origins of Northern Ireland lie in violent conflict. The British partition of Ireland in 1922 established a majority unionist (mainly Protestant) and a minority nationalist (mainly Catholic) population. Institutionalised sectarianism led to civil rights protests in the 1960s and 70s. The reforms that quickly followed arguably inaugurated a long-term process of transitional justice. Collective amnesia to its past might have prevailed in Northern Ireland as it does elsewhere. The statelet might have developed differently but for the violent reaction to street protests that escalated into repression and armed conflict. The armed conflict that followed was not inevitable either. Neither was the peace agreement that was reached in 1998. Over thirty years of conflict, around 3,700 lives were lost. This loss of life in a small population of approximately 1.5 million people was immense and concentrated in the poorest urban areas of Belfast and Londonderry/Derry where over 80 per cent of conflict fatalities occurred. The number of attributed losses between 1969 and 2001 calculated by Sutton (2002) are: British Army (297); Royal Ulster Constabulary (55); UDA (262); UVF (483); and IRA (1,822). The IRA, UDA and UVF emerged from within the public housing estates of the most disadvantaged nationalist/republican and unionist/loyalist districts. Most of the British Army soldiers on the ground at the time of the conflict came from disadvantaged urban areas of Great Britain.

In the lengthening post-conflict context, the toolkit conversation contributes to a grassroots peace- building process that was politically

inspired by the ceasefires and is community led. North Belfast is the most politically polarised and segregated constituency in Northern Ireland. Here, disadvantaged districts form a patchwork of close-knit streets that are blockaded at political interfaces. One in five conflict- related fatalities occurred here. The legacy of the conflict, along with the impacts of austerity, welfare reform and Brexit border uncertainties, makes life harder for everyone in these districts (Committee on the Administration of Justice, 2006; Bell and McVeigh, 2016). Additionally, at the time of writing, the local devolved power- sharing assembly created under the 1998 Agreement has not met since January 2017. The political impasse has hampered decision-making initiatives that could help to address urgent social and economic difficulties.

At first sight, North Belfast appears to be the least likely setting for a grassroots transitional justice toolkit to take root and thrive. And yet, it did. The simple pedagogical practice that made it possible can be adapted for other challenging conversations in different contexts. The participation of motivated individuals and groups with community credibility is critical. In the initial conversation, the first lesson for everyone was to listen. For instance, when the first participants spoke of their background, loyalist men said that they saw themselves as ex-combatants. Republican men and women said that they saw themselves as former volunteers and politically motivated ex-prisoners. For an outsider, these self-descriptions may be an interesting curiosity or useful analytical concepts for research. For the people who make these distinctions, however, much more is at stake.

The words that people use in these circumstances are often invested with self-worth, communal dignity and political purpose. For instance, loyalists refer to 'Northern Ireland' whilst republicans refer to the 'North of Ireland'. The terms assert and challenge the settled status of the constitution and rights within the United Kingdom. This is about much more than petty political point scoring. The language used in a toolkit conversation reflects complex cultural values, views on rights and equality plus the human and political vulnerabilities of participants. Respect and openness to the words

people use helps to diffuse divisiveness that could get in the way of an inclusive dialogue. No-one is excluded. Anyone interested can join in and feel free to use words and decide on meanings that work for them. This is peace- building at a pace that is decided by the people involved. The 'dig where you stand' method ensures that language is not a barrier to listening. In the initial conversation, everyone eventually agreed that the terms 'Northern Ireland' and the 'North of Ireland' could be used alternately throughout toolkit publications. For some people, reaching this consensus was a significant act of political generosity and recognition.

Local listening
Attentive listening is more than a facilitator skill or participatory practice. It is based on the principles of fairness and respect for human dignity that are central to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). Rights- based toolkit practice involves watchful respect, awareness of silences and encouragement. This means noticing the ways that people participate non-verbally. A skilled facilitator can encourage attentive listening as a form of self-empowering participation. This has a levelling effect that was noticeable in the initial conversation between ex-prisoners, especially when someone talked about themselves as a young man or woman, growing up in a working class republican or loyalist district and having experiences that led to them becoming 'involved' (i.e. active and armed). These situating-of-self stories help to explain the leadership role that some participants still hold within their own communities. Their organisations, they maintained, had a galvanising, peacebuilding role that is not recognised either in the local media or in academic research. Participants from loyalist districts, in particular, saw the transitional justice conversation as a way to counter a negative public image that recycles bad news stories in the media. For instance, public blame for sectarian strife or racist attacks in North Belfast commonly fails to focus on worsening social and economic conditions that compel a more complex public response and wider social responsibility.

The toolkit is not about blame. It simplifies academic patois and provides an opportunity for researchers to engage with toolkit groups on their

research into one of the pillars (Rooney, 2012). Toolkit groups are generally keen to hear and engage with academic perspectives and recommendations that might directly affect them. They are introduced to transitional justice in a presentation that tracks its mid-twentieth century origins to the International Criminal Court at Nuremberg (ibid: 43-44). Its twenty-first century revival is explained as an outcome of the post-Cold War and post-9/11 global environments. Peace Agreements are a central feature of post-conflict transitions. Around 1,500 agreements were negotiated in 150 jurisdictions between 1990 and 2016 (Political Settlements Research Programme, n.d.). The five- pillar framework has proved to be adept for introducing an array of complex transition measures applied in various post-conflict contexts. Examples of each are introduced in a quick 'I get it' way in the guide. Local power-sharing is the example given for 'institutional reform'; the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission is an example for 'truth'; material or symbolic restitution is the generic example for 'reparation'; participatory community programmes are a simple example of 'reconciliation'; the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia is the example used for 'prosecution and amnesty'.

The original conversation between loyalists and republicans was hard working and free of contention though not free of dispute. Political positions were well- known, and, whilst difficult subjects were not avoided, neither were they an occasion for confrontation. Less straightforward were the exchanges between the two loyalist groups. From an outsider perspective, one loyalist or republican community may appear to be very much like another. However, this early conversation revealed what insiders already knew. That is, that each district has its own particular gendered history of human rights violations, armed insurrection, paramilitary factionalism and government neglect. These experiences run very deep in the areas concerned. In the past, they have led to fractured relationships within families and between neighbourhoods where different factions of an organisation hold sway. The toolkit makes space for these tensions to surface safely. That in itself was a significant toolkit achievement in the original Bridge of Hope conversation.

These North Belfast grassroots communities do not see themselves as without internal resources. Nor are they wholly dependent on external agencies to resolve serious post-conflict problems. On the contrary, people using the toolkit recognise that the local management of political expectation and the mobilisation of community disaffection are potent political forces that can heal relationships, build peace or undermine political stability. This gritty reality is inconsistent with most mainstream liberal peace theory that remains grossly optimistic about the potential of top down interventions to resolve conflict and make peace work (Tziarras, 2012).

Part 2: Dig Where You Stand

Given the opportunity to use the toolkit, participants reflect, listen and engage in a dialogue about a wider social landscape of reduced resources and political pressures that make social repair harder for everyone. They decide for themselves what can be said, what can be done and what is possible given the pressures in a particular locality. Imagination is important too. Some participants respond more readily to images rather than to information in a text. One photograph at the start of the user's guide, for instance, shows eight faces of people of various ages, genders and skin colour (Rooney, 2014: 6). The image is described as representing common humanity as, 'a multiplicity of perspectives, class backgrounds, religions and regions' (Rooney, 2015: 74). In an opening session, this photograph is used to spark discussion on individual distinctiveness as a common human resource that in some circumstances serves as a reason for exclusion and conflict.

The first tool asks everyone to 'dig where you stand'; in other words, to situate 'yourself' by thinking about, 'the experiences and events that make you the person you are' (Rooney 2014: 20). It is a simple request that is often tackled with relish. Intersectional positions quickly emerge. Working singly or together, women, young people, ex-prisoners, and conflict victims and survivors, along with a facilitator, make notes in the grid. They record gendered, class and community-based conflict experience, knowledge and resourcefulness.

The grid is set out this way: five time periods make up the left side with four headings across the top. The time periods are flexible and changeable according to the age range in a group of participants. The scaled down Tool 1 grid below starts at the 1960s through to the present. The headings are: personal/organisational, political, local, and global. At a glance, a life and a social history can be captured in short hand.

Tool 1: *Dig Where You Stand*

Complete the grid below to provide a checklist of grassroots group resources, knowledge and experience.

GRASSROOTS GROUP RESOURCES

Key conflict events & experiences	Personal/Organisational	Political	Local	Global
1960s-70s				
1980s-90s				
2000s-10s				
Current				
Transitional				

Source: The Transitional Justice Grassroots Toolkit (Rooney, 2012: 11).

The idea of Tool 1 is to quickly make a chart of some individual and communal milestones and memories. At the end of the session grids are collected and collated for the next session. The collated Tool 1 grid is a record of the group's social resources. No name appears on any grid. This allows users to record an experience or event that someone sees as important but contentious or difficult to be spoken of openly. People often note a conflict experience that is linked to their political and geographical location. Hot topics of the moment often surface, such as welfare reform or Brexit (Magee and Sherry, 2017). Tool anonymity is used to critical effect. In one session, a participant wrote: 'my father was interned when I was a kid'. Another, simply 'the Shankill bomb'. And another 'we were put out of our

home in the 60s'. In that same session, someone else wrote 'my brother was killed'. None of these statements was said aloud or owned by anyone in the group at the time but everyone saw the grids and learned something about what had happened to another person. Each toolkit programme teaches that everything does not have to be spoken of to be understood or acknowledged. Anonymous communication is an input that has a potent impact (ibid).

At the end of a recent programme, one woman spoke up and said that a highlight of the toolkit for her was to be able to regard her conflict experience as a resource. Previously, she had viewed her bereavement as a personal one of loss and grief that she spent her life getting over and dealing with one way or another. When using the five-pillars, she said she drew on the experience and in this way saw herself as making a contribution to the toolkit group. Her generous approach was anticipated in the guide:

> "[A]t the heart of this grassroots work … is an emphasis on local people and their lived experience. Contributions from those who endured the worst impacts of conflict have the potential to shape the journey of transition [for everyone]" (Rooney, 2014: 10).

The woman who spoke up found that she had used her experience in a self-empowering way of her own choosing. Her moving awareness silenced the room for a brief time. Such moments occur in each toolkit programme. Sometimes they occur when a tool grid that everyone has completed is passed around and a life changing event that someone has recorded is noted without comment. This is profound peace-building.

Some participants identify themselves primarily as victims and survivors. Being identified in this way is an official recognition that is often valued as necessary and beneficial for those who have suffered a conflict related bereavement or injury. Such recognition may carry policy standing and related reparation entitlements. However, there are downsides to being identified as a conflict 'victim' or indeed as an ex-prisoner or former combatant. These people may have few opportunities to express a wider

sense of their own worth and agency. 'Just' using the tools, is a self-empowering way to participate. It is about going beyond the immediacy of personal experience and placing it within a wider context. This justice dialogue reflects on 'what remains to be done' in a life in a local area. How this is articulated and acted upon is up to people themselves. This is a creative programme with practical concerns about the impacts of transition in the everyday (Rooney, 2017). Each participant engages creatively in an exchange about social justice. This includes learning about how people in other transitions deal with complex justice dilemmas.

The self-empowerment method is transferable. When a Transitional Justice Institute (TJI) researcher used Tool 1 in an oral form in a Palestinian camp in Lebanon, the camp residents recounted family narratives of displacement over different decades (Sobout, 2017). They gave accounts of everyday acts of resistance and resilience. The institutional reform and reparation tools were used, as they are used in Belfast and elsewhere, in self-empowering ways of the user's own choosing. These participants saw institutional reform as relevant to their experience of exclusion from decisions taken about the reconstruction of the previously bombed camp and they used reparation to reflect on their repeated experience of displacement and denial as rights bearing people. Camp residents used the toolkit to articulate the collective dignity that they invest in rituals of daily life and to imagine and map a reconstructed camp of the future (ibid.).

Global Glimpse
Whilst Tool 1 is where the toolkit methods of listening and being listened to are first practiced, Tool 2, "The Five Pillars – Global Glimpse", turns everyone's attention to transitions elsewhere in the world and how some of the five measures are employed in different settings. Attentiveness of another kind comes into play. Everyone is asked to refocus, to raise their eyes as it were, to the horizon of transitions across the globe. Five boxes make up the tool and are labelled: institutional reform, truth, reparation, reconciliation and prosecution and amnesty. The guide has some country examples alongside each. The gear shift from focusing on the familiar local

to seeing how another place faces complex post-conflict challenges, has a liberating effect. Everyone is 'in the same boat' in the sense of relying on each other to share some knowledge about the five pillars and different places. The tool raises fundamental questions about where local 'knowledge' about other places comes from and how everyone relies on similar sources of media information. To help overcome any knowledge gaps, some academics and researchers from TJI filmed ten-minute talks on each of the pillars. The talks include local reflections, international examples and reliable websites. Some toolkit participants will focus on a particular country whilst others may identify a measure that matters to them and investigate how it has worked elsewhere. The key learning from the five tools that follow is that transition is tough and uncertain in any society recovering from a protracted period of violent, dehumanising politics.

Talking truth

The truth of what happened in the past in any conflict is bound to be controversial. Dealing with the past is often regarded as the most controversial subject facing a society in transition. Tool 4 tackles the truth about the past in a broad sense by inviting everyone to name three local and/or international truths that they see as necessary. They give reasons for their choice and name ways to find the truth in each case. Lastly, they note some pros and cons of finding the particular truth. The process of having to pin down reasons for and name ways to find a 'truth' and identifying some consequences allows everyone to see both the complexity of dealing with the past and the importance of singular and shared truth claims.

The truths named in the tool grid are rarely confined to human rights violations. Some people want the truth to be told about historical events and others about social and economic inequalities and political oppression in different sites. Some participants detail the local role of security force collusion with non-state loyalist militaries and with informers on all sides; also often noted are truths about religious institutions, the state, individual politicians, international mediators and the British and Irish governments. What's useful about this broader canvas of 'truth' is the cognitive distance

that emerges between 'knowledge' about the local and sources for learning about the global.

The workbook image for truth is a photo of old fashioned metal block letters once used in printing (Rooney, 2014: 10). Placed together, the letters read, 'The truth'. The temporary placing of the letters for the photograph suggests that truth is itself put together or constructed from different elements. It may be captured in a photograph or on the web, put together in a report or established with forensic evidence in a court of law. The trainer's manual reminds everyone that accountability for human rights violations is a lawful obligation (Rooney, 2015).

The truth tool session ends, like other sessions, by prompting intersectional awareness of personal and political positioning, about where participants stand in relation to being outsiders and glimpsing 'truth' that is required in another setting. An image from the guide that is framed as a jigsaw piece is used to expand on this awareness. It shows a set of photographs of the faces of people killed or disappeared in Latin America (Rooney, 2014: 34). The photographs make up a body shape as if in a crime scene investigation. It is difficult to look at the faces. Each one calls for a response. But there is no simple way to respond to the image without being curious about the people pictured and wanting to know more about their context. Ignorance of a context, however, can arouse empathy for people who are strangers to us. The trainer's manual takes the point further:

> "Imagination is a unique human ability that enables empathy with perspectives and experiences not our own. It enables us to picture a collective future that may seem impossible from where we stand at the moment. Picturing a different future is the first step to making it happen" (Rooney, 2015: 67).

Toolkit and guide images are used for purposes of creative and critical reflection around how taken-for-granted knowledge about both the local and

the global are mediated by influential sources that establish 'knowledge' which goes unquestioned.

Part 3: The personal is intersectional

The last tool, Tool 8 'Map Making: From the Personal to the Political' focuses on the role of equality and human rights in a transition. People are not expected to agree in advance as to what equality and rights mean any more than they have agreed on other terms. The point is to enable everyone to feel free to engage in a conversation about what they see as significant. The commitments to equality and human rights made in the 1998 Agreement are alluded to as transition landmarks and democratic obligations. Local realities are faced:

> "The labels 'Catholic' and 'Protestant' are used in the North of Ireland as short-hand for a person's relationship to the state ... Labels are a tricky, if handy, way to refer to a conflict. The labels 'Catholic' and 'Protestant' are necessary for monitoring equality [but] do not explain the full identity of people and who they truly are. Rather, they identify political and equality features of a society in conflict" (Rooney, 2014: 12).

The toolkit programme is infused with intersectional awareness. In practice, this means stressing the combined significance that gender, class and identity have in shaping individual conflict experience, justice aspirations and future hopes. The approach contributes to a relatively recent turn in transitional justice scholarship that is concerned with how justice and social repair are negotiated in daily life (Shaw and Waldorf, 2010). Two questions are posed at this juncture: how do people experience transitional justice processes that are presumed to be for their benefit? And, after conflict how do individuals and groups 'restore the basic fabric of meaningful social life' in ways that are relevant to their lives? (Alcalá and Baines, 2012: 385). These practical concerns and questions are at the core of toolkit conversations as well as central to the intersectional approach.

Intersectionality theory is a useful diagnostic tool for understanding community tensions in deeply divided, sectarianised jurisdictions where the resources required to tackle structural inequalities (e.g. in housing, education and income) are invariably refused, unavailable or contentious. Commitments made in a peace agreement to equality and rights are often contested when it comes to practical implementation. In some cases, law and social policy play a strong enforcement role. This is so, whether the site of the transition is security force reform in Belfast or accountability for human rights violations in Baghdad.

The responsibility and decisive role of governance in all of this is often obscured by research agendas and media fixations that concentrate on warring men. Recurring social unrest and threats of violence in places like North Belfast are rarely recognised as symptomatic of loyalist anxieties in a situation where the constitutional status will be decided by referendum at some point in the future. Institutional failures to implement negotiated equality and rights commitments in republican areas are on no-one's agenda. Battles between policy implementation and claw back fuels a destabilising local competition for sectional resources and votes (Ní Aoláin and Rooney, 2007). The impacts on marginalised women's lives often sink below the horizon (Rooney and Swaine, 2012). All of this is palpable in toolkit conversations.

Seeing women
When the women from the republican Falls Road and loyalist Shankill Road women's centres were introduced to the five pillars of transitional justice, they independently gravitated to Tool 3 on institutional reform, and had plenty to say. Welfare reform was a top news story at the time and they were collectively incensed about the impacts of benefit cuts on women in their community. Welfare reform, however, is not regarded as a transition related reform in transitional justice theory. The women had a different view. They clearly saw that reduced resources would seriously affect women like themselves and they said it would adversely impact on their community's capacity to manage change. The two groups enjoyed sharing their strongly

held views, having a common purpose and saying what should be done next. They used tool anonymity to articulate things that might prove contentious if said aloud. When they completed the programme, they gave feedback and said that this was the first time in over 25 years of working together on a number of issues that they had ever met in each other's centres. It was also, as already noted, the first time ever they had talked conflict politics together (Magee and Sherry, 2017).

There is a sense though, that 'adding women' to the post-conflict picture will, for the most part, make little difference. Reams of feminist theory have been written about this 'adding women' approach that makes no difference locally or internationally (Scott, 1996; O'Rourke, 2015). Critical points of feminist theory such as this one often surface pragmatically in toolkit conversations. These activist women saw themselves as making a difference a day in their centres. For most men doing the programme, the idea that gender is a shaping factor (or force) in their lives is usually viewed as something of a disruptive novelty rather than a practical and critical insight. The customary silence on gender as an intersectional shaping force in men's lives, as well as in statistics on deaths in conflict, goes some way to explain these initial reactions.

For the most part, feminist and other social theory tends to be thought by toolkit groups as an elite academic activity, abstract and remote from the everyday. Everyday theory, however, refers to how knowledge is produced from practical experience and grassroots struggle (Bade, 2010). Toolkit participants theorise their own situations and engage with various forms of knowledge and struggle to do this. The toolkit conversations reveal an acute awareness of how an individual's gender, social class and political position, shapes and, to a large extent, determines individual and collective experiences of conflict and transition. The toolkit makes the masculinity of gender and the hiddenness of women's lives visible in text and image. For instance, women's conflict experience and activism is emphasised in this common sense observation from the guide:

"Anyone's experience of conflict and transition is shaped by a number of factors. Gender is an obvious one. It is so obvious that it is often overlooked [and] easy to forget … The gender impacts on women and men are rarely examined. The toolkit is a means to record these differences" (Rooney, 2014: 11).

Dignity in dialogue

One reason for the toolkit's staying power and popularity is that local knowledge and experience are recognised as critical resources for the conversation. Everyone is an expert in their own life and times. Toolkit conversations develop a space where speaking out and listening are forms of active engagement. Toolkit groups are eager to tell of the impacts of conflict and transition in their own families and communities. Another reason that the conversation facilitates an educative exchange between former opponents and people with different political aspiration is that everyone recognises a common purpose in learning about transitions elsewhere. Everyone wants to learn of transition achievements and predicaments in other places. Participants inform themselves of international developments and use the opportunity to engage wider constituencies, including academics and NGOs, in a conversation about the past and the future.

Toolkit conversation is not an agreeable chat about social repair. It does not ease tensions and lessen competition for scarce public resources in disadvantaged districts. Nor, obviously, does it fix any of the complex accountability problems alluded to in this article. It does not set out to confront issues for the sake of confrontation, nor to persuade anyone of anything other than their entitlement to speak out, to be heard and to listen to others do the same. No-one is asked to forgo their aspirations. The toolkit conversation is arguably a form of social justice in practice. The focus is on institutions, official commitments and ways that power works rather than who people are in a group. Although, who people are is their critical starting point. The toolkit goes on to explore state and church founding institutional histories that constitute the conditions of everyday life. It admits the possibility of engaging in a social justice exchange that regards all

participants as rights bearing, dignified equals. That is, as people who manage hostile socioeconomic structures of deep-rooted inequalities in a deeply divided polity that can do better.

Toolkit takeaways

The participatory method at the heart of this grassroots work is undoubtedly influenced by development education practice in the global South. Paulo Freire's emancipatory pedagogy (Freire, 2001) was widely used across Northern Ireland in women's groups and prisoner education throughout the conflict (Hope and Timmel, n.d.). Being steeped in this approach, I used it intuitively when facilitating the initial community conversation and designing the toolkit. Similarly, using intersectionality as a conceptual lens for a grassroots conversation in a divided society was a transitional justice borrowing from feminist critical race theory in the United States (Crenshaw, 1991; Rooney, 2018). The toolkit's participatory pedagogy, then, is an example of practice and theory influences and borrowings coming together to support a local justice dialogue. How this is supported in Arabic, English and Spanish speaking settings is up to a facilitator who adapts the toolkit to local circumstances (Sobout, 2017). Listening to the language used and facilitating the freedom of diverse participants to use terms of their choice is a critical takeaway for the development educator intending to use the toolkit in oral or textual forms. Textual forms allow for grid anonymity.

A further takeaway is the transportability of the toolkit's 'Dig Where You Stand' participatory pedagogy with its central recognition of the value of local knowledge, experience and imagination as resources for social repair. For this reason, Tool 1 is an indispensable starting point. The adaptability of the five- pillar framework is an additional takeaway. It was devised from listening to the topics raised at the initial conversation and linking them to international research in the global field of transitional justice. This local and global framing is adaptable for dialogue about other complex topics between people with conflicting experiences and perspectives. It involves using a simple grid to frame issues in meaningful and accessible ways that enable everyone to listen to each other and consider

implications for action. For a development educator planning to use the toolkit, a final pragmatic takeaway is that the participation of individuals with community credibility is crucial. Their grassroots leadership encourages wider participation. In practice, the toolkit programme to date has been an educative and gratifying engagement between people who explore their local experience in the context of transition challenges across the globe.

Conclusion

The toolkit's bottom-up beginnings, as a small budget one-off conversation designed around the simple principle of giving voice to grassroots conflict experience and concerns in North Belfast, proved to be pivotal. In the absence of major funding and free of funder commodification pressures, we developed a civic programme that puts local experience and participation at the heart of a justice conversation about post-conflict transition. This might not have happened, we may not have listened so closely, if the valid priority was to gather data, produce a commercial project or publish a report to meet time-bound objectives. As it transpired, in the process of facilitating a much needed local conversation, we focused on listening and using what was learned to build a dialogue that supports local peace building. We developed a unique community empowerment programme that is translatable to other grassroots circumstances. These seemingly accidental outcomes were the fruits of an effort to join people in taking action to maintain hope and change the script of their lives.

The word 'hope' is not often used in the necessarily hard headed socio-legal field of transitional justice. It will be treated with suspicion by some. I might have considered myself one such were it not for the experience of working with the Bridge of Hope and people in North Belfast. In this constituency, disadvantaged districts may have some political influence at the ballot box but they are without the power or prospect of gaining the structural investment that their areas desperately need. In these circumstances, people do what they can to improve family life and local conditions. The toolkit programme is a contribution to these endeavours.

Two images of hope from the guide capture the determination and necessity of sustaining hope in situations where despair might more readily overwhelm everyone. One shows Hope Street on a brick wall in Belfast city centre (Rooney, 2014: 50). The street has been redeveloped. Inner city homes have been demolished long ago. Everyone is asked to imagine what it is like to live in Hope Street, to have hope, and then to think about the impact of hopelessness in a community. The other image is a graffiti spattered wall in a war zone with the capital letters: 'KNOW HOPE' (Rooney, 2014: 46). The wordplay on 'no hope' rejects ignorance and affirms something of the power of knowledge as resilience in the midst of catastrophe. If hope is knowable in these dire circumstances, the graffiti artist seems to proclaim, then we must commit to knowing hope anywhere. This is hope in the Freirean sense of conscientisation (Freire, 2001). It is hope in Gramsci's 'good sense' concept (Gramsci, 1971), rather than hope as misleading sentiment. This notion of knowing hope is fundamental to building and sustaining community resilience. No-one, whatever their background is, excluded. The toolkit programme is an educative engagement with the past that celebrates the pragmatic value of hope and community resilience for building a different future.

One risk of transitions from war to relative stability, however, is that the circumstances of those who have endured the most may be ignored and set aside. In a rush away from a contentious hard-to-deal-with past towards a nebulous reconciliation, the unexamined failures of the past may be pushed into a distant future to await fresh discovery perhaps by another excluded and disaffected generation without direct experience of conflict. This grassroots toolkit is a community-led commitment to hinder that prospect.

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Perspectives

SUPPORTING SCHOOLS TO TEACH ABOUT REFUGEES AND ASYLUM-SEEKERS

Liz Hibberd

Abstract: This article outlines research undertaken as part of an MA dissertation. It shares how classroom practitioners feel in relation to teaching about refugees and asylum seekers and what further exploration uncovered in terms of the cause of those feelings, as well as what support and resources they would need to feel more confident and able to deliver lessons in the area. It also outlines findings around the relevance and suitability of resources created by Development Education Centres (DECs) and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), particularly in terms of developing critical thinking skills, signposting curriculum links as well as how they can be used in the classroom. A positive outcome of the research was identifying whether the resources had a focus on viewing through different lenses, addressing stereotypes and understanding difference.

Key words: Refugee; Asylum seeker; Teaching resources; Teacher confidence; Learning about and from; Perspectives.

Introduction

The world is experiencing movement of people on a scale never seen before. There are around 65 million people displaced from their homes (Refugee Council, n.d) and around 25 million refugees globally (United Nations High Commission for Refugees, 2017). All of these people are seeking safety in places they weren't born in as a result of ongoing conflict, persecution and poverty (HEC Global Learning Centre, n.d). Therefore, understanding and engaging with refugees and the surrounding issues is arguably more important than ever.

Despite the fact that asylum applications fell eight per cent in the United Kingdom (UK) in the year ending March 2018, with around only 26,000 applications made (with approximately 14,166 grants of asylum made) (Home Office, 2018), there is still a great deal of anti-immigration rhetoric. For example, the advertising strategy of the Leave campaign during the UK European Union (EU) referendum where billboards depicting long lines of refugees were used to promote the benefits of leaving the EU. Added to this, the regular headlines some tabloid newspapers use to 'stir up' negative feeling towards those that come to the UK seeking safety and a better life. The Daily Mail, for example, recently ran these headlines in their online edition: 'Refugees a drain on UK, think young' (Daily Mail Online, 2018a) and 'Refugee minorities more prone to terrorism', (Daily Mail Online, 2018b). Halliday in The Guardian found that over a three-year period the Daily Mail and the Daily Express used the term 'illegal' when writing about migration ten per cent of the time (Halliday, 2013). However, at the end of 2014, just 0.24 per cent of the population in the UK was a refugee – an estimated 117,161 people in total (Institute of Race Relations, n.d) - and yet refugees are viewed as a burden on an already overstretched and failing benefits system, a threat to security and a peril to the British identity (Devereux, 2017). An 89 per cent increase in reported hate crimes in schools after the EU referendum (Busby, 2017) highlights the negative feelings that a large proportion of the UK feel towards the 'other' (Said, 1978), with many refugees and asylum seeking children reporting instances of racial harassment including spitting, verbal abuse and physical attacks at school and around their home (Hek, 2005).

It is, therefore, likely that children in schools will have an opinion about refugees and asylum seekers irrespective of whether or not they have ever met, let alone interacted with one. Schools, therefore, are ideally placed to create spaces where opinions and ideas can be shared, questions asked and discussed, and dialogue around more sensitive and potentially controversial issues can take place.

The focus for this small-scale study came from my personal interest and experience as a primary teacher and a long-term volunteer in the Calais Jungle refugee camp. Whilst much work has been done on how best to support refugee and asylum-seeking children once they arrive in the UK and enrol in school (National Education Union, 2014; Rutter, 2006; Walker, 2011) there is little, if any, research on how teachers and schools engage with this issue on a day-to-day basis. For those that incorporate this topic into their practice, it often runs the risk of promoting a surface level engagement (Andreotti, 2006) that fails to unpack the key issues and does little to portray refugees and asylum seekers as anything other than a homogenous group of victims. This single story is limiting at best and damaging at worst. Initiatives like Refugee Week, Schools of Sanctuary and Refugees Welcome are moving in the right direction of positively promoting engagement with this topic, but lack a comprehensive and long-term engagement nationwide. They fail to promote a more realistic and balanced view of people seeking sanctuary and their experiences. Whilst the Global Learning Programme (GLP) (DFID, n.d.), a UK-government-funded programme that enables teachers to engage with global issues and development, is an ideal vehicle to create opportunities for interaction and exploration around this topic, its impact has been limited due to the lack of schools that have joined nationally.

The process of the research

The methodology for the research was designed to collate an overview of teachers' initial feelings relating to teaching about refugees and asylum seekers, and to capture reasons for this. This was done through an anonymous online questionnaire form. A cohort of four teachers, who indicated they would be interested in being interviewed, was recruited to participate in a more in-depth interview where their answers were examined in greater detail. Alongside this, Development Education Centre (DEC) staff were interviewed and an audit of materials was undertaken. The materials were a range of teaching and learning resources created by DECs and/or NGOs, included but not limited to UNICEF's 'Unfairy Tales' (2016), Amnesty International's 'Seeking Safety' (2017), Action Aid's 'What would you take' (n.d), Development Education Centre South Yorkshire (DECSY's)

'Arrivals' (2017) and HEC's 'Learning about Refugees' (n.d). This was primarily to gain a greater awareness and understanding of the resources readily available for teachers in the public domain. The interviews and audit were designed to find out whether the materials available were fit for purpose and able to offer the teachers support to deliver well-rounded lessons that had depth and promoted critical thinking and questioning about refugees and asylum seekers. Understanding the underlying motivations and challenges placed on the material designers themselves would allow a greater understanding of any limitations of the resources and shine a light as to how they could be improved.

Having been out of mainstream teaching for several years, there was a lack of entry points in terms of finding schools and teachers to take part in the survey. This was partly resolved by contacting the DEC where I had been volunteering and requesting that they share the survey amongst their teaching networks. Simultaneously, personal contacts within education were asked to share and complete the questions and 'cold-calling' schools and emailing them the survey was employed. Clearly, there were limitations and issues with this method of reaching out as it did not allow the best tracking of results or ensuring that certain areas and demographics were covered. Gatekeepers in the form of receptionists could have had an impact in terms of whether or not teachers were given access to complete the survey, and of those that did, it is unclear as to how candid they were with their answers. It was hoped that by remaining anonymous, teachers would feel able to be completely honest with their answers and by self-selecting whether they worked in a diverse or non-diverse school it could show interesting trends in terms of whether teachers thought teaching and learning in this area was more or less important and necessary as a result of this.

Structured interviews with a smaller selection of teachers allowed a more in-depth analysis of opinions with the option of unpacking answers more thoroughly. Similarly, the interviews with DEC staff would illuminate key drivers and obstacles in terms of how materials are created and their focus.

Findings: an overview

Despite the many limitations experienced in collating the research, it was possible to collate the information from the 49 respondents (40 teachers who completed the questionnaire, six teachers and three DEC staff members who were interviewed) and while it was impossible to draw any definitive conclusions, interesting patterns and trends did emerge. Further clarity from the interviews consolidated some of this, although much more robust research would be needed to verify this further.

Teachers

For the most part, teachers felt refugees and asylum seekers should be welcomed in the UK (95 per cent). They felt that there was a need to teach their students about the experiences of refugees and asylum seekers and engage in discussions that challenge stereotypes and negative perceptions. This was particularly important as they recognised that many of their students had a real lack of awareness of the issues around this topic (60 per cent), with only 25 per cent of respondents feeling that their students felt positively towards this group of people. This is perhaps not the most reliable research finding, based as it is on the teachers' opinions rather than student feedback, but it could point towards teachers' perceptions and assumptions and illustrate potential biases teachers held about their students. Around 50 per cent of teachers engaged to some degree with these issues, but the key barriers for those who did not were lack of personal understanding and awareness, lack of dedicated time in the curriculum to explore this, and lack of support and guidance.

Coverage of this area in schools was patchy and lacked a cohesive and robust strategy for the most part, with almost half of the teachers questioned stating that their school did not have scheduled lessons. Delivery was seen to be *ad hoc* and dependent on the teacher, with outside speakers and one-off events making up the majority of content delivery. Teachers thought that the most important skills and attitudes needed to teach this topic well were undoubtedly an awareness of the context and issues (55.2 per cent), followed by empathy (30 per cent) and then an awareness of

background (22.5 per cent). Training in cultural competencies and questioning did not feature highly, and meeting and engaging with someone with lived experience was least important to teachers. When asked what would help them most, the majority identified resources as being the key to their confidence and ability to deliver sessions relating to refugees and asylum seekers. An interesting point to note is that the level of teachers' experience did not have a great impact on their confidence, nor did the Key Stage they were working in.

Resources
A variety of school resources that focused on refugees and asylum seekers, created either by NGOs or Development Education Centres were audited. All resources were able to provide a way for children to access and start to engage with issues relating to refugees and asylum seekers. For the most part, the resources consisted of lesson plans, teacher notes and links to the curriculum; this alongside ease of use helping to ensure that they will be used in schools. However, there is a lack of engagement in the deeper levels of critical thinking and a failure to provide development in terms of skills and competencies. Because many of the activities and lessons are stand alone and not part of a series, there are limited opportunities for progression in understanding and awareness to take place, both for teachers and learners. This keeps the concept of refugees and asylum seekers as static, something to learn about rather than learn from or with, and it fails to recognise the connections between each other. This fails then, to dismantle the idea of refugees and asylum seekers as homogenous but rather groups them together to facilitate a generic understanding. Often the prevailing 'single story' (Adichie, 2009) is of the refugee as victim, encapsulated at this moment in time, rather than an individual with a past, present and future. The fact that few, if any, of the resources involved refugees and asylum seekers in their development, also highlights a limitation some of these resources had.

Development Education Centres
DECs have to balance their key aims of developing critical thinking and questioning skills, as well as the ability to challenge stereotypes and negative

perceptions, while ensuring that resources are appropriate and accessible. Requiring links to the curriculum and potentially to school aims and targets as a way of creating 'buy-in' sometimes has the unintended result of working at the more surface level of engagement. However, a closer, personal working relationship with schools can provide an excellent way in which to develop more engaging and critical resources that upskill both teachers and students allowing more interaction and greater progression in understanding and skills.

NGOs

NGOs have a wealth of understanding and experience engaging with people with lived experience of seeking sanctuary. They also have the funds and reach to develop excellent resources for schools. However, in order to fulfil their remit, and/or to continue to secure funds, they may have a vested interest in portraying refugees and asylum seekers in a specific way. By highlighting their struggle and their 'need' for support and acceptance, NGOs continue to justify the role they play and keep their existence necessary. Some of their resources, while an excellent starting point, really needed developing in order to get as much from it as possible. Teacher notes were included in some but not all and, depending on the confidence of teachers, sometimes this impacted how successful the delivery and use of the resources would be.

Key Takeaways

In terms of the key takeaways, it can be seen that teachers and schools value and want to engage with teaching about refugees and asylum seekers. They simply need greater support to do this effectively and appropriately. A greater connection to broader global issues could ensure that schools are better able to integrate teaching and learning in this area and 'justify' it's inclusion. This would also help to promote a deeper understanding of the complexities as well as their interconnectedness. There needs to be a whole-school commitment to engaging with this topic in order for teachers, students and parents to see its value and the importance of including it in the curriculum and school ethos. Resources exist to guide teachers. With some

amendments and adaptation, they can more easily facilitate a greater understanding of the experiences of refugees and asylum seekers as well as the differences that exist within that community.

Discussion: implications

The research findings indicate a national situation that, whilst currently not ideal, is ultimately open and receptive to change. Recognition that school children need not only access and exposure to topical and global issues, but engagement and interaction with them exists, and is a key element for moving forward. For teachers and schools to 'buy-in', in terms of commitment, there needs to be a belief and understanding that it is useful and necessary. But this belief has limited impact without guidance and support. This is a stumbling block when thinking about the demands and pressure placed on already over-stretched teachers and over-burdened decision makers. Could a joined up provision be the answer? Curricula, resources, training and evaluation: is this what is necessary in order for teachers to deliver sessions that challenge and ask critical questions?

But this already exists and has done so for a long time. Global Citizenship Education, development education and their many guises, have been in existence since as early as 1939 (Pike in Bryan & Bracken, 2011), gaining more traction from the 1970s onwards, with programmes such as the Global Learning Programme (DFID, n.d.), Connecting Classrooms (British Council, n.d) and Send my Friend to School (n.d.), creating opportunities for schools to participate in and engage with global issues. Is it, therefore, a lack of awareness of the support available an issue, or is teachers' personal lack of interest and confidence the biggest barrier to engagement? Half of the respondents to the survey teach about refugees and asylum seekers in some form or other and, whilst it is not clear to what extent this is a deep and critical engagement, it seemed to come from the teachers themselves. Of course, it would be useful if the school environment and ethos support the teacher and create the right atmosphere for this to happen. But, in some respects, teachers who want to will do so regardless. One teacher's response, however, was telling: they said they would feel more confident and

competent if they had access to resources. When they were informed about the resources that existed, they said that they would prefer someone to come in and teach the sessions, highlighting a lack of confidence as a primary factor preventing this from taking place.

A lack of engagement with issues relating to refugees and asylum-seekers is not an option. The idea of upskilling teachers to interact with complex and potentially controversial and difficult topics needs to be opened up to include a wider ranging variety of topics, not just relating to refugees and asylum seekers, but also poverty, development, climate change, identity; in short a common framework for engaging with global/controversial/relevant issues is needed. Failing to address the 'big questions', the barriers that some children experience that prevent them accessing education – be that disability, gender, age, immigration status – the ways in which students are perceived to be 'different' to their peers perpetuates a 'them' versus 'us' mentality where the larger student population 'learn about' other people in different situations rather than 'learning from' or 'learning with' them.

The key is to see the bigger picture. Viewing and teaching about refugees and asylum seekers in isolation is not enough. Ideally, a robust framework would exist, one that is cyclical in that it links with teachers, schools, councils, the government and organisations like DECs, that are committed to the same end goal. Creating materials and training that extend teachers' and learners' skillsets in terms of reflection, critical thinking and upskill them to challenge negative viewpoints, moving away from the binary thinking of 'them versus us' and linking with curriculum subjects and global issues is a starting point. But this needs to be done consistently and with guidance that allows for systematic progression through the age groups.

There needs to be a framework that covers resources, professional development and training that addresses all issues that are either termed controversial or sensitive. There needs to be support and guidance for engaging with issues about the movement of people, but this can also be

broadened to include difference as a whole. Providing young people with the understanding and awareness of issues including homophobia, transphobia and islamophobia are essential. Linking to issues of development, poverty, climate change and inequality are themes under which many of these issues can sit. Space in the curriculum is also needed. Whilst Citizenship Education was an ideal home for these topics, this subject has since been removed from the revised 2014 National Curriculum. Personal, Social, Health and Economic Education (PSHE) and Spiritual, Moral, Social and Cultural Education (SMSC) are vehicles for teaching and learning about these issues as is Philosophy for Children and other dialogue based methodologies. In these spaces, children and teachers are seen as collaborators in learning (Freire, 1972), with neither having the 'right' answers but being willing and committed to exploring understanding and knowledge about something together. Unfortunately, this can sometimes unnerve teachers as they feel they are 'letting go' and are no longer in 'control'. It means they do not know which direction the learning is going to take and without knowing that they are unable to assess the learning in relation to the lesson objections. A risk that teachers find increasingly hard to take as head teachers demand such a focus on results.

Conclusion – more research needed

As recognised earlier, this research is not conclusive, but does highlight that schools and teachers are in an interesting place when it comes to engagement with global issues, specifically when thinking about refugees and asylum-seekers. It is possible to see this situation, where some teachers value the importance of providing opportunities for their learners but perhaps lack the skills and confidence, as a potential jumping off point to a brave new world of joined up provision and delivery. To effectively discuss these issues in the classroom, teachers need the backing of the school, the parents and the government (in terms of curriculum space, recognition of the value and support to teach about these issues) to begin a collaborative learning journey (Freire, 1972) with their students; to question, to explore and to begin to understand the world around them and their place within it.

But this is unlikely to occur and remain in place without the involvement of OFSTED (The Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills, n.d.). Without the threat/promise of an inspection, the development of fully rounded, civic-minded, global citizens is limited as schools and the teachers themselves are not held accountable or responsible for teaching about these issues. Without this, there will continue to be an ad-hoc delivery and engagement, potentially leading to a mismatched national coverage with inconsistent importance placed on this.

What does this then mean for refugee and asylum-seeking children? Well, it can mean several things. Non-refugee children will lack the opportunity to learn about the experiences of those seeking safety and miss out on the chance to ask questions and develop a great understanding and awareness. These children may also continue to hold negative and unchallenged ideas about those arriving in the UK to claim sanctuary. It could mean that, without this greater awareness and understanding, children who do arrive here miss out on the welcome and support needed for them to integrate successfully and for them to access education and to develop socially and culturally rich lives in their new homes. It could mean that segregation becomes more deep seated, differences become more prominent and issues of identity and belonging become more pronounced. Without the confidence to provide spaces for dialogue around these issues and, most importantly, to challenge negative stereotypes, they can often be avoided, ignored or remain unchallenged, something which can be particularly detrimental to the group that is targeted (Bryan & Bracken, 2011).

Moving forward then, it can be seen that further research is vital. A more robust and conclusive study needs to be undertaken to provide a clearer picture of how teachers engage on a daily basis with these issues. A more detailed analysis is necessary to determine how schools vary in their approach to engagement and delivery, especially in terms of their own diversity. Ultimately, a multi-faceted approach to teacher training, resource creation and monitoring and evaluation would provide the most

comprehensive way to support effective teaching about refugees and asylum-seekers.

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Empowering More Proactive Citizens through Development Education: The Results of Three Learning Practices Developed in Higher Education

Sandra Saúde, Ana Paula Zarcos & Albertina Raposo

Abstract: In today's society, schools have the ultimate responsibility to help students increase their awareness and understanding of the interdependent and unequal world in which we live, through a process of interactive learning, debate, reflection and action. With this in mind, development education (DE) has a crucial role to play through the development of analysis, reflection and action skills in tackling the effects of globalisation and the multiple dimensions of (un)sustainability and (in)justice in today's world. In this article, based on the assumptions, objectives, and results obtained in three interactive learning practices, we describe how DE, based on a Problem-Based Learning (PBL) methodology was successfully used in higher education to challenge and transform worldviews and to prepare students (and teachers) to act for a more just and sustainable world. The effectiveness of the practices has been demonstrated by the students' acquisition of a more complete understanding of what it means to be a proactive citizen.

Key Words: Development Education; Global and Critical Education; Problem-Based Learning; Higher Education.

Introduction

The profound changes that we have experienced at the political, economic, social and cultural levels of our so-called 'postmodern' society pose immense challenges to teaching and learning methods, in order to empower students to take action for a more just and sustainable world. As Jara (2016: 23) pointed out:

> "It is imperative that we educators, who commit ourselves with the transformation in our daily practices, ask what dilemmas and what

challenges we face in order to develop in our practices this education for transformation and through it, be part of educational policies and educational guidelines".

The educational process must be experienced in the context of citizenship; that is, it must be planned and implemented according to values and principles that respond to the questions posed by society. Far from suggesting that the entire responsibility for education belongs to schools or that every problem has an educational solution, it is, however, our conviction that school has a central role in guaranteeing the democratisation of knowledge. It is fundamental that schools, in cooperation with other actors in the educational process (such as families, businesses, civil society organisations, among others), play their part as facilitators of a better understanding of the global world. This will be achieved by critical and constructive reflection on all matters that contribute to global and local citizenship, especially those that ensure a commitment to a more just and sustainable world.

One of the main focuses of the educational process must be the assumption that knowledge is partial and incomplete. According to the personal experience of each individual, every citizen must be prepared to assume the limitations of their view of the world, to be able to unlearn, to question, and to transform their worldview with others. In this regard, Andreotti and de Souza (2008a) argued that it is urgent to ensure a critical global citizenship education based on the analysis and reflection of the complex structural causes of current social dynamics, which prompt a global non-reductionist or fragmented understanding of phenomena. It is vital that education fosters: learning to unlearn, learning to listen, learning to learn, learning to reach out, and learning to read the world (Andreotti and de Souza, 2008b).

Development education (DE), with its global outlook, emphasis on social justice and focus on critical pedagogy and learning processes, has a strong contribution to make to all of these debates. It is, therefore,

particularly relevant in the contemporary context, characterised by an increasing recognition of the fact that education is pivotal in a rapidly changing world, to (re)centre education on its key social role, aiming to develop:

> "the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values that enable people to contribute to and benefit from an inclusive and sustainable future. … Education needs to aim to do more than prepare young people for the world of work; it needs to equip students with the skills they need to become active, responsible and engaged citizens" (OECD, 2018: 4).

Development education as a critical and global education

The concept of DE starts in the 1940s and 50s strongly associated with assistencialist / charitable perspectives. In that period, though, the term DE is not used; words like humanitarian aid, assistance and charity are used instead. From the 1960s onwards, DE evolves into a new stage, based on the firm belief that every country could achieve successful development. This concept was by the developed world willing to support developing countries to obtain the capital necessary to meet their basic needs. This was, however, according to Andreotti and de Souza (2008b), an extremely eurocentric view. Besides, they argued, that the 'northern countries' were left unaccountable for the colonisation processes and the potentialities of the so-called underdeveloped countries were disregarded.

The 1970s gave birth to a third DE generation. Instead of a paradigm based on the antagonism between developed and developing countries, the emphasis is now placed on the recognition of the potential of international cooperation and on the respect for individual rights and freedom. DE is then concerned with the defence of international understanding, cooperation and peace, founded on values such as the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms (as recommended by UNESCO in 1974).

During the 1980s, there is a reconceptualisation of the relationship 'man-society-development', based on the concepts of human development and sustainable development. People now fight for a type of development that guarantees the dignity and well-being of all the world citizens and their potential to meet their present needs, without compromising the capacity of future generations to meet their own needs as assumed in the 1987 Brundtland Report, *Our Common Future* (UN, 1987).   That's when sustainability became a new key dimension of DE.

Since the 1990s, the crisis of the welfare state in the western world and the fall of the former eastern bloc have brought a new focus to world problems. Globalisation and the privatisation of the world economy, as well as the consequent phenomena of exclusion, create new challenges, demanding from societies and citizens' attitudes of commitment, civic engagement and greater activism. To reach this end, the strategy has to consist of giving a voice to minorities and the excluded, so that they can show their sociocultural identities and have a say on their future. In this context, DE must promote a citizenship that is critical, global and local, at the same time. That is exactly what the 2002 Maastricht Declaration, as well as resolution 1318 issued by the *Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe* in 2013, establish, recognising that the promotion of global education is an essential component of current educational goals.

Today, we live and interact in an increasingly globalised world. This requires greater competencies, both individual and collective, to reflect upon and understand the complex relationships that exist, thus enhancing the capacity for conscious, fair, and sustainable decision-making and action. On this matter, Skinner, Blum and Bourn (2013: 95) declared:

> "The nature of globalisation demands that educational programmes in all countries prepare young people to understand global relationships and concerns, cope with complex problems and live with rapid change and uncertainty. Insufficient recognition of the importance of these issues in international education and

development policy, not to mention research, undermines
international efforts to engage all citizens around the world (and not
just those in the global North) with development processes and
debates".

DE, which followed the metamorphoses and the evolution of the concept of
development, is currently an integrated critical approach to the complex
themes of global development, with the main objective of instilling values,
principles, attitudes and actions towards a more just, inclusive, equitable and
sustainable world. The purpose is to offer the most complete and critical
view of the reality involving life in society, in all its aspects, eliminating
taboos and fragmented perspectives shaped by dominant powers (political,
economic, media and/or others). We live indeed in the age of social media
and instant information, which easily adulterates and influences the opinion
and even the knowledge we construct about the reality around us. This is
why it is increasingly necessary to develop critical reflective thinking, free
from (im)mediatism and, above all, the springboard for conscious and
independent decision-making and action.

What is at stake today is not the logic of an exclusive, preferential
model of development (because it is, by now, clear that the ideal
development model is a fallacy), but rather the integral development of a
more fair and sustainable society, conscious of its limitations and errors, and
also of the resources and potentialities existing in each territory. In order to
attain this objective, it is crucial to invest in DE, aiming to help '(…) every
learner develop as a whole person, fulfil his or her potential and help shape a
shared future built on the well-being of individuals, communities and the
planet' (OECD, 2018: 3).

In conclusion, the critical approach of DE that draws on the work of
theorists such as Paulo Freire (1970), bell hooks (1994) and Henry Giroux
(2005) among others, has, according to Skinner, Blum and Bourn (2013: 95),
'a significant role to play in the development of effective learning, skills,
global engagement and critical thinking amongst young people around the

world'. Rather than an approach or pedagogical strategy based on the assumptions and methodology of action-research and action learning (Nielsen and Nielsen, 2006), DE is also a philosophy of pedagogical interaction and interpretation of the world. By the non-authoritarian or manipulative organisation of the creative process, it is possible to construct a more thorough knowledge of the (in)finitude of the world and, simultaneously, more structuring of an active citizenship, aware of the multiple variables that must be taken into account in daily decisions.

The role of active learning methodologies in development education

At the heart of the DE approach is the emphasis on learners' ability to think critically about their lives and circumstances. So, it is essential that Problem-Based Learning (PBL) be dominant and structural in the educational process, as opposed to the passive acritical approach, typical of the so-called 'banking learning', which many unfortunately still privilege. As Paulo Freire (1970) defended, as quoted by Cowden (2010: 25):

> "*Banking education* involves a narrating Subject (the teacher) and patient listening objects (the students) . . . His [sic] task is to "fill" the students with the contents of his narration - contents which are detached from reality, disconnected from the totality that engendered them and could give them significance".

> "*Problem solving education*. . . consists of acts of cognition, not transferrals of information. . . through dialogue. . . the teacher is no longer the- one- who- teaches but who is himself [sic] taught in dialogue with the students, who in turn while being taught also teach".

In order to fully accomplish these principles, it is necessary to close the cycle of the pedagogy of understanding, implementing and/or consolidating the pedagogy of intervention (Giroux, 2005). A pedagogy that is emancipating and promotes social change; one that focuses on qualifying

citizens to effectively respond to the challenges of contemporary society and to recognise the connections between their individual concerns and experiences and the wider social contexts in which they are embedded. This approach is focused on learning strategies that are open and participatory, but also deeply political, incorporating the recognition of power. As a consequence, it requires teachers capable of stimulating collaborative and critical learning processes (hooks, 1994), and who can raise students' awareness of the paradigms, the reductive worldviews, and the taboos still existing in the twenty-first century. As Andreotti and de Souza (2008a: 34) stated:

> "to equip learners to listen to one another and work together to create new possibilities for an equitable and sustainable future, (development) education will need to challenge its boundaries, become self-reflexive, diversify its constituency, raise its professional profile, operate inter-disciplinarily, focus on the interface between development and culture, articulate the connections between theories and practices and, in accountable ways, face the challenge of walking the minefields".

With the evolution of society and of what we know about it, a school or university, equipped with all its structural and scientific resources, must open its doors so that a true exchange with society occurs, not only in what concerns the exchange of knowledge, but, most importantly, to fulfil its first purpose, which is the collaborative construction of knowledge.

PBL has been used for some time as a method to educate students using realistic problem-based actions (Bate et al., 2013). Starting from a given problematic situation, the students identify learning pathways and explanatory hypotheses, which allow them to better understand the problem and achieve their learning objectives. As Barret and Cashman suggested (2010: 8):

> "PBL is a total approach that has four interrelated dimensions:

1. An ill-structured challenging problem is presented to students at the start of the learning process. The sequencing of presenting the problem before any other curriculum inputs is a key and distinguishing characteristic of PBL.

2. Students work on the problem in small PBL tutorial teams generally with 5-8 students per team. The role of the PBL tutor is to facilitate the learning process.

3. PBL is underpinned by a philosophy of education that focuses on students learning rather than teachers teaching.

4. PBL compatible assessments aim to ensure that authentic assessments are aligned with learning outcomes and the problem-based learning process".

Inspired by popular education, active learning methodologies, of which PBL is one of the most prominent, consider all learners to be in a condition of equality, providing interaction and complementarity. Interactive methodologies rely on shared responsibility for change. What is at stake is a teaching-learning philosophy in which, through critical and experiential reflection on a given problem, learners/citizens can fully understand it and/or identify a solution, collaboratively, being therefore encouraged to change reality. By doing so, they gain experience and knowledge, not only by reflecting on the data itself, but, mainly, by developing their own social culture (Nielsen and Nielsen, 2006) and by making decisions and acting accordingly, in practice.

Active learning methodologies, among which we emphasise the PBL approach, are an operational asset that adds to and shares value with DE. Rather than an action logic, they are pedagogical philosophies based on the assumption that only through the critical thorough analyses of reality and the cooperation and sharing of knowledge it will be possible to fulfil the objective of having truly knowledgeable citizens, capable of acting upon their society, contributing to a more just, cohesive and sustainable humanity. In

short, active learning methodologies provide DE with pedagogical tools to promote awareness, transform worldviews and improve critical analysis and constructive action.

Based on these assumptions, and aware of our responsibility as university teachers, we engaged in three different learning practices. These practices took place at the Polytechnic Institute of Beja (IPBeja), in Portugal, with students of three different curricular units taking three different degrees. The common goal was to empower more reflective and proactive citizens, equipped with skills that allow them to interpret the extremely 'encoded and fallacious' reality that surrounds them. We were guided by the following principles: interpretation must involve thorough research on what is known about the reality in question; interpretation must resort to the best analysis strategies, both individual and collective; interpretation may lead to the identification of possible solutions or to the improvement of the existing data on the matter; that this 'new' knowledge may contribute to a more conscious, demanding and active citizenship.

Empowering more proactive citizens through DE based on PBL methodologies: the results of three learning practices

Practice 1: Challenging the boundaries of learning
<u>The context</u>
The curricular unit of Animal Production belongs to the post-secondary course in Mediterranean Farming. During the academic year, we decided to challenge the students with the question 'What would you like to do in this unit?'. Participative training techniques were used to help them answer this question and steer them through the work. In accordance with students' expectations, it was decided to organise a full day meeting to share experiences and knowledge between students and farmers, technicians and researchers, focused on good sustainable practices of Mediterranean agricultural production. In addition to the scientific aspect, the proposal aimed, first and foremost, to value the shared construction of knowledge, testing the students' and teachers' ability to construct, in an ongoing mode

(throughout the various sessions), a learning itinerary that met their interests and needs. Knowledge was consolidated through an event, organised collaboratively, aiming to mobilise critical and reflective learning about the various key topics associated with current challenges posed to Mediterranean agriculture.

Methodology

The different steps used throughout the process were systematised as follows:

1) Where we are and where we want to go: a reverse classroom methodology was used, inviting the students to a silent dialogue supporting a review of all the contents they had learned before.

2) Organisation of the event – what will it be like? The format, the themes and the guest speakers were chosen.

3) Task distribution among groups. The students assumed total responsibility for the organisation, under the supervision of the teacher. The difficulties were solved in each group through solution-centred reflection.

Results

The 'full day of sharing experiences and knowledge' had the participation of eight guest speakers, and four simultaneous workshop sessions focusing on the production of: fresh goat cheese, olive oil sweets, fruit caviar, and acorn biscuits. The event was open to the academic and non-academic communities.

In the end, students recognised how much they had learned, even transcending the scope of the unit topics, and all of them agreed that the success was due to the fact that the work was done collaboratively and consensually. With the negotiation of the consensus before making a decision, they learned to listen to each other, to accept different opinions, and to reflect on them in an inclusive way, considering the different individual

positions as a contribution to the common action. This learning experience also provided an opportunity for the critical confrontation with the positive and negative aspects, as well as the threats and opportunities of Mediterranean agriculture today, namely the products which were in debate.

Practice 2: Breaking taboos about death
The context
In Latin societies, death undoubtedly remains a taboo subject. However, attitudes toward death, and the level of anxiety experienced when faced with death and dying, vary from one individual to another. On the other hand, death attitudes are related to and influenced by individual beliefs and social and cultural environment. Death anxiety is defined by Abdel-Khalek and Tomás-Sábado (2005) as the set of negative human emotions characterised by worry, anxiety and insecurity, accompanied by apprehension, tension or distress generated by the awareness of one's own death, by seeing symbols related to death or by feelings of imminent danger. However, death is an inevitable phenomenon. Indeed, despite our attempts to control it, death, disease, and suffering are reminders of how little power we have over the circumstances of our lives (Aradilla-Herrero, Tomás-Sábado and Gómez-Benito 2013).

In what concerns nurse education, it has been observed that the way death is dealt with when training nursing students does not sufficiently prepare them for real situations and to ensure the appropriate support for patients and their families. In order to help students to confront the individual meaning of death, a learning practice was developed in the context of the curricular unit of Relational Intervention in Nursing, in the first semester of the first year of the Nursing degree.

Methodology
We used a group dynamics methodology, focusing on one question: 'What is the meaning of death and dying?' Each student wrote an anonymous card, sharing his/her idea about death. The information obtained through this strategy was shared within the different groups. Helped by the teacher, they

were led to find the various meanings of death and dying, by identifying structured categories in the discourses shared. According to these findings, three groups of meanings were identified: fear of death; non-acceptance of death itself; death as a concept.

The categories identified motivated the class reflection around the fear and non-acceptance of death. The purpose was to break the taboo related to death and, above all, to reinforce the understanding on human life frailty and its finitude. This method provided an atmosphere of interaction and reciprocity between the members of each group and the teacher. It also gave the participants an opportunity to carefully listen to and accept each other's experiences in this matter.

Results
The reflection made it possible to realise that the best way to work on themes that are taboo is to talk about them. The discussion contributed, first of all, to sensitise this group of students from different social and cultural backgrounds for the subject of death. In addition, it was an opportunity to reflect critically, both individually and in groups, about how social and interpretative taboos are created on certain issues, namely death, therefore conditioning and limiting one's personal and social development.

This practice was based on self-reflection, which led the participants to question not only others, but also themselves, in particular about their own finitude and that of the ecosystem around them. The discussion also focused on how serious reflection about such dimensions of human life is systematically avoided. We assumed the principles of citizenship education and the development of global skills aiming for the transformation of worldviews. Having death as a starting point for debate, since it is a topic highly neglected in western societies, we sought to enrich the individual and collective understanding of the multiple dimensions of human life.

The educational processes should help students to deal with taboos in a way that they can be interpreted and difficulties overcome. For nurses, death is a reality that they often encounter, therefore it is crucial that they can

work through their personal values, concepts, and prejudices about death and dying.

Practice 3: Demystifying common-sense representations about the meaning of development

<u>The context</u>

The concept of development is one of the most commonly used and, simultaneously, one of the most trivialised. It is often used, particularly when we sum up in one expression the desire to have a better and fairer society. However, what does development truly mean? What meanings are associated with it? What characteristics must nations or communities seek in order to be developed? In a master's degree focusing on training local development practitioners, such as the master's degree in Community Development and Entrepreneurship, taught at the IPBeja, the reflection on the theoretical and, most of all, practical meaning of the concept of development is absolutely central.

<u>Methodology</u>

Since it is a concept so often used, session 1 began precisely with the challenge: 'What is development to you and how do you define it? Individually, each student shared with the class his/her meaning of development, writing it on the board. They were asked to do so in words, phrases or very short sentences. Based on the ideas shared we concluded that, to them, development meant essentially: growth; progress; industrial production; employment; job creation; evolution; technological advancements; innovation; qualification; good infrastructures.

Then the students were asked to organise themselves into groups of no more than five people. Each group had to choose from a list of key stakeholders with responsibilities in local development (in very different areas, such as: health, culture, social security, education, local/regional organisations that work with: unemployed, migrant or poor people and/or in charge of business centres). Each group would have to reflect on the

meaning of the concept of development with the person chosen, in a face-to-face meeting. Fieldwork was carried out in the week following session 1.

The results obtained were shared in session 2 in the same format: to define development in single words, phrases or very short sentences. The results were very different from those obtained in session 1, though. The most repeated expressions/words were now: social justice; inclusion; education; access to health; culture; equal income distribution; employment; quality of life; environmental/ecosystem awareness. Because of the fieldwork, the representations associated with development had moved from a purely economic view, typical of the first scientific meanings of development, to a more complete and correct perspective, according to which development is associated with social welfare, equitable distribution of economic, cultural, and educational resources and/or access to health resources and global justice.

Results
Through this shared learning experience, it was possible to demystify typical representations of the dominant discourse which, through redundancy and 'social amplification', have become almost irrefutable truths. The purpose of this exercise was precisely to make the students aware of the need to break with the preformatted 'truths' through critical analysis and based on real observed data. Education has this responsibility: to foster the critical, reflexive and proactive spirit of the students.

Conclusion
Based on active learning techniques, DE stimulates students to learn in an autonomous, responsible, reflexive, knowledge-generating way and, at the same time, increases their capacity for action, regarded here as practical work and research. Students and teachers engaged in PBL make more real-life connections and school is regarded not simply as a place where you go to learn but instead becomes the entire experience of learning itself. We are always learning, always growing, always experimenting.

According to these learning practices, we realise that DE based on PBL:

- develops students' competences, preparing them to act and to be critical,

- promotes collaborative work and leads to a common focus, and

- improves the affective relationships that generate students' and teachers' transformation, by developing significant empowerment skills.

In short, DE challenges the boundaries of learning and provides the improvement of skills and knowledge that are essential in our day-to-day lives. The end result is the empowerment of citizens for the twenty-first century, who can take thoughtful and calculated risks, engage in experiential learning, persist in problem-solving, embrace collaboration, and work through creative processes.

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Nailing our Development Education Flag to the Mast and Flying it High

Gertrude Cotter

Abstract: This article aims to encourage discussion and debate about the terminology and definitions surrounding the term 'development education' (DE) in the Republic of Ireland. It sets out to provide a perspective on how the term DE is used and debated and the views expressed should be considered as part of a wider discussion amongst development educators in Ireland. The article begins by tracing the evolution of the term 'development education' in an Irish context primarily. It outlines how, from the 1950s and 1960s onward, DE was shaped by a political and often radical agenda with strong links to the civil society sector in Ireland. It shows how the community and voluntary sector have always had a strong impact on the story of DE in Ireland and continues to do so today. It also briefly charts the history of the Irish State approach to DE.

The article then discusses three debates within the DE sector in Ireland. The first could broadly be called the 'development education and education for sustainable development (ESD)' debate. Tracing the evolution of both terms in Ireland, this article questions if there is some tension in academic discourse in Ireland regarding retaining the use of the terms DE and ESD. The article contends that we should be clear about the meaning of each term and that we should not allow the term DE to be replaced by the term ESD explaining why. The second debate concerns the term 'global education' (GE). The article contends that GE is not a more recent term for DE, but rather a generic term which includes DE. A third discussion focuses on 'citizenship education' (CE) or 'education for global citizenship' (EGC). The link between CE and DE has not been as strongly evident in Ireland as in the United Kingdom (UK) and elsewhere.

What is important to state is that whichever terminology is used, the theory and practice which informs the author's work are based on traditions

which have strong action for social justice, development and human-rights underpinnings.

Key words: Definitions; Terminology; Development Education; Global Education; Citizenship Education; Education for Sustainable Development; Defining Development Education.

Evolution of the term development education in Ireland

DE was shaped by a political and often radical agenda with strong links to the civil society sector in Ireland. It is important to emphasise that the community and voluntary sector have always had a strong impact on the story of DE in Ireland and continue to do so today. O'Sullivan (2007) traced the growth of DE in Ireland to the social and political movements which were emerging in reaction to international developments, such as the war in Vietnam, the student movement of the late 1960s, the Nigerian civil war and the anti-apartheid movement. O'Sullivan singled out the Nigerian civil war and the public response to the plight of Biafrans which:

> "…not only stimulated public interest but forced successive Irish Governments to re-think their approach to the developing world. Aid agencies such as Africa Concern, the Irish Commission for Justice and Peace (ICJP) and later Trócaire encouraged public awareness and lobbied for change at government level" (ibid: 92).

The comprehensive Irish Aid report 'Mapping the Past, Charting the Future' (Fiedler et al., 2011) acknowledges that earlier DE was very much led by missionaries, returned development workers, activists, educators and campaigners. The term DE did not come into use until the late 1960s, when aid agencies, churches and the United Nations (UN) identified a need for education programmes that went beyond promotional and development advocacy work (ibid: 16). NGOs came to regard DE as something more than filling an 'information deficit' gap in the 'West' to 'seeing education as the very fuel for the engine of development both in the "West" and in the 'Third World'" (Regan and Sinclair, 2006: 109). DE emerged through direct

contact with social movements and solidarity groups around the world, alongside engagement with the work of critical educators such as Paulo Freire.

Fiedler et al. (2011) recognised that some of the DE practitioners interviewed as part of their mapping process, knew of missionaries who were influenced by liberation theology and Paulo Freire's radical pedagogical concepts, while others promoted the idea of the 'starving black babies' and what Paulo Freire (2005) called an 'assistencialist' mind-set towards poverty. Freire associates 'assistencialism' with colonialism, treating the person as a passive recipient of aid rather than an active transformer of his or her environment (ibid: 12). There have always been some tensions, within the DE voluntary sector in particular, between those whose awareness-raising approaches are framed by an idea of development as charity and those who espouse a justice or human rights approach. Difficulties arise too for NGOs, even today, who on the one hand need to fundraise and, in so doing, sometimes takes a charity approach in public, even when development educators within their own organisation work towards deeper understandings and favour educative approaches to engaging people with global issues.

From the Irish State point of view, the Fiedler et al. (2011) report charts the history of DE in Ireland under four phases: Phase I: 1950s to 1973: Early Influences; Phase II: 1973–1986: Opening up the Development Education Agenda; Phase III: 1987–2000: Coordination and Institutionalisation of Development Education; and Phase IV: 2001–2010: Strategies and Crises. Irish Aid is currently working from its third Strategic Plan which is aimed at all age groups and a wide range of sectors including education, youth and community organisations, trade unions, local authorities, arts organisations, corporate organisations, and non-governmental development organisations (NGDOs).

The division of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, which is responsible for overseas development, is Irish Aid. It was established in 1974, although its name changed to Ireland Aid in 1999, then to

Development Cooperation Ireland (DCI) in 2003, and back to Irish Aid in 2006. Since 2002, the work of the Development Education Unit (DEU) within Irish Aid has become more strategic and has worked from three strategic plans. It is currently working from the third plan 'Strengthening Ireland's contribution to a sustainable and just world through development education 2017 – 2023'. In this current plan Irish Aid define DE as follows:

> "Development education is a lifelong educational process which aims to increase public awareness and understanding of the rapidly changing, interdependent and unequal world in which we live. By challenging stereotypes and encouraging independent thinking, development education helps people to critically explore how global justice issues interlink with their everyday lives. Informed and engaged citizens are best placed to address complex social, economic and environmental issues linked to development. Development education empowers people to analyse, reflect on and challenge at a local and global level, the root causes and consequences of global hunger, poverty, injustice, inequality and climate change; presenting multiple perspectives on global justice issues" (Irish Aid, 2017: 6).

It is interesting to note the different emphasis in this definition, from earlier definitions such as in the first strategic plan. The definition above places emphasis on 'environmental' and 'climate justice' issues, however the term 'political' has been removed from what was the 2003 definition:

> "...an educational process aimed at increasing awareness and understanding of the rapidly changing, interdependent and unequal world in which we live...It seeks to engage people in analysis, reflection and action for local and global citizenship and participation...It is about supporting people in understanding and acting to transform the social, cultural, political and economic structures which affect their lives at personal, community, national

and international levels" (Development Cooperation Ireland, 2003: 11).

One might ask if this matters or indeed: why does it matter? This article contends that it does matter. Of course, 'environmental' structural change is something that belongs in development education but, without the 'political', it is hard to see where accountability lies, either for 'environmental' change or any other social, economic or cultural issues linked to development. The current definition states that 'informed and engaged citizens are best placed to address complex social, economic and environmental issues linked to development' (Irish Aid, 2017: 6), whereas the earlier definition is also about supporting people to take action to transform the social, cultural, political and economic structures which affect their lives. The latter is more cognisant of the need for structural reform and action for change. The former is somewhat weaker; it is about 'informed and engaged citizens' but not necessarily about the need for political structural reform.

DE and education for sustainable development debate

This emphasis on 'environmental' and 'climate justice' and the removal of the word 'political', is an interesting reflection of a wider debate regarding the use of the terms DE and ESD. Hogan and Tormey (2008) charted the linkages between environmental education (EE) and DE. DE traditionally focused on poverty and related issues but, by the 1980s, writers and practitioners were recognising the importance of the environmental link to human security. Hogan and Tormey contended that 'the integration' of DE and EE happened through the development of the concept of Education for Sustainable Development (ESD), particularly after the Brundtland Commission and subsequent report in 1987. The ESD concept drew significantly from the prior work of both EE and DE. Brundtland identified three components to sustainable development: economic growth, environmental protection and social equity. This was followed by the 1992 Rio Summit and the Agenda 21 report, where the interlinked nature of economic, social and environmental issues became a blueprint for sustainable development into the twenty-first century (Hogan and Tormey, 2008: 10).

These linkages between DE and ESD were evident more recently at the UN Sustainable Development Summit on 25 September 2015, when world leaders adopted the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, which includes a set of 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) to end poverty, fight inequality and injustice, and tackle climate change by 2030. In Ireland, a national Sustainable Development Strategy 'Our Sustainable Future – the Framework for Sustainable Development in Ireland' (Department of Environment, Community and Local Government, 2012) was published on 6 June 2012 and was followed by a Sustainable Education Strategy in July 2014 which aimed to provide 'a framework to support the contribution that the education sector is making and will continue to make towards a more sustainable future at a number of levels: individual, community, local, national and international' (DES, 2014: 3).

There is some tension in academic discourse in Ireland regarding retention of the term DE and not allowing it to be replaced by the term ESD. Colm Regan (2015), while admitting that he found this debate 'tiring and unproductive' - and a distraction from the work itself - contended that the term DE is important and accurate. Abandoning it, he said, would weaken and dilute the DE agenda, particularly from an NGO perspective. He believed strongly that DE has a 'unique and specific pedigree' (2015:1) which is rooted primarily in the lived experiences of aid and development workers and organisations working in Africa, Latin America and Asia. He acknowledged, too, that 'there is another rich strand emanating from those working with marginalised communities in the "developed world"' (ibid). DE, he said, highlights the condition of the world's excluded, oppressed, poor and hungry and attempts to mobilise international action. DE is specifically political; something we are in danger of losing as DE becomes institutionalised:

> "The interests of the poorest must be at the forefront of debates about sustainability, climate change, the SDGs, ethical trade and consumption. The place of DE is alongside the poor and the excluded in the world. It is not in academia and libraries, which are

increasingly inaccessible to all but a few. DE is about educational
activism; it is about stimulating public debate … we would do well
to reconsider some of our roots and histories and not be swept along,
by the latest theory or fashion – our roots are strong, specific and
political – we lose them at our peril" (ibid).

Hogan and Tormey (2008) took a pragmatic view. ESD and DE, they said,
are similar in terms of content, methodology, ideology and commitment to
action for positive change and it is essential that practitioners work together
to 'share educational expertise, to combine forces and to strategically plan for
a future that places DE and ESD at the centre of formal, non-formal and
informal education' (Hogan and Tormey, 2008: 6).

I disagree with Regan that the debate is unproductive and a
distraction from the work. The very essence of DE from a Freirean
perspective is critical reflection (Freire and Macedo, 2001). Academics and
practitioners must be critically aware of what they are seeking to achieve and
rather than 'distract', a more informed, well researched and robust analysis is
not just essential, but in my view is lacking in the general discourse in
Ireland. I agree with Regan that it is vital that we remember the 'roots of our
work'. Of course, as Hogan and Tormey (2008: 1) suggested, we must work
with others but we must also hold onto our core aspirations, articulate them,
strive to achieve them and understand more clearly who our allies are from
all traditions and disciplines. However, ultimately I agree with Regan, the
term DE in Ireland has a very specific political, action-orientated and social
justice pedigree, and I see 'sustainable development' as a vital DE theme,
alongside other themes such as human rights, gender equality, migration or
trade.

I am aware that sustainable development educationalists might see
ESD as the broader term, within which they might situate some of the DE
themes. We should remember that this is not a competition about the best
terminology to use. It is not that one academic/activist tradition is better or
worse than another, although people may be drawn more to one than another.

It is about clarity of definition. Of course we should not ignore the influence of EE and ESD and the synergy that can exist with activist/academic strands within those fields which are also rooted in a strong justice and human rights tradition. It does mean that we are not swayed as an academic tradition and influenced by agendas that may take us away from the more radical 'roots of our work' or indeed away from how we have defined ourselves as an academic and activist community for decades.

Development Education and Global Education

A second debate about terminology relates to the term global education (GE). In the UK context, Scheunpflug and Asbrand, as cited in Priestley et al. (2010), traced how 'Third World pedagogy', 'development education' and, what is more recently termed 'global education', has a clear historical lineage, with one approach leading on to the next (Priestley et al., 2010: 3–4). In an Irish context, this is not precisely the case. GE is not a more recent term for DE; rather, GE includes DE. This is stated, for example, in the 2015 Peer Review by Global Education Network Europe (GENE) which uses the definition of the Maastricht Declaration on Global Education in Europe:

> "Global Education is education that opens people's eyes and minds to the realities of the world, and awakens them to bring about a world of greater justice, equity and human rights for all. GE is understood to encompass Development Education, Human Rights Education, Education for Sustainability, Education for Peace and Conflict Prevention and Intercultural Education; being the global dimensions of Education for Citizenship" (GENE, 2015: 13).

The GENE report acknowledges that Irish Aid and most Irish practitioners use the term DE and both terms are used throughout GENE's Irish report as appropriate.

Development Education, Citizenship Education and Education for Global Citizenship

A third discussion relating to terminology focuses on Citizenship Education (CE) or Education for Global Citizenship (EGC). Priestley et al (2010) traced a strong link between CE and GE. They also saw EGC as allowing 'us to look beyond old barriers that have separated citizenship education and global education' (ibid: 9). The link between CE and DE has not been as strongly evident in Ireland as in the UK and elsewhere. In the first instance, CE has not been strongly valued in Ireland in the school system. Civics was first introduced into post-primary schools in 1966 (DES, 2005: 8). A new Junior Certificate (12-15 years) subject 'Civic, Social and Political Education' (CSPE) became mandatory for all first year students only in 1997 (DES, 2005: 8). Jeffers and O'Connor described the introduction of CSPE as a compulsory feature of the Junior Certificate as 'a significant breakthrough' (2008: 1).

However, they also pointed to the marginalisation of 'citizenship education' within the formal education system, which they describe as 'disconnected' from a broader community-based citizenship education. They highlight some of the challenges facing CE within the Irish education system. These include restrictions in the syllabus, the limited amount of time given to the subject, teacher turnover, lack of cross-curricular approaches and the isolation of schools within local communities (ibid: 11-12). Murphy's study of five schools' implementation of CSPE supports this view. CSPE remains a subject which is not afforded a high status in the school system (2003: 215).

At Leaving Certificate level (the final state exam at secondary level for students normally aged 17-18), CE features within a new subject called 'Politics and Society' which was examined for the first time only at the 2018 Leaving Certificate examinations (State Examination Commission - Examination Information, July 2017). A Citizenship Project Report will be assessed as part of this programme. There are opportunities within this new subject for a DE approach. The consultation process which took place as part of the development of this Politics and Society course illuminates the

relationship between DE and CE in Ireland. The consultation by the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (NCCA) included an invitation to the public to make written submissions.

The list of the 38 written submissions in the final report shows the strong influence of DE advocates, NGOs and academics (NCCA, 2010: 39). Indeed, there is questioning by other contributors of the lack of a distinctively Irish flavour, although such suggestions did not typically imply that there should be less of a focus on global issues (NCCA, 2010: 17–18). Overall, the Politics and Society course offers opportunities for DE and hopefully could also 'play a role in strengthening the institutional base for CSPE in schools' (NCCA, 2010: 10). However, in relation to the evolution of terms in Ireland, the terminology was not fostered under CE. Rather, those agencies, academics and development NGOs already rooted in the DE tradition, reinforced the incorporation of global issues in the syllabus. This also points to the relative strength of the development education sector in Ireland in influencing progress in this space and their interest and efforts to do so.

This does not mean that the concept of 'Active Citizenship' is absent in Irish discourse. For instance, the 2003 Report of the Democracy Commission discusses what citizenship should mean in twenty-first century Ireland. It states that Democratic Citizenship Education (DCE) should have a non-partisan political dimension, should include the provision of information and facilitate their participation in the political discussions and decisions that affect their everyday lives. The Commission used Will Kymlicka's definition of citizenship education:

> "Citizenship education is not just a matter of learning the basic facts about the institutions and procedures of political life; it also involves acquiring a range of dispositions, virtues and loyalties that are immediately bound up with the practice of democratic citizenship" (Kymlicka, 1999, quoted in Harris, 1996: 79).

Again, in 2007, a 'Taskforce on Active Citizenship' was set up by the Taoiseach (Irish Prime Minister) to:

> "…review the evidence regarding trends in citizen participation across the main areas of civic, community, cultural, occupational and recreational life in Ireland and to examine those trends in the context of international experience and analysis" (Taskforce on Active Citizenship, 2007: 29).

It states that any political arrangement requires active, educated and responsible citizens who behave according to various civic virtues (Taskforce on Active Citizenship, 2007: 3).

The use of the term Global Citizenship Education (GCE) was Irish Aid's preferred overarching term for the first time in their 2017-2023 Development Education Strategy. There is a clear direction towards working closely with other government departments in order to achieve DE policy goals. The term GCE is described as:

> "…an umbrella term that encompasses the work of various government departments in developing active global citizenship among the Irish public. It provides an overarching coherent framework which includes both Development Education and Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) and forms a common ground for future interdepartmental collaboration. Global Citizenship Education plays a critical role in equipping learners with the necessary knowledge, skills and values to deal with the dynamic and interdependent world of the twenty-first century. It builds a sense of belonging to a common humanity, fosters respect for all and helps learners to take informed decisions and assume active roles locally, nationally and globally" (Irish Aid, 2017: 16).

Here DE is placed as one strand of education in the 'global space', alongside, but not the same as education for sustainable development. The use of the

term GCE as an 'umbrella' term, allows for both generic and specific references to different strands within 'global space' education.

Conclusion

In Ireland, I would argue that we should, as an academic and activist community, continue to use the term DE. However, terminology varies across the world and/or by different academics or activists. Some use the term GE when referring to what in Ireland we might refer to as DE. Others might use GE as a kind of intercultural, global business or international education, which builds 'skills for living in a globalise world', without referring at all to issues such as global inequalities, social injustice, structural power imbalances and themes associated with DE. That is not to suggest that intercultural business skills are not important, they are, but they are not DE. The point is that it is important to be clear about how we define our discipline.

What can be confusing is that some will use the term global education, or other terminology, to define exactly what we mean by the term DE. What matters is the meaning given to a term in a particular place, but the meaning matters. What is important to state is that, whichever terminology is used, the theory and practice which informs work in this space is based on traditions which have strong social justice underpinnings. Activist, academic and state stakeholders in DE have fought hard to develop an action-orientated, development-focused, human rights-based agenda which works on global themes and in solidarity with the poor and marginalised of societies around the world, including Ireland.

Ultimately, I agree with Douglas Bourn (2014a) that DE is a pedagogy for global social justice, although I would include the word 'action'. Development Education is pedagogy of action for global social justice. Let us not allow this hard-won tradition to be diluted or swayed from its radical roots. Let us take control of our own terminology and definitions and let us not be led by current funding or political agendas, international and regional bodies, or any other players away from our goal.

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Global Education can Foster the Vision and Ethos of Catholic Secondary Schools in Ireland

Anne Payne

Abstract: There are currently 374 voluntary secondary schools in Ireland constituting 51 per cent of all post-primary schools (CSO, 2018). Until the 1960s, these schools were staffed primarily by religious sisters, brothers and priests. The decline in available religious personnel has meant that they are now run by education trusts who must keep the mission and values of the founders alive in the schools. As a teacher in a fee-paying Catholic secondary school, I realise that the principles of global education (GE) are closely aligned with the stated ethos of my school which has strong aspirations towards social justice. I have become convinced of the potential that GE has to promote and maintain the founding vision and ethos of the school and of all religious schools. I believe that it could greatly increase the likelihood of our Catholic schools producing young men and women to be agents of transformation in society and in the world. I feel that this is particularly important in schools like mine as graduates of fee-paying schools are considered to have the potential to wield influence in society (Freyne, 2013).

The aim of my study was to investigate the potential of GE to foster the founding vision and ethos of Catholic secondary schools in Ireland. Through questionnaires and semi-structured interviews, I elicited the opinions of teachers and principals in three fee-paying Catholic secondary schools in Dublin. For convenience, I chose to include my own school in the study, also selecting two other schools belonging to different religious orders. A total of 225 teachers from these schools received an online Survey Monkey questionnaire and seventy-four completed it, which was a response rate of thirty-three per cent. Respondents were invited to provide contact details if they wished to be interviewed. Of the twelve teachers who responded, nine were selected for interview based on their subjects. As religion, senior geography and Civic, Social and Political Education (CSPE) were identified

in the literature as being the subjects most likely to involve GE the sample included at least one of each. The three principals were also interviewed.

As fee-paying Catholic schools in Dublin cater for only a certain demographic of the Irish population, the results are therefore biased in terms of the socio-economic background characteristic of the students. Despite this and although the selection cannot be considered representative of all Irish secondary schools, the study is likely to be of interest to teachers and educationalists in other settings and it is potentially applicable to many Irish post-primary schools.

Key words: Global Education; Development Education; Catholic Ethos; Secondary Schools.

Introduction

As educators, we have a wonderful opportunity to influence our students for good, to make them aware of injustice, to teach them the critical skills to analyse its underlying causes and to care enough to want to bring about change. Global education can help us to achieve this as it aims to develop awareness, compassion and critical thinking skills which in turn lead to action for justice. GE is closely linked to, and is often considered to be synonymous with, development education (DE) (Godwin, 1997). The terms are often used interchangeably as the significant content dimension of DE is a focus on the global (Dillon, 2016). In this article both terms are used. The Maastricht Declaration (2002) offered the following definition for GE:

> "Global Education is education that opens people's eyes and minds to the realities of the world, and awakens them to bring about a world of greater justice, equity and human rights for all. Global Education is understood to encompass Development Education, Human Rights Education, Education for Sustainability, Education for Peace and Conflict Prevention and Intercultural Education; being the global dimensions of Education for Citizenship" (EWGEC, 2002: 2).

Catholic ethos and social justice

Statements from the websites of some of Dublin's fee-paying Catholic schools express the aspiration that their students will become agents for change in society.

> "Most importantly, we encourage our school community to look outwards and become agents for social change through involvement in initiatives supporting justice".

> "Our work on the goal of Social Awareness has given our pupils the appropriate knowledge, values, skills and opportunities to enable them to effectively address injustice, conflict-resolution and environmental issues and thus become 'agents of transformation'".

> "The many social justice programmes help nurture a lifelong desire to work towards a fairer, more just society".

The aspiration that the students should become positive agents of change in society indicates that the principles of GE are largely in line with the Catholic ethos expressed by the schools on their web sites.

This mirrored the opinions of the teachers in the study. When asked the question 'Do you think that Global Education is compatible with the Christian Ethos of the school?, a significant 96 per cent of teachers responding to the questionnaire believed that GE was compatible with the ethos of their schools and 89 per cent felt that it would be of benefit to students and staff. In interviews, all teachers expressed the view that the Catholic ethos of the school was compatible with the principles of GE. This echoes the findings of Bryan and Bracken (2011) as teachers spoke about the need for schools to produce well-rounded, socially conscious individuals and viewed development education as having an important role to play in this process.

Do you think that Global Education is compatible with the Christian Ethos of the school?

Answered: 68   Skipped: 6

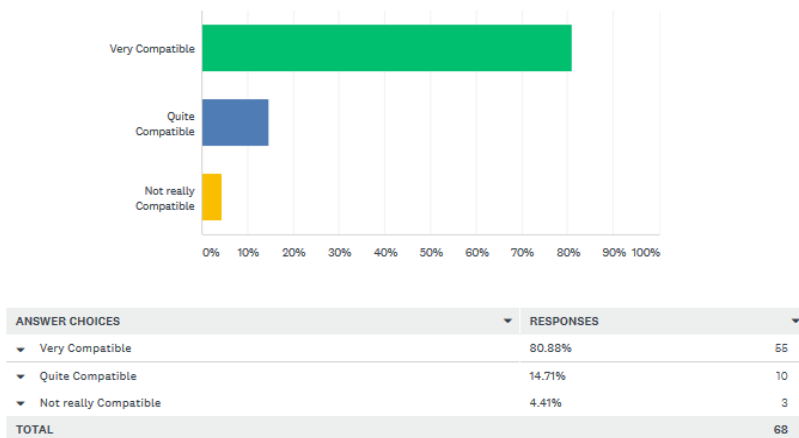| ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Very Compatible	80.88%	55
Quite Compatible	14.71%	10
Not really Compatible	4.41%	3
TOTAL		68

Figure 1: Do you think that Global Education is compatible with the Christian Ethos of the school?

In fact, one principal and a teacher from a different school expressed the hope that GE might play a role in faith formation as there is no longer a significant presence of religiously professed staff in the school. Principal Laura said: 'That's why I think the whole idea of Global Education is really important. I think it's a very strong way of developing young people in their faith'. Religious Education (RE) teacher Brendan made a similar point:

> "I suppose for people who would be less religious in their outlook I think Global Education is a way of expressing the ethos of the school in a modern way…Schools should definitely promote it as a way of living out the ethos of the school".

Involvement in social justice work and developing a social conscience might forge a path to faith and could help to foster a Catholic ethos while traditional practice of faith is in decline.

Global education in the curriculum

It is clear that committed and sustained engagement with GE would enable schools to engage with their Catholic ethos. It is obvious from this research, however, that the greater body of teachers do not have a good understanding or much experience of GE. In the surveys, a slight majority, 53 per cent, said that they had never taught it and 38 per cent were not aware of any other teachers' involvement with GE. Honan (2006) thought that DE had advanced from its origins as a marginal 'tag-on' and had 'come in from the cold', with both its content and methodologies evident across the curriculum (ibid: 20). The new Leaving Certificate subject, Politics and Society, piloted in forty-one schools and examined for the first time in 2018, has great potential as it aims to develop the student's ability to be a reflective and active citizen (DES, 2016). DE is also specifically addressed in subjects such as junior and senior cycle, religion, geography and CSPE. In interviews it emerged that many teachers think that GE is taught in these subjects, but is this really the case?

CSPE is a subject well suited to a rich exploration of DE (Honan, 2006) but, as concepts must be explored in a single 40minute period per week, there is a clear message that development and global justice themes are simply not that important. According to Jeffers, the allocation of one class a week to CSPE creates 'an impression that, no matter what the rhetoric, the subject can't be very important' (2008: 6). CSPE teacher Geraldine said: 'We're definitely limited with the fact that it's one period a week. You get very, very little done. You're really teaching to the exam and that's not what Global Education should be about'.

Adam made the same point:

> "It's one period a week. You have to get a lot of stuff done in a small period of time. You can't limit Global Education to CSPE or religion as you don't have enough time. That's the bottom line".

CSPE will be examined for the last time as a stand-alone subject in 2019. It will instead be incorporated into a new Junior Cycle subject called Wellbeing (NCCA 2017), which will possibly allow for deeper exploration of GE material. Brendan teaches Leaving Certificate religion but avoids the GE content:

> "I'll be honest, the current Leaving Cert religion programme is so dense that it's very hard to cover the course. When you're faced with getting them through the exam you become more pragmatic and choose what's more applicable to the exam".

Geraldine teaches Leaving Certificate geography, which includes GE in economic geography. Other opportunities to study GE are lost, however, because the topics are perceived as an exam risk. Geraldine explains:

> "Schools avoid global interdependence as the marking is vague. It goes back to teachers teaching for the exam. The other options are geo-ecology. It's physical geography, it's black or white. It's either right or wrong".

As she marks Leaving Certificate geography she knows that this is a nation-wide trend:

> "I could get three hundred scripts and they'd all do geo-ecology. It goes back to the marking of it and the fact that it's physical geography. Students find it more straightforward to learn point after point after point".

Fiedler et al. (2011) had noted this point. They cited Bryan and Bracken (2011) who found that DE opportunities are hindered by a system that 'marginalises global themes, privileges recall and outputs over learning, and provides little time or space for self-reflective interrogation' (Fiedler et al., 2011: 60). All three schools participating in this study regularly top the lists of 'feeder-schools' to Irish universities and are consistently in the top ten of the nationwide school league tables. Teachers believe that they can't focus on GE issues because parents are more concerned about results. Freya said: 'I hear this from parents; it's focused on the Junior Cert, the Junior Cert, the Junior Cert. In the exam year, the focus is on the exam'. Ciaran felt the same pressure:

> "Losing more time would be a huge burden for me. Well, being a fee-paying school we have to get good results. If we were at the bottom of the league table I don't think too many parents would be paying fees".

Cross curricular teaching and a whole-school approach

It has been found that GE is largely promoted and supported by individuals or small groups of teachers within a school and there is very little engagement by school staff as a whole (Gleeson et al., 2007). Many schools rely on 'champion' or 'warrior' teachers to push GE (Rickard et al., 2013: 40). It is clear that a whole-school approach in which GE is taught across the curriculum is the ideal (IDEA, 2013). Change needs to be part of a wider vision or ethos and implemented through strong and committed support from senior leadership within the school (Bourn, 2016). If new DE activity is incorporated into existing school activities it is less likely to be rejected (Rickard et al., 2013). Unless this happens, it may be championed by just one enthusiastic and committed person but this is not sustainable in the long run (Doggett et al., 2016).

Teacher support

To engage the wider school community, training in good practice and methodologies is essential (Kruesmann, 2015). If this support is not provided: 'teacher educators run the risk of reinforcing – rather than challenging – unequal power relations and colonial assumptions and promoting uncritical forms of development action' (Bryan and Bracken, 2011: 41). The willingness and capacity of school management to support teachers in DE endeavours is crucial. Yet Rickard et al. (2013) found that per cent of school principals do not include DE as part of their staff planning days and the idea of introducing DE as part of these days evoked very little interest.

Not all teachers will want to engage with DE. Some have been working in their own area for so long that cross-curricular work may prove difficult: 'the price of a strong ethos of teacher autonomy can be a culture of teacher isolation' (Jeffers, 2008: 8). Doggett et al. also referred to the traditional 'silo' approach of the individual teacher in the classroom which leads to isolation and stasis (2016: 58). Not everybody will perceive a need to change the status quo. As Bourn noted: 'any discussion on teachers as agents of change needs to be predicated on an understanding of the limitations many teachers face in their desire to be agents of change' (2016: 68). Others may be reluctant to bring DE into their subject, seeing it as a disservice to students preparing for high-stakes examinations (Bryan and Bracken, 2011: 187).

When asked in the questionnaire why they didn't teach GE, 46 per cent of teachers surveyed felt that it was not relevant to state exams and 41 per cent did not have the time to teach it. This indicates that 'teaching to the exam' was a major factor in their failure to engage with GE. Other reasons cited were lack of understanding of GE and lack of training and resources. This points to the need for staff training and investment in the area. Both the data and the literature agree that to successfully embed GE into the life of the school the impetus must come from the top down. Management must champion global education, allowing time for whole staff training on

principles and methodologies and making it part of school mission and policy. The narrow focus on academic excellence and examinations in many schools prevents this from happening.

If you answered 'No' to question 3 please identify a reason/reasons why.

Answered: 39   Skipped: 35
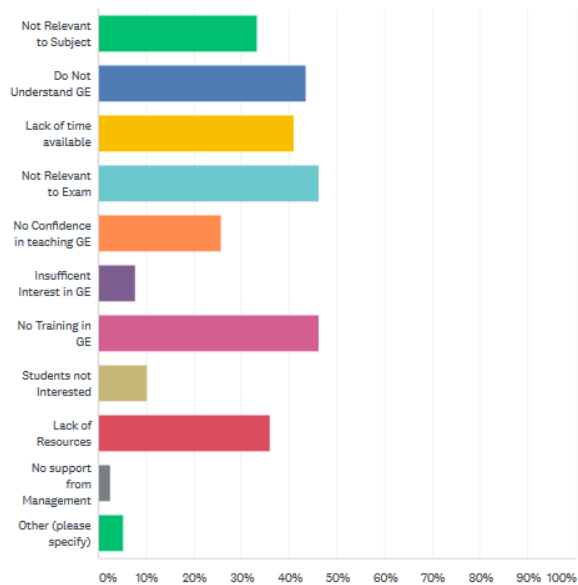
(Question 3 was "Have you taught Global Education in your own subject area?")

ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
▼ Not Relevant to Subject	33.33%	13
▼ Do Not Understand GE	43.59%	17
▼ Lack of time available	41.03%	16
▼ Not Relevant to Exam	46.15%	18
▼ No Confidence in teaching GE	25.64%	10
▼ Insufficent Interest in GE	7.69%	3
▼ No Training in GE	46.15%	18
▼ Students not Interested	10.26%	4
▼ Lack of Resources	35.90%	14
▼ No support from Management	2.56%	1
▼ Other (please specify) Responses	5.13%	2
Total Respondents: 39		

Figure 2: If you answered 'No' to question 3 please identify a reason/reasons why.

Global education and charity

The questionnaire asked teachers to select one or more options from GE activities that they may have observed in their schools. Eighty seven per cent considered fundraising for charities and sixty three per cent considered overseas immersion trips to be examples of GE, thus indicating a poor understanding of the concept. This was closely followed by: 'Talks by Aid Workers', The 'Trócaire Lenten Campaign', The 'Concern Debate' a 'WorldWise Global Schools (WWGS) Workshop' and development workshops by Irish Aid and Trócaire.

Many schools practise what Bryan and Bracken (2011) described as 'development as charity'. The three schools participating in this study are very active in works of charity and many charitable organisations and beneficiaries are very grateful for their support. White, as cited in Cleary (2015: 57) considered DE to be an education that focuses on social justice, moving away from the 'charity model' to one of active global citizenship where students engage with social justice issues. When fundraising is seen as a legitimate response to global poverty, this reinforces stereotypical ideas about the dependency and vulnerability of recipients who are in need of 'our' help and does little to promote a more substantively equal relationship between the global North and global South (Bryan and Bracken, 2011: 231).

It places those in the North in a position of power, creating a seemingly kind and benevolent master but a master nonetheless (Simpson, 2017). Concentrating solely on a fundraising agenda to alleviate poverty insulates learners from having to re-think dominant understandings as it shields them with comforting assurances that they are helping to 'make a difference' (Bryan and Bracken, 2011: 207). Also, the sense of achievement that is derived from fundraising activities may close off the possibility of young people thinking further about, and acting to change, the structures that bring about and sustain poverty and injustice in the first place.

In interviews teachers felt that fundraising was a positive and even necessary activity but many teachers felt that the approach to fundraising could be better. Brendan said:

> "I think kids fundraise and don't really know what they're fundraising for. There has been an over-emphasis on the charity which is important but probably we need to get away from that, we need to break that link that it's all about charity".

Sometimes awareness is lacking. Eamon said:

> "I sometimes wonder if they know what they're buying that cake for, trying to make the school understand as they're killing each other to get to the tables. I think we could have more awareness".

Doggett et al. found this attitude in school leaders also: 'the charitable approach expressed by many school leaders enabled greater distancing and an aspirational stance rather than active involvement in Development Education' (2016: 47).

School immersion trips and global education

All three schools involved in this study bring students to countries of the global South on immersion trips where they may visit projects, attend school or participate in voluntary work. In all three schools, an important element of

the trip is to provide financial assistance to the projects visited or to the associated charity organisation and they involve huge fundraising campaigns.

Bryan and Bracken (2011), however, found that school links initiated for charitable reasons are counterproductive to the aims of GE and can reinforce stereotypical thinking which can lead to feelings of intellectual and moral superiority. These trips may belong to the development-as-charity framework, which positions Irish participants as 'global good guys' and southern participants as needy recipients of 'our help' (ibid: 28). Given the long-standing and embedded nature of charitable initiatives in Irish post-primary schools and their pervasiveness as an accessible and 'doable' form of development activism, a considerable challenge exists in steering schools and students away from helping approaches and towards a mutual learning approach to school-linking and immersion schemes (ibid: 252). School partnerships should be on an equal footing, based on mutual learning and not charity (IDEA, 2013) but this is rarely the case.

The missionary ethos

This 'helping' model relates back to the missionary ethos of the founders of these schools when Irish nuns and priests went to the global South to teach, nurse and to spread Catholicism. While some believe that missionaries were instrumental in bringing a social justice perspective to the emerging DE agenda, others believe that missionaries and church or parish-based groups were prominent in influencing the discourse on the developing world from a charity perspective by concentrating on 'starving black babies' (Fiedler et al, 2011: 18). O' Sullivan (2007), as cited in Fiedler et al. (2011), noted that:

> "The Irish missionary movement created a vivid, albeit at times inaccurate, image of Africa in the minds of the Irish population. The 'penny for a black baby' campaign called on Irish citizens to support missionary societies building schools, hospitals and churches in their parishes" (ibid: 17).

Principal John said:

> "We were taught primarily by priests and they talked about buying a black baby, paying a penny for a black baby…. I'd be very conscious as a lay Principal of my responsibility to maintain the wishes of the founding fathers".

It is obvious that this attitude has survived to the present time. The overseas immersion trip is afforded great prominence as it reflects the missionary intent of the founding orders. As those early missionaries saw no need to question the validity of their actions, neither is the validity of sending teenagers to the global South to 'do good work' often questioned either. According to this model, going on mission is desirable in itself, without the need for intense preparation or questioning why this charity is necessary. In fact, some have questioned whether all school activities are purely altruistic. According to Bryan and Bracken, these types of schools are more likely to practise 'high profile' DE, which enhances the overall reputation of the schools and enables them to demonstrate that they are offering a 'well-rounded education' to their students (2011: 160). Tallon et al. (2016) also found that social action in schools might promote the status of the school in the community rather than active social change agendas.

Although the teachers interviewed did not consider the trips to the global South to be cynical exercises in promoting the school, on some occasions the lack of preparation and apparent purpose led them to question the value of such trips. In two of the schools in the study teachers voiced concern that there was insufficient preparation before trips and that GE opportunities are lost when students come home. On the other hand, the third school's preparation programme and reciprocity through exchange meets the good volunteering standards as set out by Comhlámh (2017). Other schools could learn from their example.

Promoting action for change

It is significant that definitions of GE and DE share a commitment to critical thinking leading to action. Tormey noted that all modern definitions of DE contain references to 'critical thinking/awareness/reflection' as well as 'action' (2003: 214). Definitions across the board appear to agree that DE should result in behavioural change on the part of the learner (McCloskey, 2016). McCloskey (2016) related this to Freire's 'liberating action'. Freire's conception of social transformation is intrinsically linked to the concept of 'praxis' which is a combination of reflection and action. This reflection leads to empowerment and determination to bring about change and highlights the importance of engaging in quality GE in our secondary schools. If we really want our young people to become agents for change in the world, we must empower them with the skill to think critically, with an awareness of injustice and a desire to overcome it.

Do Irish secondary schools produce 'Agents for Change'?

Some of the teachers interviewed were not convinced that their schools are producing agents for change. Brendan said:

> "I don't know that we're making critical thinkers and people that will challenge as journalists maybe or solicitors. I'm not sure that we've achieved that yet. We do showcases, we do projects and displays but sometimes they're on a superficial level".

Bryan and Bracken also found that, in the school context, calls to action generally involve 'obedient activism' 'whereby students are channelled into apolitical, uncritical actions such as signing in-school petitions, designing posters or buying Fairtrade products' (2011: 16). Often experiences of service and social action at school are limited to feasible short-term projects, and often under the umbrella of fundraising. As Tallon et al. suggested, this kind of activity is often more concerned with 'promoting the status of the school in the community rather than active social change agendas' (2016: 98). Andreotti (2006) found that in schools action is likely to be 'soft' rather than critical and that schools are more likely to engage in 'The Three "Fs" of

Fundraising, Fasting and Fun' (Bryan and Bracken, 2011: 28). Doorly called them the 'five "Fs" of food, fashion, festivals, flags and fundraising' or actions such as signature gathering, wearing bracelets and debating, often linked to individual rather than collective action, which lacks power (2015: 116).

Science teacher Harry remembered his students protesting outside the Dáil about government cuts to development aid, against French nuclear testing in the South Pacific, against the Irish Rugby Football Union for playing rugby against South Africa during apartheid. This was all in the past. 'But nowadays I don't see students in protests. I'm not aware of any of our students going to protest anywhere'. Eamon felt that perceived parental pressure is the reason that teachers and students don't get involved in more radical action. They say:

> "Oh I don't want her going to the inner city. I don't want her giving soup to the homeless. We're giving the money. We're doing our part. Let someone else do that".

He fears a lawsuit should anything go wrong. "A lot of that does come down unfortunately to litigation. If somebody hits a student when they're out helping someone it's 'Oh I'm gonna sue'".

Harry made a similar point:

> "I probably don't feel as free as I used to feel about saying to students 'Do you want to get involved in this protest?' I'd be more careful these days. The parents might have very different views on something. So I wouldn't invite students to go on a march against the banks or something like that. Some of the parents could be big bankers".

Bryan and Bracken had also found that, while teachers were not opposed to the notion of students becoming politically engaged, most were reluctant to

explicitly encourage the political 'mobilization' of students (2011: 26). They were concerned that political actions might provoke negative consequences or sanctions from parents or the wider community. Tallon et al. (2016) questioned the narrow focus of DE and wondered what kinds of global citizens are we encouraging in our schools if this is how we perceive DE. 'Action may be packaged up to avoid the difficult questions and continue the systems that paper over the cracks' (ibid: 107). Charity and 'soft' actions are acceptable but anything more radical that questions the status quo is not. This resonates with the findings of Flannery who questioned 'all their rhetoric and endeavours in the area of justice and equality' (2016: 21) and asked 'how in our schools are we preparing our students to be active agents for transformative political, social and economic change?' (ibid).

Global education and the Irish examination system

Bryan highlighted an inherent tension between the goal of DE, which seeks to develop active citizens, and an education system which views the primary purpose of education as to 'prepare students for competitive employment in the global marketplace' (2011: 4). She alluded to the exam-driven focus of the curriculum as being a major obstacle to the meaningful inclusion of development issues and global justice themes in schools (ibid). O'Brien (2017) noted that the modern classroom resembles a military training ground where students are drilled to produce perfect answers to potential questions based on examiners' marking schemes. This focus also deprives students of the opportunity to develop critical thinking skills. Some multinational employers and universities complain that too many school-leavers are emerging from an exam-obsessed second-level where students are 'taught to the test' and are not learning to think for themselves (ibid).

Conclusion

I have found that the principles of GE are compatible with the stated Catholic ethos of Irish Secondary schools. I have also found that this ethos remains largely aspirational in these schools and that in reality they do not espouse real and radical social change. Despite the idealistic rhetoric of mission statements, the most influential values in such schools are consumerist as

students compete for places on high-points university courses as these qualifications will lead to highly paid careers, status and wealth. The ability to think critically is not a skill necessary to achieve high points in Leaving Cert examinations; so, unfortunately, this is not prioritised at senior level in our schools. Junior Cycle reform has meant that the ability to think critically is now a requirement of the Junior Cycle (DES, 2015). Reform of the Senior Cycle is planned but, while the points system continues to be utilised for selection for college places, it is unlikely that significant change will happen soon.

This disconnect with their stated ethos poses significant challenges for the successful implementation of GE within the schools. A great opportunity exists, however, for GE practitioners to work with school management, to highlight the link between school ethos and GE, to analyse the school mission statements and to see how implementing a solid GE programme could help schools live out their ethos. A good GE programme could embed a social justice perspective across all subject areas to avoid infringing on examination preparation. Ideally, action for justice could move beyond fundraising but otherwise fundraising and immersion trips could be accompanied by intense analysis as to why these activities are considered necessary. Global education can help schools to move beyond the rhetoric to become real promoters of social justice and to inspire their students to become agents of change.

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Joining the Dots: Connecting Change, Post-Primary Development Education, Initial Teacher Education and an Inter-Disciplinary Cross-Curricular Context

Nigel Quirke-Bolt and Gerry Jeffers

Abstract: This Perspectives article develops a rationale for the integration of a development education (DE) approach into initial teacher education (ITE) within a cross-curricular framework. The perspective is grounded in the practical considerations of the local and global circumstances of living in today's world. A discussion is presented of significant current ecological, technological and socio-cultural changes and the resulting challenges they pose if schools and communities are to respond responsibly and imaginatively. In particular, we focus on ways in which ITE providers can strengthen the moral and social justice dimensions of the pupils' learning experience through DE.

While schools have various traditions of building aspects of global citizenship into their programmes, recent curricular developments at Junior Cycle in post-primary schools in Ireland offer fresh opportunities to engage with inter-disciplinary topics such as sustainable development, climate change, social justice and participative democracy. For meaningful change to take place, student-teachers and teachers need a thorough grounding in the many issues linked with concepts associated with global citizenship and the methodologies that are effective in facilitating such learning.

Key words: Development Education (DE); Initial Teacher Education (ITE); Ireland; Junior Cycle Reform; Teachers' Professional Identity; Teaching Council.

Introduction

Throughout history societies have acknowledged the central position that education holds, and have, at the very least, recognised education as a key activity and part in their societal development (Mulhearn, 1959). Closely linked to the development of society and modernity, education is regarded as key to addressing ecological, technological, social, cultural, economic and personal change (Share et al., 2012). Many sociologists view education as a key driver of change and as a vehicle to develop society and communities (Clancy, 1995). Education is also seen as a pathway to develop individuals through economic growth and social progress, and to facilitate learning more about the world in which we live and interact, so that we can better control our futures (Postman, 2011). Education, a human right, is also valued because it is indispensable in achieving other human rights (Baker et al., 2004). In the light of the considerable social, cultural, economic and technological changes we have experienced in Ireland (Crotty and Schmidt, 2014), attention is frequently turned to how education can contribute towards making sense and coping with these changes (Andreotti, 2009), and the creation of an adaptable, modern, multi-cultural and inter-connected society (McKay et al., 2011).

Within the context of education generally, development education (DE) can act as an overarching umbrella under which many of the above issues can be comfortably unified. DE can offer learners an intellectually coherent and practically useful way of engaging with the local and global circumstances of living in today's world and of confronting the challenges that societies are experiencing. A key contention of this article is that DE needs to be afforded a central place in school programmes and, by extension, in teacher education, particularly initial teacher education (ITE).

Local and global concerns

Like many other established institutions in society, schools are straining under the weight of expectations to adapt and respond to life in the twenty-first century. While many accept the broad principle that young people and their teachers need to develop new skills if they are to flourish, consensus as

to what these skills are, how they might be cultivated or, crucially, what traditional aspects of schooling might be jettisoned, is elusive (e.g. Claxton, 2008; Postman, 2011; Robinson, 2017; Schleicher, 2018). The stakes are high as decisions made about schooling now will impact on young people's futures; how much promise, how much peril?

The challenges that we are now facing, due to local and global changes, require an educational response if we are to look forward to a sustainable future. These challenges, that are having an extensive impact in Ireland and on Irish education, can be grouped into four broad areas of concern: ecological, technological, socio-cultural and political.

Ecological concerns

A particularly urgent and important problem confronting us today is represented by the ecological changes caused by human actions and inactions (Goudie, 2018; Share et al., 2012). Despite the urgency in finding solutions to rapidly changing global challenges, responses so far have been slow. The World Health Organisation (WHO, 2015) reported that progress in different regions regarding world health has been uneven and highlighted the need to incorporate changing social and environmental determinants.

Numerous attempts at cooperation across international borders to find solutions that address environmental problems have been dogged by disagreements, conflicts of interest and difficulties in keeping environmental concerns a live issue in public consciousness (Anderson, 2009). The seventeen Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (UN, 2015) adopted by world leaders with 2030 targets reflect a fresh international appreciation that ecological challenges are among the most serious ones facing the human family. Identified ecological concerns include: climate change; stratospheric ozone depletion; changes in ecosystems due to loss of biodiversity and plant and animal species; changes in hydrological systems and depletion of freshwater; land degradation and the decline of soil quality; problems of waste and recycling; urbanisation; the movement of people and mass migration; and stresses on food-producing systems (UN, 2015).

Technological concerns

Modern technologies, such as televisions, mobile phones, computers and the Internet have become so embedded in people's lives that they seem indispensable for modern living. Technology has allowed us to make significant advances in how we handle and organise data and information, and this has resulted in improved access to information and better knowledge systems (Fuchs, 2014). Increasingly, technology is being used to replace manual tasks and even face-to-face social interaction. These changes are impacting human behaviour at various levels. For instance, one in four relationships, in Ireland, reportedly start online (*Irish Times*, 2016), and 30 percent of Irish consumers expect their phones to be their main shopping tool in the future (PWC, 2017). While undoubtedly bringing about improvements in health, safety, long-distance communication and work conditions, some of the negative effects of technology are causing particular concern to educators.

Concerns frequently focus on young people's social media use. In Ireland, an estimated 99 percent of 15-24 year-olds have a phone and, of these, 92 percent access social media everyday (Lee, 2017). Teachers and those working with young people report the influence of social media on person-to-person interaction and the effects on developing social skills and human relations (Best et al., 2014). Medical research has connected social media usage with dispositional anxiety and increased incidences of anxiety disorders (Vanucci et al., 2017). Addiction to video games is a disorder now recognised by the World Health Organization (WHO) (Murphy, 2017). When social media is the prime leisure activity, there are higher incidences of low or decreased self-esteem during or after online activity. Research is showing that young people are increasingly experiencing feelings of disconnection from friends and family (Block, 2018), and of not interacting with them in person as they would have done before the proliferation of social media (Vanucci et al., 2017). Pupils are increasingly losing their ability to concentrate on tasks over a period of time, and are experiencing increased, or unusual, social anxiety when interacting with people offline. Documentary evidence shows how online usage has resulted

in irregular or disordered sleeping patterns, resulting in increased fatigue and/or stress after using social media (Best et al., 2014).

An Australian government study estimated that just under half of all Australian children aged between 9-16 years have viewed pornography, with potentially negative impacts on their attitudes to sex, sexuality and relationships (Quadara et al., 2017). Such reports heighten educators' and parents' concerns about regulating children's access to pornographic, and/or violent material, particularly when their access takes place in unsupervised environments.

Online bullying is a further concern. O'Higgins, Norman and McGuire (2016), found that over 50 percent of adolescents in Ireland have been bullied online, and a similar percentage have engaged in cyber-bullying. A study from the United Kingdom (UK) revealed that over 25 percent of adolescents are bullied repeatedly, on a daily basis, through their phones (ReachOut, 2016).

Socio-Cultural concerns

Socio-cultural concerns are not always reported in the popular media to the same extent as technological or ecological concerns, but are no less significant. Recent data from the Central Statistics Office (CSO, 2016) indicated a growing multi-culturalism, changes in patterns of family life and a decline in religious affiliation. For example, 17.3 percent of Irish residents were born outside the country. Between 2011 and 2016 those with dual nationalities (e.g. Polish-Irish) almost doubled. The CSO census also revealed that, in a population of 4,761,865, over 600,000 speak a foreign language at home. The CSO 2016 census also revealed that the average number of children per family in 2016 was 1.38. Increases were recorded in the number of people in the following categories: single, separated, divorced, re-married and in same-sex civil partnerships. Among families with children, the numbers of married couples, co-habiting couples and one parent families all increased, with co-habiting couples showing an increase of 25.4 percent.

In Ireland, 78 percent of the population declared themselves as Roman Catholic, a drop from 84 percent five years earlier and from 92 percent in 1991. 10 percent in the 2016 census declared 'no religion', a jump from 6 percent in 2011. Following the May 2018 abortion referendum, some commentators expressed concerns that 'the role of religion in education is set to be the next battleground in moves to separate Church and State' (McQuinn, 2018).

Amid these well-documented changes, the growth in young people's financial dependency on their parents, coupled with significant affordable accommodation shortages and an increasingly flexible, less secure workforce, point to young people facing new and additional challenges to those encountered by their parents (Quinn et al., 2017). Concern has also been expressed at the growth in the numbers of children being classified as 'at risk', reported as being as high as one in seven of all children (Barnardo's, 2018). Figures from the CSO (2016) revealed that one in four families with children are one-parent families and 40.2 percent of lone parent households are at risk of poverty, and 11 percent (N=132,146) of children are living in poverty (CSO 2016), with 4 percent (N=40,906) of children being homeless, in direct provision, or referred to family support services (TUSLA, 2018). Kielty (2016), a researcher with the Society of St Vincent de Paul, argues that such trends require better analysis and more radical government responses.

These various socio-cultural changes, coupled with a widespread growth in post-materialism, and the movement of people from an aspirational position of material advancement and deference towards authority, towards one where values of non-materiality, self-expression and self-fulfilment are held (Inglehart and Appel, 1989) all impact directly, and indirectly, on the daily life of school pupils and how they engage in 'sensemaking' (Weick, 1995).

Political changes
Recent political changes in Ireland, across Europe and in the United States (US), have seen a subtle, and not so subtle, move away from mainstream,

centre-ground, politics and a move towards political extremism and polarisation. There has been a noticeable change in how people in these countries are choosing to express themselves politically, with a rise of far-right political parties and views in France, Greece, Hungary, Poland, Austria, the UK and the US. Somewhat against international trends, no extreme right-wing party has emerged in Ireland though there has been a rise in independent representatives in Dáil Éireann, of diverse views. Unlike much of the rest of Europe, Ireland has tended to offer voters a less mixed ideological choice than elsewhere with the two biggest parties in Ireland difficult to separate ideologically. This is particularly noticeable, and can be seen very visibly, in people's expression for new ways to make political change. Political problems and concerns that have resulted include a broad range of contentious issues, including: refugee quotas and border controls; trade restrictions; global shift of power; Brexit; regional conflicts; mass migration; inequality etc.

The case for a Development Education curriculum

The Ubuntu Network (http://www.ubuntu.ie), among others, sees DE as increasingly relevant and important to post-primary schools as one framework for responding to many of the ecological, technological, socio-cultural and political challenges outlined above, particularly as they impact on justice in the world. The Ubuntu Network views DE as an active and participatory educational process that supports the learner to assess and respond to change, and to:

- Build critical consciousness and an awareness of inequality, injustice and unsustainable practices both locally and globally;

- Develop the skills necessary to explore development education issues – skills such as critical thinking, critical media literacy, information processing and communication;

- Foster a sense of responsibility and agency to be active citizens that confront local and global problems and work towards positive change.

A focus on 'equality' is key to DE. Fostering a sense of equality in classrooms leads to a sense of empathy with others and encourages pupils to combat negative stereotypes (Bourn, 2003). As pupils, teachers and schools learn to confront issues of inequality, initially in individual classrooms, they can also turn their attention to the whole school, and, importantly, focus on the wider local and national community. Attention can be focussed on linking the local community with the global and linking the schools' curriculum with the wider world. Encouraging pupils to utilise a problem-solving framework to develop critical thinking skills and encourage behavioural change, and a belief that individuals can cause change, can potentially have far reaching consequences.

Educational System Response in Ireland

Schools and teachers, at a local level, have always been receptive to the challenges their pupils face. For some young people, schools are increasingly the primary source of moral and value guidance, where teachers frequently provide the only check of their well-being, emotional and physical state. For example, Scanlon and McKenna (2018) show how, without official policy or provision, schools respond imaginatively and pastorally to young people who find themselves homeless. Schools that are sensitive to young people's challenges often find themselves close to the heart of the community they serve and can make a valuable contribution to community cohesion (QCA, 2010).

It is not as if the Irish government's responses to these emerging challenges have been lacking, following valuable work by the Curriculum and Examinations Board (CEB). *The Programme for Action in Education 1984-1987* proposed to address the changing nature and purpose of schooling. The document's preamble emphasised the notion of 'access' for all and outlined the need to update the curriculum to make it 'relevant to the

modern world', to 'developments in technology' and 'changing employment opportunities'. Adjusting the schooling system to meet changing needs has been a central theme in policy aspirations since. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) report (1991) on Ireland's education system triggered a range of papers, consultations and legislation. For example, the Green Paper *Education for a Changing World* (Government of Ireland, 1992), the National Education Convention (Coolahan, ed., 1994), the White Paper *Charting Our Education Future* (Government of Ireland, 1996), the Education Act (1998), the National Children's Strategy (Government of Ireland, 2000), the National Children's Strategy (2000a), the Education and Welfare Act (2000b), the Teaching Council Act (2000c), the EPSEN Act (2004) proposals for curriculum reform at Junior cycle (NCCA, 2012; DES 2015) and a National Strategy on Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) 2014-2020 (DES, 2014).

However, to translate the rhetoric of policy documents into action, these ideas need to be embedded in the school curriculum. A major challenge arises from traditional subject divisions and teachers' identities as subject specialists. The growing ecological, technological socio-cultural and political challenges demand inter-disciplinary, cross-curricular, responses. DE is a clear example of inter-disciplinarity. The Ubuntu Network is familiar with the challenges associated with trying to embed a cross-curricular approach to DE. The network's vision is:

> "Through Development Education, the Ubuntu Network contributes to building a world based on respect for human dignity and rights and is informed by values of justice, equality, inclusion, sustainability and social responsibility" (Ubuntu, 2016).

We can see two main ways in schools, and in initial teacher education, where a cross-curricular theme, such as DE is addressed. Firstly, there is the possibility of a short course or module in Junior Cycle; secondly, as a module in Transition Year. One of the significant curriculum shifts in Junior Cycle reform is the concept of Wellbeing, another cross-curricular theme,

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Policy & Practice: A Development Education Review   171 |P a g e

integrating Civic, Social and Political Education (CSPE), Social Personal and Health Education (SPHE) and Physical Education (PE), along with the development of key skills. The Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) Strategy is a further example of a cross-curricular challenge. This inter-disciplinarity is not simply a transient educational fashion, but an emerging opportunity to address the knowledge explosion and the local and global challenges and concerns mentioned above. As the guidelines for Transition Year state: 'An interdisciplinary approach would help to create that unified perspective which is lacking in the traditional compartmentalised teaching of individual subjects' (DES, 1994).

However, as Jeffers noted: 'There is minimal evidence in any of the research of such approaches' (2011: 66). Evidence from Transition Year evaluations suggests strong teacher resistance to inter-disciplinary work (ibid.). Such resistance is not that surprising if the teachers' initial teacher education experience restricts itself to traditional subject categories. Of course, teachers need to be qualified subject specialists, but in the emerging and fast changing world they need to be much more open and flexible to the possibilities offered by cross-curricular work. Bryan and Bracken in their survey of teachers' views noted that:

> "...the vast majority of participants felt that development issues occupied a very marginal position within the formal curriculum, with many identifying mere superficial treatment of development issues within their own subject areas" (2011: 256).

They add that:

> "...while theoretically there are indeed numerous 'opportunities' to incorporate development themes and issues across a wide range of subject areas, there are a host of constraining factors, which actively work against the likelihood of these opportunities being realised in practice" (ibid).

The case for explicit modelling of modules and cross-curricular work in ITE in DE is an urgent one. The Ubuntu Network's mission statement states:

> "The Ubuntu Network will support teacher educators to embed into their work a living understanding of and commitment to education for global citizenship, sustainable development and social justice. As a result, graduate post-primary teachers entering the workforce can integrate into their teaching, and into the schools where they work, perspectives that encourage active engagement to build a more just and sustainable world" (Ubuntu, 2016).

The Ubuntu Network strategy (Ubuntu, 2016) proposes a five component framework for integrating DE into ITE:

- Introduction to DE: theoretical underpinning; relevant issues, SDG's etc.;
- Subject specific DE: linking DE with subjects and pedagogies;
- DE and core components of ITE: e.g. Philosophy of Education, Teaching for Diversity: Education Policy etc.;
- DE and school placement;
- Research and reflection: DE in professional portfolio.

Various reports indicate (http://www.ubuntu.ie/publications/papers-reports.html) that ITE providers have been imaginative and creative in how they embed DE into their ITE programmes. Sometimes 'normal' activities are suspended and a dedicated few days are devoted to DE issues and methodologies. In addition, developing staff capacity opens the possibilities for DE perspectives to infuse various components of the ITE programme, for example teaching methodologies, sociology of education, philosophy of education etc. (Gleeson et al., 2007). These approaches both reflect and model what often happens in schools as evidence in resources from WorldWise Global schools (n.d.). Regrettably the Teaching Council Code of Professional Practice (Teaching Council, 2016) doesn't reference teaching

for global citizenship as a core feature of teachers' work; that is a separate discussion that deserves further consideration. This article has sought to make connections, to join the dots between DE in school, ITE and a cross-curricular context. A further extension of the discussion would concern the role of the Teaching Council and in particular their Code of Practice

Notwithstanding initiatives supported by the Ubuntu Network and other organisations and programmes, teachers' reluctance to move outside the confines of their subject specialism suggests tradition, conditioning and development in ITE runs deep and needs to be challenged more. Bourn (2012) describes how many student-teachers and teachers feel ill-equipped to incorporate a DE learning perspective into their subject teaching because of a lack of both confidence and skills to address the complexity of development and global themes. The teachers' professional development in DE is perhaps more complex than other elements of professional capacity building. It requires both reflection and critical thinking of their understanding of current DE issues, coupled with an engagement in a process of learning that recognises different approaches and different ways of understanding and looking at the world (Bourn, 2014).

In a curricular context, a focus on citizenship, including global citizenship was a persistent theme in many curriculum initiatives from the mid-1990s (Jeffers and O'Connor, 2008). Educational change can be a slow process, partly due to Ireland's post-primary curriculum being dominated by the high-stakes Leaving Certificate examination (Gleeson, 1998). Curriculum reform while including content change, has also had a strong focus on improving the process of teaching and shifting the assessment system (Looney and Klenowskib, 2008). The Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) strategy (DES, 2014) also provides a framework to support the contribution that the education sector can make towards a more sustainable future at individual, community, local, national and international levels.

Conclusion

What emerges, then, is an important viewpoint: teaching for human solidarity, for global citizenship, sustainable development and social justice can offer an integrated response to emerging and urgent local and global ecological, technological, socio-cultural and political challenges. This article has argued that addressing these challenges in appropriate ways is a core responsibility of all teachers. This necessitates a pedagogic approach that utilises an inter-disciplinary methodology that encourages critical thinking and active engagement with local and global issues. DE should not be marginal to school practice or an optional extra; it needs to be an essential and cross-curricular part of the curriculum and life of any school. For this to happen, a DE perspective needs to be embedded within teacher education programmes, both initial and ongoing.

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Viewpoint

THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO: LESSONS FOR DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION

STEPHEN MCCLOSKEY

Abstract: With the break-up of the Soviet Union and collapse of communism in 1989, Marx is now untethered from the stigma of Stalinism and, with the crisis in global capitalism, is now very much in vogue. Two hundred years on from his birth, this article revisits Marx's most famous and influential work, *The Communist Manifesto* and argues that much of it continues to speak directly to the economic crisis which enveloped the world ten years ago; a crisis from which we are still at risk. The article goes on to consider the influence of Marx's dialectic materialism on Paulo Freire's critical pedagogy, something that some of the latter's adherents may find uncomfortable and prefer to forget. It ends by suggesting that the international development sector should apply a Marxist and Freirean analysis to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in determining their efficacy and prospects for success. Given the dominance of the SDGs in the international development policy landscape this question has assumed increasing importance.

Key words: Karl Marx; Paulo Freire; Development Education; International Development; The Communist Manifesto; Pedagogy of the Oppressed; Sustainable Development Goals; Global Financial Crisis; Economic Inequality.

Introduction

The great political economist, journalist, activist, brilliant pamphleteer, lifelong agitator for socialism and ground-breaking analyst of the trajectory of global capitalism, Karl Marx, was born two hundred years ago. His most famous work, *The Communist Manifesto* (1848) written with his lifelong

comrade and collaborator Friedrich Engels, was published one hundred and seventy years ago, and together with his *magnum opus, Capital* [*Das Kapital*] (1867), has ensured that Marx is indelibly integrated into contemporary debate on the global economy as long as we have capitalism. In an introduction to the *Manifesto* in 1967, the revered historian A. J. P. Taylor described it 'among the intellectual documents of the nineteenth century' (7). Another towering historian, Eric Hobsbawm said that '*The Communist Manifesto* as political rhetoric has almost biblical force. In short, it's impossible to deny its compelling power as literature' (2011: 110).

Indeed, the *Manifesto* was adopted with religious zeal by the former Soviet Union and its satellites, together with other communist parties across the world, and for much of the last century, Marx became synonymous with Stalinist gulags and the worst excesses carried out in the name of 'communism'.   Yanis Varoufakis, in yet another introduction to the *Manifesto* published in 2018, suggested that the *Manifesto's* legitimising authoritarianism is akin to blaming the 'New Testament for the Spanish Inquisition' (2018a: xix). However, he argues that Marx and Engels 'kept a judicious silence over the impact their own analysis would have on the world they were analysing' (ibid), adding, that they:

> "failed to see that powerful, prescriptive texts have a tendency to procure disciples, believers – a priesthood even – and that this faithful might use the power bestowed upon them by the Manifesto to their own advantage" (ibid: xix-xx).

Hobsbawm, too, recognised that Marx:

> "deliberately abstained from specific statements about the economics and economic institutions of socialism and said nothing about the concrete shape of communist society, except that it could not be constructed or programmed but would evolve out of a socialist society' (2011: 8).

Into this vacuum stepped interpreters of Marx, often to disastrous effect in planned economies where the human cost of 'communism' in some cases exceeded those of the system they sought to challenge and supplant. As Varoufakis suggests: 'I believe that Marx and Engels would have regretted not anticipating the *Manifesto's* impact on the Communist Parties it foreshadowed' (2018: xx). He argues that 'Liberty, happiness, autonomy, individuality, spirituality, self-guided development are ideals that Marx and Engels valued above everything else' (2018: xxvii).

With the break-up of the Soviet Union and collapse of communism in 1989, Marx is now untethered from the stigma of Stalinism and is being discovered by a new generation of young people born after the Cold War. It is also time for the *Manifesto* to be rediscovered by the international development and development education sectors as much of its content speaks directly to the causes of poverty between and within countries today. We should recall, too, the influence of Marx's dialectic materialism on Paulo Freire's critical pedagogy, something that some of his adherents may find uncomfortable and prefer to forget (Au, 2017: 171). This article considers the contemporary relevance of Marx and the *Manifesto* in particular, before briefly assessing the influence of Marx on Freirean pedagogy and, finally, suggesting that the international development sector needs to apply a Freirean and Marxist analysis to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in determining their efficacy and prospects for success.

Capitalism in crisis

Eric Hobsbawm argues that Marx remains 'one of the intellectual presences of our age' for two reasons. First, the collapse of the former Soviet Union has 'liberated Marx from public identification with Leninism in theory and with the Leninist regimes in practice' (2011: 5). And second, 'because the globalised capitalist world that emerged in the 1990s was in crucial ways uncannily like the world anticipated by Marx in the *Communist Manifesto* (ibid). 2018 represents another anniversary which has renewed our interest in Marx; it is a decade on from the largest economic crisis since the 1930s which required a staggering United States (US) government bank bailout

estimated at $16.8 trillion (Collins, 2015). The bailout signalled to the banking sector that some institutions were too big to fail no matter what unscrupulous, illegal practices unravelled the economic system a decade ago. In assessing how things have changed since 2008, Varoufakis (2018b) argues that a combination of austerity and a public bailout of the banks has increased global debt by 40 percent since 2007. He argues that far from the risk of further crises being diminished, it has 'been moved to the shadow banking system, which has grown from $28 trillion in 2010 to $45 trillion in 2018 (ibid). Economist Ann Pettifor, too, argues that 'business is better than usual for bankers now, largely backed by government guarantees and central bank largesse' (Pettifor, 2018). She argues for a return of Keynesian economics: centrally regulated exchange rates and tighter regulations on the operations of corporations and banks (ibid).

There are worrying indicators of the social cost of austerity-driven welfare reform and government expenditure cuts which were implemented across Europe post-2008. Five years after the crisis, Amnesty International reported that:

> "The financial crisis and austerity measures in many EU countries have affected various economic and social rights, including those ensuring access to social security, housing, health, education and food. The measures often disproportionately affect the poorest and most marginalised people" (2013).

Evidence of the impact of austerity provided by The Trussell Trust, which operates a foodbank network across the United Kingdom (UK), suggests that it is indeed the vulnerable who are being hit hardest by austerity and cuts to services. The Trust distributed 1.3 million three-day emergency food supplies to people in crisis between April 2017 and March 2018, a 13 percent increase on 2017, with 484,026 of these supplies going to children (The Trussell Trust, 2018). The top four reasons given for referrals to foodbanks were low incomes, benefit delays, benefit changes and debt. Therefore, those dependent on welfare and working in low paid jobs were most vulnerable to

austerity-driven welfare cuts and wage freezes (ibid). In September 2018, the health union Unison announced it was distributing foodbank vouchers to health workers in two hospitals in Belfast who were 'struggling to put food on the table' (Fitzmaurice, 2018). Many of those who make recourse to foodbanks are the working poor because of the growing gap between stagnating wages and rising prices for food, utilities, rent and clothing. They are society's most vulnerable and marginalised people; single parents, the disabled, the elderly and young people.

Hobsbawm summarises the current economic climate thus:

> "Given the prominence of market fundamentalism it has generated extreme economic inequality within countries and between regions and brought back the element of catastrophe to the basic cyclical rhythm of the capitalist economy, including what became its most serious global crisis since the 1930s" (2011: 11-12).

When we add to this poisonous brew the rise of the extreme right (McCloskey, 2017) feeding off societal unrest and a popular disconnection with mainstream political life, it creates a fluid, volatile climate fertile for the erosion of human rights and greater authoritarianism. Foreseeing the emergence of global capital and the inequalities it would create are among the estimable qualities of *The Communist Manifesto*.

Marx is back
In 2008, Marx returned to the bestsellers list (Connolly, 2008) as proletariat and bourgeoisie alike sought to make sense of the global crisis that upended perceived certainties about capitalism 'lifting all ships' in a sea of prosperity. Among the perplexed observers of the crisis was Alan Greenspan, former chair of the US Federal Reserve, who said at the time, 'I have found a flaw' referring to his free market ideology, adding that, 'I don't know how significant or permanent it is. But I have been very distressed by that fact' (Clark and Treanor, 2008). Greenspan's 'distress' will have done little to mollify the anger and heartbreak of the more than 860,000 families in the US

who lost their homes in 2008 'as risky subprime mortgages proved unsustainable' (Clark, 2009). Ironically, the casino-like capitalism that did for home-owners resulted in an alarming 32 percent increase in repossessions year on year in the gambling capital of Las Vegas; the worst rate in the US (ibid). By 2016, more than 500,000 people were homeless in the US, many of them living in official and unofficial tent cities (Taylor, 2016) from Seattle to Honolulu, creating images reminiscent of the Great Depression (Amadeo, 2018).

That Marx saw a lot of this coming in the middle of the nineteenth century while in his late twenties, is why the *Manifesto* continues to endure and inspire. He firmly established the relationship between the class system and the means of production arguing that 'society as a whole is now more and more splitting into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat' (1967: 80). This appears to be exactly what is happening in today's socially and economically polarised world. Oxfam reported in 2016 that:

> "The global inequality crisis is reaching new extremes. The richest 1% now have more wealth than the rest of the world combined. Power and privilege is being used to skew the economic system to increase the gap between the richest and the rest" (2016: 1).

The *Manifesto* said bourgeois society 'has agglomerated population, centralized means of production, and has concentrated property in a few hands' (1967: 85) but even Marx may have been astonished at just how few with Oxfam reporting in 2017 that 'just eight men own the same wealth as the poorest half of the world' (1). But it was Marx's prophetically accurate characterisation of capital's global march that was core to the *Manifesto's* analysis. Thus:

> "The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle

everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connexions (sic) everywhere" (ibid: 83).

It goes on to argue that 'The bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country' (ibid). The rapid acceleration of globalisation post-1989 has sealed the *Manifesto's* relationship with twenty-first century capitalism, particularly where it says that 'the increase in the means of exchange and in commodities generally, gave to commerce, to navigation, to industry an impulse never before known' (ibid: 80).

There is a particularly powerful section which anticipates climate change, the rise of multinational corporations, the surge in consumerism and the eradication of indigenous industry. It says that:

"All old established industries have been destroyed or are daily being destroyed. They are dislodged by new industries, whose introduction becomes a life and death question for all civilized nations, by industries that no longer work up indigenous raw material, but raw material drawn from the remotest zones; industries where products are consumed, not only at home, but in every quarter of the globe. In place of the old wants, satisfied by the productions of the country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes' (ibid: 83-84).

Does the reference to new industry becoming a matter of 'life and death' go too far? Think about the Chinese workers in an Apple iPhone factory who have committed suicide by throwing themselves off buildings such are the cruel, sweatshop conditions in which they work (Fullerton, 2018). Think about the more than 1,000 textiles workers who perished in an eight story factory fire in Bangladesh in 2013 (BBC, 2013). Think, too, about the rupture to traditional agricultural lifestyles in areas threatened by climate change caused by the unsustainable consumption of natural resources such as oil and gas. The suicide of 60,000 farmers over a 30-year period in India, for

example, has been sourced to climate change and resultant stresses on agricultural production (Safi, 2017).

The *Manifesto* also foresaw the rise of urbanisation: 'The bourgeoisie has subjected the country to the rule of the towns' (1967: 84); intellectual property rights (ibid); the commodification of labour (ibid: 87); and the social determination of education as a mirror of the controlling forces of the economy (ibid: 100). The danger of deregulated capital is powerfully invoked in one of the *Manifesto's* most compelling sentences:

> "Modern bourgeois society is with its relations of production, of exchange and of property, a society that has conjured up such gigantic means of production and of exchange, like the scorcerer, who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells' (ibid: 86).

Marx also famously captured how capitalism swept away the old feudal order and re-ordered social relations when he said: 'all that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses, his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind' (ibid: 83).

Of course, the central premise of the *Manifesto* that the bourgeoisie would produce its own gravediggers (the proletariat) has not come to pass with most revolutions since 1848 resulting from the actions of what A J P Taylor calls 'the down-and-outs of *lumpenproletariat*' (ibid: 26). Marx and Engels recognised that parts of the *Manifesto* had already become dated when they wrote a preface to a new edition in 1872 (ibid: 33-34). 45 years later it helped inspire the Russian revolution of 1917 and 'became the accepted creed or religion for countless millions of mankind' and the slim pamphlet became a 'holy book, in the same class as the Bible or the Koran' (ibid: 7). One of those directly influenced by Marx was Paulo Freire whose dialectical relationship between the oppressor and oppressed mirrors the central antagonistic class relations in the *Manifesto*.

Freire and Marx

The influence of Hegel and Marx is very evident in Freire's seminal work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970) which had a seismic influence on educational practice and its potential to become a 'subversive force' (Schaull: 1970: 11) in society which is comparable to Marx's analysis of class relations. Through his work with illiterate *campesinos* in his native Brazil, Freire developed a critical pedagogy which enabled learners to look critically at their social situation and 'act to transform society' and make it more inclusive to their participation (ibid). Central to Freire's methodology is *praxis*, the unity of analysis and action which could result in transformative change or meaningful acts of liberation. Freire regarded reflection without action as mere 'verbalism' and action without reflection as 'action for action's sake' (McCloskey, 2003: 183). Freire's idea of dialogical action was influenced by Marx's dialectical materialism whereby the continual conflict of opposites, such as capitalism and feudalism, would eventually see them pass into one another or into a higher form. Critical to the Freirean and Marxist dialectic is making a direct intervention in the world and changing realities. As Marx famously put in *Theses on Feuerbach*: 'the philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point is to change it' (1845: 15).

Both Freire and Marx believed that the oppressed / proletariat should challenge the anti-dialogical practices of the dominant elites which programme us into 'conformity to the logic of its system' (Schaull, 1996: 16). They do this through cultural domination, the media, and the 'culture of silence' which accompanies the 'unauthentic' existence of marginalisation and poverty. In considering the relevance of Freire's methodology to today's society, Richard Schaull suggests that:

> "Our advanced technological society is rapidly making objects of most of us and subtly programming us into conformity to the logic of its system. To the degree that this happens, we are also becoming submerged into a new 'culture of silence'" (ibid: 15).

Freire, like Marx, 'stood Hegel on his head', and turned an idealistic dialectic into a materialist dialectic which meant moving from a relationship based solely on consciousness to one based on social realities. Like Marx, Freire sought to challenge unfair social relations through direct action and recognised the critical role that education plays in this process. One wonders what Freire and Marx would make of contemporary development policy in the shape of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), designed to address persistent levels of poverty, particularly in the global South.

Marx, Freire and the SDGs

The 17 SDGs are 'a universal call to action to end poverty, protect the planet and ensure that all people enjoy peace and prosperity' (UNDP, 2018). They are based on the same fifteen-year time cycle as the preceding Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) which fell short of their main target of eradicating extreme poverty and hunger. A UN 2015 report on the MDGs found that the world's poor remain overwhelmingly concentrated in some parts of the world. In 2011, nearly '60 per cent of the world's one billion extremely poor people lived in just five countries' (UN, 2015: 3). Why should we believe that the SDGs will be any more successful than the MDGs and, is it dangerous, or reckless even, to throw all our eggs in the same policy basket as seems to be happening in regard to the Global Goals? A perusal of international development bulletins and newsletters seems to throw up an unending conveyor belt of events lending support and legitimacy to the Global Goals but what if they don't succeed? What are the implications of failure for the world's poorest people?

Indeed, what would a Marxist analysis of the SDGs looks like? One suspects he would have been drawn immediately to an apparent contradiction in their objectives. For example, Goal 13 calls for 'urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts' while Goal 8 seeks to 'Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all' (The Global Goals, 2018). So, how do we rein in catastrophic rises to the earth's temperature while increasing growth? As Hickel says of this apparent contradiction:

"All of this reflects awareness that something about our economic system has gone terribly awry. The pursuit of endless industrial growth is chewing through our living planet, producing poverty and threatening our existence. And yet the core of the SDG programme for development and poverty reduction relies precisely on the old model of industrial growth — ever-increasing levels of extraction, production, and consumption" (2015).

I suspect Freire, in a similar vein, would have argued that in order to fix a problem you need to name it. Where do the goals mention neoliberalism; the rampant, deregulated, extreme form of capitalism that has been in the ascendancy since the end of the Cold War (Monbiot, 2016)? He might ask 'are the Goals designed and equipped to address the fundamental cause of inequality, injustice and inhumanity in the world today'? Now, by way of riposte the international development sector might argue that the Global Goals have had a galvanising effect on governments and multilateral bodies and will put an international focus on international development for 15 years with measurable targets and objectives. However, if the Goals are hobbled from the outset by not engaging with the fundamental causes of inequality – the unjust global economic model propelling development – then how can they possibly succeed? As Hickel suggests, the Goals may 'not only be a missed opportunity, they are actively dangerous: they will lock in the global development agenda for the next 15 years around a failing economic model that requires urgent and deep structural changes' (2015).

At the very least, the critical thinkers in the development education / international development sector should be reflecting on this question given the dominance of the Global Goals in our policy environment.

Conclusion

A recent film, *The Young Karl Marx* [*Le Jeune Karl Marx*] (2017), engagingly tells the story of the chaotic period in Marx's life leading up to the publication of *The Communist Manifesto* in 1848. On the run from Paris

to Brussels before finally settling in London, he is in endless meetings, writing, agitating and starting a family. It makes the enduring relevance of the *Manifesto* all the more remarkable as it speaks directly to so much of the economic quandary we find ourselves in today. The dialectic materialism of Marx directly influenced the ground-breaking methodology of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, which continues to inspire educators across the world. A revisiting of both these seminal works by Freire and Marx is long overdue by the international development / development education sectors given the parlous state of the global economy, the worrying rise of the far-right and the social and economic polarisation that has characterised the era of neoliberalism. There are doubts as to whether the Sustainable Development Goals have the capacity and intent to rein in the deregulated global economy and the operations of its key stakeholders such as multinational corporations and international banks.

The SDGs are like a comfort blanket to the development sector as they offer an international framework to which everyone can subscribe, couched in comforting language and supported by celebrities, billionaires, governments and civil society movements alike, all sheltering under the same umbrella. But what if they don't succeed, can the world's poorest people afford to wait fifteen years for another development cycle to run its course and fail? Or should we engage now, as I suspect Freire and Marx would urge us to, with the fundamental impediment to development – deregulated capital?

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Resource reviews

GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION: A CRITICAL INTRODUCTION TO KEY CONCEPTS AND DEBATES

Review by Douglas Bourn

Edda Sant, Ian Davies, Karen Pashby and Lynette Shultz (2018) *Global Citizenship Education: A Critical Introduction to Key Concepts and Debates*, London: Bloomsbury

This volume, aimed as an introduction to Global Citizenship Education to undergraduate and Masters' level students, is one of a plethora of books on this subject to be published in the English language over the past three years. Recent research by the Development Education Research Centre (DERC) for the Academic Network of Global Education Researchers (ANGEL - www.agnel-network.net) identified over 400 academic publications, books, articles, PhDs and research reports covering this area published in the last three years. Therefore, the importance and contribution of this volume by some leading figures in the field of Global Citizenship Education needs to be considered alongside this wealth of material and the extent to which it adds value to this rapidly growing educational field.

Some of the authors of this volume have been involved with others in the *Palgrave Handbook of Global Citizenship and Education* (Davies et al., 2018). Karen Pashby and Lynette Shultz are also well-known for a range of articles and publications on global citizenship within higher education. All of the authors have a strong track record either in citizenship or Global Citizenship Education. Reflecting the backgrounds and experiences of the authors, the focus on both reviewing the academic, policy and practice literature comes from mainly the United Kingdom (UK) and North America (primarily Canada).

The volume is divided into three parts: key questions, concepts and dimensions; key educational frameworks; and key issues in research and practice and in teaching and learning. The book is accessible and, in each chapter, there are descriptions of key concepts and themes with an annotated bibliography and suggested activities for students. This structure is useful, but the overall question I had upon reading it was: would I recommend this book as a key reading for the students on a Masters' programme on development education? The answer is probably 'no' because much of the text appears to be written more for undergraduate students. It is very descriptive in tone with perhaps too many long quotes in each chapter and a series of personal observations. What is difficult to ascertain is any sense of critical debate on the key issues.

Global Citizenship Education has become the dominant phrase in some European and North American discourses for learning about global and development issues. It has replaced terms such as global or development education and I was hoping to see a strong rationale for why this has happened. There was a passing reference to the value of Global Citizenship Education compared to say global education by saying that the latter emphasises ways in which education is universalised, while the former 'questions the type of citizenry that we, as a global society, should educate' (131). Whilst this could be one interpretation of the differences and comparative value of these terms, there are of course many other distinctions. It could be argued that Global Citizenship Education has just become the new buzz phrase and has been picked up by international bodies, such as UNESCO, but in practice its interpretation in many cases is little different from that of many of the discourses in global and development education.

There were aspects of the volume that I did find particularly valuable, such as the usage of Biesta's categorisation of purposes of education as qualification, socialisation and subjectification and relevance to Global Citizenship Education. The discussions on Global Rights and Duties and Global Identities brought in some discussions that have all too often been ignored in the discourses. However, I had hoped this volume would enable

students to be given some background information, different perspectives and approaches to Global Citizenship Education. In this, I was disappointed.

The volume tried to cover too much territory. Part One is the strongest where it looks at rights, identities, local, national and global citizenship. Part Two reviews what has been called the adjectival educations, including the relationship of global citizenship to development, global, character, peace, citizenship and education for sustainable education. Each chapter looks at a particular area but at a very superficial level and each chapter relies heavily on one or two key texts. I had hoped the volume would try and discuss why Global Citizenship Education has become such a popular topic and recognise its roots and connections to both policy initiatives at a national or international level or how themes and concepts have evolved and what has influenced these changes. There is very little of this in the volume. The influence and importance of UNESCO's work in this area is barely mentioned. Nor is there much discussion of the different ways policy-makers have used and responded to Global Citizenship. Just reviewing the different uses of the term in England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland would have posed many valuable questions about the respective roles of policy-makers, practitioners and researchers.

A key issue in debating the term Global Citizenship Education is the relationship between the three words. This volume does look at each term separately and shows their linkages but I was left rather confused as to what the key message is. For example, is the emphasis on Global Citizenship and Education the ways in which debates about Global Citizenship can have an influence on education, or is it about something completely new and distinct as an educational field or pedagogical approach?

What I also found very disappointing from reading the volume was the lack of recognition and attention given to the influence and importance of the work of non-governmental organisations (NGOs), be they international agencies or local organisations, like Development Education Centres in the UK. Global Citizenship Education would not have the status and strong body

of thinking behind it without the excellent work of organisations like Oxfam, various NGOs in North America and grassroots organisations across Europe. They are mentioned in passing, particularly in the chapters on community action and teaching and learning methods but they are not analysed or discussed in any detail.

Finally, I want to make some comments about the two chapters on research and evaluation. Here the volume does make the valuable point that, whilst there has been more research in recent years, there is a need for more longitudinal-based studies. But what the authors of the volume have not recognised, or perhaps not aware of, is the wealth of research-based literature in this field in the past five years. I am aware, for example, of at least fifteen PhDs that cover this area that have been produced since 2014 and a wealth of academic articles covering topics and themes from all regions of the world. I also, however, found the chapter on evaluation disappointing as it emphasised more technical examples of evaluation and did not mention that academic studies have increasingly shown the value of evidence-based research to inform and shape evaluation.

This volume, in its defence, is trying to cover a vast area and one that is rapidly changing. One of the exciting things about Global Citizenship Education is that it is a very lively discourse with many different perspectives and approaches. Its importance cannot be denied in a world of Brexit economic nationalism and the resurgence of xenophobia. But what can happen, and it does happen all too often with volumes like this, is that they end up being little more than a useful introduction to the topic. I would use the volume with undergraduate students if they were looking for an introduction to the area but suggest it should be seen as no more than an initial taster. For Masters' students it is perhaps useful as background reading but what I would see as much more valuable is the Palgrave Handbook (Davies et.al., 2018) and other volumes on the same subject by Torres (2017), Tarozzi (2016), the excellent Peer Reviews by Global Education Network Europe (GENE - www.gene.eu) and the wealth of material produced by the Global Learning Programmes across the UK.

In discussing Global Citizenship Education, any author has to note that the ideas and practices around the area overlap with global education, global learning and development education. You cannot separate one from the other because I would maintain that in both Europe and North America, for example, there is no clear difference in approach or perspectives in how these different terms are being used.

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CRITICAL HUMAN RIGHTS, CITIZENSHIP AND DEMOCRACY EDUCATION: ENTANGLEMENTS AND REGENERATIONS

Review by Linda Briskman

Zembylas, M and Keet, A (eds.) (2018) *Critical Human Rights, Citizenship and Democracy Education: Entanglements and Regenerations*, London: Bloomsbury Critical Education.

In this ambitious collection, the editors have set themselves a complex and at times controversial task. By exposing deficiencies in the constructs of human rights, citizenship and democracy education, the way is paved to integrate the three for emancipatory praxis and enhancement of social justice potential in what they identify as the complex world of the present. These challenges encompass the social, political, economic and environmental. The book is theoretically rich and its field of inquiry can be applied to a range of settings. It is provocative in the way it asks us to extend thinking beyond critical theory, normative human rights approaches and to centre decolonising constructs.

Through the lens of the editors, citizenship education, democracy education and human rights education constitute one another. By building on theoretical deliberations and critical pedagogical work already undertaken, there is potential for advancement or what Rebecca Adami, in chapter five, calls a critical examination of human rights education for its prospective critical value. The notion of critical is at the heart of the project, in order to disrupt received categories, interpretive approaches and delve behind what is produced as truth.

The earlier chapters in the book are largely conceptual, with the latter ones both theoretical and applied. One of the central themes is decolonisation, through challenges to Eurocentrism, particularly from the perspective of silenced knowledges. A number of authors discuss de-institutionalising human rights constructs away from the dominance of

United Nations (UN) systems and what, in chapter four, author Joanne Coysh refers to as the 'creeping regulation of human rights knowledge'. She alerts us to the way in which power operates through human rights education discourse that reproduces the dominant culture and maintains the status quo. Chapter two by Michalinos Zembylas similarly confronts universal constructions of human rights and hegemony of international instruments and how they inform most approaches to human rights education. A decolonising approach would disrupt western epistemology in order to open up to epistemic diversity.

There are complicated concepts that stretch the mind, including chapter six on the hermeneutics of human rights for deliberative democratic citizenship. Here the authors posit that citizens' understandings of human rights and participation in public deliberations are complicated by the social fact of cultural and religious pluralism. They make a case for a morally and ethically discursive hermeneutic approach to human rights education for deliberative democratic citizenship. The chapter is not for the theoretically faint hearted.

The following chapter by Felisa Tibbitts enters a different but complementary realm on the long-standing debates on universalism, with a focus on schooling, asking whether there can be a deliberative hybrid solution. Tibbitts is critical of the monolithic approach to human rights education, which sees the values enshrined in international UN instruments as 'self-referential and aspirational'. Tibbitts' proposal for a hybrid approach is seen as philosophically based and educationally pragmatic, recognising both universality and particularities of values.

Turning to the case study chapters, chapter eight on intergroup relations broadly draws upon experiences of the Northern Ireland conflict, adopting theoretical approaches from psychology, particularly social psychology. The chapter revisits less than successful pedagogical approaches to creating harmony between Catholics and Protestants in schools, and advancing a case for shared education.

Monisha Bajaj's chapter on children's rights in India is simultaneously "shocking" and hopeful. We hear how children's rights are regularly violated in India, including caste and gender discrimination, negligence and violence. The introduction of human rights education with children has had some successes in overcoming injustices as well as gains achieved through legal protections and monitoring. In tandem has been the rise of social movements that figure prominently in child rights advocacy. In providing the example of the work of the Institute of Human Rights Education in Tamil Nadu, exemplars are provided that show how students become agents of change. One example is solidarity toward a student experiencing caste-based discrimination.

The chapter which follows on Pakistan brings together and extends the conceptual ideas in the earlier chapters while grounded in Pakistan and a specific case study. I found this chapter to be powerful and thought-provoking. Critiquing human rights as the dominant idiom through which injustices are expressed and drawing on critical human rights literature, the authors speak of how local and transnational organisations, as well as activists, deploy the language of human rights to advance the welfare of Pakistani women and girls. Others try to reconfigure language which still maintains ideas of dignity and protection including through an Islamic lens. The use of human rights discourse, although challenged, is often used strategically. In order to excavate the tensions, a case study is presented of a series of human rights education camps for women in Sindh, a small Shia community. The analysis powerfully disrupts as the authors state, 'the hegemony of the discourse on human rights as the only possible language for social justice'.

In chapter eleven, 'Bridging the Values Gap' by Kayum Ahmed, drawn from the South African context, the early part of the chapter highlights the metaphor of savages-victims-saviours, where the human rights movement is seen as a mechanism for transforming savages and helping victims, through the eyes of the west, including the UN. The chapter fills a gap by conducting empirical research to test out, through values, an assumption that

human rights education promotes a culture of human rights. Using three sites of study, the quantitative exploration looks at what three different types of human rights participants uphold as their own values in relation to the Constitution's Bill of Rights. Areas tested include the death penalty and abortion. The results are somewhat surprising, given that the research involved participants whom it would be expected to be strong adherents to codified human rights. From my own perspective I found it particularly interesting, living in a country where many human rights advocates are critical of Australia's absence of human rights legislation, while recognising that legislation remains a limited point of reference on its own.

A chapter that was unsettling for me, even though understanding its intent, is chapter twelve on rights-based schooling. It uses a Hampshire school case study although the chapter is set within a global context. The chapter is somewhat set apart from the others as it exalts a specific UN instrument rather than critiquing. Referential to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CROC), the authors believe that human rights can be made relevant to children at all levels. The authors suggest that the CROC's global legitimacy is 'unquestioned' and that it is of 'critical importance' as a values framework for education in schools. They see that human rights education for children can appeal to their self-interest and suggest that it can apply to understanding and empathy. I am I'm not convinced that such pedagogical approaches would convert students into human rights global thinkers or being equipped to help redress policies and practices in their own countries that may contradict CROC. For example, Australia is a signatory but is a clear violator through immigrant detention. Although the United States (US) is not a party to the Convention, is there space in the curriculum for students to look at their own government's breaches, including President Trump's separation of children from their parents at the Mexican border?

How can the important and at times controversial aspects of the book be seen as a whole? The final chapter provides a synthesis by examining what transformative human rights education might look like. It partially addresses the questions raised, with the authors bringing together

undergraduate human rights education students the day after Donald Trump was elected as US President. They offer up a comprehensive literature review of human rights education, critically examining different forms of such education. Like other writers in the collection, they discuss the concept of critical consciousness, derived from the work of Freire. An important section is the important distinction between learning youth activism and youth civic engagement and the under-studying of forms of protest by students.   They importantly argue that human rights education should not just be informative and individually empowering but also oriented toward social transformation and social change. This contrasts with content that relies on laws and international instruments, and instead speaks truth to power, as the authors state.

The text will be of benefit to a number of disciplines and, perhaps most importantly, to human rights educators. There are a number of ideas and challenges throughout but, at the very least, that human rights education must be critical, should challenge the status quo, move beyond legal constructs and extend to controversial issues. It is also self-evident in the diversity of papers that pluralistic and context-driven approaches are crucial. But at the minimum, all forms of human rights education should not privilege western human rights constructs. Human rights, citizenship and democracy education needs to be defiant in opposing dominant discourses around the legal, the political and the ideological.

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GLOBAL EDUCATION POLICY AND INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT: NEW AGENDAS, ISSUES AND POLICIES

Review by Patsy Toland

Verger, Antoni, Novelli, Mario and Altinyelken, Hula K (eds.) (2018) *Global Education Policy and International Development: New Agendas, Issues and Policies* (Second Edition), London: Bloomsbury

This is a collection of academic essays that examines the state of education policy and developments in education in our rapidly changing world. This is not a book about 'Global Education' as understood by those in the Development Education (DE) sector, although there are references to related topics in a number of the essays and some perceptive insight into the role of education as a development tool, in particular as an element of Overseas Development Aid (ODA) programmes. This is an excellent read for those concerned with the progress of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), those involved with education support in the developing world and for anyone concerned with the impact of our globalised world.

Each chapter in the book begins with an introduction to the subject matter, followed by the case- study or research content and a conclusion, which summarises the essay. There are useful 'Questions for discussion' throughout and each chapter has a comprehensive reference section for further reading. Although the book follows a loose logic in introducing theory, case- studies and future trends in the chapter layout, I would recommend reading chapter one to introduce the breadth of Global Education Policy and international development and then follow your particular interest through chapters titles (2-12). Chapters 13 and 14 form a commentary and conclusion to the book.

The knowledge 'economy'

Chapter one is written by the editors and attempts to make the case for the importance of Global Education Policies, both within education but more importantly within a spectrum of development approaches. The chapter suggests the worrying infiltration of education policy by a range of 'policy entrepreneurs'. As governments seek to impress the world of their nation building in economic and political terms, education becomes an area of validation and measurement. For those who see education with a skills and knowledge economy focus, economic development and global markets become the measure of success and the measurement tool ranks countries according to their success in international evaluations such as PISA (Chapter five has a more in-depth look at international large scale assessments including PISA). In the context of such measurement tools, education can be reduced to literacy and numeracy test results. Non-state actors, such as Microsoft and Pearson, are prime movers of education programmes, but their focus is on opening up new global markets for their products. This is of concern as the education policy field becomes dominated by a 'western' economic and cultural model and often causes tensions between local needs, cultures and development progress and the more global economic development model.

Chapter three documents a useful and insightful research method - 'Network Ethnography'– - and also outlines how it followed the education policy initiatives of Brazil, showing how developments were manipulated by neoliberal agendas. The selection of international 'experts' advising on education were closely analysed by the researchers and 'although the international speakers are presented as representatives of "international best cases", they are also products of previously networked relations that depend on different kinds of capitals, including financial and network capital' (70). Seminars like this are a deliberate strategy for commercial investment in education, for example The Lemann Foundation and Google who launched a $6.4 million digital lessons project in Brazil. 'Seminars are planned to gather the chosen people, the selected "specialists", who will rehearse and reinforce the funder's beliefs' (69).

'What is not measured does not get done'

Chapter four examines the progress of education in Kenya and South Africa under the influence and pressure of measuring up to the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) agenda. The chapter clearly outlines a communications and implementation gap between government policy makers, development workers and their global agendas under the MDGs. Regional and local education staff and school-teachers are under pressure to enhance school enrolment to meet MDG targets while the wider aims of poverty eradication and gender equality are lost. The role of local and international non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in the mix seems not to provide any support to solve the problem and they do not 'bring the procedural reflection down from ideal theory to real-life implementation' (92). The authors hope that these MDG lessons will inform the progress of the Sustainable Development Goals (2015-2030).

Chapter nine investigates Global Education agendas and the SDGs in more detail. The key message is that the consultation process for the formulation of the goals 'is largely driven by powerful Northern actors and represents the Northern voice' (190). The suggestion is that 'the primary interest group may be stake-holders connected to overseas aid' (190). Again, lessons learned from the failure of the MDG to deliver are scrutinised under the SDG progress. The education agenda is unpacked in detail and analysed with a vision for its success. The role of NGOs in teacher training gets a critical focus and is worth consideration by many Irish NGOs. But key questions of the SDG agenda are highlighted: the non-binding nature of the targets; the commitment to funding; global rather than 'Northern' ownership; local political will to adopt the agendas; and lastly the 'What is not measured does not get done' caution from Chapter four.

Chapter six looks at decentralisation and community-based management in education policies. In particular, the focus is on El Salvador and the development of community-based education as part of the decentralisation of government functions supported by the World Bank to improve efficiency, accountability and effectiveness. This reform has

become a global model, the Education with Community Participation (EDUCO). The chapter suggests the success of this model in El Salvador was due to the convergence of three elements: national political-economic structures; national actors' constraints and interests; and international actors' preferences for reform. The adoption of the EDUCO model cannot simply be adopted in other regions and is often adapted to suit local needs before success.

In chapter seven, another community-based development is examined. Conditional Cash Transfer Programmes (CCTP) aim to activate the poor to change their situation. CCTP is examined as a tool for education change 'to break the intergenerational reproduction of poverty through education' (143). The value and success of such programmes is examined through the case-study of the Bolsa Escola programme in Brazil. The chapter examines the successes and pitfalls of such programmes through a series of 'dilemmas' such as supply, target groups, transfer amounts, supports and monitoring. A key finding is that not all people experience poverty in the same way and this should be a major consideration in identifying beneficiaries and their 'educability'. Funding should be related to creating the best conditions for access to education.

Chapter 12 offers another view on finance and access to education. Private schooling is becoming more global as a solution to education access. Low Fee Private Schools (LFPS) increasingly represent private sector provision of schooling in developing countries. This growth is not because governments are promoting them as policy, but because financial constraints in education budgets prevent expansion of the education sector, thus leaving an economic opportunity for private education providers. Research shows a preference for private schooling because of the perceived better standards and management of such schools. Research results presented here show better performance by children in LFPS schools over public schools, but this preference is more often guided by perception rather than empirical research. Although the LFPS model has been very common at a local level and provided by local entrepreneurs, the backing of the World Bank and the

economic opportunities presented are leading to the internationalising of the model and the development of standardised school models by a variety of well-resourced national and global providers. The key questions asked are those concerning financial access by the poor and also the governance of such school chains.

Chapter eight looks at further educational reform in Mexico and examines the role of competency-based education (CBE) which focuses on 'what learners can do with their knowledge rather than what they know' (162). The chapter is also interested in how global policies are 're-contextualized' when adopted in different national or regional locations – 'as global policy ideas travel, they transform' (164). The author shows how a holistic education ideal can be narrowed in focus when aligned with national and international evaluations, such as PISA, and 'shifts the focus away from indigenous education' (169). Competency becomes the needs of the workplace, factories, industry and the service sector. The chapter also looks at the lack of support for teachers and, in particular, the lack of resources to support local CBE.

Chapter 11 deals with the education of children in conflict zones - 'a large proportion of the world's out-of-school children are located in conflict and post-conflict countries' (240). Along with food and shelter, education is seen as a key building block for human development. But the direct conflict of national and cultural forces in conflict zones, leads to the 'politicization' of education. The direct attacks on education in Nigeria, Afghanistan and Pakistan are integrated with the 'war on terror' and the links to 'radicalization' have put education in the blurred space with military aid and humanitarian aid. In response to this international agenda, the International Network of Education in Emergencies (INEE) has been established as an effective lobbying, advocacy and policy coordination body. But the authors caution this development because of its governance body which is directly linked to its funding base - 'there is a somewhat heavier involvement of institutions based in or directed from the "western" part of the world, often related with 'traditional' donor countries, as well as considerable support

from the UN agencies' (245). Once again we have a chapter that questions the Overseas Development Aid model in education provision.

Child Centered Pedagogy (CCP) is the focus of Chapter 10. As case-studies, the authors draw on examples from Turkey and Uganda. There is an interesting reflection again on the how and why of western pedagogies imported into developing nations. Uganda, for example, relies on more than half of its education budget on outside donor countries. foreign money equals foreign ideas? The authors outline the question of education policies and how they are 're-contextualized' to respond to the practice and needs of different cultures   A 'one-size-fits-all' approach to pedagogy fails to recognise that pedagogy is 'both the act of teaching and the discourse in which it is embedded' (227).

Chapter 13 reflects on the case-studies in previous chapters and is concerned with a theoretical approach to the discipline of Global Education Policy. The author is concerned with and offers commentary on measuring and interpreting the 're-contextualization' of global education policy which in practice is becoming the global education industry. The subject concern here is posed with the statement '... nobody in this book assumes that global education policy spreads because it represents a "best practice" or because it fits into a universally shared understanding of what constitutes "good education"' (280). The author suggests that the key focus of this book, as stated in chapter one, is 'Why do policy-makers buy global education policy?' (281) and the concern is that 'globalisation (…) is periodically mobilised for political and economic purposes' (286).

The final chapter reflects on the global nature of Education Policy and the web of issues surrounding the development, funding, adoption, contextualisation and manipulation of global education policy. The links between development issues and education policies are reflected on and cautions the reader to go beyond the accepted 'western colonialism' theory behind educational policy development. The role of local recipients as active rather than passive actors is highlighted but they are also often reactive to

new ideas and policies - 'they might be seen to adjust to the existence of GEP, rather than seeking to alter it more fundamentally' (297). The author emphasises the 'immensely complex ensembles of political, economic and cultural elements that underlie and compose any conception of a GEP' (ibid.).

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PALESTINE: A CENTURY ON FROM THE BALFOUR DECLARATION

Review by Stephen McCloskey

Cronin, D (2017) *Balfour's Shadow: A Century of British Support for Zionism and Israel*, London: Pluto Press.

Macintyre, D (2017) *Gaza: Preparing for Dawn*, London: Oneworld Publications.

Two books from accomplished journalists reflect on the historical origins of the colonisation of Palestine and how this has played out to disastrous effect in the ethnic cleansing of Palestinians in the 1948 *Nakba* (Catastrophe) (*Aljazeera*, 2017) and their subsequent displacement and dispersal across the Middle-East and beyond. Today, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) provides services and aid to 5.2 million Palestinian refugees in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, the Gaza Strip and West Bank, including East Jerusalem (UNRWA, 2018). These services have come under threat and the humanitarian status of these refugees made even more precarious by the announcement by the Trump administration that it is to withdraw $300m (£228m) in funding from the UN agency, which is around one-third of its total annual budget (Beaumont, 2018). Contrast US contributions to UNRWA with the sum of $3.3 billion allocated to Israel in military aid over the coming year (Webb, 2018) and we have some idea of how world powers have aligned in the Middle-East conflict over the past century.

David Cronin is a Brussels-based Irish journalist who writes regularly for *The Electronic Intifada*, and his book meticulously traces the role played by successive British governments, Labour and Conservative, in supporting the Israeli occupation of Palestine in return for lucrative trading relations, particularly in arms. His book is framed by the November 1917 Balfour Declaration in which the then British Foreign Secretary signed a letter to a leading aristocrat and Zionist, Walter Rothschild, committing

Britain to the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. The letter is worth quoting in full:

> "Dear Lord Rothschild,
>
> I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved, by the cabinet.
>
> 'His Majesty's government views with favour the establishment in Palestine of the national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country'.
>
> I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.
>
> Yours,
>
> Arthur James Balfour" (Cronin, 2017: xii).

Far from seeking to make amends for the century of oppression that followed Balfour, the British prime-minister, Theresa May, praised it as 'one of the most important letters in history' and committed to mark its centenary 'with pride' (ibid: 1). But why did Britain commit itself to the Zionist project when, as Cronin suggests, Balfour was 'arguably an anti-Semite' who supported anti-immigration legislation in 1903 to stop Jews fleeing programs in Russia from entering Britain (ibid: 5). His motivation in supporting the declaration seems to have been driven by a desire to 'see Europe emptied of Jews' (ibid: 6) although Britain had neither moral nor legal authority to

commit Palestinian territory to the Zionist federation. But as a British Conservative, William Ormsby-Gore, put it at the time: 'the Zionists are the only sound firmly pro-British, constructive element in the whole show' (ibid: 11). Cronin summarises the British position on Palestine thus: 'The Balfour Declaration then, was really a product of both wartime expediency and imperial machinations' (ibid: 11). What followed Balfour was the establishment of a British Mandate for Palestine (1923-1948) designed to implement the Declaration which saw rapid increases in the Jewish population to 170,000 by 1931 (ibid: 34) and the expulsion of 8,700 Palestinians from 22 villages (ibid: 25).

Occupation brought with it 'institutionalised racism' (ibid: 40) and lower pay than Jewish workers (ibid) which fed into a Palestinian rebellion in 1936. The response to the rebellion included the establishment of 13 detention camps in which Palestinians could be held without charge or trial for indefinite periods (ibid: 44). This practice continues today under 'Administrative Detention', with the Israeli human rights organisation B'tselem finding that between 2015 and 2017, 3,909 administrative detention orders were issued by the Israeli Defence Force (B'tselem, 2017). In the period of the British Mandate 'extra-judicial executions became almost routine' (Cronin, 2017: 52) and 6,000 Jewish police were armed by the British government (ibid: 53) while a media silence kept the British public in the dark concerning the occupation. Cronin describes Britain as 'the midwife' to the mass expulsion of 750,000 Palestinians in 1948 (ibid: 78) with around 160,000 remaining trapped inside the new state of Israel to 'a system of military rule between 1948 and 1966' (ibid: 82).

The period after the war was characterised by increasing arms sales to Israel, particularly from Britain with Centurion tanks used in the 1967 war with Egypt, Jordan and Syria. The 1967 war is called the *Naksa* (setback) when 400,000 Palestinians were displaced and 850 sq km of Palestinian land confiscated (ibid: 98-99). It was a Labour government that sold 100 tanks to Israel between 1967 and 1969 and the Foreign Secretary, Michael Stewart, said in May 1968 that: 'The survival of Israel as a separate state is a

fundamental aspect of our Middle East policy' (ibid: 100). As Israel started to acquire a nuclear arsenal, 'Britain does not appear to have applied any serious pressure on Israel to come clean about its nuclear activities' as a member of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (ibid: 109).

Balfour's Shadow manages to succinctly cover key milestones in the century since Balfour with a spare and well researched narrative/analysis that, through the 1970s onward, saw burgeoning trade relations between the European Economic Community (EEC) and Israel through a free trade agreement (ibid: 114). It was also characterised by Britain's side-lining of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) and 'unheroic' endorsement of the highly partisan United States (US) support of Israel maintained by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger (ibid: 113). This partisanship culminated in the 1993 Oslo Peace Accords which Cronin quotes Edward Said describing as 'an instrument of Palestinian surrender' (ibid: 131) and he himself says 'turned the PLO leadership into the enforcers of the Israeli occupation' (136). Under Oslo, Israel retains near exclusive control of Area C, representing 60 percent of the West Bank, including law enforcement, planning and construction. This has denied Palestinian construction rights and contributed to 600,000 colonists living in 200 settlements in the West Bank (White, 2016).

The shadow of Tony Blair looms large over the final forty pages of the book: first as a young member of parliament who joined Labour Friends of Israel in 1983: then as a co-author of the Iraq War described as 'the worst crime committed so far this century' (ibid: 151); then as an arms seller to Israel (£22.5 million in 2005 alone) (ibid: 150); then as supporter of an Israeli offensive in Lebanon that cost 1,000 lives (ibid: 149); and then in 2007, without a hint of irony, he was appointed a 'Peace Envoy' to the Quartet on the Middle-East comprising the United States, European Union, United Nations and Russia (ibid: 151). The scale of miscalculation in his appointment gives some indication as to the lack of sensitivity of the world's leading players to the problems of the Middle-East, many of whom can be sourced to their direct intervention.

Blair is also a prominent presence in Donald Macintyre's *Gaza: Preparing for the Dawn*, which gallops through the one hundred years of history examined by Cronin in the first chapter and then settles into a detailed and, at times, revealing account of Israel's policy toward the beleaguered coastal enclave. Macintyre concentrates on the effects of Israel's siege of Gaza, which was intensified after Hamas won free and fair Palestinian elections in 2006. In the previous year, Israel unilaterally withdrew its settlements from Gaza, the real purpose in which it is suggested here, was 'to consolidate Israel's grip on the West Bank' (Macintyre, 2017: 50-51). Israel used a security imperative for the withdrawal and, yet, '162 Israelis and foreign workers were killed in the five years before disengagement compared to 140 in the ten years afterwards' (ibid: 66). But it was the 2006 Palestinian election which was 'the turning point – arguably the turning point – in Gaza's fortunes over the next decade' (ibid: 81). Fed up with corruption in the Fatah movement, Palestinians voted Hamas into 74 out of 132 seats in the Palestinian Legislative Council (ibid: 81). The US and its allies refused to accept the result and, through the imposition of external pressure on the Palestinian Authority, reinforced divisions in the PLC.

The Quartet demanded that Hamas renounce the use of arms, recognise Israel and end its rejection of the Oslo Peace Accords – 'a remarkably tough line' according to Macintyre – which ensured that Hamas was frozen out of international diplomacy in the Middle-East. It further ruptured the Fatah – Hamas split into civil war and ultimately resulted in Hamas controlling the Gaza Strip and the Fatah, the West Bank. The resultant isolation of Hamas and Gaza was exacerbated by Israel's intensified siege imposed, again, on the ubiquitous basis of security, and subsequently condemned as 'collective punishment' by Amnesty International (2008). Israel has compounded the humanitarian suffering created by the siege by launching three wars on the territory from 2008-14 which have claimed the lives of 3,745 Palestinians and wounded 17,441 (Euromed Monitor, 2018). A decimated infrastructure, polluted water supply, crippled economy, dependence on aid and poor sanitation led the International Committee of the

Red Cross to alarmingly state that 'a systemic collapse of an already battered infrastructure and economy is impending' (ICRC, 2017).

Successive Israeli governments regularly justified the wars on incoming missile attacks from Hamas or other Islamist groups based in Gaza. But the Israeli Defence Force's Brigadier General Shmuel Zakai, who headed IDF operations in Gaza to 2004 said:

> "You cannot just land blows, leave the Palestinians in Gaza in the economic distress they're in, and… expect that Hamas will just sit around and do nothing. That's something that's simply unrealistic" (Macintyre, 2017: 151).

But the wars proved popular in Israel which perhaps reflects the paucity of media reportage inside Israel and, as Macintyre suggests, these conflicts were used to divert public attention away from corruption allegations and other government failings (150). The fact that the US, European Union and its member states have so obediently followed the Israeli line on Gaza and the West Bank has become one of the main faultiness in international diplomacy today.

Macintyre uses local voices based on an extended reporting period inside Gaza to tell the story of the siege, wars and descent into humanitarian catastrophe in Gaza. He makes clear that it is largely the result of the failings of international diplomacy and the self-interest of world powers prioritising lucrative trading links with Israel over the humanitarian needs of Palestinians. However, I am left somewhat uneasy with his account because it reproduces some of the Israeli lexicon of war: 'Target killings' (34), 'Targeted assassination' (40) and 'Collateral death' (38). On pages 156-157, he recalls the killing of a Palestinian mother in front of her children and the 'semi-hysterical laughter' of the unit that killed her as they recalled her children seeing her 'smeared on the wall'. Macintyre puts this down to a 'nervous reaction' and 'delayed shock' (ibid: 157) which is hard to fathom given the litany of human rights abuses carried out by Israeli troops

documented by the former combatants group Breaking the Silence (2018). Moreover, Macintyre's book was published before the upheaval caused by the Trump administration moving the US embassy in Israel to Jerusalem and the commencement of the 'Great March of Return' in Gaza in March 2018 (*Aljazeera*, 2018) making it seem a little dated. Finally, the contrasting tones of the two books is best captured by Macintyre's interviewing Tony Blair (ibid: 98) for his reflections on the Quartet in its response to the 2006 Palestinian elections after he left his 'Peace Envoy' role and, my recollection that David Cronin tried to carry out a citizen's arrest on Blair in 2010 (Beesley, 2010). Macintyre's interview with Blair seemed to bestow some credibility on his shambolic role as 'Peace Envoy' whereas Cronin, far from seeking an interview, would have sought justice for Blair's victims in Iraq.

Both books have value in shedding light on the Middle-East conflict but I suspect Cronin's account will have the more enduring value as it takes us back to the origins of the colonisation of Palestine and the shameful complicity of Britain through the Balfour Declaration.

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