

# Policy & Practice

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## CREATING PARADISE: A TRIBUTE TO BRIAN RUANE

### Fionnuala Waldron

In the concluding passage to her book, *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom*, bell hooks writes:

“The academy is not paradise. But learning is a place where paradise can be created. The classroom, with all its limitations, remains a location of possibility. In that field of possibility we have the opportunity to labor for freedom, to demand of ourselves and our comrades, an openness of mind and heart that allows us to face reality even as we collectively imagine ways to move beyond boundaries, to transgress. This is education as the practice of freedom” (1994: 207).

For Brian Ruane, the classroom provided such a space – a space for authentic dialogue, for creative and critical engagement with key issues of global justice, human rights and sustainability, a space where views were shared, certainties challenged and knowledge constructed and deconstructed, a relational space characterised by conversation, trust, love, care, humour and openness to others. In the Spring of 2016, Brian was diagnosed with motor neurone disease and passed away on January 7, 2018. A gifted teacher, expert human rights educator and visionary teacher educator, Brian’s influence in the field has been extensive and profound.

Brian was optimistic about the fundamental goodness of human beings and intent on challenging manifestations of oppression and discrimination in all its forms. He believed profoundly in the transformative power of education and in the power of human rights education to make a difference in the lives of people, empowering them to claim their rights and contributing to the development of a culture in which the rights of all are protected and respected. Brian argued for the

embedding of rights-respecting practice, processes and relationships in all aspects of state, including education, justice, policing and health. In particular, he was committed to the full implementation of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child across all sectors, particularly education. Brian's work was premised on a view of children and young people as agentic, creative and capable of engaging with complex ideas and difficult knowledge, and he championed their right to participate, to make meaningful decisions and to have their views heard.

A graduate of Mary Immaculate College, Limerick, Brian's commitment to human rights and global justice education was evident from his early years as a primary teacher in Cork and, later, in his contribution to the Curriculum Development Unit (MIC), where he co-ordinated the Development Education Project from 1997 to 1999. A notable publication from that period is Ruane et al., 2000, *The World in the Classroom: Development Education in the Primary Curriculum*, MIC, which offered an early and influential exploration of the potential for embedding development education within the newly revised Irish Primary Curriculum (NCCA, 1999). Brian went on to work with Trócaire (1999-2001) and with Amnesty International (Ireland) (2001 – 2007) where he gained a national and international reputation as a leader in the field of human rights education. During his time as Human Rights Education Manager with Amnesty, Brian led a range of significant projects. Of particular note is the Cross Border Primary Human Rights Education Initiative, a collaborative project which brought together teachers from the Republic and from Northern Ireland to create a series of human rights education resources for primary schools, the first of which, *Lift Off*, was published in 2003. As an educational response to the Good Friday Agreement, and funded by the Irish and UK governments, *Lift Off* represented a triumph of collaboration, involving the Irish National Teachers' Organisation, the Ulster Teachers' Union, Education International and Amnesty International (UK and Ireland). Positively evaluated by Morgan and Kitching (2006), it demonstrated Brian's

capacity for leadership, for teamwork and for innovative curriculum design.

In 2004, working on behalf of Amnesty, Brian co-founded the Centre for Human Rights and Citizenship Education (CHRCE) with colleagues from St Patrick's College, Drumcondra. Dedicated to progressing policy and practice in human rights and global justice education and to the integration of human rights education into education at all levels, the CHRCE became central to Brian's vision for transformative education, engaged pedagogy and innovative research. When Brian left Amnesty to join the staff of St Patrick's College, he devoted himself to progressing that vision. As a teacher educator, Brian spanned the fields of human rights education, global citizenship and history education. Passionate about all three areas, he saw them as essential to the creation of an informed, critical, democratic and agentic citizenry, committed to such human values as equality, justice, respect, solidarity and care for the environment. He loved his students and was loved in return. Warm and good humoured, he had an insatiable interest in their views and ideas and liked nothing better than teaching a seminar on controversial issues or mentoring a student teacher on placement.

Brian was generous with his support of a range of projects. He played a leading role in the Irish Aid funded DICE Project, which seeks to embed Development and Intercultural Education in initial teacher education, and in the Réalt programme, an inter-college programme that offers primary student teachers an opportunity to undertake voluntary work in partnership with schools and communities in Uganda, where he built a strong network of friends and colleagues. He played an active role as Chair of the Management Committee of Balbriggan Educate Together National School for many years. Brian was a strong advocate of ethical education and, together with colleagues in St Patrick's College, he worked closely with Educate Together to develop and roll out the first accredited programme in ethical education for Irish teachers.

Brian was an insightful and innovative researcher who enjoyed writing and loved both the generation of theory and the application of research to practice. Much of his work was collaborative, as was his nature, and he gave generously of his time in support of others. His areas of research included human rights education (Waldron and Ruane, 2010), teachers' perceptions of human rights and human rights education (Ruane et al., 2010), the idea of student voice in school placement (Ní Aingléis, Murphy and Ruane, 2012), young children's understanding of global justice issues (Ruane et al., 2010), citizenship education (Waldron, Ruane and Oberman, 2014) and climate change education (Waldron, Ruane, Oberman and Morris, 2016). Brian's interest in translating research into practice found expression through a wide range of projects focusing on the creation of innovative teaching resources, such as those developed to mark the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Ireland's ratification of the UNCRC (Mallon et al., 2017). His final piece of writing was an editorial for *Policy & Practice* (Issue 25), on the relationship between development education and human rights (Ruane, 2017). Written shortly before he died, it exemplifies his passion for justice, his care for the future and his ongoing interest in global issues. Despite his illness, he remained committed to his vision for a better world and determined to play his part in achieving it.

Brian had a passion for all things Cork, for horse racing and quizzes and for friendship, forming deep and lasting friendships throughout his life. He had a gift for conversation, and for laughter, gifts which sustained his beloved family and his many friends throughout his heroic struggle over the past two years. The deep sadness that surrounds his passing is leavened with gratitude for having known him and for the legacy he leaves behind, a legacy which reminds us of the possibility of education as the practice of freedom and our responsibility to work towards that better world.

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# Editorial

## GLOBAL LEARNING IN A VOLATILE WORLD

**Gerard McCann**

International development and development education are facing some of the most serious challenges to confront the sectors in a generation. With ongoing questions being placed on the legitimacy of democratic processes and policy transparency, and with constant undermining of the core development principle of ‘interdependence’, the theoretical discourse underlying global inter-connectivity has been brought into sharp focus. Delegitimising the post-war consensus on global partnership, solidarity, integration and harmonisation has become so commonplace across the political establishment and media that, arguably, it threatens the nature of democratic engagement itself. Re-energised xenophobia, populism, micro-nationalism and economic protectionism have brought forward not only a widespread rejection of internationalisation and interdependence, but this combative political environment has exposed threats to the very concepts of interculturalism, rights, freedom, tolerance and refuge – concepts that are central to the outworking of the international development and development education sectors.

In recent years disregard for the work of development organisations and the processes of international development have led to oppositional political and media interventions that have questioned the sector’s very existence. These interventions have generally revolved around dismissive commentaries based on ill-informed prejudices and ideology. International development was a product of peace-building, a collective conscience on rights based development and attempts at ending global poverty. Giving purpose to the alleviation of poverty, enacting the United Nations’ Sustainable Development Goals, facilitating transnational cooperation and peace-building, creating tolerant multicultural societies

and engendering democratic expression are all core to the sector's work. While accepting that recent scandals within development non-governmental organisations have not helped in the defence of the sector and indeed have given added ammunition to those who would seek to distort the role of the sector, international development is essential and would not take place if it were not for the heroic work of the tens of thousands of people - mostly volunteers - who build futures for millions of the world's most vulnerable people.

At this point, those working in the sector have been forced to justify their work against immense external pressures, yet globally the issues being dealt with are more complex than ever. In a world where slavery is again commonplace, where rights are being abused by just about every administration, where children are still dying needlessly, specialists in international development and development education are needed more than ever. To highlight one example, the international reaction to the plight of hundreds of thousands of persecuted families and individuals who have sought refuge in other countries has been alarming. In an era of 'fake news', distrust and untruths – to defend the idea and place of sanctuary is critical. Destabilising this work highlights in stark terms the series of issues that have become so toxic to the very understanding of human interdependence. On many fronts we can see a process of legitimating xenophobia through demands for foreign nationals to leave or to be placed in centres for deportation; the call to 'take back control' has reignited long discredited theories of isolationism and malign nationalism. In the denial of international solidarity with our neighbours and respect for 'others', recent political shocks have broken the trust of people across the world, a trust that has promised peace and prosperity through international development for a generation and more.

Xenophobia cloaked in populism, a distrust of dialogue, security as the first role of government and the frustrating of democratic processes have all re-emerged seventy years after international consensus on the United Nations' Universal Declaration on Human Rights – for many a

testament to international solidarity and the beginning of a global pact that, arguably, provided a bedrock for relative peace, economic and political stability. The political challenge to this post-war consensus demands a return to Article One: 'All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood'. For educationalists the direction from the Declaration comes even before this first principle:

“...as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance...”

This historical testament echoes in stark contrast to the malaise that some would seek to shock the world into today.

The disintegration of the post-war consensus can be seen nowhere more poignantly than in the European Union, although the same problems have global reach. Anthony Giddens, in *Turbulent and Mighty Continent*, reflected on the scale of this delegitimisation process: 'The fate of the Union matters, it *matters* a great deal. Over 500 million people live in the EU states. What happens in Europe is world-historical in terms of its importance. The stakes are high indeed' (Giddens, 2014: 5). Loukas Tsoukalis, in his 2016 polemic *In Defence of Europe: Can the European Project be Saved?* suggested the crux of the issue in his title question. Arguably this demos, this global consensus, is fighting for its very existence for the first time since 1945. 'Europhobia has been replaced by Euro-pessimism, plans of further integration and more members by fears of a break-up' (Tsoukalis, 2016: 8). Others working in international studies have set the tone for the coming years: John Gillingham, *The EU:*

*an Obituary* (2016); Stephen D. King, *Grave New World* (2017); James Kirchick, *Dictators, Demagogues, and the Coming Dark Age* (2017); James Kwak, *Economism: Bad Economics and the Rise of Inequality* (2017); Ivan Krastev, *After Europe* (2017); and Giles Merritt, *Slippery Slope* (2017). It gives an indication of the positioning and language which we will all be having to deal with, and gives some suggestion of the context within which practitioners of development education and Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) will have to adapt and respond.

The key challenges which educators of international issues face revolve around three movements that are actively undermining interdependence. First, xenophobia: what Martin Buber, the Austrian-Jewish philosopher, labelled the 'denial of otherness'. From an educational point of view, racism needs to be confronted at every moment of communication, with the internet the most pernicious and dangerous forum for such ideas. Hatred of 'otherness' denies the life-blood of community and the generation of any society. To return to an idea from the past, 'unity in diversity' can be the only option for such complex societies as these, or we will be forced to withdraw into a world where camps and security become the measure of policy success. Irish President Higgins put it starkly: 'Is our response to be defined by barbed wire, tear gas and rubber bullets?' Hannah Arendt, the German-Jewish thinker and a conscience on behalf of twentieth century refugees, spoke to confront such dysfunction, to warn that - even in so-called enlightened times - we could slip back into 'the banality of evil'. Her warning stands:

"Refugees driven from country to country represent the vanguard of their people – if they keep their identity.... The comity of European peoples went to pieces when, and because, it allowed its weakest member to be excluded and persecuted" (Arendt, 1943: 119).

Arguably, in 2015, with the imprisonment of refugees worldwide, we slipped back into exclusion and persecution.

Second, there is protectionism and micro-nationalism. The whole post-war economic system has depended on open borders, the free movement of people, goods, services and finance. Undermining movement in a structural manner destabilises pluralism and transnational cooperation. Such interventions are primarily about breaking up relationships, creating the opportunity for less democratic voices to profit from division. To address this type of disregard, Jean Monnet viewed the international rule of law as the basis of interdependence, 'community', the primary way to enhance peace-building across hostile borders and combusive political environments. The common entity, he suggested, is where the strength of internationalisation lies. Breaking partnerships down - the direction of many governments today - will only facilitate disintegration and heighten nationalistic tensions, and everything that comes with that. As we can see across the globe, by questioning solidarity among peoples, the manufacturing of division remains mischievous, opportunistic and dangerous.

Third and finally, as early as 1992 Steve Tesich, the Serbian playwright coined the phrase 'post-truth world' in the magazine *The Nation*. Ralph Keyes reintroduced the term with his 2004 book titled *The Post-Truth Era*. In the journal *Grist* on 1 April 2010, blogger David Roberts examined the term 'post-truth' in relation to a nascent political culture that was increasingly denying factual evidence and reality to appeal to manipulative disconnected emotions. Fact denial reflects a pre-enlightenment mentality, minds moved by fear and suspicion. By 2016, the word 'post-truth' was selected by the *Oxford Dictionary* as the 'word of the year', and has come to sum up our times. Joseph Stalin once commented: 'A lie told often enough becomes the truth'. Truth needs its defenders and education in particular remains at the front line of this defence - including development education. Truth, and the right to explore ideas around the truth, should be at the heart of this defence of positive life experiences. Agreeing is how democratic society breathes;

creating habits of interdependence that pass from generation to generation. In the current malaise of dishonesty, a new discourse is needed, a new sense of purpose demands its day, a generational shift, in which education holds its role.

In this most topical of issues of *Policy and Practice*, our uncertain times are examined by looking at the implications for development education of current global justice issues, activism, groupthink, recurrent crises and rapid political change. The Focus articles begin with colleagues from Vancouver, Idaho, Manchester and Nottingham (Vanessa Andreotti, Sharon Stein, Ali Sutherland, Karen Pashby, Rene Suša, and Sarah Amsler), and the international *Gestering Towards Decolonial Futures Collective*. Patterns of representation and engagement are explored with reference to social cartography as a means of diagnosing crises. Re-evaluating global justice education, the article analyses narratives of justice as a complex of overlapping dimensions. They leave us with the exercising thought that: 'Often in the moments of crisis, people look for solutions that are available within our existing system. Within our diagnosis, however, the existing system is itself the root of many contemporary problems'.

In their article, Stephen O'Brien and Gertrude Cotter look at how teachers experience new critical research practices and identities, surveying the new multicultural environment which many Irish teachers are now involved in. Critical Multicultural Education (CME) is introduced and there is an interesting commentary on how Ireland has recently transformed from being a country of emigrants to a country of immigrants. Stephen McCloskey's Focus article explores the relationship between development education and activism with reference to his own experiences in the Middle-East. In this he sees a definite link between the role of social justice activism and learning about global issues. He draws from Freire to speculate on the relationship between practical experience and understanding, using the idea of speaking 'truth to power' as a means of generating positive change. Crucially he warned against inertia - a particular lesson for educators.

Further into the issue, Madeleine Le Bourbon engages with the concept of ‘informal spaces’ in citizenship education, while Silvia Gallagher evaluates the importance on online courses with reference to a substantial initiative on sustainable education. Chahid Fourali in a Perspectives article assesses the disciplines of social marketing and development education with a view to finding common purpose. Finally, in the Viewpoint section of the journal the thorny issue of criminal activity within the international development sector is tackled head on by Michael Edwards. This is an issue which we are sure to hear much more about, acknowledging that perspective is needed and justice for those who have been affected. Martin Pollard finishes this rather controversial issue with a commentary on the key political issues of the day, including Brexit.

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# Focus

## **MOBILISING DIFFERENT CONVERSATIONS ABOUT GLOBAL JUSTICE IN EDUCATION: TOWARD ALTERNATIVE FUTURES IN UNCERTAIN TIMES**

**Vanessa Andreotti, Sharon Stein, Ali Sutherland, Karen Pashby, Rene Suša, Sarah Amsler with the Gesturing Decolonial Futures Collective**

**Abstract:** In this article we present four social cartographies with the intention to contribute to different conversations about global justice and education. The cartographies aim to invite curiosity, depth, reflexivity, openness, and the expansion of sensibilities as we engage with different analyses and possibilities for global change. We start with a review of HEADS UP, a social cartography that maps recurrent patterns of representation and engagement commonly found in narratives about poverty, wealth, and global change in North-South engagements and local engagements with diverse populations. We then describe the HOUSE, a social cartography that presents one way of diagnosing current crises and their multiple, overlapping dimensions. The third cartography, the TREE, makes a distinction between what is offered by different layers of analyses of social problems in terms of doing, knowing, and being. The last cartography, EarthCARE, is presented as a framework for global justice education, which emphasises the integration and entanglement of different dimensions of justice, including ecological, affective, relational, cognitive, and economic dimensions. The four social cartographies address different dimensions of the challenges of mobilising development and global education in socially complex and politically uncertain times.

**Key words:** Social Cartography; Global Challenges; Global Crises; Global Justice; Global Change; Global Capital; Cognitive Justice; Ecologies of Knowledge; North-South Relations; Reflexivity.

Each day, it seems, we awake to news about a different global crisis; stagnant wages and insecure employment, shrinking public services, market instability, growing numbers of refugees, famines, racial and gender violence, rising incidences of anxiety and depression, climate change disasters, and the re-emergent prospect of nuclear war. Indeed, evidence that we are reaching the limits of our current systems abound: the planet *cannot* sustain current levels of consumption and waste production; volatile financial markets *can* crash any day; and mistrust, resentment and social polarisation *can* erupt into open violence. The usual educational response to these challenges is that we need to develop and disseminate more knowledge and better policies, as well as more compelling arguments, in order to effectively convince more people to change their convictions, and, as a consequence, their behaviour. This perspective assumes a number of things. It assumes, for example, that the crux of these problems is a lack of knowledge and social consensus that can be addressed with more data, and more effective communication; that individuals are rational, self-interested, utility-maximising units; and that positive change happens through the implementation of policies produced within existing institutions. These assumptions are forged within a modern/colonial imaginary that presumes a single story of seamless progress, development and human evolution that divides humanity between those heading history, and those lagging behind.

We have been researching and experimenting with a different educational orientation that does not see the problems of the present primarily as rooted in a *methodological* challenge of better strategies (i.e. the call for more effective policies and communications), nor an *epistemological* challenge of knowing (i.e. the call for more data or information). Rather, we consider the problems to be rooted in an *ontological* challenge of being (i.e. the call to address how we exist in relation to each other and the planet). From this educational orientation, the problem lies in the universalisation of the modern/colonial imaginary restricting ecological, cognitive, affective, relational, and economic

possibilities. This orientation draws attention to how education within this imaginary has both invisibilised the violences that subsidise modernity, and masked modernity's inherent unsustainability. The modern/colonial approach to education has supported cognitive, affective, and relational economies that have left us unprepared and unwilling to address our complicity in systemic harm, or face the magnitude of the problems that we have ahead of us.

Therefore, we propose that the ways of knowing and being that have enabled the current system so far are not likely to provide guidance for new horizons of possibility. However, since we are deeply embedded in the current system, we cannot simply jump beyond existing horizons into something new without first digesting the lessons from the old and composting its waste. Given this, we will need to experiment with new kinds of education that can enable us to sit with the discomforts and complexities of death and (re)birth. This involves facing our complicities in harm and the dis-illusionment involved in interrupting our satisfaction with and investments in harmful economic and ecological processes. It also involves developing stamina for the long-haul of facing the difficulties, uncertainties, and paradoxes of cognitive, affective and relational 'decluttering' as we learn to 'hospice' a system in decline and assist with the birth of something new, undefined, and potentially (but not necessarily) wiser.

As one of such educational experiments, in this article we present four social cartographies that we use in different education research projects.

### **Social cartographies for global education**

Often when one seeks to identify and interrupt recurrent social patterns, the expectation is that one will offer not only a critique, but also a prescription for subsequent action – that is, a clear path from a single understanding of 'here' to a predetermined 'there.' By offering social cartographies, we take a different approach that emphasises not just

alternative thinking, but alternative thinking about alternatives (Santos, 2007). Inspired by the work of Rolland Paulston (2000, 2009), we approach social cartographies as provisional depictions of different perspectives on shared problems of concern, addressing the theoretical orientations and philosophical assumptions of these perspectives, including where they derive from, what they enable, and what they foreclose (Andreotti, Stein, Pashby and Nicholson, 2016). This approach, which is more pedagogical than prescriptive, recognises that existing strategies for addressing global justice and social change are inadequate to the task of preparing us to face these uncertain times. Beyond the particular challenges of our conjuncture, the desire for guaranteed alternatives is rooted in a desire for intellectual certainty upon which modern/colonial ideas of ontological security are premised (Stein, Hunt, Suša, and Andreotti, 2017). It is precisely this set of linked desires that rationalise the reproduction of harmful relations, asserting a series of partitions and security measures rooted in fantasies of separation, autonomy, and control. Thus, rather than provide a model or checklist for transformation, or a clearly defined way out of the 'wicked problems' that characterise the present, these cartographies serve as open invitations to explore the limits, intersections, tensions, nuances, convergences, and divergences between and within different imaginaries.

From our experience, these cartographies can have a very interesting effect on our relationship with knowledge and the expectations we place upon knowledge production. When used educationally, they challenge learned modern/colonial desires for consensus, coherence, neutrality, and quick resolutions. In contexts where social imaginaries are marked by the search for certainty and control, they can facilitate deep learning processes and invite curiosity, reflexivity, openness, and the expansion of sensibilities as we engage with other possibilities. Engagements with social cartographies have resulted in the creation of new or revised vocabularies, deepened analyses, and dialogues that can breach cognitive and emotional lockdowns, change to

the terms of conversations, and open communities up to new horizons of possibility (Andreotti, Stein, Ahenakew and Hunt, 2015). By refraining from simply replacing one set of intellectual certainties with another, we suggest that these cartographies intervene at the layer of epistemological challenges, and gesture toward the limits of existing ontological possibilities; particularly for those accustomed to operating at the methodological layer, this can be a powerful interruption.

The four social cartographies that we offer address different dimensions of the challenges of mobilising development education in politically uncertain times. The first social cartography we present, HEADS UP, maps recurrent patterns of representation and engagement that are commonly found in narratives about poverty, wealth, and global change, particularly in North-South engagements and local engagements with diverse populations. The problems that this cartography articulates gestures towards the historical and structural foundations upon which current crises have emerged; these foundations are then further explored in the second cartography, the HOUSE, which seeks to illustrate the basis of current structures of existence, and thus serves as one way of diagnosing current crises and their multiple, overlapping dimensions. Having offered this diagnosis of current crises, and thus indicated the necessity for further analysis and interventions, the third cartography, the TREE, makes a distinction between what is offered by different layers of analyses of social problems in terms of doing, knowing, and being. The last cartography, EARTHCARE, is presented as a framework for global justice education, which emphasises the integration and entanglement of different dimensions of justice, including ecological, affective, relational, cognitive, and economic dimensions. This cartography was created by a collective of educational practitioners who come from diverse locations, both geographically and in relation to the challenges and crises they are confronting. Specifically, the cartography emerged in the context of a collaboration between the research project 'Social Innovation for Decolonial Futures' funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities

Research Council of Canada (see <http://decolonialfutures.net>), and the 'Ecoversities network' (see Teamey and Mendel, 2016).

There is increasing consensus that contemporary times are and will be, for the foreseeable future, characterised by political, economic, and ecological uncertainty and instability; yet there exists a considerable diversity of critiques about the origins of these challenges, and thus, propositions about how we might address them. Often in moments of crisis, people look for solutions that are available within our existing system. Within our diagnosis, however, the existing system is itself the root of many contemporary problems. Thus, with these four cartographies we have sought to indicate the limits of this system, without over-determining what an alternative system might look like. These cartographies invite people to think 'with' rather than 'about' them, and seek to prompt the possibility of dynamic movement without directing people toward a particular end, in fact, presuming that there are multiple possible points of arrival, and subsequent moves.

## **HEADS UP**

While the social cartographies we present are meant to pluralise rather than foreclose possibilities for imagination and action, at the same time, we also attend to the risks that well-intended interventions might circularly reproduce the very patterns that they seek to transform. It is well-documented that educational initiatives that attempt to address global challenges without critically examining historical and systemic patterns of oppression and inequality tend to promote simplistic understandings of global problems and solutions, paternalistic North-South engagements, and ethnocentric views of justice and change (e.g., Andreotti, 2012, 2016; Pashby, 2011, 2013, 2015; Stein et al., 2016; Stein, 2017). Therefore, the need for critical thinking, engagements with multiple perspectives, and ethical forms of solidarity have been emphasised in recent policies and practices of global and development education. However, the challenges of engaging educationally with dominant practices in ways that enable learners to problematise and

move beyond the enduring single story of progress, development and human evolution is often under-estimated. It is for this reason that, in addition to cartographies that foster creative potentiality, we also need ones that enable us to learn from systemic mistakes and unlearn harmful patterns of thought, action, and existence, so that we might make different kinds of mistakes in the process of developing alternatives. Thus, for our first cartography, we present the HeadsUp educational tool.

The HeadsUp tool facilitates critical interventions in the contexts of efforts to address global justice and enact social change (Andreotti, 2012). This tool lists seven problematic patterns of representations and engagements commonly found in narratives about development, poverty, wealth, and global change, particularly in North-South engagements, as well as engagements with local structurally marginalised populations. The HeadsUp tool helps learners and practitioners identify:

- Hegemonic practices (reinforcing and justifying the status quo)
- Ethnocentric projections (presenting one view as universal and superior)
- Ahistorical thinking (forgetting the role of historical legacies and complicities in shaping current problems)
- Depoliticised orientations (disregarding the impacts of power inequalities and delegitimising dissent)
- Self-serving motivations (invested in self-congratulatory heroism)
- Un-complicated solutions (offering ‘feel-good’ quick fixes that do not address root causes of problems)
- Paternalistic investments (seeking a ‘thank you’ from those who have been ‘helped’)

There are questions for educational initiatives that go with each of the patterns identified:



	<b>Whose idea of development/ education/the way forward?</b>	<b>Whose template for knowledge production?</b>
<b>Hegemony</b>	What assumptions and imaginaries inform the ideal of development and education in this initiative?	Whose knowledge is perceived to have universal value? How come? How can this imbalance be addressed?
<b>Ethnocentrism</b>	What is being projected as ideal, normal, good, moral, natural or desirable? Where do these assumptions come from?	How is dissent addressed? How are dissenting groups framed and engaged with?
<b>Ahistoricism</b>	How is history, and its ongoing effects on social/political/economic relations, addressed (or not) in the formulation of problems and solutions?	How is the historical connection between dispensers and receivers of knowledge framed and addressed?
<b>Depoliticisation</b>	What analysis of power relations has been performed? Are power imbalances recognised, and if so, how are they either critiqued or rationalised? How are they addressed?	Do educators and students recognise themselves as culturally situated, ideologically motivated and potentially incapable of grasping important alternative views?
<b>Self-congratulatory and Self-serving attitude</b>	How are marginalised peoples represented? How are those students who intervene represented? How is the relationship between these two groups represented?	Is the epistemological and ontological violence of certain individuals being deemed dispensers of education, rights and help acknowledged as part of the problem?

<b>Un-complicated solutions</b>	Has the urge to ‘make a difference’ weighted more in decisions than critical systemic thinking about origins and implications of ‘solutions’?	Are simplistic analyses offered and answered in ways that do not invite people to engage with complexity or recognise complicity in systemic harm?
<b>Paternalism</b>	How are those at the receiving end of efforts to ‘make a difference’ expected to respond to the ‘help’ they receive?	Does this initiative promote the symmetry of less powerful groups and recognise these groups’ legitimate right to disagree with the formulation of problems and solutions proposed?

The HeadsUp educational tool also highlights that trying to challenge all the problematic patterns identified at once is very difficult because they are tied to the ‘common sense’ of how we think about the world and each other (through the single story): how we are taught to perceive wealth, poverty, progress, development, education, and change. Thus, if these patterns are challenged all at once, the resulting narrative/intervention can become largely unintelligible. In addition, interrupting these patterns also tends to create paradoxes where a solution to a problem creates another problem. The message here is that the transformation of our relationships is a long process where we need to learn to travel together differently in a foggy road – with the stamina for the long-haul rather than a desire for quick fixes. The questions below illustrate some of the paradoxes we face in educational practice. How can we address:

*Hegemony without creating new hegemonies through our own forms of resistance? Ethnocentrism without falling into absolute relativism and forms of essentialism and anti-essentialism that*

*reify elitism? Ahistoricism without fixing a single perspective of history to simply reverse hierarchies and without being caught in a self-sustaining narrative of vilification and victimisation? Depoliticisation without high-jacking political agendas for self-serving ends and without engaging in self-empowering critical exercises of generalisation, homogenisation and dismissal of antagonistic positions? Self-congratulatory tendencies without crushing generosity and altruism? People's tendency to want simplistic solutions without producing paralysis and hopelessness? And, paternalism without closing opportunities for short-term redistribution?*

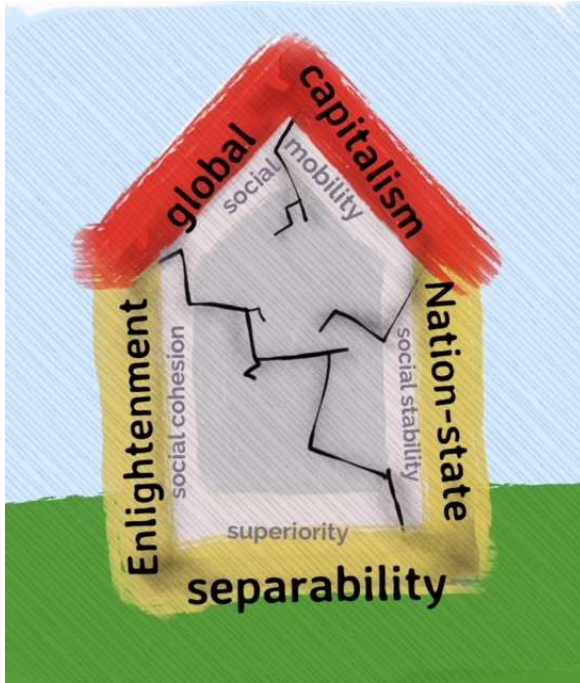
We encourage readers to bring these questions with them as they explore the possibilities that are potentially enabled by the maps and moves of other cartographies.

## **The HOUSE**

Responses to contemporary global crises vary according to different analyses of existing and ideal roles played by economic growth, consumption, technology, wealth, governance, and national borders. One way of mapping these debates is to establish a distinction between those who think that our current economic, social, and environmental systems are defensible (i.e. they are sustainable and ethical) and can be: 1) improved with more of the same, or 2) fixed with better policies; and those who believe the systems are not defensible (i.e. they are unsustainable and unethical), and suggest that either: 3) we need and can immediately create new systems; or 4) that genuinely new systems will only be possible once the old systems have become *impossible*. Each perspective presents different ideas for what global learning and development education should entail, for example, in alignment with the four possible analyses presented immediately above: 1) entrepreneurship and innovation for market expansion; 2) more effective citizen participation and expanded trust in representational democracy in order

to create better policies towards more inclusive, equitable, and greener economic growth; 3) degrowth, community autonomy, energy self-sufficiency, food sovereignty and solidarity economies; or, 4) palliative care for a dignified death for the old system and assistance with the gestation and birth of new, potentially wiser systems.

We have created a cartography that maps analyses 3 and 4, and that opens the possibility for attendant responses, which we describe through the metaphor of ‘the house modernity built’ (Stein et al., 2017). Through this cartography, we consider why the structure of this house appears increasingly shaky, and also why, despite this shakiness, many people continue to cling to its blueprints. In order to address how this relates to the modern/colonial system’s basic elements, we consider each element in turn: a foundation of anthropocentric separability; two carrying walls of universalist, Enlightenment rationalism, and modern nation-states; and a roof of global capitalism.



### *The House That Modernity Built*

The house modernity built, first and foremost, institutes a foundational set of categories that are not just epistemological (related to knowing), but ontological (related to being), which enable certain possibilities for existence, and foreclose others. These categories presume that living beings are autonomous, and that relationships between them are premised on naturally occurring differences in intrinsic value. In particular, separations are presumed between humans and the earth/ 'nature'/ other-than human-beings. These distinctions are further arranged in a hierarchical relationship premised on human domination/ownership, as well as separations between humans and

other humans. Separations occur through the creation of racial and gender categories and the institution of hierarchical relations premised on white and male supremacy, and other forms of normativity. These categories and their interrelations are instituted and reproduced through the production, transmission, and materialisation of Enlightenment knowledge (a load-bearing wall) within its attendant educational institutions, in which there is one universally relevant truth and moral code that qualifies and empowers people to describe, predict, and control the world and engineer the future. It is presumed that any flaws can be addressed through internal critique to ensure that human understanding progresses toward greater perfection, certainty, objectivity, and mastery. Meanwhile, this knowledge system enacts the erasure of other value systems and ways of knowing and the suppression of epistemic uncertainties and contradictions.

Politically, the house is made up of the nation-state (another load-bearing wall), which promises to maintain order to secure sovereignty by policing its boundaries and ensuring advantages for its citizens. The state guarantees property rights, and operationalises categories and hierarchies of humanity (e.g. citizen/non-citizen; deserving/undeserving) that are instituted through the house's epistemological and ontological categories (i.e. its foundation). Although some states grant their citizens some power over how they are governed, the law-instituting and law-maintaining violence of the state is rationalised by the need to ensure safety and protect property, including by deploying the police, military, and border police if deemed necessary. Increasingly it has become clearer that nation-states will tend to choose the protection of global capital over the well-being of (even their own) people; and/or it is assumed that deferring to the demands of global capital is the best or even the only way to ensure people's well-being. The current condition of this wall clearly indicates the limits of representational democracy, and the limits of possibilities for political

action that are premised on institutionalised processes, policies, and practices.

Economically, this house is premised on a regime of perpetual capital accumulation (the roof), which exploits human labour, expropriates lands and lives through processes of slavery and colonisation, and treats other-than-human beings as natural resources to be extracted, all for the creation of profit for a very few. These profits are then protected through the laws and policing of the wall of the nation-state. This economic system invites the investment of even those that it exploits, through its promises of social mobility, economic growth, and self-expression and realisation through consumption. However, today these promises appear increasingly shaky given slowing economic growth, under- and precarious employment, growing wealth inequality, and the increasing inaccessibility of affordable food, shelter, clean water, and even air. Further, more people are making connections between capitalism's imperative for endless economic growth, and the (dramatically unevenly distributed) realities of global climate change.

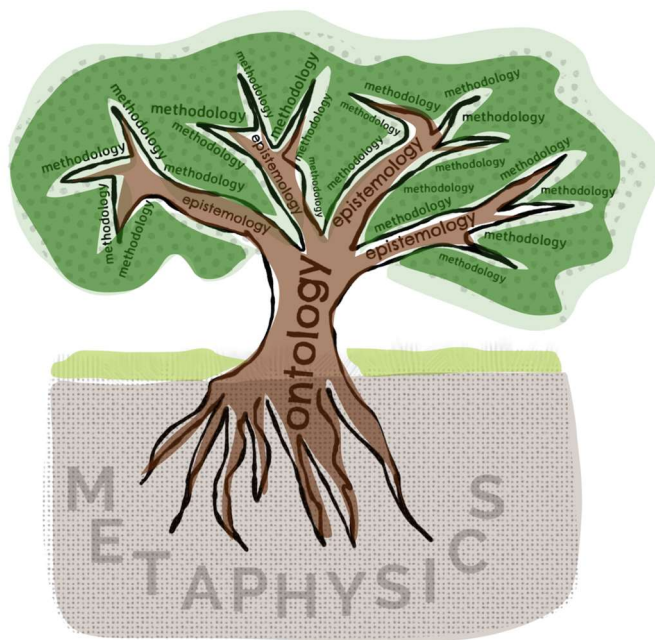
Viewed together, it has become increasingly difficult to deny that the foundations of the house show serious cracks, and leaks proliferate on its lower floors. At the same time, the house still offers one of the most stable forms of shelter, largely because of the instabilities that its operations have caused elsewhere. As noted at the beginning of this section, the increasingly shaky house has been interpreted in different ways. However, these interpretations generally either assert that the underlying structure of the house is sturdy and just needs renovations (whether major or minor), or that the house is ethically indefensible and unsustainable, and thus, it is necessary to build new forms of shelter, whether immediately or when the house starts to crumble on its own. How one understands the root causes and possible solutions to the house's current instability depends significantly on how one diagnoses the current problem, which we examine further using our cartography of the tree of different layers of analyses.

## **The TREE**

According to Scott (2004), ‘the way one defines an alternative depends on the way one has conceived the problem (6). How we conceive of a problem and what we propose in response shapes the critique we offer and our accompanying horizon of possibility. In this cartography we review three possible critical responses to contemporary systemic crises, in order to consider the assumptions, investments, and attachments that shape them, and to consider where each of them might lead. We describe each response as it relates to three different layers of possible analysis and intervention (methodological, epistemological, ontological), and how one would approach system transformation at each of the layers (soft, radical, or beyond reform of the system [see Andreotti et al., 2015]). We illustrate each layer further by considering how they relate to different approaches to education, international development, and social change, and by identifying some of the questions that one might ask when operating at each layer.

To help illustrate how each layer of analysis addresses different dimensions of a problem of concern, we use the metaphor of an olive tree. The leaves and flowers represent the methodological layer, the branches represent the epistemological layer, and the roots and trunk represent the ontological layer. Focusing on the leaves and flowers emphasises how to maximise growth of the existing system, to more efficiently produce and improve outputs – i.e. olives. Focusing on the branches would entail exploring different directions and angles of growth that could help the tree produce a broader range of better and more diverse outputs. The ontological is partly visible, through the trunk, and partly invisibilised, through the roots, but together they form the basis of the tree, upon which the branches and leaves are grounded. Focusing on the trunk and roots enables one to pay attention to the wider life cycle of the plant, its relation to the larger ecological metabolism within which it is embedded, as well as its inevitable death.





*The Olive Tree*

### **Methodological Critique (leaves and flowers)**

Critiques that operate at the level of methodology conclude that the system is not operating as it should, that is, at its optimum performance level, and thus it needs to be adjusted in order to realign with its underlying principles and goals. Thus, this critique emphasises changing what and how we do something within our existing system to make it more effective on its own terms. The assumption is that any problems we face are attributable to a failure of the existing system to live up to its underlying promises. These include a lack of efficiency within capitalist markets, a lack of access to Enlightenment knowledge, and a lack of trust

in a nation-state's politicians. Conversations about how to move forward are ultimately limited because there is only one viable direction for progress. This critique is based on the assumption that the system is structurally sound, but there is room to improve what is already working well, thus following the imperative to engineer continuous progress. A deep investment in traditional intellectual economies and the presumed moral authority of traditional institutions inform both the critique offered from this position and its desire to produce policies and practices that will support predefined outcomes and goals. In this way, approaches emerging from critiques at the methodological level seek to address contemporary problems using solutions internal to the system itself (asks the same questions, and gives the same answers).

Approaches to education that are driven by these kinds of investments in linear, seamless progress in order to ensure continuity rather than a more fundamental transformation, will likely take a soft reform approach to modern institutions and relationships. Meanwhile, approaches to international development from this critical space will be mainstream, premised on the presumed supremacy and benevolence of the most powerful and wealthy 'leaders' of the system (namely, Western nation-states), and the universal extension/adoption of their models for development elsewhere.

Approaches to social change that operate at this layer of critique are characterised by confidence that the generation of new ideas, products, and processes will solve persistent gaps in equity of the current system, so that what it offers is accessible to all. Some interventions in this realm emphasise the contributions of individual entrepreneurs whom have been deemed visionaries, or what Papi-Thornton (2016) describes as 'heropreneurs'; other interventions might foster social change through collective impact and a networked, systems approach rather than individual achievement.

Questions that might be asked at the methodological level are: *What is the problem? Who is affected? How can we fix it? How can I help? What should we do? How should we do it? What changes have people already tried to make, and what lessons can be learned from those efforts? What strategies are effective? What outcomes are expected? What challenges are faced? How does/will it work? How to improve effectiveness? What knowledge/expertise/data is missing? What policy is needed or not being implemented correctly? How does this compare to what happens in other contexts? What tools, incentives and training are needed for change makers to attain the understanding needed to make successful social change, and to appropriately address the problems they seek to solve? If the goal is progress, development, equity, and inclusion, how do we support change makers in a diversity of roles? How can social change be viewed as a distributed/interdependent process rather than a centralised/individualised effort?*

### **Epistemological Critique (branches)**

Critiques articulated from the layer of epistemology agree with the layer of methodology that we need to do things differently, but add that we need to think about things differently as well. Epistemological critiques identify how the politics of knowledge are deeply linked to the naturalisation of historical, structural inequalities. These inequalities include the uneven distribution of power, wealth, labour, as well as hierarchies of merit, credibility and worth of cultures, individuals and life itself. Having identified more deeply-rooted flaws in the system, this approach tends to advocate for more drastic (radical reform) changes to existing political, economic, and educational systems. That is, we need to reconsider what and how we know – and how we might know differently. Such a critique identifies how our dominant frames of reference favour certain ways of knowing over others and thereby determine what is intelligible, desirable, and imaginable.

These dominant frames, in turn, shape: the kinds of questions we can ask and the answers that can be provided; the ways we adjudicate the

authority of knowledge claims; and the perceived validity of approaches to change. In recognising the limitations of these dominant frames, several imperatives become clear, including a need to attend to epistemological diversity and thus, to disrupt the illusion of epistemic certainty (and the universality that certainty implies). Thus, critiques of dominant ways of knowing and framing key issues at the layer of epistemology question the construction of what is perceived as natural, normal and common sense. Such critiques attend to how knowledge (rather than ignorance) can be used to rationalise socio-material practices that sacrifice the well-being of certain populations for the benefit of others. Epistemological layer critiques therefore help to identify the role of knowledge in historical and ongoing slavery, colonialism, imperialism, racism, capitalism, heteropatriarchy, and ableism, although it is rare to identify all these dimensions at the same time. Thus, it is deemed necessary to change the content of existing conversations and institutions by rethinking who is considered an 'expert', and ensuring access for more historically marginalised populations, thereby addressing questions of representation as well as redistribution.

When addressing the role of education, this layer of critique will emphasise the limits of a single story of progress, development, and human evolution. Educational interventions in line with this approach will focus on the inclusion of perspectives that have been excluded and encourage learners to make the unknown known in order to increase the range of options (same questions, different answers). Regarding international development, critique at this layer questions the hegemony and presumed universality of Western-led development models, in particular how they ignore and invalidate local knowledges and the possibilities they offer for developing differently. Thus, they imagine alternative forms of development, for instance, democratising participation in development so that local communities have greater power in decision making. Meanwhile, approaches to social change oriented by this layer of critique focus on understanding what is holding

the current system in place and who stands to benefit from its continuation, or to lose out if the problem is solved (Papi-Thornton, 2016). These approaches will also consider what historical, related, and interconnected issues are causing or impacted by the problem being addressed. Finally, they consider that often those who are encouraged to solve social problems may not have the lived experience and/or other adequate understanding of the complexity of the problems they seek to address, thus possibly unintentionally worsening the problems rather than solving them.

Questions that might be asked at the epistemological level are: *Whose bodies/voices are represented in what is perceived to be normal or natural? Who decides which direction forward is? In whose name? For whose benefit? How come (i.e. historical/systemic forces)? How are dissenting voices included (or not)? Whose terms of dialogue/inclusion are in operation? What collective traumas are present? Why? Who has been historically and systemically wounded? Whose vulnerabilities are visible/invisible? What notions of authority, merit, credibility, normality and entitlement are at work? What is being opposed and proposed as replacement? How am I complicit in harm? How am I reading and being read? How can I enact ethical solidarity? What information needs to be known in order to enact contextually and culturally appropriate solutions? What experiences and sensibilities would allow us to access this information? How do desires for mastery and individual heroism limit social change that might otherwise be oriented by concern for collective impact and relationships that value interdependency?*

### **Ontological Critique (trunk and roots)**

At the ontological layer of critique, there is a notion that the problems plaguing the system are in fact of its own making, and further, that the system has always been subsidised by the violence of exploitation, ecocide, and genocide. Because solutions articulated from within the system itself will ultimately result in more of the same violence, the system is deemed to be beyond reform. The conclusion of this critique is

*that we cannot expect capitalism, the state, or Enlightenment humanism, to fix the problems that capitalism, the state, and Enlightenment humanism have created* – we therefore need to learn to exist otherwise and elsewhere. Thus, in the short term, contemporary problems might be mitigated in important ways by minor or major adjustments to its existing institutions. However, in the long term, the problems will not be eradicated until this system is dismantled, or collapses on its own, as we learn from its mistakes, mourn its decline, and create different possibilities in its place.

This perspective shares much of the major reform critiques, but goes beyond reconsidering what we do, and how and what we think, to also ask questions about who and what we (think) we are, the conditions for us to be and to understand being that way, the nature of reality (time, space, conscience, being), and how we could experience existence substantially differently. This critique seeks to explore the boundaries of what we perceive to be real, intelligible, possible and relevant and look for alternatives. The premise is that, if the architectures of existence that support the maintenance of the house are premised on continued violence, then we must reimagine our existence if we want the violence to stop.

When it comes to education, this layer of critique emphasises the pedagogical need to expand our existing sensibilities and constellations of knowledge, relationality, and affect. Such an expansion might then prepare us with the stamina and strength to face the difficulties of unlearning our investments in a dying system, and of learning the joys of travelling alongside one another (rather than in front or behind), in order to pluralise possibilities for co-existence in a fragile planet. With regard to international development, this critique tends to question the very idea of ‘progress’, and thus considers the need not just for alternative forms of development, but alternatives *to* development (Santos, 2007; Stein, Andreotti, and Suša, 2016). This analysis addresses the limits of the development model within the West itself, which has led us dangerously

close to the limit of our planetary capacity. Thus, within this analysis, mainstream development is identified as a theory of change that no longer offers a compelling nor ethical narrative vision for the future – if it ever did. Approaches to social change that undertake this analysis consider the possibility that the roots of the identified problems do not stem only or primarily from a lack of relevant, appropriate, or specific knowledge needed to fix it. Rather, the roots of these problems might (also) be related to the desires that shape the pursuit of predetermined solutions, mastery, and innocence that constrain other ways of relating and modes of existence. The critique shifts from an emphasis on how to understand problems in deeper and more nuanced ways, to a questioning of the desires for and limits of trying to fix the present for an imagined future on behalf of a supposedly universal humanity (Amsler and Facer, 2017; Osberg, 2018).

Questions that might be asked at the ontological level are: *What is the nature of reality, self, consciousness, time, space, change, life, and death in this context? What cognitive/ affective/ relational/ educational/ healing/ sensorial practices are possible from this worldview? How is the possibility of my understanding (knowing/sensing), or lack thereof, shaped and limited by my positionalities? What is this experience (of not knowing) teaching me about the possibility of possibilities that I could never have imagined before? What pedagogical frameworks might support a relationship to knowledge that is not constrained to description (becoming aware of the problems) and then prescription (seeking out appropriate actions to solve it), and instead towards holding and working with and through complexity and uncertainty? How might desires to 'fix' and 'solve' limit what global social change might be imagined as possible? What possibilities for global social change are enabled by a commitment not to 'fixing' but to unravelling what structures our 'being', and what possibilities lie beyond what we can know? What might a non-normative responsibility entail? How do we shift the action-oriented tendencies that currently*

*dominate in global education and social change discourses away from fixed teleologies and towards engaging with the not-yet-possible?*

**Table: Usual Assemblages**

	<b>Methodological (leaves and flowers)</b>	<b>Epistemological (branches)</b>	<b>Ontological (trunk and roots)</b>
<b>Analysis of the system</b>	Soft reform [system expansion]	Radical reform [system revamp]	Beyond reform [system change]
<b>Theory of change</b>	Maximise effectiveness and efficiency of existing economic, political, educational institutions through changes in public policy and practice	Diversify representation, access to existing economic, political, educational institutions through collective action	Disinvest from existence ordered by existing economic, political, educational institutions, consider the limits of representability
<b>Horizon of hope/ possibility</b>	Plan/engineer for the perpetual expansion and improvement of existing institutions, working toward a single/universal story of human development	Deepen our analyses and understanding so as to determine what changes might enable more people to be included into an expanded version of the existing system	Establish and maintain ethical, equitable relations premised on respect, reciprocity, solidarity to uphold the well-being of present and future generations
<b>Terms of the conversation</b>	Same questions, same answers	Same questions, different answers	Different questions, different answers



<b>Approach to education</b>	Ensure system continuity, continual progress, and the transmission of 'universal' truth/values	Learn from alternative ways of knowing in search of models and roadmaps that can lead toward a different future	Messy, collective process of learning/unlearning that may lead to viable but as-yet-undefined and unimaginable futures
<b>Approach to development</b>	Mainstream development	Alternative forms of development	Alternatives <i>to</i> development
<b>Approach to social change</b>	'Heropreneurship'	Collective impact through interconnected networks and systems thinking	Deep learning through collective experimentation, improvisation and reflexivity

We note that this cartography is not exhaustive, and only presents some of the most common assemblages. An important response not articulated in this cartography expresses a need to 'defend and protect the system by any means necessary'. It is essential to attend to this response as it projects the source of all systemic problems onto the most vulnerable populations who are already marginalised. Further, it justifies the intensification of securitisation at, within, and beyond the borders of the states in the name of protecting state sovereignty, private property, and conservative humanist values. The analysis emanating from this response often rationalises racist rhetoric and physical violence, intensified immigration restrictions, blatant discrimination, and expanded powers of the police, military, and intelligence agencies. While we do not wish to validate this response as a viable option, we nonetheless think it important to consider how and why its analysis appeals to some people, and to ask how elements of this approach might appear within any of the possibilities we do consider.

We also note that it is possible for a person or a collective to engage more than one of these assemblages, intervening at multiple layers and/or deploying contrasting elements of different critiques depending on the context. This more messy approach to knowledge contradicts the tendency that characterises our dominant approach to problem solving, in which the identification of a problem must be accompanied by a prescription for clearly articulated and coherent responses. Yet the dominant imperative can lead us to avoid problems that seemingly have no coherent solutions, to circularly try and solve problems created by our system with solutions articulated within that system, or to prescribe universal responses that are not appropriate for all contexts.

Part of the necessary work is therefore to learn to become comfortable with the unknown depth of the challenges that we face, and with the inevitable uncertainties involved in transformation. We must develop the stamina for addressing complex problems without a predefined end point, and for experimenting (responsibly) with different possibilities when opportunities arise. This, in turn, requires that we disinvest from our attachments to viewing ourselves as heroic, problem-solving protagonists and leaders who have the answers to the world's problems, and instead investing in the integrity of a collective, horizontal (messy) process of transformation. This is why the affective dimension of this work must accompany the cognitive one. We are still working on a version of the tree cartography that includes the affective dimension, but for now, we pose a series of questions to consider alongside the intellectual analyses, in particular for those working at the interface between the epistemological and ontological layers:

- What perceptions, projections, desires and expectations inform what you are doing/thinking and how do these things affect your relationships?
- What kinds of ignorance do you continue to embody and what social tensions are you failing to recognise?

- What is preventing you from being present and listening deeply without fear and without projections?
- What problems do your solutions reproduce or generate?
- What do you need to give up or let go of in order to go deeper?
- What truths are you not ready, willing, or able to speak or to hear?
- How can we distinguish between distractions and important stuff? How do we know when we are stuck? What strategies can get us 'un-stuck'?
- How can we respect the pace and readiness of people's learning while being accountable to those negatively affected by this learning and its pace?

In our final cartography, we seek to integrate not only the intellectual, or cognitive, dimension of global justice and social change, but also the affective, relational, ecological and economic dimensions, all of which are addressed with an eye to intergenerational implications. Together these make up the EarthCARE framework.

## **EARTHCARE**

The EarthCARE global justice framework combines six complementary approaches to justice that encourage alternative approaches to engagement with alternatives (Santos, 2007). These approaches seek to move beyond the search for universal models and problem-solving approaches towards preparing people to work together with and through the complexities, uncertainties, paradoxes, and complicities that characterise efforts to address unprecedented global challenges collaboratively today. The framework proposes a vision of deep transformational learning processes that combine practical doing (together), building of trust (in one another), deepening analyses (of self, systems, and social and ecological complexity), and dismantling walls (between peoples, knowledges, and cultures). In this vision, intellectual engagements, the arts, ethics, cosmovisions, the environment, and

embodied practices are all understood as important conduits for learning. The framework invites learners to: explore the contributions, paradoxes, and limits of their current problem-posing and problem-solving paradigms; engage experientially with alternative practices that challenge the limits of their thinking and capabilities; and, contribute to the emergence of new paradigms of social change that open up not-yet-imaginable possibilities for co-existence in the future.

As envisaged by the EarthCARE network, an EarthCARE-informed curriculum for global justice engages participants in experiential learning that focuses on alternatives to the dominant modern/colonial global imaginary, including alternative economies, alternative ways of relating to ecology, Southern epistemologies, and initiatives that highlight the importance of teachings from grassroots resistance and soil-centred movements, including black, indigenous, landless, peasant, and Quilombola struggles. There is an emphasis on the knowledge of women and the reduction of gender, racial, and sexual violence and of vulnerabilities produced by intersectional systems of oppression. The EarthCARE framework offers guidance for developing learning experiences that can:

1. Challenge narrowly-imagined ideas of the public good;
2. Critically evaluate dominant practices and flows of knowledge production, and cultivate an appreciation for the gifts of multiple epistemic traditions, especially indigenous knowledge systems;
3. Resist paternalistic notions of progress and development;
4. Foster reflexivity through an awareness of the complexities, complicities, difficulties and paradoxes of doing this work; cultivate, develop and disseminate practices and skills that build various aspects of alternative presents and futures (e.g. around food, architecture, energy, media, waste, etc.); and,

5. Build a global alliance of people and communities with both the passion, wisdom, and humility to confront complex social crises by advancing integrative justice.

## **Conclusion**

The approach to education outlined in this paper and illustrated through the various social cartographies aims to enable people to work with and through the complexities, uncertainties, paradoxes, and complicities that characterise efforts to address unprecedented global challenges. In particular, this approach seeks to create spaces for the flourishing of an 'ecology of knowledges' (Santos, 2007) in which there is symmetry between different and intersecting knowledges and ignorances (Teamey and Mandel, 2016; Santos, 2007). Such an ecology creates the conditions of possibility for people from diverse positions and histories to engage critically with the contributions and limitations of every knowledge system (including the most novel ones, which are only just in the process of formation) without reducing 'being' to 'knowing'. In this way, we might instead speak in the plural about ecologies of knowledges, as well as accompanying ecologies of ignorances, as every knowledge system has foreclosures and limitations.

This approach to education challenges mainstream educational approaches. It also offers alternatives to reactive dogmatism, romanticisation of alternatives, and/or absolute relativism that are presently creating intercultural inertia and other barriers to collaborative approaches to imagining and enacting global justice and social change. In this approach to education, learners would be supported to:

- Engage constructively and in critically-informed ways with the difficult issues and discomforts that emerge in processes of deep intercultural, intergenerational, and intersectional learning and change;

- Develop more complex, systemic, multi-layered, and multi-voiced questions, analyses, and practices that challenge and provide experimental alternatives to simplistic solutions to global injustices;
- Work with diverse and intergenerational others in developing coalitions and dissolving cognitive, affective, relational, economic, and ecological inequalities;
- Identify and transform problematic on-going patterns of local and global engagements that tend to be hegemonic, ethnocentric, depoliticised, ahistorical, paternalistic and offer uncomplicated solutions;
- Cultivate awareness of how we are personally implicated in the problems we are trying to address – that is, how we are both part of the problem and the solution in different ways;
- Understand historically marginalised people and communities as equally capable, intelligent, knowledgeable, and complex;
- Expand frames of reference, acknowledging the gifts, contradictions and limitations of different knowledge systems, moving beyond ‘either or’ towards ‘both and more’;
- Move reciprocally from theory to practice and from practice to theory, understanding the essential and dynamic link between them, and valuing both equally;
- Recognise systemic ongoing harm without paralysis, quick fixes, or pessimism, in order to re-ignite our visceral sense of connectedness with and responsibility towards each other and the planet; and
- Open our social and ecological imaginations to different forms of knowing, being, sensing, and relating, and to different futurities beyond a single story of teleological progress, development, and evolution.

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## ACTIVISM AS DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION

**Stephen McCloskey**

“What we think, or what we know, or what we believe is, in the end, of little consequence. The only consequence is what we *do*” (John Ruskin, 1902: 194).

**Abstract:** This article suggests that activism can significantly contribute to development education by sharing knowledge, experience and activist outcomes with learners and assisting their own engagement with development issues. It shares the author’s personal narrative of activism - and that of colleagues - with the question of Palestine to suggest how it has supported awareness raising on this issue at a wider level. It firstly considers the strengths and weaknesses of the personal narrative methodology while situating the author’s activism, introduces the Middle-East question focusing on the West Bank and Gaza Strip thereby contextualising the author’s engagement with Palestine, offers a personal narrative of activism on Palestine, and reflects on how it has aimed to support wider understanding of one of the longest running conflicts in the global South.

**Key words:** Activism; Development Education; Personal Narrative; Israel; Palestine; Human Rights; West Bank; Gaza Strip.

Activism and experiential learning have always been close to the heart of development education (DE). The emerging DE sector in Ireland and the UK in the 1970s drew heavily upon returning missionaries and development workers from the global South. They applied their knowledge and experiences to increasing awareness of development issues at home and nurtured the network of Development Education Centres which supported grassroots DE delivery across the island of Ireland and England, Scotland and Wales (McCloskey, 2015a). This personal experience of the global South acquired increasing importance

in efforts to challenge a dominant narrative which persists today that equates poverty with developing countries, and defines the relationship between the global North and South ‘principally in charitable terms’ (Oberman and Waldron, 2017: 9). The development worker, missionary and activist may not perceive themselves as similarly engaged with development or social change in the global South. For example, the development worker may be fulfilling a more formal, long-term and specific role within a statutory or non-statutory agency with constraining terms of reference. The activist, on the other hand, may be operating from a more openly critical perspective outside organisational constraints but with less resources and, perhaps, a consequently reduced capacity to operate in-country. Despite their contrasting capacities and remits within the global South, activists and development workers can play an important role in bringing direct experiences into education in the global North.

The past year, since the election of Donald Trump as United States (US) president, has been described as the ‘golden age of political activism’ (Pindell, 2017) with the emergence of a new ‘grassroots resistance’ (Gabbatt, 2017). Solnit (2017) has expressed concern about whether this enhanced activism will endure. She argues that: ‘Newcomers often think that results are either immediate or they’re nonexistent. That if you don’t succeed straight away, you failed’ (ibid). The broad development sector in the UK can recall that in 2005 the activism of more than 200,000 people generated by the Make Poverty History initiative quickly dissipated because it was not underpinned by the more nuanced understanding needed to sustain participation (McCloskey, 2011). This underlines the need for what Freire (1970) described as *praxis*, a combination of reflection and action. Freire argued that reflection without action represents ‘idle chatter’ or ‘verbalism’ and, action without reflection is ‘action for action’s sake’, something inauthentic and inert (1970: 68-69).

This article suggests that activism can significantly contribute to development education by sharing knowledge, experience and activist

outcomes with learners and assisting their own engagement with development issues. It shares the author's personal narrative of activism - and that of colleagues - with the question of Palestine to suggest how it has supported awareness raising on this issue at a wider level. It firstly considers the strengths and weaknesses of the personal narrative methodology while situating the author's activism, introduces the Middle-East question focusing on the West Bank and Gaza Strip thereby contextualising the author's engagement with Palestine, offers a personal narrative of activism on Palestine, and reflects on how it has aimed to support wider understanding of, and action on, one of the longest running conflicts in the global South.

### **Personal narrative methodology**

Etherington (2004: 3) cites Clandinin and Connelly (2000) in describing narrative inquiry as 'an umbrella term that captures personal and human dimensions of experience over time, and takes account of the relationship between individual experience and cultural context'. Narrative inquiry uses tools and methodologies such as stories, autobiography, journals, field notes, letters, conversations, interviews, family stories, photos and life experience. Akinsanya and Bach (2014) regard a narrative as:

"a story that contains a sequence of events that take place over a time period. It mostly follows a chronological order and usually contains a link to the present on the form of a lesson learnt by the narrator. Narrative analysis seeks to find the link by analyzing and evaluating various parts of the narrative".

In considering the advantages of a narrative approach, Clandinin and Huber (2010: 3) argue that:

"narrative inquirers are able to study the complexity of the relational composition of people's lived experiences both inside and outside of an inquiry and, as well, to imagine the future possibilities of these lives".

The narrative methodology therefore offers insight and understanding to a situation that can be highly complex with specific cultural structures and conventions, and comprising a multitude of actors and perspectives. As Etherington suggests, knowledge gained through the narrative approach ‘is situated, transient, partial and provisional; characterized by multiple voices, perspectives, truths and meanings’ (2004: 5). On the other hand, Mitchell and Egudo (2003: 5) argue that ‘Stories are essentially individual constructs of human experience, and have limitations that may affect objectivity in presentation’. The narrative approach is therefore normally based on an individual, subjective account lacking the multiple perspectives and objective rigour required of verified research. However, multiple accounts offered by individuals with similar narratives can reinforce a shared perspective drawn from the same or similar contexts and experiences. Moreover, these narratives can be supported by field notes, interviews, photographs and other forms of evidence gleaned from the local environment, actors and institutions that will lend them greater authority and robustness. This requires, as Etherington suggests:

“that the narrative be sensitive to the rights, beliefs and cultural contexts of the participants, as well as their position within patriarchal or hierarchical power relations, in society as well as in our research relationships” (2007: 602).

Mindfulness of these sensitivities becomes even more important in the highly charged conflict in the Middle-East where ‘facts on the ground’ are hotly disputed and regularly contested in the media.

### **Situating this activist account**

The account offered in this article is based on evidence gathered over a period of ten years of visits to the West Bank and Gaza Strip which have helped support a first-hand narrative of life in the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT). It has sought to engage with civil society movements, non-governmental organisations, and human rights groups working on

behalf of those on the frontline of the conflict such as refugees, children and prisoners. Civil society organisations in Israel and Palestine such as MACHSOM Watch (Israeli activists who monitor checkpoints), Defence for Children International Palestine, Addameer (a prisoner support group) and B'tselem, an Israeli human rights organisation, play a crucial role in monitoring and challenging rights abuses. These organisations are key informants to the situation on the ground in the OPT and sources of valuable insight. This account did not take as its starting point a position of 'neutrality' or 'balance' whereby all informants on one side are counter-balanced by perspectives from the other. The main reason for this is because the situation on the ground in Palestine is itself neither balanced, fair, or in any way, a conventional conflict between competing military forces as hopefully the account that follows makes clear.

In his introduction to Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970), Richard Schull wrote that:

"There is no such thing as a *neutral* educational process. Education either functions as an instrument that is used to facilitate the integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity to it, *or* it becomes 'the practice of freedom', the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world" (16).

Freire (1985: 2) directly addressed the issue of neutrality when he wrote: 'Washing one's hands of the conflict between the powerful and the powerless means to side with the powerful, not to be neutral'. Applying this maxim of Freirean practice to the issue of the conflict in the Middle-East means to speak truth to power but also to report with accuracy and in the context of human rights legislation governing conflict and occupation. Reporting without recourse to the international laws that pertain to the situation in the Middle-East will diminish any argument advanced by activists. However, activist accounts are often couched in the

context of direct experience and substantiated by evidentiary support that perhaps imbues them with greater authority than secondary sources. So, the purpose of the personal narrative account outlined in this article was not to aspire to neutrality or balance but rather veracity in the context of personal experience and reference to international human rights norms. The account is contextualised in the next section.

### **The West Bank and Gaza Strip**

2017 was a significant year for anniversaries in the OPT. It was the centenary of the Balfour Declaration in which the British Foreign Secretary in 1917, Arthur James Balfour, declared ‘with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people’ (Cronin, 2017: xii). Balfour laid the foundation for the creation of the state of Israel in historical Palestine and foreshadowed a century of war, occupation and human rights abuses that continue today. It was also the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the six day war in 1967 when Israel seized control of the West Bank, East Jerusalem, Gaza Strip, as well as the Syrian Golan Heights and the Egyptian Sinai Peninsula (Tahhan, 2017a). This annexation has continued apace since then with the settlement of at least 600,000 colonists in settlements across the West Bank that Amnesty International (2017a) describes as illegal under Article 49 of the Geneva Convention. 2017 was also the tenth anniversary of Israel’s blockade of the Gaza Strip which was ostensibly imposed as a security matter designed to keep Hamas, the Palestinian political group with a militant wing, at arm’s length.

In 2006, Hamas won Palestinian elections described by the Carter Center (2006) as ‘open and highly competitive’. However, the United States (US) and European Union followed Israel’s lead in refusing to accept the outcome of the election. This international pressure subsequently contributed to an internal Palestinian power struggle which resulted in Hamas assuming control of Gaza and the Fatah-dominated Palestinian Authority governing the West Bank. While Israel had withdrawn its settlements from Gaza in 2005, it remained the territory’s



occupying power under international law by controlling its borders, airspace and coastline. According to B'tselem (2017), the blockade is illegal under the Fourth Geneva Convention which 'imposes general responsibility on the occupying state for the safety and welfare of civilians living in the occupied territory'. The next section outlines key milestones and events in the West Bank and Gaza over the past decade.

### The Gaza Strip

The Gaza Strip is a small coastal enclave of around 360 sq. km with a population of nearly two million people, of whom 70 per cent are refugees from the 1948 *Nakba* (Catastrophe) when 700,000 Palestinians were dispossessed of their homes and land and forced to flee (Pappé, 2006). According to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), the UN mission established for Palestinian refugees, 80 per cent of the population is dependent on international humanitarian assistance, 50 per cent dependent on food aid and 41 per cent unemployed which is one of the world's highest rates (UNRWA, 2017). In August 2012, UNRWA published an alarming report titled *Gaza in 2020: A Liveable Place?*, which posed the question whether Gaza's infrastructure was equal to a projected population by 2020 of 2.1 million. The report was published five years after the imposition of Israel's blockade and argued that without 'remedial action' by 2020:

"There will be virtually no reliable access to sources of safe drinking water, standards of healthcare and education will have continued to decline, and the vision of affordable and reliable electricity for all will have become a distant memory for most. The already high number of poor, marginalized and food-insecure people depending on assistance will not have changed, and in all likelihood will have increased" (UNRWA, 2012: 16).

Five years on and the tenth anniversary of the blockade of Gaza has been marked by a glut of new reports that appear to confirm UNRWA's assessment. Perhaps the starkest warning has come from the

International Committee of the Red Cross (2017) in suggesting that ‘a systemic collapse of an already battered infrastructure and economy is impending’. What distinguishes this crisis from the disasters and emergencies that normally push civilian populations to the edge of catastrophe is that it is not the result of a hurricane, flood, tsunami, drought or famine but the calculated policy of the Israeli government.

While Israel has maintained the security pretext as the basis for maintaining the blockade, in its more off-guard moments, it has revealed its true hand in Gaza. US government cables leaked to Wikileaks (Reuters, 2011) show that the Israeli government kept the United States’ embassy in Tel Aviv briefed on the blockade and on ‘multiple occasions’ said their policy aimed ‘to keep the Gazan economy on the brink of collapse without quite pushing it over the edge’. This appears to have been Israel’s blockade policy from the outset as BBC News (2012) reported an Israeli government adviser, Dov Weisglass, as having said in 2006: ‘The idea is to put the Palestinians on a diet, but not to make them die of hunger’. And, in 2012, an Israeli court forced the release of a government ‘red lines’ document which detailed ‘the number of calories Palestinians in Gaza need to consume to avoid malnutrition’ (Gisha, 2012). The Israeli human rights organisation Gisha, which won the legal battle to have the red lines document published, argues that ‘the research contradicts Israel’s assertions that the blockade is needed for security reasons’ (ibid).

The social pressures of poverty, isolation and economic inertia caused by the blockade have been compounded and exacerbated by three Israeli military operations in Gaza since 2008 which have collectively claimed the lives of 3,745 Palestinians and wounded 17,441. The most recent operation, ‘Protective Edge’, was a 51-day onslaught in July and August 2014 that killed 2,147 Palestinians, of whom 1,473 were civilians, 501 were children and 257 women. There were 71 Israeli casualties; 66 soldiers and five civilians. The physical hardship created by Gaza’s creaking infrastructure are compounded by the psychological effects of war and poverty, particularly on children. A ten-year-old child in Gaza has

suffered three major Israeli military engagements since 2008 and ten years of an economic siege. In commenting on the multiple effects of war on Gaza's children, Unicef's Pernilla Ironside said in 2014:

"The impact has truly been vast, both at a very physical level, in terms of casualties, injuries, the infrastructure that's been damaged, but also importantly, emotionally and psychologically in terms of the destabilizing impact that not knowing, not truly feeling like there is anywhere safe to go in Gaza" (RT, 2014).

Amnesty International, like many human rights bodies, has described the blockade of Gaza to be illegal under international law and called for it to be lifted without delay. As Amnesty's Magdalena Mughrabi suggests:

"As the occupying power, Israel has obligations to ensure the basic needs of the civilian population are met. At the very least, Israel must not continue to cut off access to essential supplies. The Israeli authorities must immediately lift the illegal blockade and end their collective punishment of Gaza's population" (Amnesty International, 2017b).

### The West Bank

According to UNRWA (2016b), the West Bank has a total of 775,000 registered refugees, of whom a quarter live in 19 camps. The issues dominating life in the West Bank are restrictions on movement and the annexation of land caused by the construction of an Israeli Separation Barrier and the expansion of settlements. Between 600,000 and 750,000 Israeli settlers are living in 150 settlements which collectively comprise 42 per cent of the West Bank (Tahhan, 2017b). The settlements are illegal under international law as the Fourth Geneva Convention forbids an occupying power from transferring parts of its civilian population into territory it occupies. Moreover, United Nations Security Council Resolution 242 passed on 22 November 1967 stated that 'Israel must

withdraw from the territories it seized in the (1967) war' as the basis for 'all ensuing diplomatic negotiations' (ibid). South Africa's Archbishop Desmond Tutu has compared the treatment of Palestinians in the West Bank to black South Africans during the Apartheid System stating that:

"I have witnessed the systemic humiliation of Palestinian men, women and children by members of the Israeli security forces. Their humiliation is familiar to all black South Africans who were corralled and harassed and insulted and assaulted by the security forces of the apartheid government" (*Jerusalem Post*, 2014).

The corralling of Palestinians into smaller areas of land has been made possible by the area demarcations of the 1993 Oslo Peace Accords. The West Bank was divided into three areas: Area A comprising 18 per cent of the West Bank and under Palestinian Authority civil control and security authority; Area B (22 per cent of the West Bank) is under Palestinian civil administration while Israel retains exclusive security control; and Area C which represents 60 per cent of the West Bank is under full Israeli civil administration and security control. As Israel has 'full authority over building permissions and zoning laws' in Area C, '99 percent of the area is off limits or heavily restricted for Palestinian construction' (Tahhan, 2017b).

With Palestinians unable to build new houses in Area C, their freedom of movement has become more restricted in Areas A and B through Israel's Separation Barrier, a 700km wall which is twice as long as the Green Line, the armistice line which marked the 1967 boundary between Israel and the West Bank and East Jerusalem. Under the ubiquitous pretext of security, 85 per cent of the wall will be built inside the West Bank when completed, annexing up to 10 per cent of fertile Palestinian farmland and separating 35,000 farmers from their land. Started in 2002, much of the wall comprises a set of two-metre-high, electrified razor-wire fences with a 60-metre-wide exclusion zone on the Palestinian side (Zonszein, 2014). In 2004, the International Court of

Justice issued an Advisory Opinion ‘that Israel's building of a barrier in the occupied Palestinian territory is illegal and said construction must stop immediately and Israel should make reparations for any damage caused’ (OCHA, 2014). Israel has failed to comply with this ruling.

In 2016, there was an escalation of violence in the West Bank triggered by restrictions on freedom to worship at the Al Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem (Pennetier, 2015). A series of ‘lone wolf’ knife attacks by Palestinians was regularly met by lethal force on the part of the Israeli military and police. According to Human Rights Watch (2017), between 1 January and 31 October 2016, Palestinians killed eleven Israelis and two security officers and injured 131. In the same period, Israeli forces killed 94 Palestinians and injured 3,203. The human rights group Al Haq has alleged that many of the Palestinian deaths involved the avoidable use of lethal force in cases that amounted to ‘unlawful killings’. It argues that ‘Israel regularly uses excessive force against Palestinians, including children, causing death or injury, even when other measures could have been used’ (Al Haq, 2016).

This section has highlighted key human rights concerns in the Gaza Strip and West Bank since 2006 when the author first became actively engaged with Palestine. The next section considers key milestones in the author’s personal engagement with the region.

### **Personal narrative of engagement**

I first travelled to the West Bank in 2006 as part of a delegation of human rights activists, mostly from Ireland, organised individually by Elaine Daly from Newbridge in County Kildare. On reflecting on what she hoped to achieve with these visits, Elaine said that:

“I hope people come away better informed having met with Israeli and Palestinian groups working for peace and justice. I hope that they can speak with more authority on the issue of Palestine, on return to their own country... It is very difficult to

contradict someone who has been to the region and has seen the situation with their own eyes and that certainly adds more weight to their perspective on the situation there” (Boyle and McCloskey, 2011: 10).

The visit was short, spanning eight days, but with a busy itinerary that



Photograph 1. Palestinian man has his fingerprint scanned in a permanent checkpoint in Bethlehem (September, 2016). Photo: Stephen McCloskey. All rights reserved.

included a day in most major towns in the West Bank. From a base in Bethlehem we visited Hebron, Nablus, Ramallah and East Jerusalem and met with a range of human rights actors on the ground including: Ecumenical Accompaniment Programme for Palestine and Israel (EAPPI); B'tselem; Al Haq, the Palestinian human rights organisation; the Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions (ICAHD); and Machsom Watch. The visit also included a tour of settlements, a visit to a refugee camp in Bethlehem, and a talk on the Separation Barrier.

I undertook the visit because I had been actively seeking a means of travelling to the region with a structured agenda that supported access to both Israeli

and Palestinian actors on the ground. The visit was very much couched in the context of human rights with a focus on organisations that operated in that sector on behalf of those on the frontline of the conflict such as

children, women, prisoners and refugees. The decision to visit the region was heavily swayed by Palestinian speakers/activists who came to Ireland and encouraged a first-hand, direct experience of Palestine to more fully understand the conflict in context. It is immediately clear why they did so as the physical environment in Bethlehem and elsewhere in the West Bank is heavily oppressive and restrictive. Movement through towns and villages involves negotiating some of the 500 barriers or checkpoints in the West Bank, most of which are permanent. Clearing the permanent checkpoints for Palestinians requires not just documentation but biometrics including finger-print scans. An Israeli soldier can arbitrarily refuse permission to pass which in turn can deny freedom to work, to worship, to seek medical treatment, to study; in short most of the things we take for granted in daily life.

Most startling of all is the omnipresent wall which surrounds most of the main towns and villages in the West Bank and is frequently mocked by graffiti and murals, many of which render humanity, humour and wisdom to a structure that is cold, callous and a blight to life. There is also a constant tension to life in the West Bank, particularly at checkpoints where armed police or soldiers check identification, search cars and board buses. The final day of our visit was free and many of us chose to join a protest in Bethlehem after Friday prayers against the checkpoint restrictions which denied the majority of local people access to Al Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem. As Palestinians moved toward the checkpoint they were rushed by the Israeli Defence Force which fired tear gas, stun grenades and skunk water (a foul smelling liquid designed to repel protesters) at the civilian demonstrators.

The visits organised by Elaine Daly were a catalyst for myself and others to get more involved with the issue of Palestine back home. Elaine herself has recalled that:

“Former participants have returned to Palestine as volunteers for groups such as the Ecumenical Accompaniment Programme for

Palestine and Israel (organised by the World Council of Churches) and the Al Haq Human Rights Organisation” (Boyle and McCloskey, 2011: 13).

This activism has been stirred not only by what we saw in the West Bank but by the deteriorating situation in the Gaza Strip following the onset of the Israeli blockade in 2007 and the first of three wars in six years on Gaza in 2008. Many former ‘trippers’ were to be found on demonstrations against the war and siege of Gaza or on the letters pages of national newspapers calling for international action to assist the besieged enclave. Elaine’s visits were not only personally educating for those who travelled with her to the region but enabled activists to share their knowledge with others or become more engaged at a deeper level with the region.

### **From the West Bank to Gaza**

Around this time, I started to give consideration to how my employer, a development non-governmental organisation based in Belfast called the Centre for Global Education, could contribute to awareness raising on Gaza and offer practical support. Our official remit was to deliver development education in the island of Ireland rather than deliver services overseas or work in the global South. Internal discussion led to the idea of trying to support a small-scale, development education project in the Gaza Strip if we could find a suitable partner. Through discussions with partner NGOs in Ireland I was referred to an organisation in Gaza called the Canaan Institute of New Pedagogy which was similar in size and remit to the Centre for Global Education. In 2011, I visited Gaza and met the director and staff of the Canaan Institute while getting an overview of the context in which they work. We initially agreed to work on a summer scheme for 1,000 children aged 8-12 years in the summer of 2012 (CGE, 2012) but then set upon a plan for a capacity-building project using a development education methodology aimed at young people. The project aimed to supplement education provision to 300 children aged between 7 and 10 years and, at the same time, provide psycho-social support to



help the young people address the effects of conflict-related trauma. The need for the project was based upon the chronic shortage of school buildings in Gaza where there are 262,000 students attending 267 schools (UNRWA, 2016) which means that more than 90 per cent of schools have to double-shift; in other words, the same school building is used by two different school populations in the morning and afternoon. The need for psycho-social support was a response to widespread mental health problems in Gaza, particularly among young people, caused by the trauma of conflict and the pressure cooker of family life strained by poverty and unemployment. Trauma is manifested in children through behavioural change such as bed-wetting, aggression, becoming withdrawn, loss of appetite, constant fear and difficulty concentrating in school.

Beginning in 2013, the Centre for Global Education secured funding for four consecutive years from the Northern Ireland Public Service Alliance (NIPSA), the biggest trade union in the north of Ireland, to deliver projects addressing these needs. The project methodology involved working with grassroots, community organisations in areas of Gaza acutely impacted by poverty and conflict. The Canaan Institute delivered facilitation training to staff in each community organisation and provided resources for use in workshops with children. For the duration of the programme, children attended their local community centre three times a week in the morning or afternoon when they weren't at school for development education-based activities. The content of the sessions focused on key learning areas of the curriculum such as literacy and numeracy, as well as providing structured play activities such as arts and crafts, theatre, role-play and dance.

Psycho-social support was provided through activities that enabled young people to give expression to their anxieties and, in addition, workshops were provided to parents to enable them to extend psycho-social care into the household. The project reports reflected the positive learning outcomes for children and the empowering nature of the training provided to facilitators that included lifelong skills in activity

management and delivery (CGE, 2013; 2014). The local schools also valued the projects for supplementing the education of their pupils and parents were pleased to see their children enrolled in structured activities in a safe, community space. The community centres in which the training was delivered benefited from the training to their staff and the provision of additional resources for young people in their care such as stationery, teaching packs, snacks and refreshments.

Between 2011 and 2014, I visited the community centres, met the facilitators and young people, reflected on the programme with Canaan's staff and carried out planning for future projects. These visits also enabled me to become closely familiar with Gaza's social and economic conditions through meetings in schools, hospitals, community centres, refugee camps and with the UNRWA. In July 2012, I visited Al Awda Hospital in northern Gaza which mostly services Jabalia refugee camp (see photograph 2) which has 119,484 registered refugees living in an area of 1.4 sq. km (UNRWA, 2016), an astonishing population density that denies any green spaces, adequate play areas, privacy, clean water and adequate food. Typical cases presented to the hospital were sanitation-related diseases like typhoid fever and diarrhoea caused by pollutants entering the underground aquifer that provides most of Gaza's drinking water. The lack of sewage treatment plants and regular power cuts meant that, according to Save the Children (2012: 17), '60-90 million litres of untreated or partially treated sewage have been dumped into Gaza's sea every day since 2008, with regional implications'. The deterioration of public health is compounded by a lack of access to nutritious food with refugees mostly relying on food aid from UNRWA. As a result, most children in Gaza are clearly stunted and under-weight caused by a polluted water supply and food chain, and a choked off economy unable to import what it needs for a population touching two million.



Photograph 2. Jabalia Refugee Camp, Gaza (July, 2012). Photo: Stephen McCloskey. All rights reserved.

In addition to reports, the visits to Gaza created possibilities for other forms of awareness raising work including talks and regular articles for NIPSA's *Global Solidarity* (2017) magazine for members and pieces for open access web sites (McCloskey, 2015b; 2017a).

In 2013, General Abdel Fatah el-Sisi, seized power in a military coup that overthrew Egypt's fledgling democracy. Sisi was elected president in a disputed ballot in May 2014 and immediately adopted a more aggressive stance toward Gaza. He closed smuggling tunnels between Gaza and Egypt that were an economic lifeline for the enclave and heavily restricted travel through the passenger terminal at Rafah into Egypt. Because of the Israeli blockade, Rafah became the only exit point for the majority of Gazans but was partially opened for just 21 days in all

of 2015 (Ma'an News Agency, 2017). In 2014, I travelled to Gaza for what was intended to be a two week visit but was extended to five weeks because the Rafah Crossing was closed and I was unable to depart. This is the reality for thousands of Palestinians every day desperate to cross into Egypt, often in life or death situations, such as patients urgently needing medical treatment beyond the compass of Gaza's health service. I was unable to visit Gaza after 2014 because the Egyptian government stopped issuing travel visas thus contributing to the growing isolation of the territory.

### **Deportation from Israel**

In 2016, I visited the West Bank with Elaine's group ten years on from her first trip and seven years since my last. The itinerary was similar to previous trips but included a visit to the Theatre of Freedom (2017) in Jenin which 'engages communities in critical inquiry, experiential learning and creative transformation through participatory theatre'. The group also met with an Israeli settler, went through a checkpoint at dawn in Bethlehem, met a Palestinian family evicted from their home in East Jerusalem, and met with Omar Barghouti, co-founder of the Boycott Divestment Sanctions (BDS) movement (BDS, 2017). As in previous visits, the final day was free and the majority of 'trippers' joined a protest in the village of Bil'in near Ramallah, which has been using non-violent means since 2005 to oppose the construction of the Separation Barrier on their land. The protest has become a focus of international solidarity and regularly attracts overseas activists who join villagers in the Friday demonstration (International Solidarity Movement, 2017). The Bil'in protest is regularly attacked by the Israeli Defence Force using a combination of stun grenades, skunk water, plastic bullets and live ammunition with villagers and international protestors often seriously injured as was captured in the Oscar-nominated documentary film *Five Broken Cameras* (2011).

The expansion of settlements in the West Bank was startling and they were now morphing into small cities. The Separation Barrier

(photograph 3), too, remains a suffocating presence, stifling life around it and making a contiguous Palestinian state impossible.



Photograph 3. The Separation Barrier, West Bank (September, 2016). Photo: Stephen McCloskey. All rights reserved.

On 9 September 2017, I again travelled with a mostly Irish delegation to the West Bank with 31 people on the same flight and others travelling separately. We were flying to Tel Aviv from Dublin via Istanbul with a view to transferring to Bethlehem. On arrival in Tel Aviv, four of us were separated from the group and interviewed in turn by immigration officials. In my interview I was asked about the protest in Bil'in in 2016 I had participated in and was shown footage of the protest on a mobile phone. I was asked to give my opinion on the political situation in the Middle-East, and ultimately told that I was being denied entry to Israel. The reason stated for my exclusion on a 'Denial of Entry' form was

‘Prevention of illegal immigration considerations’, which airport ground staff in Dublin found baffling as I was travelling on a valid Irish passport. Three other Irish citizens, including Elaine Daly, were also deported. We were returned on the first available flight back to Ireland.

Many of the activists that had visited the West Bank with Elaine wrote to the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs to call for action in response to our deportations. The Irish Ambassador to Tel Aviv has asked the Israeli Foreign Ministry for an explanation. At the time of writing, none has been offered. A question was asked about the deportations in the Dáil (Irish parliament) on 21 September 2017 by Clare Daly TD (member of the Irish parliament) and, replying on behalf of the government, Helen McEntee, Minister of State for European Affairs, said that:

“Without a more specific explanation, it is difficult not to conclude that the exclusion of these persons is part of the ongoing effort to suppress scrutiny and criticism of Israeli policies in the West Bank” (Oireachtas Debates, 2017).

Another TD, Maureen O’Sullivan, who participated in the Dáil debate, was part of the delegation to the West Bank and allowed access to Israel / Palestine. She said:

“Other members of the group, some of them young students, who were interrogated by the immigration authorities in Tel Aviv airport were traumatised by the way the immigration authorities spoke to them” (ibid).

Yet another member of the delegation was Mike Murphy, a former broadcaster with RTE, the Irish state television and radio service, who wrote an opinion piece on his visit in *The Irish Times* (2017) titled ‘Degradation of Palestinians shocking to witness’. Murphy clearly found

the visit deeply troubling and he recounts in the article some of what he witnessed. 'I saw Palestinian youths being subjected to strip searches, being shouted at, pushed and ritually humiliated' (ibid). And on another occasion, his Palestinian guide is forbidden to 'walk on the street down which we were headed to the bus'. Three Israeli soldiers, he says, 'frogmarched him away' (ibid). When teenagers started throwing stones at an army barracks, 'An armoured truck came speeding suddenly out of the gates and hurtled down the hill to the boys, firing round after round of tear gas' (ibid). These incidents speak to the power of the eyewitness account and a narrative written in experience. It is the power of these narratives, one suspects, that the Israeli deportations are trying to suppress as suggested by Minister McEntee.

In March 2017, the Israeli Knesset (parliament) 'approved a new law banning anyone found to support the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement from entering the country' (Dearden, 2017). Although, BDS was not raised with me in my interview, it is this new legislation that appears to have empowered immigration officials to exclude activists from Israel / Palestine. BDS is a non-violent, vibrant and truly global movement for freedom, justice and equality in Palestine inspired by the South African anti-apartheid movement. BDS calls for a boycott of Israeli goods, divestment from the Israeli economy and the application of sanctions against Israel to ensure its compliance with international law and human rights. It is supported by trade unions, churches, academics and grassroots movements across the world. Indeed, the Irish Congress of Trade Unions was the first European federation of trade unions to support the BDS Movement in 2007 (McMahon, 2011). The introduction by Israel of a ban on BDS activists and supporters suggests that Israel is concerned at the rising international tide of non-violent activism that is gathering around the Palestinian cause. Indeed, Israel's alarm at the global traction of BDS has seen it establish a Ministry for Strategic Affairs with 'comprehensive responsibility for leading the campaign against the phenomenon of de-legitimization and boycotts

against Israel' (Lis, 2017). All of which suggests that activism works as evidenced by the disinvestment by multinationals Orange and Veolia from Israel (Abunimah, 2016).

## **Conclusion**

In 2014, CIVICUS, a global alliance of civil society groups, wrote an open letter to 'fellow activists across the globe', in which it offered a damning verdict on the civil society movement and its failure to address the 'glaring inequality that sits at the heart of the new world order'. The letter said of civil society groups:

"We are the poor cousins of the global jet set. We exist to challenge the status quo, but we trade in incremental change. Our actions are clearly not sufficient to address the mounting anger and demand for systemic political and economic transformation that we see in cities and communities around the world every day.

A new and increasingly connected generation of women and men activists across the globe question how much of our energy is trapped in the internal bureaucracy and the comfort of our brands and organisations. They move quickly, often without the kinds of structures that slow us down. In doing so, they challenge how much time we – you and I – spend in elite conferences and tracking policy cycles that have little or no outcomes for the poor.

They criticise how much we look up to those in power rather than see the world through the eyes of our own people. Many of them, sometimes rightfully, feel we have become just another layer of the system and development industry that perpetuates injustice.

We cannot ignore these questions any longer" (CIVICUS, 2014).



We clearly need today the kind of agility and radicalism advocated in the CIVICUS letter. The rise of populist nationalism reflected in the UK's decision to leave the European Union and the election of Donald Trump as US president in 2016 should worry educators of all stripes (McCloskey, 2017). If activism was once an optional appendage to everyday life, then the global crises of climate change, migration, terrorism and neoliberalism demand that it becomes something more central to our lives. Development education can help to nurture more sustainable forms of public engagement with global issues, and activism can offer a pathway toward development education by drawing upon the narrative accounts and experiential learning available from activists.

The need for renewed activism in the case of Palestine has been underlined by President Trump's announced plan (*Aljazeera*, 2018) in December 2017 to move the United States Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, thereby reversing a longstanding US commitment to have the status of the contested Holy City agreed as part of a negotiated Middle-East settlement. By recognising Jerusalem as the capital of Israel (Landler, 2017), Trump has seemingly dashed Palestinian aspirations for recognition of East Jerusalem as the capital of a future Palestinian state. More evidence of Trump's political chauvinism in the Middle-East came in January 2018 with his administration's announcement that it was to withhold \$65m (£45.8) of a \$125m aid package to UNRWA (Stone, 2018). Should UNRWA's frontline services be removed, it will not only create unbearable levels of distress to Palestinians, but create social upheaval and fertile ground for the spread of extremism in a region already combatting the hateful ideology of Islamic State. As UNRWA's Chris Gunness asked: 'Is it in American and Israeli security interests to have the collapse of a functioning service provider in Jerusalem?' (Holmes, 2018). These twin announcements by President Trump in the space of two months have dealt a deadly blow to meaningful short-term prospects of a political settlement in the Middle-East and placed a greater premium on

the activism of global civil society to take up the cause of BDS toward a sustainable peace in the region.

This article has considered the strengths and weaknesses of the personal narrative account and then offered an overview of the author's engagement with the question of Palestine over a ten-year period. The engagement was contextualised and the activist outcomes indicated different forms of educational and awareness raising practice that can result from deep-lying engagement over an extended period. Trewby (2014) proposed five 'lines of engagement' which capture most forms of active citizenship: low cost v high cost; low risk v high risk; conventional v unconventional; non-political v political; and individual v collective. They effectively represent 'soft' v 'critical' forms of engagement with the latter representing more nuanced and sustained forms of activism. This more critical and political activism - a counterpoint to the shallow 'clicktivism' often advocated by NGOs - has to become more deeply embedded in the mainstream of statutory and non-governmental educational practice if citizens are to be equal to the global challenges that confront us all.

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# CRITICAL RESEARCHERS 'OF AND FOR OUR TIMES': EXPLORING STUDENT TEACHERS' USE OF CRITICAL MULTICULTURAL AND DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION FRAMEWORKS IN THEIR PROFESSIONAL RESEARCH PAPERS (PRPs)

**Stephen O'Brien and Gertrude Cotter**

**Abstract:** This article examines some of the complex, transformative features of student teachers' learning as they grapple with key critical multicultural and Development Education (DE) concepts. Through a series of scaffolded workshops - designed to support research with a strong social and cultural inclusion purpose - the article investigates how six post-primary student teachers initially experience new critical research practices and identities. The article begins with a brief description of Ireland's 'new' multicultural context and details the overarching theoretical perspective of this study. It outlines some key insights and challenges from extant research studies in Initial Teacher Education (ITE) in Ireland and briefly details the research methodology employed in this small-scale research project. Drawing on student teachers' workshop debates, informal and focus group conversations, Professional Research Papers (PRPs) and later online survey comments, we analyse key moments in their 'becoming' critical researchers *of and for our times*. We conclude that this journey significantly matters for both the student teacher and her/his young learners; but that it remains a journey - one still in the making and far from certain. The foundational work of 'overcoming' challenges for critical research in ITE is likewise shown to be far from certain. Yet we hope to demonstrate how critical research conducted on the critical work of student teachers can cultivate more understanding of, and improvements in, the nature of teacher education provision.

**Key Words:** Critical Multicultural Education (CME); Development Education (DE); Initial Teacher Education (ITE) in Ireland; Student

teachers' Professional Research Papers (PRPs); Critical research 'of and for our times'.

## **Introduction**

This article is based on a small-scale student teacher-focused research project which was carried out during the 2016-17 academic year at University College Cork (UCC), Ireland. The students were in the second and final year of their Professional Master of Education (PME) programme; a university postgraduate course which eventually leads to a post-primary teaching qualification. As part of their study and towards the latter end of their second year, PME students must undertake school-based research and write up a Professional Research Paper (PRP). This article focuses on such small research projects/interventions which they carry out in their school-placement classrooms. Along with other teacher education institutions across Ireland, the School of Education in UCC successfully applied for and received funding from the Ubuntu Network to undertake a range of projects that would support student teachers' commitment to education for social justice, equality and sustainability. Funded by Irish Aid, the primary purpose of the Ubuntu Network is to actively support the integration of Development Education (DE) into post-primary Initial Teacher Education (ITE) in Ireland. Specifically, and in close collaboration with the network, we in UCC have been able to advance the focus on Development Education and Critical Multicultural Education (CME) within core student-teacher modules, as well as offer more in-depth specialised support to smaller numbers of students who wish to avail of it for their research and teaching practices.

The research project outlined here highlights some complex, transformative features of student teachers' learning as they seek - through their own research work - to self-develop as more caring, conscientious and critical practitioners. We hope to show that critical research 'of and for our times' significantly matters for both the student teacher and her/his young learners. And we hope to demonstrate how research conducted on the critical (Development Education) work of

student teachers can cultivate more understanding of, and improvements in, the nature of teacher education provision.

This article is centred on year three of our 'Id Est' project (Integrating Development Education into Student Teacher Practice). During this third phase, we wanted to support students who wished to integrate DE and CME frameworks into their final research papers and, at the same time, carry out meaningful research on their experiences of this kind of work. We invited all 120 PME (year two) students to participate in five workshops 'outside' of their normal scheduled programme. Seven students attended the first session and six fully engaged thereafter. This article traces these six students' qualitative learning journeys in constructing their PRPs. The workshops - designed to support research with a strong social and cultural inclusion purpose - were audio recorded and our numerous conversations with student teachers then and throughout the research process form the primary data set within this article. The empirical findings presented, alongside related conceptual insights, highlight how central the nurturing of critical researchers ('of and for our times') is to both Initial Teacher Education (ITE) and wider society.

### **The 'new' multicultural context in Ireland**

Many studies and scholarly articles about multicultural education in Ireland begin with the customary explanation of the country's most recent transformation from a traditional homogenous society or a country of emigrants, to a country of immigrants (Devine, 2005; Parker-Jenkins and Masterson, 2013). From the mid-1990s there was a dramatic increase in asylum-seeker numbers in Ireland and non-European Union (EU) migrant worker flows reached record heights in 2002-2004. EU enlargement brought significant immigration from Eastern and Central Europe from 2004 to 2007 (Migration Policy Institute, 2009). Presently, net immigration is less but still significant. According to the Central Statistics Office (CSO, 2016), 'the number of immigrants to Ireland in the year to April 2016 is estimated to have increased by almost 15 per cent - from

69,300 to 79,300 persons'. One in 12 people in Ireland was born outside of the country (CSO, 2016). The highest numbers of non-Irish nationalities in Ireland include Polish, British, Lithuanian, Latvian and Nigerian citizens. And while the largest ethnic or cultural background group in 2016 was 'White Irish' (making up 82.2% of usual residents), this was followed by 'Any other White background' (9.5%), non-Chinese Asian (1.7%) and 'Other including mixed background' (1.5% of usual residents). 'Irish Travellers' made up 0.7% of the population, while 'Chinese' made up 0.4% of usual residents in 2016 (ibid.).

The increase in migrant numbers is of course significant and it is important that initial teacher education should reflect and respond to these demographic changes. However, we must be careful not to frame multicultural education only in terms of the needs of a 'new' demographic reality. Indeed, many schools in Ireland, particularly those outside of large urban areas, are still, largely, ethnically homogenous. CME is equally, if not more, important for those 'mainstream' school populations. Also, as McQuaid (2009: 70) has noted, discourse such as 'rapidly changing' and 'newcomers to our shores' can accentuate the notion of the 'other', the 'foreign' and these discursive 'links with power relations' strongly imply that 'they' are coming 'to us' - as 'the other'. Those who aspire to become critical educators, we argue here, need to be supported in cultivating their critical/cultural literacy around such multicultural issues. Student teachers also have a responsibility to cultivate their own critical/cultural literacy and support those in their charge to directly challenge populist sentiment, including 'us and them' polarities. This is particularly important in the context of overt (e.g. an increase in support for far-right movements and the US presidential campaign of populist nationalist Donald Trump in 2016) and more 'veiled' (e.g. the political campaigns behind 'Brexit' and the French presidential candidacy of Front National's Marine Le Pen) attacks on migrant populations. Finally, we argue that student teachers and their pupils have the right to be exposed to an education that provides them with the sensibilities, skills, values and

knowledge that they need to help co-create a more humane, inclusive and rights-driven society – both at local *and* global levels. Such exposure to Development Education at the initial teacher-training stage can facilitate more effective, theory-practice and research-based learning about the ‘new’ realities of a multicultural society. This modest research study hopes to show how such understandings can result in enhanced learning processes and outcomes for both student teachers and their pupils. While this plays out more often in the *small spaces of education* (most directly in the classroom and with student teachers in university tutorials/workshops), such Development Education work crucially helps to sustain the well-being of our wider schooling system and society.

### **Overarching Theoretical Framework: Critical Multicultural Education meets Development Education**

The overarching theoretical framework for this research study forms from the meeting place(s) of Critical Multicultural Education (CME) and Development Education (DE). Interwoven with critical pedagogy (e.g. Freire, 1996) and global education (e.g. Andreotti, 2011), both fields offer us the personal/professional stimulus for, and commitment to, this kind of work. Within the specific context of teacher education, we draw on the broader critical traditions of education (e.g. McLaren and Kincheloe, 2007; Ladson-Billings, 2009; bell hooks, 2014). This reminds and guides us to teach *with* all students; to become critical thinkers and social reformers who are committed to the redistribution of power and other resources amongst diverse groups in society (Grant and Sleeter, 2007).

### ***Critical Multicultural Education***

The term ‘intercultural education’ is favoured in Irish policy discourse, appearing significantly both in the NCCA’s (National Council for Curriculum and Assessment’s) guidelines on *Intercultural Education in the Post-Primary School* (2006) and the Department of Education and Skills and the Office of the Minister for Integration’s *Intercultural Education Strategy* (2010). There are welcome references here to the need to value

diversity and develop equality policies, anti-racism and human rights education; especially the need to respect and accommodate cultural differences whilst seeking greater levels of social inclusion and integration. But a more 'critical multicultural education' reading raises some important, and unresolved, points of analysis. Lentin and McVeigh (2002) (quoted in Ging and Malcolm, 2004: 126) for example, contend that both 'intercultural' and/or 'multicultural' approaches in Ireland (the terms appear to be used interchangeably) can best be understood as a set of political policy responses to cultural or ethnic diversity that are primarily seen as 'problems'/'challenges'. Policy-makers tend, they add, to substantially ignore the question of power relations. Thus, policies stem from a 'politics of recognition' of cultural difference, rather than a 'politics of interrogation' (ibid) or significantly, we would add, a 'politics of redistribution'. Dymrna Devine (2005) raises key critical points for the schooling system and teachers in particular. She argues that the Irish state plays a key role, through its immigration and educational policies, in 'framing teacher perception of and practice with migrant children in schools' (Devine, 2005: 56). These policies can reinforce stereotypes which in turn tend to reduce and simplify the 'other' and obviate against interrogating schools as complex and dynamic arenas where relationships and identities are continually formed (ibid: 52).

In essence, a *critical multicultural approach to education* values education as a human right; it tasks us with knowing ourselves and others (Kitching et al., 2015) in order to nurture our co-relations as global citizens (Bennett, 1990; Gay, 1994). Thus, Rios and Markus (2011: 1) describe 'human rights' as 'the right to learn about oneself, to learn about others, and to learn citizenship skills associated with a deep democracy in a global age'. There is no common definition that can be applied to the term CME and, as Brandt and McBrien (1997: 13) point out, seminal writers who have influenced this field include: Paulo Freire (1996) who refers to 'critical pedagogy'; Henry Giroux (1994) who discusses 'insurgent multiculturalism'; Peter McLaren (1994) who talks about



‘critical and resistance multiculturalism’ or ‘revolutionary multiculturalism’; Donaldso Macedo (1994) who speaks of ‘liberatory pedagogy’; and bell hooks (1994) who discusses the idea of ‘engaged’ or ‘transgressive pedagogy’. They all, however, stem from and represent a common set of issues and conditions and *together* they provide a body of knowledge that characterises critical education (Brandt and McBrien, 1997: 14). These approaches have much in common with Development Education.

### ***Development Education***

Like CME, DE acknowledges problems such as social injustice, racism, power imbalances and exclusionary structural and ideological patterns within society. It situates the deeply embedded roots of racism, discrimination, violence and disempowerment within historical, politico-economy and social constructs, thus challenging - as Marx had fore fronted - the assumption that such realities are inevitable, avoidable or easily dissolvable (Arendt, 1963/2006).

Like CME, DE adopts a critical pedagogical approach that seeks to empower learners to challenge their own assumptions and come to understand ‘glocal’ issues from diverse perspectives. Kathryn Sorrells’ (2012) work, for example, echoes Paulo Freire’s emphasis on the learners’ capacity to think critically about their personal lives and circumstances. This enables them to make connections between issues which affect their own lives and the wider social context in which they live. This DE approach is focused on learning that is open and participatory, but it is also deeply political as it incorporates a strong recognition of power inequities and engages with ‘live’ civic concerns. It also requires learners and teachers to actively collaborate in the learning process; to engage in learning ‘of and for our times’. Ajay Kumar (2008), Associate Professor of Development Education at Jawaharlal Nehru University in India, asserts that such approaches to DE must be concerned with:

“...how learning, knowledge and education can be used to assist individuals and groups to overcome educational disadvantage, combat social exclusion and discrimination, and challenge economic and political inequalities – with a view to securing their own emancipation and promoting progressive social change” (Kumar, 2008: 41).

Kumar (2008) advocates DE as a form of emancipatory and dialogical learning based on ‘critical humanist pedagogy’. Again building on Freire, learners collaboratively pose problems, enquire and seek solutions that matter to them now and into the future. And allied to this critical pedagogy are deeply rooted (‘past’) cultural traditions, specifically Gandhian educational ideals that aim to liberate us from servitude and instil mutual respect and trust (ibid).

DE practices have consistently emphasised the importance of promoting the voices of the oppressed and enabling those most directly affected by international development policies to be heard and understood (Andreotti, 2006). Central to this post-colonial approach is a recognition of the role that power and ideology plays in determining what and how education is delivered; how knowledge is constructed and interpreted; the importance of understanding dominant and subordinate cultures and of critically examining the root causes of global social issues (Giroux, 1994; McLaren, 1994; Andreotti, 2006). Post-colonial theory, in particular, questions Euro-centrism, ‘charity’ and ‘benevolence’ and it questions group identity, representation and belonging (for example, the recent march of ‘nationalism’). It searches for ‘a new globalism’ that has an ethical relationship to ‘difference’, and that does not reproduce the universalistic and oppressive claims of cultural superiority (Andreotti, 2006). Skinner et al. encapsulate DE as follows:

“Development Education can be considered a ‘pedagogy of global justice’, as its questioning and critically reflective nature inevitably raises a desire amongst learners to bring about

positive social change. Development Education's critical pedagogical perspective empowers learners to further economic, political and social change, and therefore could make a valuable contribution to the global drive to secure quality education for all" (2013: 17).

### **CME and DE in Initial Teacher Education: Some insights and challenges**

The overarching theoretical framework for this research study is therefore formed from the meeting place(s) of both Critical Multicultural Education (CME) and Development Education (DE). Both theoretical perspectives can inform new schooling practices and provide teachers and students with the necessary cultural skills, knowledge and attitudes to co-develop as caring, conscientious and critical learners in society. While *all* teachers need support in engaging with a diverse pupil cohort, it is particularly important to nurture such cultural skills, knowledge and attitudes in ITE.

Aisling Leavy's (2005) research with student-teachers - 286 primary school teachers' experiences of working with people from diverse backgrounds - is a serious case in point. Leavy (2005: 172) found that there is a 'concerning lack of familiarity with other cultures' and that this poses 'a significant challenge to educators whose task is the preparation of teachers to teach a diverse student population'. She calls for the creation of new pathways into the teaching profession for people from diverse backgrounds. Indeed, in April 2017, the DES did initiate a plan for widening access to teacher education centring its focus on groups from socio-economically disadvantaged backgrounds, students with a disability, and members of the Traveller community. Crucially, the plan does not specifically mention the inclusion of non-Irish national student teacher populations. Leavy (2005) also called for increased opportunities for trainee teachers to learn more about and practise multicultural forms of education. While all ITE programmes include a multicultural modular

element to the curriculum, CME/DE has yet to be fully integrated into the mission and cultural practices of various Schools of Education (Ubuntu's work seeks to redress this situation). Leavy (2005: 174) concludes by advocating a real commitment to diversity; one that permeates the entire education system. Thus, those in ITE (teachers and students) are exhorted to engage with their own attitudes to diversity and come up with innovative ways to overcome the under-representation of diversity at both faculty and school levels.

There are similar findings in Hagan and McGlynn's (2004) examination of the effectiveness of ITE (in one university in Northern Ireland) in preparing students for teaching in an increasingly diverse society. Again it was shown that student teachers come from similar sociocultural and class backgrounds; that they have few prior experiences of diverse cultural and social contexts. Although student teachers viewed the accommodation of diversity as an important pedagogical issue, only a limited number felt comfortable with (and prepared for) dealing with diversity in the classroom (Hagan and McGlynn, 2004: 243). This finding chimes with the LETS (Learning to Teach in Secondary School) Study in University College Cork (Conway et al, 2011). Inclusion – be it cultural and/or social – was often seen by beginning teachers as separate from the immediate priorities and exigencies of the job. Student teachers expressed a genuine care ethic for 'others', but their inclusive practices were often framed in terms of 'managing' diversity and 'coping' with its challenges. Generally, inclusive practices were 'methodologically weak' and most student teachers appeared to hold the view that such work was best met by more advanced/experienced teachers. A number of student teachers indicated that they did *hope* to become 'that' advanced/experienced practitioner, thus highlighting the importance in ITE of fostering evolving notions of teacher identity. LETS (2011) clearly demonstrates that 'cultural literacy' is a key area of personal/professional competence, but that specific skills/knowledge/attitudes need to be constantly nurtured in pursuit of this proficiency.

Hagan and McGlynn's (2004: 249) study concludes that there is an onus upon ITE to promote 'a greater understanding of the interconnectedness between the personal and professional role of the teacher, educational policy and societal transformation'. Schools, Dympna Devine adds, are

"embedded in this social context and are often positioned at the coalface of dealing with the shifting realities of life. Teachers as a group are not immune to this social change, and bring to their work a series of discourses on ethnicity, immigration and identity that both reflect and are influenced by the norms and values prevalent in society at large" (Devine, 2005: 52).

The educational contexts, both local and national, within which these teachers work, are, Devine claims, 'also important as they marry national policy with local logics in the implementation of the curriculum in school' (ibid). However, policy implementation ultimately depends on teachers having the necessary attitudes, knowledge and skills to do justice to the policies, and to children's diverse potential and needs. This requires an approach to professional development that promotes awareness of equality of opportunity *and* conditions and an awareness of the latest policy developments and legal obligations (Lynch and Lodge, 2002; 2004).

Finally, we wish to highlight a recent study conducted by Fiona Baily, Joanne O'Flaherty and Deirdre Hogan (2017) into student teacher engagement with DE interventions across PME programmes in eight different Irish Higher Education Institutions. From questionnaire surveys administered to 536 student teachers pre- and post-DE interventions, and from six focus group discussions with 26 student teacher representatives, the following research findings (inter alia) emerge. Firstly, DE is a relatively new concept for student teachers and motivation and interest on the part of students is limited by virtue of the (perceived) higher value given to 'results' and a restrictive 'curriculum'. Given this context, student teachers grapple with how they can provide adequate depth when

engaging a development topic; they are also divided when it comes to imagining DE as either part of a subject (an integrated DE curriculum?) or as a subject discipline in its own right (a separate DE curriculum?). This study also shows that student teachers felt there was a need for more permanent DE internal support staff; that personnel committed to DE work could enhance collaborative teaching and research projects and help sustain DE integration. Finally, student teachers are uncertain about DE methodologies; they are uncertain too with engaging with complex and sensitive development issues in the classroom and need *school practice*, as well as academic, supports.

These studies demonstrate some of the salient challenges facing educators in their attempts to integrate CME/DE in ITE. There is much to learn from student teachers' lived experiences of doing such cultural work with their (school) students. And for those in ITE – most importantly teacher-researchers but also programme and module coordinators (who are perhaps more distant from DE enquiry) - there is a responsibility to bring this knowledge to bear on *their* cultural work with *their* (university) students.

## **Methodology**

This small-scale but deeply qualitative research project was carried out in the second semester - January to April 2017 - of the second and final year of the Professional Master of Education (PME) programme at the School of Education, UCC. Our primary aim was to support critical research and explore ways in which this matters for both the student teacher and her/his second-level pupils. We also set out to explore how research conducted on the critical (Development Education) work of student teachers can cultivate more understanding of, and improvements in, the nature of teacher education provision, particularly from DE and CME perspectives. All 120 second year PME students were invited to attend a series of six workshops on a voluntary basis. The workshops offered additional support to students wishing to bring CME and DE frameworks to bear on their final year Professional Research Papers (PRPs). Here

students were required to carry out a small scale independent piece of research at their school placement site and report upon this in a 6,000-word paper.

All students had already attended eight hours of Critical Pedagogy and Critical Multicultural Education support in two of their core modules. They also attended a full module which was dedicated (via lectures and tutorials) to support them in carrying out their PRP assignment. Six students volunteered to participate in our action research study. The supplementary workshops were facilitated by the authors of this paper; a full-time lecturer who has taught, researched and written extensively on Critical Pedagogy and CME and a third year PhD student with significant experience in and knowledge of the fields of Development Education and Multicultural Education. The aim of our research intervention was to support and understand PME students' experiences of integrating these frameworks into their research and classroom practices. The students were fully informed of the details of the research focus and signed consent forms agreeing to their full participation were secured. We specifically agreed to meet regularly throughout the academic year, share resources, critical research methods and findings, as well as personal/professional reflections and writing. We were keen at all times to abide by and integrate strong ethical principles throughout the research study and we incorporated a range of guidelines from a number of respected sources, notably from established educational research associations such as SERA (2005), BERA (2011) and AERA (2011). We also followed important institutional ethical guidelines (UCC, 2016). We were most cognisant of our own, as well as the student teachers' role as 'inside researchers' and the particular ethical challenges that this presented (see Malone, 2003; Mercer, 2007).

The workshop sessions were 'organic' in nature and followed student-led interests, questions and challenges rather than any set of prescribed enquiry. Personalised readings in advance of our meetings were provided to the student teachers. This added focus to our

conversations and enabled us to 'tease out' CME and DE challenges – particularly in relation to how conceptual frameworks could be further understood and put into action in the classroom. Every workshop set out to identify each individual's research interests and questions and relate these to the challenges that they were encountering in their 'reading' of new concepts and experiences in classroom practice. We also mediated – not least to support the students' desire to be 'assessment ready' - the structure of the PRP paper as prescribed by the School of Education, which included the following sections: Introduction and Context; Literature Review; Research Methodology; Findings and Analysis; and Conclusion. Each workshop session was recorded; we noted too our ongoing informal conversations (as agreed with the participants); the students contributed to an additional focus group (post initial data analysis); and they filled out an online survey at the end of the research process. Data was constantly engaged and we employed a hermeneutic, rather than a rigid thematic, approach to analysis (Habermas, 1990). This reflexive, interpretive position is never straightforward (Mauthner and Doucet, 2003) and it demanded many conversations and debates with one another and by our 'selves'. As a further check on our own research 'reading' we co-engaged in analysing students' multiple drafts and final papers. Finally, two of the students took up the invitation from the PRP module coordinator to publicly present their work as part of a School of Education event. Feedback on their contributions – from some colleagues and other student teachers – was extremely positive and helped us with our analysis.

Of the six students who attended the workshops, five were female. The group's primary teaching subjects included English, German, Religion and Geography - it was noticeable that no business or STEM subjects were represented. All except the male participant taught in single-sex (girls') schools – he taught in a mixed gender setting. All were interested, despite the intense pressures of the PME programme, to participate in our voluntary research project pointing to the fact, as one



put it, that ‘we are now teaching in multicultural classrooms in Ireland’. Indeed, two of the participants (both Irish citizens) were born and raised outside of Ireland and they expressed a strong commitment to investigate how ‘other migrant children’ were experiencing Irish schooling.

### **Findings and Analysis – on ‘becoming’ critical researchers of and for our times**

At the earliest workshop sessions, participants generally emphasised the notion of inclusion of the ‘minority student’ ‘into’ the majority classroom, reflecting McQuaid’s (2009: 70) view that discourse such as ‘newcomers to our shores’ can be often (unwittingly) used to accentuate the notion of the ‘other’ and lobby for her/his ‘assimilation’. One student spoke at the outset of wanting to encourage five of her class of 22 students, who were born and educated outside of Ireland, ‘to celebrate their identity and to incorporate skills acquired from their previous education outside of Ireland’. While it is most important to familiarise oneself with and celebrate ‘other’ identities, the group (at least initially) did not adequately consider celebrating the identity of *all* the students in the class. Multiculturalism, as they would later acknowledge, is not just about ‘minority’ cultures but about ‘mainstream’/‘dominant’ ones also. Certainly, as they would say in later focus group discussions, the group might have initially seen multiculturalism as a ‘problem’ to overcome (as the aforementioned LETS study indicates). Students would constantly refer to having to find ‘solutions’ to, as one put it, ‘deal with this challenge’.

A number of student teachers later acknowledged that they might also have at times ‘exoticised’ others; wanting to ‘make the strange familiar in a strange way’, as one insightfully commented. It would take time too to understand that the kinds of inclusive cultural work they intended to put into practice was not that ‘special’; rather, as Gloria Ladson-Billings’ (1995) paper really illuminated for them, culturally inclusive practice is ‘just good teaching’. Still, they felt that in order to do ‘that’ kind of good teaching, they would need to develop confidence in

'handling' the big CME and DE concepts; they would need to become more comfortable and competent in their own 'cultural literacy'. In their final PRP papers, most students referred to Larson and Marsh's (2005) work which argues that cultural literacy is a tool for 'interpreting what people from different communities do, not simply what they do not do when compared to a dominant group' (Larson and Marsh, 2005: 12).

The importance of teachers' affective work, of 'knowing how to feel about the other' (Kitching et al., 2015), was also highlighted. Finally, student teachers noted in their PRPs the skill of facilitating democratic dialogue with and between students (Apple and Beane, 2007); though sometimes, as one put it, dialogue can be 'difficult, even confrontational'. To illustrate this latter point, another student had discussed during one workshop how work on 'migrant populations' in her classroom led to some 'unsavoury comments and phrases' being used by the pupils. The rest of the group supported this student by affirming the good work she had done in her classroom ('it's important to discuss these real issues') and they later offered each other guidelines on how to create open, honest and respectful dialogue. Over the course of the study, students learned from each other's experiences and co-generated a more critical reflexive position in relation to 'live' multicultural issues. Indeed, everyone's original research focus changed in conjunction with such joint 'problem-posing' moments.

Several students said they were motivated to join the workshop series in order to, as one student put it, 'meet, exchange ideas and collaborate with like-minded peers'. Student teachers certainly feel the intensity of time and workload pressures on the PME programme and can become isolated from one another as they juggle myriad responsibilities between school and university. A core methodological approach within CME and DE is to collaborate with others and share interests, concerns and ideas. The workshops themselves 'felt different' to the student teachers, with one even describing them as 'support group sessions'; another elaborated later in the focus group discussions that they offered

an opportunity for ‘similar worldviews to come together’. As researchers, we were keen to *practise* CME/DE in a manner befitting its theoretical and methodological foundations. We hoped that student teachers might even mirror some of the dialogical methods used in the workshops (albeit they would have to engage a much bigger student cohort than ours). It was clear from the outset that we would have to focus conversations on each individual’s research interests and questions and relate these to the challenges that they were encountering in their ‘reading’ of new concepts and experiences in classroom practice. The recommended (personalised) CME and DE readings helped focus our conversations – though, perhaps again due to the intensity of the PME course, these were not always fully engaged by the students. Frequently – and students called for this – we were asked to clarify key CME/DE concepts before dialogue could ‘take off’ again. This revealed to us, as Baily, O’Flaherty and Hogan (2017) had found, that students were constantly grappling with key ideas and that they struggled with how they could *deeply* implement these in a classroom context.

We were always mindful of the context within which this research study was set. There are many ‘professional’ demands on student teachers - having to meet statutory/regulatory codes of conduct, be conversant with new curricular and assessment developments, develop whole-school policy perspectives, engage with prescribed assignments and Continuing Professional Development (CPD) courses, etc. – and as important as CME/DE work is (and student teachers did recognise its significance), it can be somewhat overshadowed by these tasks. One student teacher, for example, acknowledged that her professional identity was ‘being pulled in all directions’; that she understood ‘the priorities of a system, the importance of exams, for example’ but that she also saw the need to ‘value the person, particularly the person on the margins’. She informed us that DE/CME was ‘of particular importance’ to her and that she was ‘committed to seeing teaching in another way’. This demonstrates that some student teachers

are thinking deeply about the priorities and moral responsibilities of teaching and critiquing restrictive notions of ‘professionalism’. Certainly, ‘finding one’s place’ in the profession is never smooth as uncertainties, anxieties, dilemmas and frustrations are frequently met along the way.

The exigencies of the PME course too strongly dictate ‘thinking and feeling’ and the group would sometimes drift into focusing on the (formal) assignment to hand. Many pointed to the fact that they would have wished, as one put it, ‘to do more justice to the research outside of the assignment and deadlines’. Certainly, inclusive work takes time and effort: it requires, on the part of teachers and students, an honest appraisal of evolving dispositions and values; through new methodologies, it encourages the sharing of ideas, creativity and inquiry; and it has the power to develop new critical analytical and practice-based skills. CME/DE work encourages teachers to get to know their students, value their experiences and engage with their broader socio-economic and cultural lives. And ultimately CME/DE encourages taking action for change. In this regard, we noted that there were some conceptual and practical changes that were more difficult to implement than others. It was particularly challenging, for example, to move from a position of ‘empathy for others’ to a more elaborate structural explanation for inclusion/exclusion.

There was some analysis of the education system, teacher bias, socio-economic, cultural and political contexts, but analysis of wider social justice action was not as strongly evident in some final papers. Thus, whilst students came to appreciate the nuances of an individual’s culture and the positive or negative influences that schooling can bring to bear, they found it challenging to imagine how social justice and equality measures could be *effected* in the system. As system workers, they likewise struggled with their own change roles. It was particularly challenging for them to move away from seeking out and employing a certain set of methods/strategies, as though they existed in a pre-packed pedagogical ‘toolbox’. While practical exemplars on cultural inclusion

were provided – we agree with Baily, O’Flaherty and Hogan (2017) that there is need for more *school practice* supports – the student teachers were somewhat anxious and uncertain in designing their own inclusive lesson plans. Crucially, they were creatively challenged - how could *they* possibly imagine themselves as ‘promoting progressive social change’ (Kumar, 2008: 41)?; how could *they* possibly see themselves as enacting ‘a pedagogy of global justice’ (Skinner et al., 2013: 17)?

Consequently, we sought to encourage the student teachers to nurture their own ‘sense and sensibility’ (O’Brien, 2016) around multicultural and development issues – to think through their research plans with one another; to help effect small changes (in how they and their pupils might think, feel and act differently). There was evidence in later workshops, focus group discussions and in the final papers that these supportive seeds had been sown and were bearing some fruit. In the PRPs, for example, there was evidence of students encouraging their pupils to talk about their lives (through storytelling, painting or photography). Efforts were made to understand pupils’ social and cultural worlds and write about their perceptions, feelings, creative ideas and classroom relations. One student, in particular, moved from a very strong focus on curricular competencies (what minority pupils have to tell us in relation to ‘their’ culture) to ‘combining each other’s knowledge within newly formed social practices’. Another wrote too about ‘democratising the learning space’, giving more time for ‘peer learning’, ‘getting to know each other and each other’s ideas’. Attempts to develop a more collaborative learning space helped with the ‘anxiety’ that student teachers genuinely felt about discussing some of the more ‘contentious issues’, ‘like racism’ in the classroom.

The final online survey and papers indicate that student teachers had become more confident in facilitating dialogue which they would have previously perceived as ‘contentious’. Specifically, they pointed to their ‘relief’ (as one put it) that they had discussed ‘live’ multicultural topics, such as ‘migration’, ‘racism’, ‘nationalism’ and ‘Islamophobia’. None of

these topics were incompatible with curricular competencies - indeed one student specifically identified 'big improvements in critical and cultural literacy' in his classroom. Moreover, the students identified enhanced social relations in the classroom. One student teacher mentioned that she 'enjoyed classes more', intimating a renewed sense of (social) purpose to her work. All could see the learning benefits for *both* minority and majority culture pupils – one specifically mentioned 'the importance of critique' and 'questioning common-sense', whilst all recognised the importance of 'finding common ground with others'. Without exception, they found their pupils prepared and happy to discuss multicultural/development issues, with one student teacher poignantly noting 'isn't this the kind of communication that's needed in today's global world [sic.]?' Another participant came to realise that communication channels go further than language:

"It is important to break down the communicative barriers which are actually 'beyond' English proficiency [...] In order for all students to feel included within the classroom they must be able to relate to each other".

Participants clearly indicated that they were happy they had attended the workshops. They certainly saw this impacting their teaching. As one participant put it in the online survey:

"My teaching has benefitted significantly as I have been able to select more suitable teaching approaches that accommodate all my students more effectively. I have developed an enhanced rapport with my students who along with enjoying the research have also positively responded to being given the chance to air their individual opinions. The fact that they feel their own interests and preferences in relation to their learning is being considered has led to a deep mutual respect being developed".

Despite their busy schedules and despite the pressures of the assignment, they had chosen to conduct research into an area of 'live'

interest and concern to them and their pupils. Thus, the group members produced work that personally/professionally meant something and that, consequently, had a better chance of being sustained in practice. Their work included projects that focused on: pupils' co-creation of 'culturally empathetic learning experiences' for all in the classroom; teachers' development of pedagogical approaches for cultural and social inclusion; improving pupils' oral literacy skills (a new Junior Cycle requirement) by enabling them to present their own cultural values and traditions; fostering a multi-lingual approach to English instruction; and drawing out children's diverse learning practices and their views on a fairer, more child-centred, curriculum. Echoing Baily, O'Flaherty and Hogan's (2017) study, some expressed the view that the School of Education needed more internal CME/DE supports, highlighting that someone/persons could help model teaching methodologies and sustain this kind of work. In terms of their own modelling practices, they indicated that inclusive education will be a priority for them in their future lives but that, as one participant put it, they 'will have to work more on cultural integration and Development Education'. It is clear that, in order to 'become' critical researchers *of and for our time*, student teachers will need more (formative) learning time and space.

### **Conclusion: On 'overcoming' challenges for critical research**

As this issue of *Policy & Practice* attests, we are currently experiencing a most volatile and politically unstable climate. To re-illustrate, the Trump administration's withdrawal from the Paris Climate Change Accord; its plans to raise barriers and 'crack down' on migrant and 'undocumented' populations; its open attack on Muslim populations; its stoking of popular nationalist sentiment; and its reticence to promptly and unreservedly condemn racist violence is of serious concern to all of us who care about global citizenship. Of course those most impacted by a globally unstable climate are the poor and dispossessed – those without a sheltered home, those fleeing from famine, war, religious and ethnic persecution. According to Save the Children, at least 600 children died in 2016

attempting to cross the Mediterranean in search of a safer and better life. Migration is not a choice for a lot of people who continue in large numbers to suffer real-life hardships. The majority of refugees who manage to enter European space reside in unsanitary and unsafe 'settlement' camps, the bulk of which are on the frontiers of Greece and Italy. 'Others' suffer human rights violations as they pass from region to region and country to country, awaiting further their fate (Davidson and Doherty, 2016).

The refugee crisis, it seems, is a crisis not just of political manipulation, but of political will. And while this situation persists, there is real evidence of mounting acts of intolerance towards migrants and 'others'. We in society have the capacity to ignore/co-generate such a climate of hate, mistrust and fear. But equally we can help create a society that tolerates, accepts and embraces 'others'. Where can we look to for inspiration? Literature and art can help us to understand, critique and cope with the change forces that bear down upon us. Literature and art can help us break with – if not always materially, then symbolically – the neoliberal consensus that binds our personal narratives to notions of individual/national 'success' and 'self-interest'. And literature and art, as Ivor Goodson (2005) reminds, often carry more cultural weight than other ideological messages in renewing personal narratives and in re-defining one's 'life politics'. In an age of mounting intolerance, we need critical literature and art – fictional and non-fictional accounts of 'other' people's lives; others' poetry, painting, music and literature; and photographic and cinematic representations of others' life journeys and experiences of social injustice.

Closer links – what Joe Kincheloe (2008) refers to as 'bricolage' – between art (offering more 'sensibility') and science (offering more 'sense') is needed in telling more meaningful, multi-sensorial stories about 'others' and ourselves. Educators have a particularly important function in bringing together art and science in facilitating this new 'sense and sensibility' (O'Brien, 2016) in classrooms and lecture halls. From the findings of this research study, as well as the findings of inspirational



social art projects (e.g. King and Murphy, 2017), we believe that there is an important opportunity for educators to forge closer art-science connections in pursuit of a more just and equal society. Currently in the fourth phase of our 'Id Est' project, we are supporting student teachers and their pupils in their collective efforts to create a new public art exhibition on Development Education. By means of this creative project, we hope to widely communicate the power of critical pedagogy and to positively (perhaps sustainably) shape the 'life politics' of beginning teachers and their pupils.

The theoretical meeting points of Critical Multicultural Education and Development Education offer educators a 're-reading' of this new world order. Teachers who are informed by CME/DE ideals purposefully connect schooling with real world events. They concern themselves with educating for greater social justice and equality (McCloskey, 2017). And they model the ideals of participatory democracy by practising active citizenship with their pupils and promoting democratic action (Apple and Beane, 2007). But teachers – as operative state workers (Dale, 1989) - face serious inclusive challenges from *within* the education system. Critical pedagogues, in particular, are likely to experience marginalisation, especially while CME/DE remains on the margins of the broader school (and higher education) curriculum and while 'softer' approaches to CME/DE delivery prevail (Bryan and Bracken, 2011).

DE is also concentrated in specific subject areas, such as Geography and CSPE (Civic, Social and Political Education) in post-primary education, and is therefore not evenly shared (e.g. via an integrated curriculum) between teachers. And DE generally appears to have lower visibility and status in school planning, as it is often left to the goodwill of individual teachers to champion its cause (Doggett et al., 2016). It is important to recognise, therefore, that all teachers need to be supported in 'reading' (and 're-reading') the world. Equally, it is important to acknowledge that critical pedagogues need to be supported in the system to do this important work. As our study hopes to show,

student teachers need particular critical/cultural literacy supports in this regard.

What can we hope to achieve in ITE? We can, as we have done in our own institution, try to integrate CME/DE principles and practices into some programme modules. We have also recently fore-fronted ‘the foundations’ in the second year of teacher education (see Kerr et al., 2011) to try to help student teachers to ask some ‘big’ questions - how do I identify as a teacher?; how do I understand the school’s place in society?; how do I include diverse learner groups?; and how can I develop my own and others’ critical/cultural literacy? This foundational work is important because, as the aforementioned studies (e.g. Baily, O’Flaherty and Hogan, 2017) and this research study demonstrate, student teachers need to work on their own identity (who they are and who ‘others’ are). They need to understand that they are systemic workers who both include and exclude certain perspectives and experiences. And they need to begin to re-present education as ‘meaning-full’ and act upon its social change purpose.

But all this foundational work is far from certain, even within the university space. Teacher educators face a number of structural and cultural challenges in their attempts to integrate CME/DE in ITE. Indeed, the education project itself faces a most profound challenge. Thus, Niamh Gaynor (2016: 1) asks if ‘talk of civic values, justice, transformation and flourishing’ has not been replaced ‘with talk of efficiency, performance, competition, and employment’; if doing this kind of work within this kind of system ‘is akin to attempting to drive a round peg into a square hole’. As an integral part of the education system, ITE is faced with specific inclusive challenges. What value do teacher educators - including new entrants whose professional learning needs are not well met (see Czerniawski et al, 2018) - really place on CME/DE and how do they practise critical forms of education across humanities *and* STEM divides? How does the institution support dedicated research in CME/DE and go beyond ‘research-informed’ practices that tend to focus on ‘what works’

(Gerwitz, 2013)? And how do those *within* ITE re-orientate themselves away from the dominant technical foci and concerns of the ‘new professionalism’ (Gleeson, Sugrue and O’Flaherty, 2017)? Teacher educators too need more (formative) learning time and space. And they need to be supported and encouraged in their efforts to become and develop critical researchers ‘of and for our times’.

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# Perspectives

## INFORMAL SPACES IN GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

**Madeleine Le Bourdon**

**Abstract:** Literature on global citizenship education (GCE) has helped to build a framework of best practice for its implementation and delivery. Creating safe spaces and open environments for teaching, learning and discussion have been widely supported by scholars. However, while research shows that the constraints of formal education make it increasingly difficult to deliver GCE, there remains little in-depth research into the spaces beyond the walls of formal education as a place for GCE. Using data from fieldwork conducted within an international non-governmental organisation (INGO) aimed at building ‘active global citizens’, as well as reflections from working in the field, this article will argue that both as scholars and practitioners we need to understand in more depth the impact these informal spaces and encounters have on fostering global citizenship.

**Key Words:** Global Citizenship Education; Informal spaces / interactions; Non-formal education; Experiential learning; Habitual interaction; Play.

### Introduction

Scholarly research on global citizenship education (GCE) has often concentrated on formal education, its teaching within a school environment and the challenges with doing so (see Andreotti, 2006; Nussbaum, 2010; Mannion, Biesta, Priestly and Ross, 2011). The literature has helped to build a framework of best practice for the implementation and practice of GCE providing guidelines for programming and policy. The environment or setting in which teaching and learning takes place has been especially highlighted as central to enabling the next generation to not only understand our increasingly globalised world but to explore and

actively engage in making it a more peaceful one. Yet, little research looks beyond the classroom environment at informal spaces as a place where global citizenship is developed and expressed. This is surprising given the recognition of the importance of play and social interaction for a holistic learning experience (Göncü and Gaskins, 2007), the role of experiences and emotions within development research (see Baillie Smith and Humble, 2007; Griffiths and Brown, 2016), as well as fostering independent, real-world, experiential learning (Andreotti, 2006; Percy Smith, 2012; Van Peski, 2012).

This article will argue that although previous literature helps to build a rich picture of how GCE should be taught, the impact of informal spaces and encounters, between structured educational activities, on developing active global citizens needs to be explored in more depth. To do this it will firstly outline the key themes found in current literature that have helped to develop a rich picture of GCE theoretically and empirically, and have helped to build a framework of best practice. This in turn will also reveal some of the gaps which are yet to be explored concerning GCE. Drawing on doctoral research and experience as a practitioner, it will be argued that informal spaces beyond purposefully constructed environments for learning, and the interactions which take place here, need to be more widely acknowledged and better understood as sites for GCE.

## **Global Citizenship Education Literature**

Global citizenship is a contested idea, meaning many different things to many different groups (Griffiths and Brown, 2016). For contemporary scholars it has often been conceptualised as a term which addresses the inadequacies in conventional ideas of citizenship through the acknowledgement of the cosmopolitan nature of modern society, providing identities, knowledge, skills and critical thinking to help individuals manage its complexities (Dower, 2003; Andreotti, 2006; Golmohamad, 2007; Nussbaum, 2010). It features in state policies on development and education (Marshall and Arnot, 2008) forming part of

school curricula (Oxley and Morris, 2013), volunteering programmes (for example, CISV International) and the policies of international civil society groups (for example, Oxfam International).

Research and discussion within global citizenship literature is extensive and covers a wide range of topics. This section will focus on literature on education for global citizenship and the three key themes identified within it: the importance of the environment and spaces in which GCE is taught; the impact of teachers' own knowledge on how topics are delivered and assimilated; and the need and ability of current GCE to nurture critical, reflective global citizens.

#### 'Safe spaces' and GCE

Ensuring a safe space is created for teaching and learning has been highlighted by many scholars as essential in GCE. Percy Smith (2012) argues that context and environment influence how children process and participate in social learning. Although it is argued that multiple elements from the micro to the macro-level impact upon an individual's participation in different contexts, Percy Smith claims creating settings which are facilitated so that children are allowed to express themselves freely, evolve at their own pace and where interaction with adults is optional is key for cultivating a sense of agency and empowerment.

This reflects an experiential approach to learning where individuals are given the space and freedom to explore, experiment and reflect. This is especially important due to the complex, ambiguous and often controversial nature of the topics covered in GCE be it, for example, climate change, gender inequality or race relations. Cultivating the right environment provides room for what Percy Smith argues is essential space to let the next generation of global citizens build 'trust, respect and reciprocity', paving the way for global citizenship and, ultimately, shape the world (2012: 24). At the same time, it is recognised that these voices that are welcomed and heard, must be diverse in nature, and that this is only possible if participants feel safe enough to voice their views and ideas

without judgement or negative consequence (see Andreotti, 2006). This is important not only to ensure diversity and authenticity in viewpoints but also in enabling controversial issues to be explored thoroughly from all angles.

It is also important to acknowledge where these 'spaces' for GCE teaching and research are found, with the majority located in a formal education setting. These spaces have been frequently critiqued by scholars as restrictive in nature. In the UK time, space and funding for GCE within formal education has been increasingly limited by the government in favour of fostering competitive, target-driven individualism (Baillie Smith, 2014). Teachers are time limited in the classroom and there remains little space in the curriculum for GCE with topics such as numeracy and literacy taking priority. While more broadly, multiple studies from the global North and global South have identified a trend in the professionalisation of development spaces including areas of education (Bondi and Laurie, 2005).

This can be seen in the way organisations outside of formal education are forced to operate. Global Youth Work provides what Jeffs and Smith (2005) distinguish as an 'informal education' setting, which 'encourages a critical understanding of the links between personal, local and global issues' (Development Education Association, 2007: 23). Similarly, there are multiple INGOs which work outside the classroom environment on development education issues (see for example CISV International). Yet, even actors working on Global Youth Work or international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) that have tried to fill these gaps by teaching in schools or within the community have had to navigate working within these pressures with limited time, space and funding to do so (Baillie Smith, 2014). Thus, GCE actors working both inside and beyond the classroom setting are forced to negotiate between the informal and formalised neoliberalised structures.

### Teaching practices and GCE

Best practice for teaching GCE through experiential learning has been widely discussed by scholars such as Van Peski (2012) and Percy Smith (2012) who regard active learning facilitation rather than traditional teaching methods or lecturing as key when exploring topics covered in GCE. This is supported by Laycock and Temple who stress that GCE's aim is not about *changing* learners but bringing about a *change in* learners (2008: 102). Teachers, thus, should provide learners with the facts but it is down to those learning to decide how they reflect and act upon the information.

The literature on teaching practice has also highlighted the effect teachers' own background, interest and understanding on global issues influences what and how topics are taught and understood (see O'Toole, 2006; Hicks and Holden, 2007; Augustine and Harshman, 2013; Baillie Smith and Skinner, 2015). The concern here is that instead of presenting facts, information will be led by teachers' own personal understanding and opinion rather than allowing learners' views to develop organically. Although it is inevitable that our own backgrounds and prejudices influence the way we see the world, when teaching about contested or controversial issues the consensus is that this should not influence teachings (see Freire, 1970; Hicks and Holden, 2007; Leduc, 2013; Augustine and Harshman, 2013). Unfortunately, this often means that teachers' own opinion and knowledge, or lack of, leads to some crucial issues or subjects not being taught at all. Studies by Hicks and Holden (2007), and Oxley and Morris (2013) found this to be the case within schools in the UK where more controversial topics were given little or no coverage compared to those which are less complex or in line with neoliberal norms.

Osler's (1994) work looking into student teachers' journeys while delivering GCE pinpoints the real issue that needs to be tackled to prevent this. The study showed that student teachers were not confident in delivering the topics covered, suggesting that there is a need for

teachers to not only reflect on their own opinions and values but also their personal deficiencies in knowledge. GCE has been chronically under taught in schools meaning teachers themselves have not necessarily learnt about the issues they cover or been taught about them in the same way as they deliver them. Moreover, the complex and often controversial nature of the subjects which they lead on make it difficult for them to even grasp the subject before they deliver it, leading to oversimplified teaching or topics not being covered at all.

### Critical thinking and GCE

The literature calls upon GCE practitioners to create an environment and teaching methods which help to build independent critical thinkers, who are informed, engaged, empowered, and ultimately equipped for a life-long learning journey as global citizens (Nussbaum, 2010; Merryfield, 2002; O'Toole, 2006; Andreotti, 2006; Hicks and Holden, 2007; Scheunplung, 2008). Research has helped to shape the practices of GCE, shedding light on what and how it is taught within a classroom setting, building a framework of aims and best practices (such as Osler, 1994; Hicks and Holden, 2007; Oxley and Morris, 2013). Yet, studies such as Oxley and Morris (2013) have also exposed the limitations of teaching GCE within formal education. Rather than teaching 'critical' global citizenship or one which promotes a 'social justice mentality', what is often covered and promoted is more 'soft' in nature with a 'charity mentality' based on dependency or subordination of the global South (Andreotti, 2006; Simpson 2017).

The prominent scholar Paulo Freire claimed through his pedagogical theory that a process of 'action-reflective-transformative action' was necessary to foster global citizens who could 'deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world' (1970: 15). However, scholars such as Andreotti (2006) and Dobson (2006) argue that what is often taught in schools is an oversimplified view of what are complex, interwoven issues. This could be because either teachers do not feel confident in the subjects

they are teaching or the limited time-frame in which they have to teach GCE; either way, the full story of these intricate topics are often lost. Andreotti calls this 'soft' global citizenship, one that fails to acknowledge the wider historical social and economic power structures and the continued exploitation by mainly northern constituencies, which in turn fosters ideas of dependency and charity (Andreotti, 2006).

The need to counter this with what Andreotti calls 'critical' global citizenship has been supported by other GCE scholars who state the need to ensure that topics are not only explored thoroughly but multiple authentic viewpoints are heard and individuals are able to critically analyse hegemonic sources of knowledge as well as democratic structures and institutions (Dobson, 2006; Bourn, 2008). Osler (1994) also emphasises the need for topics to be relatable and engaging, where self-reflection can be exercised and self-development nurtured. The idea here is that individuals consider their positionality in the world, push their personal and society's boundaries, and act for positive change (Conway and Heynen, 2002; Khoo, 2006; Asbrand, 2008). This links with Baillie Smith's (2013) argument that the social relations of engagement are missing from development studies but play a significant role in how we view the world. The scholar states we need to acknowledge, reflect and gain a better understanding into how factors such as locality, race and gender come together through our lifetimes to shape the way we engage with development issues (Baillie Smith, 2013). Thus, scholars see critical thinking as essential for nurturing independent, self-reflective, active global citizens (Olser, 1994; Armstrong, 2006; Asbrand, 2008; Bourn, 2008; Nussbaum, 2010; Van Peski, 2012; Percy Smith, 2012).

What this section has shown are the key thematics identified in GCE literature such as critical thinking run against the constraints of formal education, while there remains a lack of space and power for designated teaching on its subjects. Educational global environments outside of formal education, such as global youth work and work done by INGOs, provide a worthy platform for GCE outside of the classroom.



Although, it is also acknowledged that they too must negotiate between neoliberal structures. Yet, little research has been done to look at the micro-level interactions in between and beyond structured educational activities where informal and organic interactions take place. These natural encounters are what we now turn to consider, showing that they too are fertile sites for GCE.

### **Informal spaces and interaction**

The importance of nurturing independent and active, motivated learners is a common theme throughout literature, seen as a way of stimulating organic acts of global citizenship outside the learning environment (see Van Peski, 2012; Nussbaum, 2010; Brunell, 2013; Armstrong, 2006; Asbrand, 2008; Bourn, 2008). Although these spaces are recognised as fruitful sites of global citizenship development and practice, richer insight is needed to understand what is actually happening in the day-to-day micro-level interactions of individuals and the impact they have on their journey in encountering, understanding and expressing ideas of global citizenship.

Working both as a practitioner and researcher within international non-governmental organisations with a GCE remit, the importance of the time and space between structured learning has become abundantly clear. These informal spaces and interactions not only allow individuals to digest and reflect on what they have learned but also open up space for organic learning, further in-depth understanding of topics, developing critical thinking skills and an opportunity to put into practice what they have learnt. This was identified as happening through three ways in my research: through experiencing the ‘real-world’, by habitual interactions with others and through play, which we will now consider in turn.

### **Experience**

The experiential learning practices championed within the literature are not only relevant within the classroom but continue beyond it. By

engaging with issues directly or through independent research, learners are able to gain deeper understanding of the topic in hand, develop critical thinking and even take action. It allows room for individuals to discover and investigate topics at their own pace in their own time so that a natural process of inquiry can take place. Experience also makes topics real and tangible rather than an abstract idea they only think about in the classroom. An example of this could be experiencing different languages and cultures. A large part of global citizenship education is about ensuring authentic voices are heard. In a classroom, this could be through videos or books presented or written by a particular person from a certain culture.

Activities that support experiential learning such as role-play enable learners to gain a deeper understanding of topics and make them more relatable. Yet, informal spaces provide an opportunity for learners to directly hear, see, feel, touch, and even taste the cultures they learn about, providing an organic and holistic sensorial learning experience. While researching with an INGO providing GCE to a group of international participants in India, it was evident that by experiencing cultures in such an intimate way, participants began to seek an even greater and deeper understanding of them independently. Inquiry and conversations in between GCE activities were common during fieldwork with individuals wanting to know more about each other's countries and backgrounds, as well as reflecting on the environment in which they were living. One participant said:

"I think because when you think about foreign countries or poverty it's just a thought but until you experience it and see then it becomes much more real. So to be there and... it's more personal".

While another participant reflecting on the different habits between the cultural groups, claimed: 'I think being exposed to something like that is far more educational than hearing about it or seeing about it like that'.

This suggests that informal spaces allow individuals to further develop and reflect on what they have learned but more importantly provide natural, real-world experiences. In other words, informal spaces allow for organic engagement with cultures and topics, which are not necessarily provided in GCE activities. This does not mean that experiential learning does not enable this to an extent, but that these informal spaces provide an extra layer for more natural encounters. Thus, informal spaces play a vital role in the individual's life-long learning journey as a global citizen.

### Habitual interaction

The habits that form the flow of everyday life also create an opportunity for GCE. This became apparent during my fieldwork. Many participants often remarked upon meal times as the 'best' times during the day where they could relax, talk and eat together. The sharing of a meal provides a familiar space for all participants, which seemed to create feelings of safety but also commonality. During these moments you could see participants visually relax and in doing so begin to interact naturally with those they did not necessarily share a common language; pointing at food, smiling approvingly, attempting to ask about what they ate at home. Not only did it provide a common habitual and enjoyable practice, they shared the experience of trying new foods and thus experiencing new cultures together. But most importantly it provided space for participants to reflect together on what they had learned. Being lucky enough to 'eat a warm meal' was often commented on by participants at meal times or the amount of food they consumed. One participant commented on what he had learned about food during one mealtime, stating:

"I used to eat loads more food... now I just take a little and see what I need...I'm eating a lot less red meat too. It's because, I think, of how I see other cultures respect for food and talking about food... I think it's made the kids think its unfair others have so little".

These meal time experiences highlighted three things in particular. Firstly, no matter where they were from during meal times they were simply humans needing food. Sharing this human necessity and everyday routine, made each other part of the normal rhythm of everyday life. Secondly, the relaxed atmosphere created through the enjoyment of the habit itself helped to break down barriers and make individuals more susceptible to interaction. It created a natural safe space in which participants felt comfortable to get out of their comfort zone. Lastly, it provided a talking point that often led to discussing each other's cultural eating habits or reflecting on wider social issues around poverty, food security and the environment. Thus, meal times were a space for continuous, deeper learning through habitual practices in other cultures.

What is important to take from this is that this could have been any shared habit, from cleaning, to playing a game or even travelling. These informal moments created spaces for interactions in which individuals could use and build on what they had learned from the more structured GCE environments.

### Play

Play has been recognised as an important part of the learning process (Göncü and Gaskins, 2007) and this needs to be more widely recognised as the case for GCE too. Engaging in play can be extremely beneficial as not only a shared practice as explored earlier, but as a stimulus for further learning. Games and play promote ideas of teamwork, foster bonds and connections, and in turn possible opportunities to practice ideas of conflict resolution. It brings experiential learning into the 'real world', creating safe spaces for learners to test out and experience what they have learned. Moreover, through the exchange of ideas individuals are exposed to different points of view and even other cultures, be it through learning new games, listening to new stories or making up imaginary worlds. Importantly, play allows individuals to interact earnestly. This is not only true for children but adults too. Both for child participants and the adult facilitators, relaxing together as a group was identified through my own

fieldwork observations and interviews as key times for establishing bonds, building trust and learning about each other: ‘The moments for bonding, for intense bonding, because every single moment is bonding, like even activities, but like the most intense bonding... is in our own time’.

Moreover, playing games often exposed the differences between cultures and led to questions and discussions on topics. Relaxing once children had gone to bed often led to late night discussions on the politics in each other’s countries for the adult participants. While for the child participants, a Japanese girl being assigned the role as ‘maid’ in free time play led to children asking adults about, and discussing, domestic workers in different countries.

These examples show how informal spaces between activities and structured learning, where both adults and children were allowed to interact and ‘play’, led to further development of GCE. Not only did it allow for bonds and trust to be consolidated but free time and play also allowed participants to explore topics that arose naturally. As a life-long learning process, it is therefore, important to acknowledge that play or informal encounters are essential and natural elements to ensuring a holistic approach to GCE.

## **Conclusion**

These three elements of informal interaction outside of the structured GCE learning environment provide insight into how learning takes place beyond the classroom or structured educational environment setting. Experience, habitual interaction and play all provide organic spaces for earnest interaction in which GCE can be reflected upon, developed and even practiced. Such natural encounters, inquiry and learning help to stimulate and develop independent critical thinking skills through real life experience. As practitioners and scholars, this exploration highlights the need for more in depth research into the spaces beyond the structural learning environments as sites for GCE. This is not only important because

it is a life-long process but also to find alternative places for GCE beyond the restricted education environment.

As well as providing further insight into the practical elements of teaching GCE, acknowledging the need for these informal spaces and interactions highlight and offer a deeper understanding of the importance of building bonds and trust for global citizenship. The atmosphere created in the informal, intimate moments provide safe, relaxed spaces where individuals are able to engage with each other and interact earnestly. This is extremely exciting for global citizenship research, helping us not only to understand better the process of global citizenship education but a way to capture the 'doing', or practice of global citizenship.

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# DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION ON A MASSIVE SCALE: EVALUATION AND REFLECTIONS ON A MASSIVE OPEN ONLINE COURSE ON SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

**Silvia Gallagher**

**Abstract:** Online platforms have been increasingly used to disseminate development education to a broad range of learners around the globe. This case study examines the development, implementation, and facilitation of a multidisciplinary Massive Open Online Course (MOOC) on Achieving Sustainable Development by Trinity College Dublin. It explores how MOOCs can be a method for sharing educational content to an international audience, and as a means for understanding public perception of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

A mixed-method approach was used for the course evaluation. Quantitative pre-and post-course survey data was analysed to explore learner demographics, motivations, and content perceptions. Qualitative analysis of in-course learner comments illustrated common themes emerging from the course. A total of 3,958 learners from 159 countries registered for the four-week free online course. Learners engaged successfully with the content via 6,116 comments posted and 35,967 completed content steps. Satisfaction with the interdisciplinary and collaborative nature of the course was expressed by learners.

Common themes that emerged in learner comments included changing personal perceptions of sustainability, satisfaction with case studies, and improved understanding of the interrelatedness of the SDGs. This research contributes to the body of knowledge of development education, and positions MOOCs as a positive means of disseminating knowledge to an online global audience. Development organisations seeking to engage with the wider public should consider MOOCs as a method for educational practice, or employ pedagogical strategies used in MOOCs in face-to-face learning environments. In addition, MOOCs can

also provide timely information about public perceptions towards sustainable development, and offer a means to connect with learners on a global scale.

**Keywords:** Massive Open Online Courses; Social learning; Sustainable Development Goals; Online learning.

## Introduction

Since their introduction in the early part of this century, Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs) have grown in popularity for presenting free educational materials to large scale cohorts of online learners (Sinclair et al., 2015; Baturay, 2015). Individuals use MOOCs to learn new topics or increase current knowledge (Hew and Cheung, 2014). Universities and institutions develop MOOCs to extend their reach and access, increase innovation in teaching and learning (Hollands and Tirthali, 2014), and improve reputation (Davis et al., 2014). MOOCs are now attracting more than 58 million learners worldwide, with over 700 universities developing online courses on a massive scale (Shah, 2016).

These types of online courses can address some of the challenges facing development education. Open online content enables access by any individual with an internet connection and computer. Massive numbers of learners form a global learning community who share experiences, diverse opinions and critical thought. Sustainable development research and education applied by universities can be shared with the public, aligning with strategic policy objectives. In addition, the lack of prior learner educational requirements supports life-long learning for all global citizens.

This case study outlines the design and development of a MOOC in sustainable development by Trinity College Dublin. It examines how MOOCs can be a successful means for disseminating sustainable development educational content to a large scale international learner cohort. Furthermore, it aims to evaluate whether MOOCs can be a means for understanding public perception of sustainable development issues.

## **The structure and pedagogy of MOOCs**

At their simplest definition, MOOCs bring together learners and teachers in a free, online platform where open access videos, text based articles, discussion questions, links, references, interactive materials and assessments are structured around learning objectives to deliver an educational course (Liyanagunawardena et al., 2013). MOOC platforms, such as EdX, Coursera, Udacity, Udemy and FutureLearn, facilitate large scale access, with some MOOCs attracting over 380,000 learners concurrently (Parr, 2015). Most MOOCs do not require any prior experience or knowledge, and in general, provide no formal qualifications. However, a move towards accreditation for some MOOCs has been developing in recent years, and some institutions are now using MOOCs for credit bearing qualifications. At present, though, most MOOCs are non-credit bearing.

Historically, MOOCs were divided into ‘cMOOCs’, focusing on connectivism between learners, and ‘xMOOCs’ with an emphasis on information transmission. Connectivist cMOOCs use a networked and decentralised approach to learning whereby knowledge is transferred via the contributions and interactions of learners (Margaryan et al., 2015). Conversely, xMOOCs follow a more traditional information transmission pedagogy. Learners are presented with online materials which they complete in their own time and are encouraged to interact with one another through discussion boards within the MOOC platform. Although there are now many diverse MOOC models such as SPOCs (Small Private Open Online Courses), BOOCs (Big Open Online Courses), LOOCs (Local Open Online Courses), and HMOOCs (Hybrid Massive Open Online Courses) (Pérez-Sanagustín et al., 2016; Chauhan, 2014), variants of the xMOOC structure are most commonly used today.

## **The rise of MOOCs for sustainable development education**

Although MOOC development has seen rapid growth in recent times, the first MOOC on sustainable development education was implemented

relatively recently in 2012. Since then, Zhan et al's (2015) content analysis highlighted 51 MOOCs within the lens of sustainable development education. These MOOCs are related to themes such as energy, sustainable development, natural resources, ethics, and climate change. More recent activities such as the SDG Academy (2017) and the SDG Initiative (2017) offer MOOCs with a focus on the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

Within the context of development education:

“MOOCs (...) can offer learning resources and opportunities for people to cultivate their awareness of global environmental protection, of a sense of sustainability, and also to learn about the ways in which universities teach sustainability-related knowledge in an open online environment” (Zhan et al., 2015: 2279).

In addition, cost savings in their delivery, provision of open materials, and global access to educational resources have earmarked MOOCs as being an opportunity to address SDG 4 on 'Quality Education' (McGreal, 2017). However, challenges remain, with concerns over low completion rates, and issues with quality assurance, accreditation, cultural biases, and inclusivity for individuals lacking digital skills (Yuan and Powell, 2013; Laurillard and Kennedy, 2017).

MOOCs can be valuable for sharing educational content on sustainable development issues, however, the pedagogy behind MOOCs serves other disciplinary-specific benefits. The facilitation of social learning and learner interaction within some MOOC platforms, such as FutureLearn, supports intercultural dialogue, interdisciplinary communication and collaboration, and knowledge generation (Barth and Burandt, 2013). Open learning environments and content support inclusive and lifelong learning opportunities, aligning with SDG 4 (UNESCO, 2017). Learners communicating on a massive scale with others from different countries and cultures encourage critical engagement and

awareness of key sustainability issues. Furthermore, institutions delivering MOOCs on sustainable development topics address global sustainability strategic and policy objectives (Cotton et al., 2007).

In effect, MOOCs can respond to one of the key challenges of sustainable development education, to:

“...focus on sharing knowledge, skills, values and perspectives throughout a lifetime of learning in such a way that it encourages sustainable livelihoods and supports citizens to live sustainable lives” (UNESCO, 2005).

This case study seeks to describe and evaluate a MOOC on sustainable development delivered by Trinity College Dublin in 2017. It also explores the potential for MOOCs to enhance public understanding of the SDGs.

### **Case study: Achieving Sustainable Development MOOC**

The Achieving Sustainable Development MOOC (FutureLearn, 2017) ran from the 11 September to 15 October 2017. The course was developed through a partnership between Trinity Online Services Limited (TOSL), the Trinity International Development Initiative (TIDI), and hosted on the FutureLearn platform. An interdisciplinary approach to content development was used, with contributions from 17 Trinity College academics connected in some way to the Trinity International Development Initiative. These included those at the Department of Economics, the Department of Geography, the Department of Sociology, the School of Ecumenics, the School of Engineering, the School of Medicine and the Trinity Impact Evaluation Unit. One of the key challenges of development education is facilitating multidisciplinary skills and knowledge (Sharma et al., 2017), and the compilation of this MOOC sought to address this challenge.

### **MOOC educational content**

Structured into four weeks, this MOOC contained 73 learning units known as ‘steps’. Steps included short videos (between 3 and 8 minutes), text

based articles with images and references, discussion questions, multiple choice questions for formative assessment, and multimedia exercise steps (e.g. interactive timelines). Access to the MOOC was free, however, learners could upgrade for a small fee to download a certificate of completion. Each week was balanced using a combination of step types to encourage course completion and learner commentary.

**Table 1: Steps (learning units) in the Achieving Sustainable Development MOOC**

Step Type	Frequency used in the MOOC
Video	18
Text article	39
Discussion question	8
Interactive element	3
Multiple choice question	40

The four weeks were structured around five SDGs; SDG 16 ‘Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions’, SDG 3 ‘Good Health and Wellbeing’, SDG 6 ‘Clean Water and Sanitation’, SDG 11 ‘Sustainable Cities and Communities’, and SDG 5 ‘Gender Equality’. The fourth week bookended the course by focusing on questions of measuring sustainability, with SDG crossover and interconnectedness addressed. Overarching this learning content, were the core learning objectives, namely ‘to reflect on the challenges to achieving sustainable development’ and ‘to identify and analyse some of the root causes of underdevelopment from a multidisciplinary perspective’. At the onset of course development, it was imperative that each step addressed the learning objectives of the overall course and encouraged interaction between learners.

The content used a narrative ‘storytelling’ approach, rather than academic language to facilitate understanding from learners who may not have studied the concept of sustainability before, nor had English as a first language. Case studies were used to illustrate key concepts, and reflection



questions were posed on each step to encourage participation and learner interaction.

## **Social learning**

To ensure quality learning outcomes, interaction between learners and critical discussion on a massive scale, social learning, one of the underpinning philosophies of MOOCs, was integrated through the course (Brinton et al., 2014). Social learning in the context of sustainable development has been identified as helping ‘facilitate knowledge sharing, joint learning and knowledge co-creation between diverse stakeholders around a shared purpose’ (Kristjanson et al., 2013). Given the importance of social learning from a development education perspective, developing a MOOC on sustainable development where social learning is heavily encouraged in the design of the course, creates an interesting nexus.

In practice, course design integrated social learning within each step by posting a discussion question, related to learning content and objectives, at the bottom of each step. For example, in the first week, learners were provided text and a graphic on Galtung’s three types of violence. After reviewing this content, they were asked ‘Which form of violence do you think creates the most challenges to sustainable development? Why?’. Having read the text and viewed the image, learners posted comments (n=158) supporting their reflection. The discussion thread included both single author comments and multi-author comment ‘threads’ where learners would discuss with one another their responses. Learners could also ‘like’ comments that they agreed or emphasised with (n=150). Interactions were supported by comments from academics and a student moderator, who responded to recurring comment themes, or most ‘liked’ comments. In addition, learners could also ‘follow’ other learners and academics to keep track of comments from individuals they were interested in. Table 2 provides details of five of the most commented on discussion questions used.

**Table 2: Most commented on discussion questions in the MOOC**

Question	Number of comments
Describe what you think is the most challenging SDG to achieve? What do you think is the greatest challenge to achieving all of the goals?	349
Pick one criticism or one positive statement about SDGs out of the lists above. Do you agree or disagree with this statement? Why / why not?	259
Thinking about Johan Galtung's conception of violence: Which form of violence do you think creates the most challenges to sustainable development? Why?	159
Select one country and comment below on what development challenges or strengths you think could have affected its life expectancy.	148
Thinking about your experiences with water treatment: How is the water in your area treated? What chemicals are added? Is there an ongoing requirement for energy to treat the water? How much do you pay for the supply of water – directly or indirectly – through taxation?	112

### **Multidisciplinary bridging**

A fundamental challenge in developing the course, was how to integrate each of the separate SDGs in a cohesive course narrative. Given that the MOOC addressed six different SDGs from multiple disciplines, it was key to the course narrative that each of these were addressed both in isolation, and in relation to one another. To safeguard this course narrative, a linking step between each week was designed. This ensured that learners understood the nature and importance of connections between the SDGs, and created a 'flow' between the different weeks.

For example, the connection between Week 1 SDG 16 ‘Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions’ and Week 2 SDG 3 ‘Good Health’ was illustrated using a video step at the beginning of Week 2. This video described how peace was a determinant of health, and explored issues such as the ‘Weaponisation of Healthcare’. The content was supplemented with a discussion question for learners to reflect on the connection between these two SDGs.

Creating a bridge between each week was essential in encouraging learners to move forward in the course and reduce drop off (Ferguson and Clow, 2015). However, it was also contextually important to ensure that each SDG was not only understood in isolation, but that the key learning objectives ‘multi-disciplinarity’ and ‘interconnectedness’, were also addressed.

### **Evaluation methodology**

Pre-and post-course optional surveys were used to evaluate learner profiles, registration motivation, course perception, and satisfaction with learning resources. Survey items used a five-point satisfaction Likert scale, and open-ended questions. Pre-course surveys were disseminated during registration, and in the first step of the course. Post course surveys were disseminated in the final step of the course, and in the final weekly email. Data provided by FutureLearn illustrated total student registrations, social engagement statistics (i.e. number of comments, step completion rates) and geographical location of learners. This data was downloaded and analysed using Microsoft Excel and SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences).

Comments throughout the course were reviewed during its implementation. Post-implementation, comments were imported into NVivo to ascertain whether key themes emerged from learner comments. This thematic analysis aimed to explore whether learner comments could provide information about public perceptions towards sustainability issues.

## Results

### *Learner demographics and registration*

A total of 3,958 learners from 159 countries registered for the MOOC, with 2,181 learners accessing at least one step of the course. Most registered learners who provided details of their location were from the UK (24 per cent), Ireland (18 per cent), US (4 per cent), Nigeria (4 per cent), India (3 per cent), Australia (2 per cent), Germany (2 per cent), and Spain (2 per cent). Although there was a relatively even proportion of learners from different age ranges, most learners were between 26 and 35 years (23 per cent).

The pre-course survey (n=144) explored learner experience and rationale for taking the course and had a response rate of 6.6 per cent. Many learners had previous experience with the topic of sustainable development (77.1 per cent), with a proportionally high percentage of learners working in a related field (41.73 per cent) or interested in the topic as a hobby (43.31 per cent). Generally, learners were confident in their knowledge of the topic, with 81 per cent stating they were either a little, moderately or extremely confident in their current knowledge of the topic. These results suggest that the majority of learners were from the sustainable development sector, or had previous experience or knowledge of the field.

This was reinforced by results outlining learner rationale for taking the course. High proportions of surveyed learners were taking the course to keep up to date with new developments in the subject (72.66 per cent) and to contribute to their continuing professional development (64.93 per cent). However, learners were also motivated to join the course to learn from others' experiences or perspectives (70.5 per cent).

### *Engagement: Social and course content*

Data from FutureLearn described how learners engaged with the course content in the form of comments and step activity. The MOOC facilitated learner engagement through posed discussion questions. Learners

responded to these questions using comments, resulting in the development of a community of learners. A total of 6,116 individual comments were posted within the MOOC platform by 535 unique learners. On average, a social learner (i.e. posts at least one comment) posted 10.5 comments. Aggregate data on step access and video views (Table 2) demonstrate the relatively high engagement with learning content from learners.

**Table 3: Summary of MOOC engagement statistics**

Metric	Frequency
Total number of comments posted	6,116
Total number of likes	6,626
Average number of comments posted by a social learner	10.5
Total number of steps accessed	42,073
Total number of video views	10,439

*In-course comment analysis*

Throughout the course, learner comments were read and responded to by academics and moderators. By reflecting on these comments, and using an auto-coding function on NVivo, an understanding of key themes from learners emerged. Comments included personal reflections, descriptions of culturally specific events, experiences and case studies, interaction between learners, and critical thought. The thematic analysis illustrated that many of the comments provided insights into public understanding of the SDGs. For example, misunderstanding around the concept of sustainability, whereby some learners perceived it as being solely to do with environmental or ‘green’ issues. Learners also commented that they had not previously considered the interconnectedness of the SDGs, nor understood the impact of them in a wider context (i.e. how the presence or absence of peace can have an impact on healthcare, sanitation, and gender equality).

### *Post course evaluation*

The post-course survey asked learners about their perceptions of FutureLearn and of the course. A total of 62 responses (response rate = 3.2 per cent) were collected in the post-course survey, which was a relatively low response rate, but gave some indication of the general satisfaction with the course. All learners surveyed rated their course experience as excellent or good, and were either satisfied or very satisfied with videos, written course content, and subtitles. Satisfaction with written content (e.g. articles) was marginally higher than video content. Key positive themes that emerged from the open-ended questions were the use of case studies, satisfaction with the structure and videos, and the discussion sections. Open ended questions illustrated that learners enjoyed interactions between learners and academics, and felt that they were beneficial and conducive to learning.

As the response rate was low for the post course survey, comments from the final step of the course were also analysed (n=59). These provided additional insight into the perceptions of learners who may not have completed the post course survey, but had reached the end of the course. Learners in these comments reported satisfaction with case studies, references, additional materials, and practical challenges posed in the discussion questions. They also commented on ease of platform use, and satisfaction with materials covering new knowledge and information they had not been previously aware of. In addition, some learners commented how they learned from the comments posted by others, supporting the benefits of social learning methodologies used in the course.

## **Discussion**

This case study has addressed how MOOCs can be a successful means of sharing educational content on sustainable development issues to large scale learner cohorts worldwide. They can enhance communication between individuals, and further their understanding of sustainable development issues. Encouraging multidisciplinary development of

learning content, supporting critical thinking, and enabling social learning around sustainable development themes can address some of the challenges of development education. Practitioners should consider the value of MOOCs for sharing educational content. With the availability of open source MOOC platforms, this is potentially achievable at low cost.

Nevertheless, implementing a MOOC may not be feasible for many organisations due to resource, time and technology limitations. However, the approach used to develop the course could be mirrored in other online or face-to-face courses. Creating bridging materials between disciplines, for example, was successfully delivered in the MOOC. Educators can collaborate to produce materials which deliver a strong interdisciplinary narrative. Identifying and bringing together common themes in multiple disciplines, while also addressing key learning objectives, can facilitate this approach.

The value of social learning as an underlying pedagogy of this MOOC has multiple benefits, both to learners and to educators or institutions implementing the MOOC. Incorporating social learning into the instructional design process encourages two-way commentary between learners and academics. Not only does this support critical thought and learning motivation for learners, but it allows educators to understand public perception of sustainability topics. For educators and institutions, comments illustrate public opinion towards the SDGs and development issues, outlines where the public may have difficulty in understanding concepts, and highlights which issues are of most interest to learners. MOOC comments could potentially drive the development of future MOOC content and research agendas, and give a qualitative measurement of SDG understanding. Learners can read comments that may offer them a different perspective, and interact with others from around the world who may be facing similar or different development challenges than themselves.

However, social learning may not be appropriate in all learning environments due to curriculum design, and time and resource limitations. Nevertheless, the use of reflection questions in face-to-face or smaller online course settings can encourage critical thought and engagement with learning materials. They can also provide insight into learner perceptions, knowledge and viewpoints of a topic which can support academic instruction. In face-to-face courses, questions can be pre-designed, posed, and a ‘think, pair, share’ approach used to encourage discussion. In smaller online courses, reflection questions can boost learner discussion, but educators may need to spend more time facilitating the discussion for robust conversations to emerge.

Although MOOCs have shown some benefits within the development education space, some challenges remain. The high proportion of MOOC learners with previous experience of development education highlights some of the overarching challenges with MOOCs. Learners will gravitate to subjects that they are interested in, or have some prior knowledge. Broadening development education MOOCs to the wider public who may not have prior interest in the topic, may require additional spending on marketing or engagement with organisations outside the sustainable development space. Although MOOCs can address many challenges to development education, if they are not visible to those who have lower prior engagement with or interest in the subject, they may fail to be as massively diverse as they aim to be.

Aligned with this challenge is the issue of exclusivity and accessibility. This MOOC was accessed by learners from many different countries, however, many learners were from English speaking countries with western perspectives and traditions. To register for the course, learners needed to have access to a computer and internet. To adequately address a more globally balanced cohort of learners, English language MOOCs could provide subtitles in different languages, or offer automatic translation for comments in a non-English language. In addition, MOOCs could be promoted within programmes that offer computer training to



sectors of society that may be facing a digital divide (e.g. older learners, disadvantaged, and people with refugee status). On a broader level, higher education institutions providing MOOCs should be cognisant of the diverse needs of learner cohorts when developing, implementing, and promoting MOOCs.

## **Conclusion**

MOOCs offer many benefits to organisations seeking to disseminate learning content, within the context of development education. This case study has described how the successful design of a multidisciplinary MOOC can generate learner satisfaction, interaction between learners and disseminate education to large numbers of learners. In addition, the use of social learning tools to encourage learner interaction and commentary demonstrates the benefits of MOOCs to sustainable development professionals. In effect, learners not only learn from the content being provided, but educators and institutions can learn from learners themselves. In these ways, MOOCs are highly effective means of disseminating sustainable development educational content to a large scale international learner cohort. However, challenges do also remain in attracting those with little connection to the sector, those in non-English speaking countries (a strong focus of this MOOCs content) and those with poor access to digital resources. In these ways, equality and equity of access is a challenge to be addressed.

Finally, this article, in aiming to evaluate whether MOOCs can be a means for understanding public perception of sustainable development issues, found that within the MOOC, comments illustrated public opinion towards the SDGs and development issues, outlined where the public may have difficulty in understanding concepts, and highlighted which issues were of most interest to learners. This case study thus demonstrated that MOOCs on sustainable development can generate a rich level of understanding for educators and institutions, on the public perception of their sector.

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# DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION AND SOCIAL MARKETING: TWO DISCIPLINES WITH ONE PURPOSE

**Chahid Fourali**

**Abstract:** This article discusses two disciplines, development education (DE) and social marketing (SM), that appear to be too similar in several ways to overlook the mutual learning that can be achieved by workers in these two areas. Both DE and SM advocates see in them a clear opportunity for reducing global disadvantages while enhancing mutual understanding, with a view to minimising world conflicts. Both DE and SM show scholarly traditions that can be of mutual interest to both disciplines. This article will introduce both disciplines before contrasting them at several levels and highlighting their strengths and opportunities for mutual enhancement. Finally, it will argue for the need for practitioners in both fields to work together to reap the respective advantages in each of the two disciplines.

**Key words:** Education; Development Education; Marketing; Social Marketing; Social Ills; Social Justice; Power and Conflicts.

## Introduction

Although there is a significant body of work that is growing in the development education (DE) and social marketing (SM) sectors, the two disciplines appear to have developed separately (Elliott, Fourali and Issler, 2010; Fourali, 2014). Indeed, despite some attempts being made to introduce the educational community, including DE, to the relevance of social marketing (Fourali, 2010), there is still a lack of awareness among educators about the opportunities that this relatively new discipline presents. This article will briefly review the two disciplines with a view to showing how similar they are in several ways and how they could benefit from mutual co-operation. SM is a relatively new field of research and practice with the aim of using the powerful techniques of marketing,

and other disciplines, for the good of society (Fourali, 2016). DE is seen as education towards action and social change to address the challenges of inequality and injustice (McCloskey, 2014). The article will firstly introduce and systematically compare the two sectors at various levels and will conclude with some observations about how they could work together.

### **Similarities at definitional levels?**

The excesses generated by an irresponsible application of the marketing principles affect all our society. However, how many critics of the 'rampaging' neoliberal doctrine primarily represented by a materialistic marketing philosophy stopped for a moment to ask: if marketing is such a powerful discipline that is affecting our society, can we harness such power for the good of society? It is this question that drove several socially responsible marketers to what is now known as SM. Several definitions have been proposed for SM but perhaps a simple way of defining it is to refer to a functional definition that addresses the purpose of SM as follows:

"To apply marketing alongside other concepts and techniques in order to influence individuals, organizations, policy makers, and decision makers to adopt and sustain behaviour which improves people's lives" (Fourali, 2009: 21).

This definition differentiates marketing from both commercial marketing and socially responsible organisations. Indeed, while commercial marketing and socially responsible organisations may undertake some activities that intend to help address a social problem (e.g. causal marketing) their ultimate purpose is to make a profit and remain sustainable. This is to stress that some organisations get involved in charitable activities primarily to enhance their brand value with the view that such activities will encourage more customers to view them favourably, which in turn leads to an increase in profit. By contrast, SM's

primary responsibility is to society.

### **How about DE?**

DE was a considered response to the inequalities and injustices in society, both locally and globally, through awareness raising, critical analysis and action toward social change. Indeed, development educators realised that the aims of education can be much more targeted at serving humanity as a whole rather than adopting a neoliberal model of competitive individualism that not only overlooks the broader aims of education but transforms them into a very restrictive purpose of producing a workforce for current corporate needs (Denzin, 2015). Development education can therefore be seen as an attempt to reinstate the broader aims of education that include public values, critical content, and civic responsibilities. Development education's purpose has been described as the educational response to many global development concerns that called for urgent action (McCloskey, 2014). It advocates the development of a new paradigm that fosters a re-conceptualisation of knowledge with a view to promoting the transformative role of education (Tarozzi and Torres, 2016) so as to induce social change across nations guided by inclusive human values.

There are broad similarities between DE and SM. This should come as no surprise as some early practitioners of the SM discipline argue that it had its roots in public education (Kotler and Roberto, 1989) and suggest that as early as Greek and Roman periods, there have been initiatives, such as campaigns to free slaves and public health initiatives, that may be considered early instances of SM. Nonetheless, there appears to be a significant difference between DE and SM: while SM considers marketing as one of the disciplines that it could make use of to induce social good, DE appears to primarily focus on the role of education in achieving this social good. Perhaps another difference is that DE from the outset appears to adopt a more global perspective whereas for SM this is not always the case.



### **Similarities at philosophical/ethical level?**

The definitional similarities appear to be reflected at the philosophical/ethical level. Most national and international organisations that represent SM's ethical position strive toward both personal and social good through their programmes. The programmes argue for consultation on how to implement such aims by referring to both deontological (rights and duties) and utilitarian principles (outcomes) which are not necessarily at odds with each other (Levenstein, 2013; Fourali, 2016).

Fourali (2017a) reminded us that there is a difference between marketing, responsible marketing and SM. Similarly, universities can be organised as either centres whose primary purpose is to make a 'decent' profit or institutions that combine making a profit with a sense of social responsibility by helping to address urgent social needs and contributing to socially-minded citizenship. Universities can, additionally, offer educational programmes that prioritise addressing human social issues within or across national boundaries. This approach has a strong SM flavour.

SM and DE therefore appear to be opposed to the excesses currently promoted through neoliberalism (Denzin, 2015). There were warnings against such excesses as far back as the 18<sup>th</sup> century by Wilhelm von Humboldt, who is generally acknowledged to be the father of higher education (Anderson, 2004; 2010). He argued that an inclusive educational model goes beyond vocational training since there are aspects of knowledge that are of a general nature (Clark, 1993; Staufenbiel, 1993) and, additionally, it is hard to imagine a genuine education that ignores the cultivation of mind and attitudes and exclusively focuses on vocational skills (Günther, 1988). So, an enlightened approach to education is nothing new.

Nevertheless, it is surprising that over 200 years later we are still facing the same challenges of market-driven inequality and injustice. Several writers lamented this situation (e.g. Giroux, 2015) when criticising the neoliberal approach to education that is becoming increasingly dominant. Bessie is one of those arguing for a more technically centred education in suggesting that the:

“Tech Titans’ passion for education reform has been avarice - that ultimately they are in public education to open up a new market, to privatize for profit, all sold to the public cynically in the name of social justice and basic human rights. In essence, this education philanthropy is a plutocratic power-grab” (Bessie, 2013: 3).

This led to a situation where, despite the political soundbites, the laudable educational aims of critical thinking, historical analyses, consultative dialogue and the development of capabilities to enable conceptualisation of alternative worlds, have been sacrificed at the altar of blind rational instrumentalism that is promoted by global corporations and ‘corporate submissive governments’ for the sake of short-term expediency.

However, most answers, as in this case, lie between an either /or perspective. Neoliberalism has its excesses but it is clear that a marketing perspective is not completely wrong. Indeed, ultimately, a marketing perspective is about serving the ‘target groups’. The issue becomes how best to serve these target groups and in the light of which stakeholders? The section below will elaborate more on this issue.

## **Neoliberalism and society**

Neoliberalism holds that economic success comes from allowing the free intersection of market forces which are seen as the most rational and efficient ways of running economies. It advocates an individualist ideology that is built around free competition. Although the ideology has

been challenged on both historical and social grounds, its success has been such that large sections of any society perceive this ideology as the 'natural way of things'. Monbiot states:

“So pervasive has neoliberalism become that we seldom even recognise it as an ideology. We appear to accept the proposition that this utopian, millenarian faith describes a neutral force; a kind of biological law” (Monbiot, 2016: 2).

Irrespective of whether neoliberalism is just a hypothesis that is hugely supported by the very few so-called one per cent where the concentration of power and wealth resides (Neate, 2017; Frank, 2017), such ideology is seen by many social theorists as the biggest threat to democratic values, social protection and the formative cultures that are pre-requisite to them (Denzin, 2015).

Clearly from both an SM and a DE perspective, a radical neoliberal perspective does not seem to give too much consideration to humanitarian values of justice and inclusion, thus making it a target to establish a more caring system that values all members of society. DE has long worked to expose the insidious neoliberal views that can be found throughout our institutions so that they covertly support its systems of influence. Neoliberalism has even been accused of side-lining humanistic sciences that are the main source of the critical sciences so as to support the technical approach to education. Among some of the dominant theorists and exponents of DE are Paulo Freire (1970) who spent a large part of his life trying to help the poor learn basic skills whilst raising awareness among them of the 'enslaving ideologies' behind the structures that make up the institutions that govern our daily lives (e.g. governmental, economic, educational and even domestic and family lives) with a view to challenging them to make the world a better place.

On the other hand, SM does not at the outset reject a technical perspective to achieve its aims. Indeed, its eclectic perspective is open to

using tested technical tools to resolve human problems. Accordingly, SM opts to use all technical dimensions that make the capitalist model so powerful, including the successful techniques of marketing, and use them for the good of society. This approach helps ‘pacify’ the extremist cruel capitalism into a more benign capitalism. It also helps prevent replacing one extremist ideology with another one as happens in a revolutionary change. An evolutionary mode would seem to be wiser and may help prevent jumping from the proverbial frying pan into the fire.

### **Procedural similarities?**

In this section I will look at both the strategic and methodological research dimensions of DE and SM. Starting with the use of critical research methodologies, a cursory look at DE publications (e.g. see Bourn, 2015) suggests that DE has demonstrated more readiness to adopt various discursive methodologies which appear to be hardly touched by SM. Perhaps this is partly due to the fact that education has already been at the forefront of the disciplines willing to adopt the latest qualitative methodologies. Nevertheless, DE’s very aims (e.g. transformative learning, social/economical justice, human rights and global citizenship) make it fertile ground for ideas that analyse power structures with a view to challenging them.

As discussed below, qualitative research has developed a lot over the last 20 years or so (e.g. Denzin and Giardina, 2015; Fourali, 2017b). It has developed as an independent discipline which is no longer considered as an adjunct to the so called objective experimental quantitative approaches. It has also become a hot bed for many new innovative approaches that help address previously uncharted territories. These areas have been exploited by education in general and more particularly DE. The choices that are offered to the qualitative researcher are numerous (Fourali, 2017b). As argued by Denzin and Giardina (2015) such varieties were brought about by a number of milestone conflicts. First, it was the throwing down of the gauntlet by post-positivists and

constructivists against positivism (1970–1990). This was followed by the tripartite war between post-positivism, constructionism and critical theory paradigms (1990–2005). In turn these led to conflicts between those advocating evidence-based methodologies supporting mixed methods on the one hand, and those advocating more interpretivist or critical approaches (2005 to the present).

Denzin and Giardina (2015) also identified a new area of interest that is developing in parallel to the last, evidence-based methodologies, that is vying for recognition in the form of the ‘posts’ and critical methodologies. These include post-colonial, post-qualitative, post-humanists, postmodernists, poststructuralists as well as the various ‘critical methodologies’ (such as critical pedagogy, critical constructionists, feminists) and what became known as the performance studies.

Although DE seems to have ‘experimented’ significantly with most qualitative approaches, DE is yet to demonstrate its fluency with the latest approaches in the form of the later ‘post methodologies’. DE has developed some key principles characterising its approach to research such as the following (see Skinner, Blum, and Bourn, 2013; Rajacic et al., 2010):

- Developing a global perspective to the world;
- A value based approach to learning;
- Participatory and transformative learning processes;
- Competencies of critical (self) reflection;
- Supporting active engagement (for a more just and sustainable world);
- Active local and global citizenship with a view to encourage civil society and foster a living democracy.

Although the above aims look very worthwhile, it seems there may not be enough direction in terms of general steps for achieving the above.

What SM seems to lack in adoption of the critical perspectives (as evident in DE) appears to be compensated for by a more systematic and practical perspective that help it to achieve its aims. SM practitioners tend to be first and foremost action-led and their approaches include a careful analysis of the sources of influence on 'consumer behaviour' and the development of strategies for encouraging positive and adaptive changes in their target populations. Just like its sister discipline of marketing, SM brings the interplay of all disciplines' models and theories to help induce the changes. In fact, SM advocates have been trying to develop their general strategy for undertaking SM projects since the early days of this new discipline. Indeed, Fourali (2016), having looked at several models of strategic use of the SM methodology, derived one of the latest frameworks for undertaking an SM project. Accordingly, the following steps are advocated:

1. Problem identification: This would usually be highlighted by a government department, public bodies or NGOs.
2. Planning: This is a preliminary scoping of the problem including a broad understanding of the causes and stakeholders affected/concerned with it.
3. Purpose/mission: Here the general purpose of the project is highlighted. The purpose could range from raising awareness about a problem to changing attitudes in populations affected.
4. Situation analysis/market research: Here an in-depth analysis of the targeted population is undertaken. It should identify the key challenges and opportunities.
5. Target groups/obstacles: As a result of the above analysis the project would be in a position to identify the most affected target group(s) so that they represent the main focus of the projects. The target group is usually that most vulnerable to the problem at hand.
6. Objectives: At this stage, the objectives of the project are clarified with the purpose of facilitating the measurement of the

effectiveness of the project in achieving them. Types of objectives would clarify aspects such as how many people will become aware of, or change their attitude or behaviour with respect to the problem at hand.

7. The customer proposition: Here the project managers need to identify a worthwhile 'customer proposition' in the form of an attractive offer to the target group for changing their lifestyle to adopt a more constructive life style.
8. Selecting a marketing mix: Here the project needs to identify the details of the offer that should help the target population to change for the better.
9. Resources: Here the project managers will need to identify all resources available that can support the project. For example, this would include government support (e.g. through policies), academic advice, NGOs, responsible businesses and so on.
10. Implementation of the campaign: Here the project will implement the above decisions. The implementation will need to find a way of reaching/recruiting members of the target group(s) and inducting them through the steps of the change process.
11. Monitoring/evaluation: The process will need to be managed systematically with adequate monitoring of the effect it may be having on the target groups.

('SM planning steps' adapted from Fourali, 2016; Fourali, 2017a).

It is clear that the above steps may go through a number of iterations to make the necessary adjustments as the project proceeds.

It is worth reminding the reader that DE does refer to some broadly similar steps but what seems to be lacking is clarity on what may happen in each of these steps. For example, Bourn (2014) suggested the steps of: identification of issues, investigating them, seeking solutions,

carrying out actions and evaluating impact. Additionally, some frameworks were suggested for identifying areas of focus of DE such as a 'global outlook', 'recognition of power and inequality', a 'belief in social justice' and a 'commitment to reflection and dialogue' (Bourn, 2014: 2). However, neither the previous steps nor these areas of focus by DE represent clear enough advice about the various options at each level of these dimensions and, more accurately, guidance on how to undertake a DE project.

There should be no reason why DE does not adopt a more practical and strategic perspective to helping realise its aims of social justice. However, for some reason such a perspective does not come across as clearly in DE publications (e.g. Bourn, 2014) as opposed to the SM publications. Perhaps DE wants to avoid being too prescriptive to allow plenty of flexibility to its practitioners; or is it because the work tends to be unduly interpretive in exposing 'symptoms of injustice' that it may sacrifice (perhaps intentionally) the clear steps needed for implementing solutions? Indeed, such an approach seems to be highlighted in some DE work that suggests suspicion towards what could be considered 'instrumentalist approaches'. As Skinner et al suggest (2013: 8) development education 'indicates a need to reaffirm the social purpose of education, placing an emphasis on the learning processes themselves, rather than inputs and outputs'.

At the risk of upsetting some DE colleagues, one might argue that this may be an approach that misses the opportunity to offer a better model of addressing the problem with the hindsight of a DE analysis. Indeed, the point was made elsewhere (see Elliott, Fourali and Issler, 2010) that arguing for the need to accord equal consideration to all groups of populations, especially those traditionally disadvantaged, does not preclude us from choosing a set of values and linked methodologies that we could work together with until we decide to change them. Being overly wary of all methodologies may mean missing the opportunity for



convergence or worse, getting to a situation of stagnation. Such an approach that considers DE as primarily an opportunity for shooting down in flames all suggested solutions without producing alternatives will do a disservice to its constituents. Helping develop possible practical solutions can be helped by referring to the SM approach.

Conversely, there may be several areas where DE can support the delivery of SM. In particular, it may help highlight the critical aspects associated with the underpinning 'philosophy' of a project (e.g. individualist or inclusive?), the assumptions made about the targeted populations, the policies (and social culture) that may focus more on changing the victims rather than the general system that helped create the identified problems.

### **How about the respective effectiveness of DE and SM?**

Perhaps this is the most challenging area in comparing the two approaches. This is because while there are many examples of effective approaches to measuring SM projects (Kotler and Lee, 2008; Robinson et al, 2014; Fourali, 2016), as shown below, there seems to be a comparative paucity of such studies in DE. Although there have been systematic attempts at demonstrating the effectiveness of DE, these tend to be either patchy or not systematically included.

There appears to be a strong awareness of the need for developing tools for measuring the effectiveness of DE (e.g. McCollum et al, 2001; Storrs, 2010). Already in 2001, McCollum provided useful advice on measuring the impact of DE when she advised that demonstrating effectiveness should take the form of three questions with a view to, one, clarify why are we engaged in development education; two, determine the actions that need undertaking towards our goals; and, three, demonstrate how we are going to plan, organise and manage our activities. A few years later Annette Scheunpflug and Ida McDonnell (2008) produced what may be seen as the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

(OECD) manifesto for the need to demonstrate the effectiveness of DE's work. In particular, they derived an evaluation cycle framework that was adapted from Stufflebeam and Shinkfield (2007) that demonstrates the purpose and criteria for adequate evaluation.

The framework is very similar to an action research framework which again supports the view that, just like SM, DE is best supported by an action-based type of research agenda. The report also referred to a number of evidence-based 'good practice initiatives' including one that highlighted the need for measuring public support in the form of a web-diagram reflecting influence on knowledge, opinion, participation, development of civil society and political support. In parallel and subsequent to this call for action, a number of initiatives were undertaken to demonstrate the effectiveness of DE (e.g. see Youthnet, 2010). In particular, two reports may be worth referring to. One is by Allum et al. (2008) who highlighted the need for measuring attitudinal change to demonstrate the impact of teaching initiatives (such as classroom resources). Storrs also (2010) articulated a very strong argument for the need to adopt evaluation tools whilst addressing resistance to such adoption. He argued that without such systems it would be difficult to demonstrate the impact of DE initiatives. Storrs argued for the adoption of an evaluation system akin to the 'balanced scorecard' (Kaplan and Norton, 1992). Other papers also referred to the need to adopt measurement strategy tools (e.g. IDEA, 2011; Graugnard and Oliveira, 2009).

Nevertheless, it may be fair to say that there is still a long way for the DE performance movement to go before it reaches a credible degree of maturity. This is because, despite large steps taken over the last ten years or so to demonstrate the effectiveness of DE initiatives, there is still a lot of ground to cover before a systematic strategy is adopted. A strategy that does not shy away from borrowing tools routinely from best practice in any discipline as long as their relevance is not only made clear but

threats or limitations highlighted. What is meant here is not just a strategy that measures before and after changes of attitudes (as done, for example, by Allum et al., 2008), although this is welcome, but a strategy that starts from the broad aims of DE and how these have been translated into practice and have been achieved.

A key question on achieving aims is to decide on the steps that need undertaking in order to achieve them. One great advantage of DE over SM is that it has commonly agreed goals. This means that two levels of evaluations may be undertaken as follows: one, macro level evaluation, can measure changes of attitudes, behaviour, politics etc., as a result of the number of DE projects undertaken in a country, or even, economic area (such as the European Union). Indeed, one might argue that there are natural links between the various aims of DE such as justice, liberty, global citizenship, as they mutually support each other. Consequently, one project purporting to effect change in one area would affect change in the other areas. A second level of measurement can be undertaken at the micro level focusing on the specific achievement of a particular project, in the short and long term, in the targeted populations. Unfortunately, there still remains a lot of work to be done to meet the above aims but perhaps one of the starting points for DE practitioners is to review best practice, e.g. in the form of ‘meta-analyses’ (in the broadest sense) and associate it with certain performance measurements.

Notwithstanding the above arguments, perhaps one should highlight some possible causes of reluctance/hesitation on the part of some DE practitioners that may have slowed down the adoption of performance related frameworks, which in turn could become the basis for cumulative DE wisdom that can be contributed to by all practitioners. Such slow development may be due to a number of reasons including:

- 1           Suspicion of ‘business-related’ tools which may be seen as the tools of the neoliberal enemy.

- 2 Perhaps linked to the last point, is the view that many educational measurement initiatives tend to restrict the educational enterprise to a limited practical and vocational aim with no other purpose than preparing the learner for a job.
- 3 DE studies tended to be more of the critical, interpretive nature rather than focusing on empirical support.
- 4 DE tends to focus primarily on specific, unique contexts that prevent comparison. Such a view may lead to a unique methodology (participatory approaches to action research) which may not be appropriate for other situations.
- 5 Another reason, referred to earlier (Storrs, 2010), is the fear of evaluation.

Indeed, all the above points appear to relate to each other. For instance, all points appear to have at their base either cognitive (e.g. perception of educational evaluation), emotional (suspicion, fear) or behavioural (DE methodology) dimensions that reflect a basic distrust of measure orientated methodologies. Nevertheless, these may be seen as lame justifications. Even the argument that some methodologies may not apply to all contexts does not preclude the possibility of extrapolation from one situation to the other.

SM, by contrast, has offered several studies demonstrating its effectiveness (see Fourali, 2016). Since SM tackles a variety of social issues, ranging from smoking and obesity to mental health and citizenship, it needs to study its effectiveness in all the areas it tackles. These include 54 interventions associated with health issues (Stead et al., 2006), a NESTA (2008) study with 81 case studies and 21 literature reviews in order to identify the most effective characteristics of SM, and more recently a study carried out by the Centre for Disease Control and Prevention covering 22 studies focusing on 25 different groups (see Community Guide, 2015; Robinson et al., 2014). Most studies

demonstrated the significant effect of SM interventions as well as areas that maximised the effect of SM.

### **Derived lessons and the way forward**

Overall, both DE and SM are disciplines that seem to have derived from a 'mother' discipline in order to focus specifically on more humanitarian goals. They both can benefit each other at a number of levels. At a philosophical level, DE has more developed traditions, emanating from generations of studies on educational goals, on principles and philosophies that can help create a more just and equal society. At a methodological level, DE also has a longer tradition of using and evaluating research through in-depth analyses that adopt a variety of qualitative approaches.

On the other hand, SM has plenty of hard-fact systematic studies borrowed from marketing, its predecessor guide, but is now developing its armamentarium by borrowing from a variety of social sciences. It is eclectic with a view to maximising the effect of its programmes. SM has also demonstrated a higher sensitivity to demonstrating its effectiveness. There is no surprise here since it is derived from marketing that was meant to serve very commercially-minded masters who would be very loath to undertake any activity unless its effectiveness has been demonstrated. Accordingly, SM has always been keen to take steps back both within and between projects to review the degree of effectiveness of its projects.

It is worth noting here that SM social workers decided to adopt the marketing principles not as a submission to the neoliberal philosophy (profit before people). Rather they adopted the effective tools of the neoliberal philosophy, especially the marketing approach, with a view to ensuring that their work is more efficient and effective. SM tendency is not to be limited in its methodology as long as the purpose is being served. However, it is also important to offer practitioners options about the steps

and how to implement them so that they can decide which framework may apply more to their context. In SM for example while many marketers are happy looking at a contextualised marketing mix (quality of service, cost of change in a wide sense, ease of access and adequacy of communication with stakeholders), others would prefer to adopt one of the newly derived marketing mixes (alternative to standards definitions) as they believe they better serve their purposes (see Fourali, 2016).

One of the ways in which SM can benefit from DE is the strong awareness of the effect of early education on the attitudes of pupils and, later on, adults. DE is very well aware of the concept of power and its insidious effects in our societies. In particular, DE does not withhold from questioning how such powers can be reflected through a number of institutions including what may be called the triple domination bottom line of media, finance and political hegemony. DE would provide the critical ability that goes beyond the here and now finding of the solutions. Questions such as why some crimes go 'legally' unpunished while lesser criminals may spend years behind bars (consider the irresponsible behaviour of many financial executives associated with the onset of the last economic recession)? DE has a tradition of helping change perceptions of groups of people that may have been victims at one or more levels. Consider for example the hundreds of thousands of migrants fleeing the Middle Eastern wars who, after months of life and death challenges, reached European countries to only be regarded as terrorists (Crone et al, 2017; Osiewicz, 2017). The irony becomes even more real when many European intellectuals consider that some of the greatest recent terrorist acts have been perpetrated by western powers (e.g. see Chomsky, 2014; Chomsky, 2015; Euronews, 2015). For example, Palestinians suffered the double victimisation of being robbed of their country and being regarded as terrorists if they dared resist the persecution by an enemy whose power is only trumped by its blindness to the generations it is claiming to protect (Pruszyński, 2016).

As in principle the procedure of SM is compatible with DE's approach (e.g. link between principles and practice, action research, evidence based decisions etc.) one way forward could be an integration between the two approaches. For example, an SM worker may add the DE dimensions to inform the project (not only critical awareness of the reasons that led to a state of play) but also the importance of considering education as one of the targets for developing balanced opinions and healthy attitudes. As an example, projects that aim to address cigarette smoking or responsibility towards the environment should not only be undertaken *after* people pick up the habits but rather prevention should be a long-term aim of such projects. Conversely a DE project could consider how the SM procedure can be incorporated into the DE project by considering the systematic analysis of a problem, how it affects various target groups and what would constitute attractive 'offers' that would not only make the learning more appealing but the impact more apparent.

There is clearly a lot in common between the two disciplines. They both aim for the welfare of humanity as a whole and aim to use approaches that are consultative and action-based because of the very nature of their similar philosophies. DE wants to give a voice to the disadvantaged while SM argues that there is a developing technology for addressing effectively social ills. It also argues that unless the target groups (the customers) see the benefits of its offer, the projects will not work. It is important to remind ourselves that whilst blind humanism is ineffective, blind instrumentalism is misguided. Indeed, it was Paulo Freire (1970) who suggested that the answer should not lie in the rejection of the machine but rather in the humanisation of man. Hence while the human dimension should be the guide, both facets are needed for effective action.

This article has argued that with the benefit of mutual learning between these two very humanistic disciplines, their work should become

more effective thereby helping transform our societies for the better, more quickly.

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# Viewpoint

## WHAT'S TO BE DONE WITH OXFAM?

Michael Edwards

“Tensions between reform and transformation are hardwired into the NGO community and look set to continue, unless or until some large-scale shock arrives to force through more fundamental changes—like the end of foreign aid, or the removal of public credibility in the wake of some massive scandal, or a blanket ejection of foreign organizations by Southern governments. **But those prospects seem remote.**” (Edwards, 2016)

Well, ‘be careful what you wish for.’ Eighteen months after I wrote these words that “scandal” has come to pass, though exactly how “massive” it is a matter for debate. As allegations of sexual abuse and exploitation by a small number of Oxfam staff (O'Neill, 2018) in Haiti, South Sudan and Chad, and in some of its shops in the UK (BBC, 2018) have exploded around the charity's head, there have been many forceful and legitimate demands to tighten up procedures, make reparations and strengthen accountability so that such instances are prevented wherever possible and dealt with decisively when they do happen. ‘Case closed,’ you might say.

Except that critics have used this opportunity to castigate Oxfam, NGOs and foreign aid in much more general terms. What has occurred proves that charities are corrupt and incompetent (*The Sun*, 2018), they say, that they have no ethics or moral value (Sculthorpe, Martin and Ferguson, 2018), and that aid should therefore be abolished (Hurst, 2018). Even friendlier critics like Larry Elliot (2018), Suzanne Moore (2018) and Deborah Doane (2018) (all writing in *The Guardian*) have

accused Oxfam of abandoning its moral core, practicing colonialism and becoming little more than an international business.

Meanwhile Oxfam itself is in turmoil, offering a delayed, incomplete and surprisingly cack-handed response which goes against its own communications advice and ignores decades of experience in how to handle revelations of this nature: tell the whole truth as soon as you find any evidence of wrong-doing; do everything you can to prevent it happening again; and don't allow abusers to slink away silently into the rest of the system—regardless of any potential embarrassment, loss of funds or legal complications. Don't hedge or fudge or offer unconvincing justifications of what you *can't* do, and don't wring your hands in public.

Only one head has rolled thus far (Neuman, 2018) in this fiasco, but would you or I have done any better under such enormous pressures? Speaking as an ex-Oxfam manager, I'm not sure I would. And in any case, isn't it a bit gratuitous to use the pain and trauma of all those involved as a hook on which to hang a lecture about the politics of the international system, or to mount generalized attacks that are largely spurious?

I've been a critic of NGOs like Oxfam myself for many years, but I value the international solidarity they can help to build when they are at their best. I'm trying to see all sides of the story and avoid throwing any babies out with the bathwater, so for me the question boils down to this: is there a link between what happened in Haiti and what needs to happen in the aid sector more broadly going forward? If not, we should limit ourselves to addressing the case in hand and its consequences. If yes, there's a legitimate claim that Oxfam and the others should use this opportunity to make those broader changes, and be held accountable for doing so.

At the simplest and most basic level, abuse and exploitation happen when someone near the top of a hierarchy uses someone lower down who has less power, outside of a system of clear rules and



accountability. The fact that this case concerns the hierarchy of an NGO or the aid industry more broadly is irrelevant—unless one believes that Oxfam is staffed by saints or that institutions behave more ethically just because they say so. We know that neither of these things are true, and I’m certain that we’ll hear more evidence to substantiate that fact in the coming months as other instances of abuse come to light in other settings.

In a recent interview with AFP about the Oxfam furor, Mike Jennings, head of the Department of Development Studies at the University of London’s School of Oriental and African Studies, said this:

“Emergency situations are almost a perfect environment for these kind of activities to emerge. You have extremely vulnerable people...and a few people who are effectively controlling access to resources, or have huge amounts of power. Whenever you have those inequalities and variances in power, you have scope for abuse.” (Gonzalez Farran, 2018)

That’s true, but ‘access to resources’ and ‘inequalities in power’ are not a given. They are formed in particular contexts by human hands, and they can be re-formed in similar fashion. Inequalities in power and resources are what Oxfam and the others were set up to confront and ultimately transform, not just in relations between men and women or employers and employees but throughout society and its institutions—and especially between rich and poor. You can’t secure those sorts of transformations unless you attack their constituent parts at the level of daily practice, and it’s here that the link between the specific and the general becomes a little clearer.

For at least the last 25 years there has been a lively debate about power, aid and NGOs (Edwards, 2016), focusing on the inability or unwillingness of agencies to hand over control and share their resources—as opposed to building their own brands and competing for market share from their fundraising base in the global North, and

notwithstanding the recent trend to decentralize some parts of their operations. There are echoes of this debate among the friendlier critics of Oxfam since the Haiti scandal broke. The central issue is that, while NGOs are happy to criticize inequality when it is caused by others—billionaires for example, or the World Bank or multinational corporations—they have not been prepared to face up to the inequalities for which they themselves are at least partly responsible.

Those inequalities stem from a failure to build or support indigenous institutions in order to remove the need for any foreign presence, and the taking away of political and intellectual space from organizations in the global South, and grassroots groups everywhere, in the worlds of advocacy, research and campaigning.

If inequality is tolerated anywhere it can be reproduced everywhere; by contrast, if it is honestly acknowledged and dealt with in one part of the system it can act as a spur to confront other inequalities elsewhere. That, it seems to me, is the potential wider significance of what has happened in Haiti. But it's important to note that reducing inequality doesn't automatically curb sexual abuse and exploitation. There are no saints in the global South either.

Hence, it is not gratuitous to link yesterday's horrific school shooting in Florida (Burch and Mazzei, 2018) to the need for gun control across the USA. Specific cases call for a generalized response, not just improved security in one school. In the same way, putting measures in place to curb sexual abuse in one agency or country requires us to look more deeply into the inequalities that lie at the root of the problem, and to address them in a general framework. Although that may sound unlikely in the heat of the current moment, its results could be revolutionary. We may finally get a healthy, ethical and equal-minded movement for international cooperation to confront global problems.

Can its own #metoo moment help the aid industry to question and transform its role in this way? When you face an outside threat to your integrity, and even to your existence, it's difficult to focus on anything except circling the wagons in order to survive. But the emotional experience of vulnerability—the enforced stripping away of arrogance and defensiveness and inertia—can also create a space for acceptance, an acceptance that things do now need to change.

At the human level we should all feel for Oxfam's staff in these times, just as we must feel for those who have endured abuse and exploitation at the hands of a very small minority of their number. As the global leader of the NGO community Oxfam has a special responsibility to make sure this opportunity isn't wasted.

### **Acknowledgements**

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# EMBRACING DISCOMFORT: BREXIT, GROUPTHINK AND THE CHALLENGE OF TRUE CRITICAL THINKING

**Martin Pollard**

**Abstract:** This article argues that the left-liberal bias in the teaching profession can stifle genuine critical thinking amongst learners. Schools are increasingly committed to classroom debate about issues like Brexit, but should confront their own internal biases in order to make such debates effective. Methods such as Philosophy for Children, which encourage open-ended discussion and reflection, can support learners to articulate challenging viewpoints. The article argues that all educators should be open to changing their views, and should distinguish between 'disagreeable' views that are unacceptable, untrue or merely uncomfortable. Recognising that complex issues may have multiple internally coherent responses, and that not all 'acceptable' opinions are on the left of the political spectrum, is vital for encouraging genuine debate within development education.

**Key words:** Critical thinking; Controversy; Debate; Brexit; Political bias; Philosophy for Children; Argument; Reason.

## Introduction

At a conference in Bucharest recently, I was jolted out of my comfort zone. I was in a room with 60 or so educators from 21 countries. There we were, working on the kind of European Union (EU)-funded partnership projects that, we like to think, play a key role in supporting our young people to be internationally engaged, cosmopolitan citizens of tomorrow. With Wales in my heart but the United Kingdom on my badge, inevitably the topic of Brexit soon arose. 'Wasn't it terrible?', my colleagues sympathised. 'Didn't I despair of the democratic deficit that took us to this situation?' 'How could we continue positively after the UK had sailed off into isolationism?' A young guy from Macedonia begged to differ. Voting for

Brexit was, he said, the best thing the British public could have done. It meant freedom, the chance to set our own path, and delivering the UK from the shackles of a bureaucratic bloc that was doomed to die in any case.

Eyes widened; there were quizzical looks and sharp intakes of breath. How could this be said – at an EU-funded meeting of minds in an educational context by someone from a country whose own ambition is to join the group of 28 (soon 27)? This is speculation on my part, of course; I didn't ask what was behind those raised eyebrows. But it is not pure speculation to suggest that in teaching circles, especially in the UK, it has become received wisdom that Brexit will be a Very Bad Thing. Shortly before the UK 2016 referendum on membership of the EU, a poll showed that teachers would vote to 'remain' by a margin of 70 percent to 23 percent. Even amongst the over-50's – the most ardent 'Brexiters' in the general population – there was a clear majority. In addition, only 12 percent of teachers believed Brexit would have a positive impact, compared to 51 percent who felt it would be negative (Busby, 2016).

For development education, which purportedly prides itself on critical thinking and analysis of different perspectives, this received wisdom is worrying. In this article, I'll claim that to truly embrace critical thinking, educators need to be prepared for learners to hold views which they may find uncomfortable, but which may nonetheless be rational and internally coherent. I'll argue that a belief in fundamental values need not mean that everyone shares the same politics, and will call for educators themselves to examine their own values and beliefs, so that we engage with learners in a collective search for truth – whatever that may be.

## **Groupthink**

Just now I claimed that the kind of 'groupthink' exemplified by views on Brexit is a worrying development; it is not, however, a new one. I've had hundreds of conversations with teachers and other educationalists in the past 15 years, and it's fair to say that the stereotype of the 'liberal lefty'

teacher is relatively accurate. Teachers tend to be people who support the idea of the collective social good, and who think the government should spend more to equalise opportunities in society. Despite the ever-looming pressures of exam grades, I think most teachers would prefer to invest more effort in supporting children with fewer life chances to ‘pull themselves up’, rather than training a well-educated elite to boost their school’s academic ranking. These types of views are why many teachers entered education in the first place, and they often go hand in hand with other manifestations of left-wing politics. Environmentalism, internationalism, unionisation – it would be a strange school, in the UK at least, which did not exhibit all of these traits in one form or another. I am not making the case that such political tendencies (which for the most part I share) are in themselves a damaging environment for education. But when these general traits spill over into groupthink on specific political issues, we have a problem. There is very little research out there on schoolteachers’ political attitudes, though there is plenty about the left-liberal bias in higher education (e.g. Carol, 2017; Langbert et al., 2016). There are, however, many first-hand accounts which reinforce the stereotype: you could start with the story of the supply teacher who was sacked for defending Conservative policies (Baron, 2016); or the teacher writing anonymously in *The Guardian* (2017) to lambast his school for being a left-wing echo chamber that stifled meaningful discussion. This creates an uncomfortable environment for teachers themselves, who may hold other views but are reluctant to share them, up to the point of literally fearing for their career. But more importantly, groupthink amongst teachers risks choking off genuine, open-ended political discussion amongst students; when ideas become institutionalised, it’s a tough task to remain completely neutral in the classroom. A cosy consensus, no matter how fundamentally humane or benevolent we believe it to be, does not look so cosy when it starts to bear the hallmarks of indoctrination.



This left-liberal bias is entrenched and persistent, despite prevailing right-wing governments in Europe, and the rise in popular nationalism across the world. In the UK it is challenged regularly by a predominantly right-wing press, controlled by right-wing business interests; though perhaps little attention is paid to such challenges by a young populace who are increasingly abandoning the dead tree press (YouGov/*The Guardian*, 2013: 5-9). The fact that the right holds such power within the media and politics might suggest that a bias to the left in our schools does not matter; or that it exists but is failing to indoctrinate our young. But I am not claiming a clear causal link between the views of teachers and those of learners, or that the environment of consensus and subtle indoctrination will necessarily influence learners' attitudes in the long term. Instead, my argument is that such an environment makes it more difficult for learners to confront global issues in a more genuinely critical way, evaluating competing viewpoints for their merits.

### **The third sector and development education**

To illustrate this challenge, allow me to make a detour for a moment. I no longer work in the education system, but in a charity that, among other things, promotes development education in Wales. In a non-profit world – the third sector, as we call it in the UK – which is every bit as left-leaning as the teaching profession, my social democratic views are quite mild. As a result, I have regularly embroiled myself in debates about issues on which third sector workers have their own echo chamber of acceptable views.

A good example is the controversy surrounding genetically modified (GM) foods. I agree with many of my colleagues that making widespread use of GM is not the only answer to solving global food security. There are significant practical challenges to making this technology work for the benefit of the world's poorest farmers. Nonetheless, I feel strongly that GM is an important part of the longer-term picture. The fervour with which many environmentalists argue against GM goes beyond the practical; they oppose GM on principle. I find

this unhelpful, and oddly irrational for environmentalists who are keen to espouse science when dealing with climate change sceptics.

I raise this issue not because I want readers to agree with me on GM foods but because I've experienced significant social pressure not to share these views; as if by holding a more nuanced, measured opinion about a key touchstone issue, I will somehow undermine a crusade. I've resisted these pressures, but it isn't always easy. Amongst environmentalists, opposing GM is an entrenched, institutionalised view that seems rarely to be debated in an open way. Even if the Soil Association or Friends of the Earth count pro-GM folk amongst their supporters, those individuals would need to be pretty hardy to challenge the consensus.

## **Brexit**

Now let us return to the school environment. In principle, I'm sure that most teachers accept the need to engender debate in the classroom. In recent years it has also become common practice for such discussion to move beyond the obvious places – for example, citizenship or civics classes, or perhaps English lessons where they can be used to test oral skills – and to take place as part of a school-wide commitment to communication skills or development education. On one level this is clearly a positive development, as it demonstrates an increasingly holistic, cross-curriculum approach to discussion and debate. And yet, to what extent are teachers being enabled to facilitate such discussions effectively? How many teachers feel genuinely able to put aside received wisdom and their own biases, and to tackle challenging issues in a way that is not only open (asking for different views) but open-ended (not requiring a particular conclusion)?

The topic of Brexit is a helpful example here. Around the time of the UK's referendum in the summer of 2016, I was told of an excellent debate that had taken place in one secondary school in Cardiff. Teams of pupils had researched arguments on both sides and the school had held a

mock referendum (I'm not sure who won). Yet I also heard from an education adviser who told me that she was surprised by the lack of engagement with this hugely important issue in other schools, as if its mere controversy was enough to discourage teachers from involving their students with it. Having spoken to many teachers since then, and not found a single pro-Brexit voice amongst those who have expressed a view, I'd suggest that groupthink also played a part.

In an opinion piece for the *Daily Mail*, Calvin Robinson (2017), a teacher in North London, discusses the 'impulse towards the censorship of views that did not fit the progressive orthodoxy... Only Brexiteers were to be silenced'. For sure, the *Mail* is a right-wing mouthpiece that regularly features claims about 'brainwashing' in schools. That, though, should not diminish the relevance of Mr Robinson's views. He also recalls a teaching aid to help learners understand the difference between the political left and right:

"...this document told students that Left-wing meant 'the NHS', 'helping people' and the theory that 'everyone should be equal'. Right-wing meant 'Hitler', 'less help for people' and a rejection of equality..." (Robinson, 2017).

Such examples may be isolated, but I would hazard a guess that they are not. Since the referendum, most Brexit opponents I have met – overwhelmingly good, honest people with sincere intentions – bluntly believe that 'Brexiteers' are racist, stupid or both. Because voting to leave the EU is so far beyond the pale, it is impossible for many to imagine that such individuals have rational, non-prejudiced motives for their beliefs. This is exacerbated by the fact that the most vocal Brexiteers are on the political right, already viewed by many left-wingers as a refuge for racists and scoundrels.

## **Philosophy for Children methodology**

Combined, this set of circumstances creates a significant barrier to debate in the classroom. To create the conditions for a truly open-ended debate, teachers must cast aside their personal political biases, the collective bias of the school environment, and the surrounding ideological prejudices that the left creates about the right. This is tough but possible; there are excellent methodologies available to develop just this kind of environment. My own experience centres on the Philosophy for Children approach (also known as Communities of Inquiry), which casts the teacher as a neutral but supportive ‘facilitator’ of dialogue focused on the learners’ own open-ended questions. It emphasises the social aspects of learning (caring and collaboration) as well as critical and creative thinking, and encourages both learners and teachers to make space for reflection and evaluation. Philosophy for Children is supported by considerable academic research (SAPER, 2015), but it does ask schools to make a significant commitment to professional development, because this ‘neutral’ role is not one that comes naturally to us all.

Some will argue that ‘neutrality’ has the potential to lessen the impact of development education; that learners should, in fact, be encouraged to take the side of global justice and equality, and to stand against unfairness, intolerance and bigotry. However, this claim is effectively only stating that schools should encourage learners to be ‘good’, ethical people; something it is hard to argue against. My aim here is specifically to address the problem of political bias in schools, not to propose that schools become centres for amoral, conceptual pontification.

Indeed, few Philosophy for Children practitioners would argue for some sort of context-free, ‘neutral’ environment in which all opinions go unchallenged as part of some therapeutic self-affirmation exercise. Such an approach would devalue rationality and the search for truth, and would clearly fail to develop learners’ thinking skills. In the UK, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) has a legally mandated commitment to what is called ‘impartiality’. As a result, Britain’s state broadcaster faces

continual, politically motivated sniping about its failure to uphold these standards; it also ends up giving air time to climate change deniers because this is thought to introduce balance into a purportedly controversial debate.

Instead, learners need support to develop higher-order reasoning skills alongside a keen appreciation – but not necessarily acceptance – of their peers’ different stances on globally important issues. The school environment should empower them to probe, to contemplate, and to articulate potentially challenging viewpoints; and to feel confident in changing their view based on rational considerations, not on the peer pressure created by prevailing political winds. If this process is successful and teachers find the resulting opinions difficult to accept, then so much the better: our goal should be to create independent thinkers who can engage with the world in new ways, not clones of ourselves. In fact, I’ve met excellent teachers who enthuse about their learners’ ability to persuade them of a different view. A continual refinement of views and values is essential for an enquiring mind, whatever our age or experience; it also feels liberating. ‘Stop thinking that you have all the answers’ is stock advice in self-help books for a good reason.

### **Unacceptable, untrue, or uncomfortable?**

We disagree with people for various good reasons. Here’s a useful piece of advice for teachers (or indeed anyone – try playing this game when you read the latest tweets from Donald Trump). The next time you hear an opinion you disagree with, try to categorise it: is the opinion unacceptable, untrue, or uncomfortable? Of course, there is considerable interplay and overlap between these categories. To ground the point more clearly in development education practice, let’s take the example of a classic ‘controversial’ issue – migration.

If an opinion is **unacceptable**, that might mean that the person expressing it has gone too far. No-one wants schools to be places where obviously extreme views go unchallenged. If, during a class discussion on

migration, a learner puts forward an opinion based on plain racism (for example, accusing people of a particular ethnicity of being lazy or deceitful), it will be unacceptable to most and should be treated as such. If things get extreme, many schools will have existing policies on how to deal formally with such expressions of prejudice. Ideally, though, discriminatory speech will be dealt with by other learners calling it out – a good sign of a healthily functioning environment for classroom debate.

While schools should welcome a diversity of views, they should not depart from certain fundamental principles that guide their work, or that underpin a positive development education programme. It seems to me that respect for human rights is one such key pillar: a non-negotiable factor in encouraging positive global citizenship, which should not be subject to the whims of cultural relativism. As a subset of human rights, a commitment to equality and (some version of) democratic participation also seem to me to be clearly desirable.

If the learner's opinion seems to be **untrue**, that is a different matter. An important principle of rational debate is that a claim can be verified by hard facts. Take, for example, the claim (often repeated by the media in the UK) that an unfair or overwhelming number of asylum seekers are arriving on our shores. Learners may need support to discover the fact that (say) in the last hour, 1,200 people worldwide have been newly displaced from their homes, but only four of them have arrived in the UK; or that the UK only received 3 per cent of EU asylum applications in 2016 (UNHCR, 2017). But these are facts and they certainly have a bearing on what you might call the 'range' of sensible views that one might hold on this topic.

In a social media age in which 'fake news' allegations have become part of the daily currency of political discourse, it is all the more critical – but also more challenging – for learners to be able to judge the credibility of information they access. A Stanford University report in 2016 found a 'dismaying inability by students to reason about information

they see on the Internet’, and warned against the assumption that ‘because young people are fluent in social media they are equally perceptive about what they find there’ (cited in Donald, 2016).

So, opinions founded on prejudice or lies can justifiably be said to invite challenge or correction. On the other hand, if an opinion is **uncomfortable**, that’s where the real soul-searching might be found. If a learner tells me that they think immigration should be reduced, or that we should reduce rather than increase our commitment to resettle refugees, my instinct is to immediately disagree with them. Being of the classic left-liberal persuasion, I fundamentally believe that immigration is a good thing, both culturally and economically, and frankly I savour the opportunity to assert this point to anyone who will listen (and a few who won’t). But what if my fellow interlocutor has a more nuanced view? What if, in fact, they are making a claim about the damaging ‘brain drain’ of qualified medical practitioners to Europe from developing countries, or suggesting that it’s better to fund neighbouring countries to support refugees than to bolster dangerous people-trafficking routes into Europe?

Or what if our learner is not saying either of those things? What if their considered view – which is shared by three-quarters of the British population (British Social Attitudes Survey, 2013) – is that there are too many immigrants or refugees in the UK, based on a different interpretation of the economics or a concern about the capacity of government services? Or what if they’re making a subtler cultural point about the changing demographics of the UK, which cannot be simply labelled as xenophobic? These are not – or at least not necessarily – incoherent or irrational arguments. They may be more readily associated with people on the right of the political spectrum, but even this is probably a misperception on the part of the liberal left. The British Labour Party’s traditional working-class voters form a significant section of those seven-tenths of the British public who want immigration to be reduced, and even under Jeremy Corbyn’s strongly left-wing leadership, the party has hardly been unequivocal in its support of immigration (Chessum, 2017).

The same questions can be applied to discussions about Brexit, or about the Trump administration in the United States. Just as it is unhelpful to assume arguments against increased immigration are racist, so it is lazily intolerant to write off both Brexit and Trump (both of which secured popular democratic support) as merely symptoms of ignorance and prejudice. To do so is not only unnecessarily offensive to large swathes of the population, but risks undermining the practices of critical thinking, empathy and reflection that are so critical to development education.

To approach controversial issues in development education, we therefore need to encourage discussions that are based on verifiable facts; grounded in respect for equality and human rights; and aimed at promoting a positive sense of global citizenship. Beyond this, we should not be limiting our learners' capacity for critical thinking and reaching their own judgements about issues that are by nature complex and contested. And while there may be no way around the teaching profession's left-liberal bias, it is a bias that many of us need to recognise in ourselves, so that we can act positively to counteract its potentially pernicious effects.

When we talk about critical thinking, we should not use this as a euphemism for a series of discussions aimed at bringing learners around to our way of thinking. We should not accept an environment in which uncomfortable views are quashed by disapproval, rather than challenged through critical analysis. We should promote robust but respectful dialogue, and both teachers and students should learn to embrace discomfort and the possibility of change.

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# Resource reviews

## ***THE HAMMER BLOW: HOW TEN WOMEN DISARMED A WARPLANE***

**Paul Hainsworth**

Andrea Needham (2016) *The Hammer Blow: How Ten Women Disarmed a Warplane*, London: Peace News Press.

Andrea Needham's incredible true story has been written and published twenty years after the historic event at the core of the book's title. A collective of ten committed and courageous women got together to plan and carry out the disarming of a British Aerospace made Hawk aircraft plane, scheduled to be sold to Indonesia, where it was destined to be used in that country's brutal occupation and subjugation of East Timor (i.e. Timor Leste). In 1975, following the collapse of the Portuguese empire and its longstanding colonisation of East Timor, the latter territory was invaded and appropriated by the Indonesian dictatorship of President Suharto, ushering in a quarter of a century of vicious rule. Many thousands of Timorese were killed and Hawk combat airplanes were observed in action over the territory.

In this context then, Needham and her Seeds of Hope friends and peace travellers - after much campaigning and lobbying, unsuccessfully, for a halt to the export of the Hawk planes – took it into their own hands (literally) to plan meticulously over nearly a year to break into the airplane hangar at Warton, Lancashire and disarm a Hawk aircraft. The women wanted a handy name to encompass their action, and came up with the rather long mouthful: 'Seeds of Hope East Timor Ploughshares: Women disarming for life and justice' (55). Given the rather unwieldy length of this descriptor, in practice, they settled more simply for 'Seeds of Hope'.

As the book explains, the women contended that they were carrying out a lawful and responsible action; they were preventing a crime taking place

in East Timor. The author is keen to explain the nature of Ploughshare actions. Thus, Ploughshares is not an organisation; there is no formal structure, no membership nor board of directors, and no specific creed. Rather, it constitutes a non-violent and accountable action of disarming a weapon. Ploughshare activism aspires to set an example to others to be accountable too. As Needham contends: ‘We are willing to face the consequences of what we have done, and we expect nothing less of governments and corporations’ (39). British governments had provided export licenses to British Aerospace and the latter was selling offensive, combat aircraft to the Indonesian dictatorship. Therefore, these parties had to be answerable and accountable for resultant deaths in East Timor.

At the same time, the women half-expected to go to prison for their activity. Previous Ploughshare actions in the UK and elsewhere had resulted in spells in prison from a few weeks to eighteen years (36). As far as possible then, the women prepared for imprisonment and saw it, at least, as a possibility. As regards the Seeds of Hope preparations, Needham writes about the ten months of long and sometimes convoluted discussions of the women; weekends discussing philosophical and practical questions; days and nights at Warton in wet ditches and icy weather; and days of watching and waiting nearby the British Aerospace site in order to be sure about the exact location of the Hawk planes, and to be prepared for action. ‘It was not a process for the fainthearted’, said Needham (54). Interestingly, though, the author presents the specific action of weapon disarmament virtually as a simple do-it-yourself job. As she suggests, in one of the most memorable assertions of this engaging and engaged book:

“One of the beautiful things about Ploughshares actions is that anyone can do them. You don’t need to be a technical genius or an engineer, you don’t need to be physically strong, you don’t need any expensive equipment or special skills. All you need is a hammer and a functioning arm” (91-92).

Ploughshares activists take their inspiration from a biblical verse – notably the opening line: ‘They shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks’ (35). Though Needham points out that the activists are not confined to the Christian religion (38).

Following on from the action and the arrest of the four women at the centre of the enterprise (Andrea Needham, Jo Blackman, Lotta Kronlid and Angie Zelter), they spent six months in prison detention, which was a far from ideal situation in which to prepare for the court trial that followed. Several of the short chapters of the book focus on prison times and the variegated experiences of life inside. Thereafter, several more chapters cover the trial of the women in court in Liverpool. The course of the four days in court is dealt with in some detail by Needham, amounting to a fascinating blow by blow account of the proceedings. The author relates, too, how tactically one of the women would have a barrister and the other three would represent themselves. It was useful to have a barrister (Vera Baird) on board in case any difficult legal issues arose and needed responding to. Also, Gareth Pierce – who had handled the Guildford Four and Birmingham Six cases – agreed to act as solicitor. Unsurprisingly, some key moments and arguments punctuated the legal process. Notably, the prosecution was keen to establish that the Hawk aircraft was primarily a trainer aircraft rather than a combat airplane, whereas the defence – i.e. the Seeds of Hope women, the legal team and expert witnesses argued and testified to the opposite, pointing to the primacy of the Hawk aircraft as a combat airplane. Again, the defence sought to contrast the British Aerospace’s obvious concern about the damage done to their aircraft with their zero concern, actually and bluntly stated in court by a senior British Aerospace manager, over what was being done to the Timorese people. Moreover, Angie Zelter sparred in court with the prosecution in order to assert that the disarming of the Hawk was not a publicity stunt, but an act of crime prevention (229). Another theme that the defence team stressed was that British Aerospace was in breach of the Genocide Act, aiding and abetting genocide.

In summing up, the prosecution defined the Ploughshares action as a case of ‘damaging property that belonged to someone else’ (248-51). The women had been ‘genuine and sincere in their opinions’, but ‘what they did was very, very, irresponsible’ – ‘they did what no reasonable, law-abiding person could consider to be justified’ (250). Therefore, the jury panel was advised: ‘the only way of dealing with that is to apply the common sense and the reason you have and return a guilty verdict. In reply, the defence used the Criminal Law Act 1967 and international law to justify the validity of the action. For instance, Vera Baird maintained that the prosecution had not argued that the force used in the situation had been unreasonable, whereas the women had not had committed criminal damage without a lawful excuse. Moreover, Angie Zelter spoke about international law and the Nuremburg trials following World War Two. Arguably, it was not enough to not commit crime but ‘we also have a responsibility to act to prevent crime when we see it happening’ (252). Therefore, she explained:

“Governments and companies such as British Aerospace are often treated as if they’re above the law. Their crimes are usually unrecognised. This is the point of international law: to control the worst excesses of these bodies” (252).

The climax of the book is the jury’s verdict of ‘Not guilty’ on all counts of criminal action and conspiracy. Needham portrays it as ordinary people being vindicated by ordinary people in Liverpool, on behalf of ordinary people elsewhere. The jury had seen what was right and just: ‘Ordinary people in Liverpool had acted in solidarity with the people of a tiny country on the other side of the world’ (273). The action and the verdict validated the argument that it was right to campaign and be proactive for global justice and the lives of others. Of course, this was not the viewpoint of all. The media response was mixed. Some right-wing tabloids and local papers were particularly shocked and unhappy with the verdict.

By way of conclusion here, the book can be seen as a unique and powerful story. Global solidarity, justice, campaigning for peace, sisterhood

and direct action are to the fore. Appropriately too, the book is a Peace News publication, which serves to underwrite the theme of collective nonviolent action. Also, a strong feminist theme infuses the writing as befits an all-female collective. In Needham's words:

"I very much liked the idea of women's solidarity, of taking action with a group of strong women, of being powerful and bold together...I liked the idea of a group of women disarming these bloody weapons, these weapons that were – by and large – designed by men, licensed by men, sold by men into a world in which power was overwhelmingly wielded by men" (50-51).

More broadly though, solidarity and togetherness was at the heart of the action and involved not only the ten key women, but also women's groups, campaigners, supporters, solidarity and action groups, NGOs, prison visitors, court attendees, family members, donors, academics, experts/specialists, religious practitioners, ordinary individuals, politicians, the legal team and more. The acknowledgements pages are very fulsome and probably not complete too. Moreover, communications from East Timor helped to sustain the women, who knew that people therein and globally were aware and supportive of their action. A testament to the book's importance and the action's significance are the body of tributes recorded within and on the cover of the publication, emanating from a galaxy of expert observers and/or witnesses (including, for instance, José Ramos-Horta, John Pilger, Carmel Budiardjo, Chris Cole, Benjamin Zephaniah and Caroline Lucas). Pilger's ground-breaking documentary film 'Death of a Nation' (Munro, 1994), about the 1991 Santa Cruz massacre in Dili cemetery, East Timor, had been an inspiration to the Seeds of Hope women and many others globally.

The book is very well-written in an engaged and engaging way and, in effect, reads like a thriller. The cover page sums up accurately the focus and tone of the book and is worth including here: 'Andrea Needham's gripping inside account of how ten women disarmed a warplane bound for genocide in East Timor – and were acquitted'. The disarming of the plane is a particularly



spellbinding part of the book – although the finale to the action is more a case of humour and incredulity. The women wanted to be arrested, to be accountable for their Ploughshares action. But, in the surprising absence of security guards: ‘We waited and waited. We sang a song. We talked...’ (94). Moreover, Needham injects the writing with a lot of personal and collective soul searching, of reasoning and self-reflection. Looking back on the experience many years later, she explains in her conclusion how it has been difficult for her to get jobs and forge a career as a result of it. After all, she had a criminal record because of her peace activities at home and abroad, in the United States (US) and the United Kingdom (UK). In this respect, she paid the price for her actions and was prepared to do so. But, was it worth it? After all, the Hawk aircrafts did get sent to Indonesia eventually. Needham asks herself this question and provides a measured response – see below.

Earlier in the book, she had recorded how the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas, had described – in what became a well-known potted summary to Timor-watchers – how East Timor had served as a pebble in the shoe of Suharto’s regime, and how it evolved to become a boulder therein, until finally the constitutional status of the territory had to be considered directly on. Thus, in 1999, a referendum was brought in (by Suharto’s immediate successor, BJ Habibie) and the people of East Timor, amidst serious intimidation and killings, voted overwhelmingly against Indonesian occupation and rule. Then, after a short period of United Nations control and management, the territory emerged as an independent nation-state in 2002. In this context, Needham - whilst recognising and acknowledging the bitter resistance struggle of the Timorese people - feels that what the Seeds of Hope women did was to ‘contribute in some small way to the goal of turning the pebble of East Timor into a boulder’ (290). It’s a reasoned summing up. The global solidarity campaign was recognised as playing a supportive role in the struggles of the Timorese people and the Seeds of Hope action was a significant and inspiring contribution to the overall campaign.

Additionally, the book and the action at the core of it have an obvious importance in promoting a call for activism against the arms trade, when the

latter's exports have resulted in weapons being used recklessly, notably in the global South. At time of writing, for instance, British export licences (again) have been granted whereby weapons have been bought by Saudi Arabia and used against the civilian population in Yemen. At the same time, Iran's support for the Houthi insurgency therein makes the situation even worse for the civilian population at large. The book and the Seeds of Hope activism serve as reminders that the selling and misuse of arms has not gone away. Moreover, Needham is very critical about the failure of the incumbent British Labour Party, in office from 1997 to 2010, to honour its much proclaimed ethical foreign policy – notably as regards arms sales. More recently, at the Labour Party Conference in September 2017, the Shadow Foreign Secretary (Emily Thornberry) was particularly critical of the thousands of children killed and injured in Yemen by air strikes, as a consequence of Saudi Arabia 'defending itself'. She committed a future Labour government to bringing in a new standard for controlling arms exports and offering 'a shining example to the world'. In response to this, Campaign Against Arms Trade (CAAT, 2017: 7) responded with caution: 'This is encouraging but we need to make sure the Labour leadership keeps its word and that the inevitable lobbying by the arms industry does not undermine the commitment'.

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## ***ACTION ON GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP TEACHER TOOLKIT***

### **Review by Anna Grindle**

Global Action Plan (GAP) Ireland (2017) *Action on Global Citizenship Teacher Toolkit*, Dublin: GAP

The *Action on Global Citizenship Teacher Toolkit* is an activity resource that aims to bridge the gap between Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) and Development Education (DE) through an environmental education perspective. Set firmly within the context of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and acknowledging the need for a generation of youth to be aware of and believe in the goals, the resource aims to support students to grow into active global citizens, to be skilled in evaluating their own personal ethics and the impact of their decisions, and ultimately be drivers of change.

At first glance, the resource is attractively laid out and very accessible at fifty pages long. The resource makes use of key methodologies which have had long-standing appeal in the field of Development Education, can be applied in the context of different themes and support processes of questioning, thinking, discussion and reflection. The resource is structured into eight chapters; each focusing on a particular theme with notes for introductory, main and extension activities. Promoted as a toolkit, the resource should be used as such and it is helpful to think of each chapter more as a mini-teaching unit than a single lesson. The resource makes clear links to the Junior Cycle of the Irish Curriculum, in particular highlighting several Statements of Learning (SOL), and Learning Outcomes in the Civic, Social and Political Education (CSPE) Short Course in Global Citizenship.

### **Sustainable Development**

The introductory chapter on *Sustainable Development* (SD) provides an introduction to the SDGs, outlining suitable activities for pupils to explore

common discourse around SD. The first activity is simple and energising, asking pupils to jot down words or phrases associated with SD, before working in groups to draft their own definition of Sustainable Development and then referring to official definitions.

The main activity is a more complex take on the popular moving debate, and effectively provides an opportunity for students to engage with all 17 SDGs. Rather than a simple agree/disagree debate with two options, pupils prioritise the SDGs in groups of four – having already listened to peers outline key indicators and issues associated with each SDG. After four rounds of moving debate the students have engaged with all sixteen thematic goals, with one final round pushing them to choose which goal is the most important. This develops the notion of the complexity and interconnectedness of the SDGs; that while they are all important individually they need to be considered together, as one impacts the other. Finally, students consider SDG 17 (Partnerships for the Goals) and the need for people to work together.

## **Development**

The second chapter on *development* packs a lot in. The teachers' notes delve straight into key words and concepts within development discourse: *aid, development, economic circumstance, social development etc.*, and refer to a Venn diagram to frame Sustainable Development. Consisting of three interlocking circles of social, environmental and economic factors; then merging spaces of socio-economic, socio-environmental, and eco-economy factors before positioning sustainable development at the centre, this diagram seems quite complex given that it is students' first point of enquiry into the concept. The suggested United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) video 'What is Human Development?' stretches the discourse even further with phrases like 'qualitative life, participation in economy, qualitative education' flashing up against a fast-moving, infographic-based animation background with voice-over commentary.

The introductory photo-matching activity involves matching one of eight photos to an official definition of development. While it is beneficial for students to engage with official definitions, at times they present quite a lot of information for students to absorb. The photo-matching activity is a suitable exercise, providing examples of different types of development, and good visual resources to support whole-class and group work. However, the preliminary stimulus material in the video and diagram is incongruent and confusing, missing the opportunity to consider the meaning of development in its simplest terms.

The main activity uses the Development Compass Rose to enable students to think critically about the positive and negative effects of a development project - considering natural environmental, economic, social and power/governance issues through a visual framework and trigger questions. This methodology allows the teacher to pitch the case study to the level of the students: they might consider the impact of a national infrastructure project, or something local such as the development of a new shopping centre.

It would be worthwhile to consider this chapter in two parts. An initial exploration of the concept of development would be helpful, also highlighting the difference between aid and development. The photo matching activity can be used to emphasise how different interventions can contribute to development, wellbeing and human rights. The chapter could then offer a more in-depth exploration of development, revisiting the photos and matching them with definitions of development. The Development Compass Rose could help students consider how an intervention can accommodate a more holistic approach to development.

## **Ecological Footprint**

Chapter three considers our personal relationship with the environment through the impact of our daily lives, known as our *ecological footprint*. The concept of footprints on wet sand offers an excellent metaphor for students to relate to. The notes provide a clear definition of an ecological

footprint, and the introductory activity encourages pupils to think about their own water/carbon footprint over a day which really brings the concept down to individual and collective experiences.

The main activity is a simple and effective take on the popular World Café activity. Students take their own drawings and photos of things that contribute to their own ecological footprint, and suggest actions that could be taken at individual, school/community, national and global levels. With the carousel elements of this methodology, each group builds on the ideas of the former. The extension activity provides a practical opportunity for students to follow through on some of the individual actions suggesting how they collectively make a big difference.

## **Global Justice**

Chapter four, focusing on *Global Justice* looks at fundamental concepts such as power, influence, reach and action, while engaging students on climate change for the first time. The idea of introducing the concept of power as repression (power over), empowerment (power within and power to) and collective action (power with) is strong. However, I feel there is a need to devote more time to develop students' understanding of power as a concept in its own right. Power is a useful conceptual approach that can be used to: understand the causes of poverty and environmental issues; understand impact and why some people are impacted more than others; as well as how power can inform responses to issues, whether at a programme, policy or campaigning level. It is also important to reflect on our own sense of power and how we use it.

The idea of looking at individuals and organisations and applying a 'power analysis' to their work in relation to climate change is a worthwhile exercise. An analysis of actions and responses to an issue lays a helpful reference point for when they plan their own action project as part of the focus on campaigns in chapter eight. The climate change video which leads into the exercise aims to provide a child-friendly introduction to climate change, but like the activity that follows, considers power only

in relation to *responses* to global issues, ignoring the role of power in relation to the causes of climate change and who is most impacted by it.

By focusing on power in relation to actions as a *response* to climate change, the teaching notes in this chapter do not offer a critical exploration of justice. Overall, the flow of the introductory, main and extension activities in this chapter is confusing. The activities seem simplified and misplaced within the scope and trajectory of this resource. For example, the extension activity suggests establishing a justice group without actually having critically considered the concept of justice, the relationship between justice and rights, and the historical relationship between power and global injustice.

### **Poverty and Inequality**

The fifth chapter on *poverty and inequality* has an excellent introductory activity which takes diverse, frank and detailed personal testimonies from people across the globe, and asks students to consider other people's experiences in light of their access to basic needs, rights, provisions and services, as well as indicators of empowerment. Students are encouraged to consider the subjective nature of poverty, assessing the reality of people's lives – what exactly is sufficient food in a day, and who determines this? The testimonies link the themes of the SDGs to lived experiences, and offer learners an opportunity to see how factors work together to either empower or limit an individual's experience.

The main activity focuses on the transition from the Millennium Development Goals to the Sustainable Development Goals. The referenced video is useful in setting the context, however, the use of V-Charts to frame actions for MDGs and SDGs is quite a self-limiting activity. A preferable activity may have been to research key achievements from the MDGs, acknowledge the limitations of some of the targets and identify reasons why they were not met. Students could consider why new goals were included in the SDGs, why there is a greater range and scope of goals, and what influenced this.



This chapter might work better by considering terminology related to poverty such as ‘relative poverty’, ‘extreme poverty’, ‘intergenerational poverty’, ‘poverty in Ireland and the UK’, ‘child poverty’, and ‘fuel poverty’. It is also worth considering measurements of poverty, e.g. the proportion of people living on less than \$1.00 a day. Students could research why there was a need to develop criteria for ‘measuring’ poverty, how such statistics are used, and how they have changed over time.

## **Climate Change**

In chapter six, the theme of *climate change* is introduced. The mix-and-match climate facts activity is a strong introduction for this topic. It integrates facts, draws on what students already know, and makes reference to Ireland’s contribution to climate change. Challenging students to explain climate change to a younger person is a quick test of their understanding of the complexities of the issue. Again, it engages the pupils on an emotive level, asking them to consider if it made them feel shocked, concerned, unsurprised or interested. It might be worthwhile for pupils to then reflect on whether (or not) and how these feelings act as triggers for action. The main activity, using the problem and solution tree, provides a framework to explore the complexities of an issue like climate change. It can act as a good reference point for learners over the course of a topic or series of lessons.

## **Sustainable Communities**

Chapter seven focuses on *sustainable communities*, and its inclusion is on merit. Students need to form a good conceptualisation of these terms - separately and together. What does sustainability mean for the planet, policy, innovation, our own personal lifestyles and choices? The notion of communities is being redefined – the community in which you live, communities of interest, the notion of a global community. Putting these concepts together is integral to the way we need to live. However, the activities do not provide an adequate engagement with the concept.

The introductory activity and the extension activity are about access to water; they flow together well and could be examined further on their own merit. The introductory activity asks students to consider what access to clean and safe drinking water means to them and how this might vary from country to country. The research aspect of this activity could be a lesson in its own right – with groups looking at different countries to contrast the limitations of water resources, reasons for this and innovative responses to use precious resources. The extension activity, placing students in solidarity with others by experiencing what it is like to walk to collect and then carry water can be a powerful experience for many young people.

The main activity, a case study on Cortes in Honduras is confusing. It is more a case study on planning for action at a time of disaster, rather than developing an idea of what a sustainable community is. Students essentially examine a rather simplistic map and decide where they might live, and after reading about Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) and unstructured information on Cortes, are asked to plan an escape route given that a flood has taken place. The teaching guidelines are minimal. Students are not guided through a process of considering why the town of Cortes is vulnerable to flooding, or to understand what is meant by a community asset. The information fleetingly mentions the principles that inform Disaster Risk reduction (DRR), an approach similar to participatory rural appraisal (PRA). PRA has been influential in the development of systems which form the basis of planning for communities to live more sustainably, and to use local assets, skills and knowledge as a starting point for development. Instead of looking at an escape route, students could study a successful example of where implementing these principles of community-led and asset-based development projects have been put in place, and so developing a firm understanding of what these concepts look like in practice.

While the Cortes case study draws on principles of community resilience and participation, it isn't specifically about sustainable

communities. To understand sustainable communities, students first need to consider key questions. Is a sustainable community about nurturing and developing community spirit and links, or is it about a community living sustainably through community-based planning? It could be both.

## **Campaigns**

The eighth and final chapter looks at *campaigns* as a key way in which young people can take action on issues that matter to them. The introductory activity asks students to identify and examine a campaign they are familiar with, with the help of some guiding questions. Alternatively, students can contrast information on two ocean waste campaigns detailed within the resource. The suggested organisations are interesting – addressing a problem which has recently had much media coverage. The campaigning side of their work goes hand in hand with practical steps, research and technology to take action on the issue, and it's important for students to understand that campaigning is one part of a number of responses to tackle global issues.

The main activity provides a framework for students to identify an issue and plan an action campaign of their own. Tools include a mind-map template to develop their ideas, as well as an action-planning matrix which helps pupils to consider the impact of different actions in terms of time and resources available, and what will have the biggest impact. This is supported by a visual resource to encourage pupils to think about actions at home, in the community and on a national scale.

An action project tracker helps students set out the key steps, actions, time-frame and responsibility for their project. The 'important steps' listed seem a little late at this stage, and really should have been built into the mind-mapping and action planning phase. The extension activity suggests pupils connect with the global South through a celebration of culture, twinning with pupils in a partner school, or sharing their action project ideas. All activities are worthwhile and would form an excellent project if planned well.

## Reflection

The resource provides an additional chapter focusing on *reflection*, with the provision of a few tools to assist. The timeline tool is a useful visual resource and could be used over the year at different points for pupils to review their learning. Pupils could also think of the affective dimensions of learning – were they at any point overwhelmed, did they have an ‘A-ha moment’? The Pair & Share activity is quite a powerful oracy tool to allow students to speak out their learning and reflect on how their values, attitudes and skills have been challenged, grown and developed – as well as hearing this back from someone who has been actively listening.

## Conclusion

This is a bright and accessible resource, providing some new takes on methodologies which have had enduring appeal. The eight chapters cover a lot of ground by touching on a range of key themes relevant to global citizenship. The resource is firmly aimed at a post-primary audience, although many activities would work well at upper primary at the teacher’s discretion. The resource should be used as a toolkit, with scope for a teacher to take many of the activities and structure their use according to the needs of their class.

In terms of curriculum, it fits well with the Civic, Social and Political Education (CSPE) Short Course in Global Citizenship and the Junior Cycle of the Irish Curriculum. In the Northern Ireland Curriculum, it sits within the Environment & Society area of learning at Key Stage 3, as well as the Global Dimension strand of Learning for Life and Work. It could also be used as a good base-resource in global youth work or extra-curricular setting focusing on issues of citizenship.

A couple of chapters, I felt, tried to cover too much without perhaps attending to the core concept in enough detail. However, at no time did I feel like students would be unengaged through any of the activities – they were all very active, using a variety of source material and options for students to work in different groupings. The launch of this

resource was supported by a series of 3-hour workshops for secondary teachers offered across Ireland, to allow teachers to explore the SDGs through interactive and creative activities. It is encouraging to see a teacher training element linked to a resource – all too often teachers are inspired by training, but left with the task of finding resources. This resource is excellent in providing a very accessible introduction to global citizenship themes, using key active learning methodologies and frameworks, which practitioners will be able to apply to other contexts and issues. This resource provides just enough content and stimulus material, coupled with flexibility for the practitioner.

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