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DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION AND MIGRATION

STEPHEN MCCLOSKEY

The myths of migration

Migration is often framed negatively in political discourse as an impediment to development, competition for native employment, a drain on resources or a threat to border security. The British Home Secretary, James Cleverley, for example, wrote in December 2023:

> "It is clear that net migration remains far too high. By leaving the European Union we gained control over who can come to the UK, but far more must be done to bring those numbers down so British workers are not undercut and our public services put under less strain".

This kind of immigrant framing is becoming increasingly common across Europe. In a longitudinal study drawing upon data from 22 countries over 18 years, Schmidt-Catran and Czymara found that 'anti-immigrant attitudes increase when political elites express more exclusionary sentiments towards immigration' and they result in 'polarisation along political and socio-economic dimensions' (2023: 85). On the other hand, inclusionary political rhetoric toward migrants can result in more public openness to inward migration (Ibid.: 101). This tells us that disinformation about migrants, refugees and minority ethnic groups can set 'the tone of the political discourse surrounding the management of migratory phenomena and the policies governing them' (Neidhardt and Butcher, 2022).

Incendiary political statements and policies on migration can spread racism and hostility toward migrants and put wind in the sails of the far-right. Hope Not Hate, an anti-fascist organisation, found in an analysis of 3,500 articles on migration in the far-right print media 'a growing symbiotic relationship' between British government politicians and the extreme right (Townsend, 2023).

The British government's plan to send asylum-seekers to Rwanda has been described by Amnesty International (2022) as 'shockingly ill-conceived', and by the UN Refugee Agency as 'at variance with the country's obligations under international human rights and refugee law' (UNHCR, 2023). 'Migration is an ideal topic for those pushing lies and half-truths to spread confusion, fear, anger, or prejudice', argue Neidhardt and Butcher (2022), which makes this issue of *Policy and Practice* particularly timely and important. Development education (DE) is a sector concerned with challenging myths and stereotypes that are designed to condition our passivity and silence, or used to invoke suspicion, fear and resentment toward the 'other'. As Paulo Freire argued, myths are 'indispensable to the preservation of the status quo' and are presented to the oppressed 'by well-organized propaganda and slogans, via the mass "communications" media - as if such alienation constituted real communication' (1993: 140). As Soye and Watters suggest in their Focus article for Issue 38, 'challenging mainstream media constructions concerning migration should be a key priority for development education'. Indeed, all three Focus article contributions to Issue 38 of *Policy and Practice* alert readers to deficits in development education responses to migration when it is being increasingly appropriated by the far-right to feed anti-migrant rhetoric (Townsend, 2023).

Culture wars

Development education has the tools to awaken critical consciousness and reject the 'slogans, communiques, monologues, and instructions' that Freire associates with a 'praxis of domination' (1993: 66; 126). Critical to this endeavour in the context of migration is challenging the culture wars stoked by politicians and the media using contrived or fabricated stories, to create societal divisions in order to advance political agendas (Walker, 2021). Culture wars are often targeted at working-class communities in economically blighted, post-industrial communities stirred up by attacks on 'woke' culture that 'distract the public from a low tax, low regulation, libertarian worldview' (Ibid.). They are the kind of communities that Elizabeth Meade's Focus article regards as subjected to 'epistemic injustice', lacking the pedagogical and critical skills and 'capacity to make sense of their lives'. A pedagogy for epistemic justice could draw upon the positive and, in some cases, essential roles performed by migrants in societies across the world. As the World Bank argues: 'Migration has proved to be a powerful force for

development, improving the lives of hundreds of millions of migrants, their families, and the societies in which they live across the world' (World Development Report, 2023: 1).

Remittances

The remittances sent by migrant workers to low-and middle-income countries amounted to $647 billion in 2022, an increase of eight per cent on 2021, overtaking Foreign Direct Investments and Official Development Assistance to these countries (IOM, 2023). For some countries in the global South, remittances represent a substantial percentage of their Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and significant source of development finance. The top five countries with the highest remittances to GDP ratio are: Tajikistan (48 percent of GDP), Tonga (41 percent), Samoa (32 percent), Lebanon (28 percent), and Nicaragua (27 percent) (World Bank, 2023: 4). Moreover, migrants boost the economies of their host countries with the OECD (2022) finding that migrants promote 'trade flows of their host economy and boost total imports and exports of their host region'. Additional to these economic benefits is the diversity brought by migration through new languages, lifestyles, faiths and cultures. The development education sector in Ireland and elsewhere has arguably yet to fully embrace the pedagogical possibilities represented by the rich cultural diversity added to societies across the world by migration.

There are, of course, significant challenges and inequalities attached to migration which development education should not ignore. They include the loss of highly skilled workers from countries in the global South, particularly from crucial public sector services like healthcare. The journalist Patrick Cockburn (2021) described Britain as a 'a parasite on poor countries by poaching their doctors and nurses'. He argues that Britain trains fewer doctors and nurses than it needs and makes up the shortfall by recruiting trained medical personnel in low-income countries, which not only impact health services but their economy (Ibid.). Cockburn, for example, finds that Kenya, a country with twenty million people living in extreme poverty, loses $518,000 for every doctor and $339,000 for every nurse who emigrates to the UK (Ibid.). There are also challenges to local councils, education and health sectors in the global North in meeting the social and economic needs of migrants and new communities, which can feed

into negative, false and sometimes racist, media and politically motivated narratives.

The migration push factors

However, the International Organisation of Migration argues that for centuries migration has been 'a cornerstone of development, prosperity and progress for many people' (IOM, 2024: 4). It estimates that there are 281 million international migrants who represent around 3.6 per cent of the world's population, and contribute 9.4 per cent of global GDP (Ibid.). And, we should never forget that millions of migrants are fleeing global inequalities created or accelerated by extreme wealth accumulation in the global North, with Oxfam reporting that 'the wealth of the world's five richest billionaires has more than doubled since the start of this decade, while 60 percent of humanity has grown poorer' (Oxfam, 2024: 4). Oxfam found that 21 percent of humanity lives in countries in the global North, yet these countries control 69 percent of private wealth (Ibid.: 5). This extreme wealth accumulation in the global North has been attended by high levels of carbon dioxide emissions, with the richest one percent of the world's population producing as much CO2 in 2019 as the five billion people who made up the poorest two-thirds of humanity (Oxfam, 2023: viii). This in turn will result in the massive displacement of people on the frontlines of climate change owing to extreme weather events that reduce crop yields, create water scarcity and increase poverty. In 2022, a record 32.6 million people were internally displaced as a result of weather-related disasters such as floods, storms, wildfires and droughts (Siegfried, 2023). Nor should we forget the terrible human loss of life among migrants fleeing these disasters, inequalities and conflicts in the global South, estimated by the IOM to be 6,060 in 2022 (IOM, 2024: 9).

Rather than erecting barriers to migration and forcing migrants to take life-threatening risks to find sanctuary, countries in the global North should provide safe routes through government re-settlement programmes that assist family reunions (Refugee Council, 2024). Instead, the number of safe routes, at least in the UK, appear to be dwindling, forcing migrants into the hands of people smugglers and the prospects of greater trauma than that which they fled in their countries of origin.

Neoliberalism, migration and racism

The first of three Focus article contributions to Issue 38, from Elizabeth Meade, debates the systemic causes of global poverty and inequality in neoliberal economics. The far-right in particular has seized on the effects of neoliberalism – flat-lining incomes, declining public services and growing poverty – to foster identity politics and attacks on the 'other'. As Meade suggests: the 'absence of a critique of neoliberalism can easily be filled with anti-migrant and anti-refugee narratives'. The far-right does not offer an alternative to neoliberalism but draws upon the well of public dissatisfaction and social upheaval caused by its chaotic policies, to stoke culture wars and division. Meade finds that the absence of a 'sustained public discourse' on neoliberalism and its discontents represents a form of 'epistemic injustice' for communities abandoned by political elites and 'restricted in their capacity to make sense of their lives'. Where Ireland once may have been an outlier in the scourge of racism, an outbreak of serious street violence in Dublin city centre on 23 November 2023 blamed on 'far-right agitators' and a series of anti-immigrant protests around the country, represented a wake-up call for many (McDermott, 2023). The protests and Dublin riot seemed to eerily anticipate the disturbing portrait of an Ireland in the grip of a totalitarian regime, presented in Paul Lynch's Booker prize winning novel, *Prophet Song* (Lynch, 2023). A line from the novel seemed to capture the idea of a nation in denial: 'All your life you've been asleep, all of us sleeping, and now the great waking begins' (Lynch, 2023: 38).

For Meade, there has been 'a failure in hermeneutical responsibility' as a lack of class and economic analysis from political left discourse has allowed cultural and identity politics to prosper. Development education, too, has gone missing in this debate as evidenced by Harm-Jan Fricke's (2022) research on neoliberalism which found that the sector had failed to engage the public with the economic causes of poverty and inequality. As Meade suggests:

> "Perhaps if people were armed with an understanding of neoliberal globalisation, and an awareness of how the system creates mass involuntary migration, displacement, racism, and inequality both at home and abroad, communities could work together to grow solidarity and direct their collective energies to addressing the real culprit".

Indian academics Swadesh Kumar and Prachy Hooda share Meade's concerns about a surge in support for the far-right and its damaging consequences for migrants. Their article contrasts media representation of two distinct refugee groups in India: Rohingya Muslims from Myanmar, and non-Muslim religious minorities from Pakistan, Afghanistan and other neighbouring states. Their article is framed by the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA), legislation sponsored by Narendra Modi's Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) as he seeks a third term in office. The CAA offers an amnesty to non-Muslim illegal immigrants from neighbouring countries but not the Rohingya Muslims fleeing repression in Myanmar. Kumar and Hooda employ a discourse analysis to show how the media lens of right-media print and social media platforms have fuelled the divergent framing of the Rohingya and non-Muslim immigrants. Myths and stereotypes have been employed to smear the Rohingya as criminals involved in drug trafficking and 'terror activities' while positively depicting non-Muslims. The proposed legislation violates the secular principles in India's constitution which 'guarantees all persons equality before the law' (BBC, 2024). Kumar and Hooda believe that development education 'can promote empathy, solidarity, and goodwill toward migrants fleeing war zones or facing tragic events'. Their article warns of the dangers of enshrining religious discrimination in law and the need for 'challenging misleading narratives, cultivating empathy, and nurturing a more humane perspective towards the "other"'.

The third Focus article in Issue 38 by Emma Soye and Charles Watters draws upon qualitative research carried out as part of a European Union (EU)-funded project in two English secondary schools that examined 'the impact of school-based interventions on young people's peer relationships in contexts of migration and displacement'. The research used focus group data and ethnographic field notes to capture the perspectives of students in response to development education interventions on migration and displacement. The development education projects involved both students and teaching staff in a rich mix of activities that included a classroom drama course and a 'Peer Integration and Enhancement Resource' (PIER) programme. The project outcomes reflected the capacity of development education to challenge prejudice and stereotypes toward migrants in the global North, and also the need to

encourage self-definition among young people who reserve the right to reject the 'refugee' or 'migrant' label. The project outcomes also pointed to the need for development education projects to engage 'with situated social dynamics' rather than 'adopt apolitical, culturalist approaches'. Soye and Watters offer valuable perspectives on how development education can support effective school-based initiatives on migration.

The Perspectives articles in Issue 38 draw upon rich examples of development education research and practice. Barry Cannon shares the outcomes of a research project titled 'Going Global', carried out in partnership with Irish international non-governmental organisations and development education practitioners 'to gather views from participants on the meaning and content of global citizenship'. Project delivery included two interactive workshops with personnel in the development education sector in Belfast and Dublin, that included theoretical inputs on global citizenship and discussion on these inputs in the context of participants' practice. The main finding from the project was that participants' attitudes to global citizenship could be grouped under three headings: pragmatic, agnostic and sceptical. This suggested that there is a deep unease, at least among some participants, at the adoption of 'global citizenship education' by the DE sector in Ireland. None of the research participants 'unreservedly endorsed the concept', but some found it 'useful to help understand or frame activities which connect local with non-local experiences'. Others, however, considered global citizenship a 'depoliticised concept' lacking a 'critical edge'. It is very likely that Barry Cannon's valuable report and article will provide a basis for further research and discussion on the implications of adopting global citizenship for the sector's policy and practice.

Alison Lloyd Williams, Corinna M Peniston-Bird and Karen Wynne's Perspectives article about a development education project in North West England on migration titled 'Migration Stories North West', is a valuable example of how the migrant experience can be effectively incorporated into a rich learning resource. The authors were part of an interdisciplinary team of development educators who mined the long and diverse history of migration into their region to highlight multiple local and global interconnections. Their research on migration 'from the past to the present to the future', fostered 'a sense of solidarity

that stretches not only across space and place but across time'. The stories researched by the project were captured digitally on an interactive map and reveal the 'push and pull reasons for migration including conflict, conquest and colonialism as well as the search for economic or educational opportunity and adventure'. The authors found that their methodology is 'readily replicable' and so could inspire development educators in other regions to become migration cartographers.

Maria Inmaculada Pastor-García, Antonio Francisco Rodríguez-Barquero and Juan González-Alegre are Spanish economists and have persuasively argued in their article how development education and the Sustainable Development Goals can be incorporated into economics teaching. They specifically argue that a development education approach to economics can enable learners to understand the positive social and economic benefits of migration. This article is yet another example of the flexibility of development education in supporting learning in a range higher education subjects and settings. The article concludes with the affirmative message that development education 'is well positioned to incorporate a positive economic narrative about migration into its programmes and activities thus ensuring that the public is better informed about this critical development issue'.

Migration and Palestine

Israel's military onslaught in Gaza, since the Hamas attacks that claimed 1,200 lives on 7 October 2023, has been unparalleled in our lifetimes and resulted in the industrial slaughter of civilians. At the time of writing (20 March 2024), 85 percent of the Gaza Strip's 2.3 million people are internally displaced, 31,819 are dead, 73,934 injured and 1.1 million 'are projected to face catastrophic levels of hunger and be at risk of famine' (Reliefweb, 2024). The combination of a complete siege of Gaza by Israel including food, water and fuel and an incessant military bombardment and ground invasion, has been described as a breach of the Genocide Convention by the government of South Africa (Swan, Symons and de Hoog, 2023; ICJ, 2023). More UN staff have been killed in Gaza (160) than in any other conflict in the organisation's 78-year history, and over 100 journalists, mostly Palestinian, have also died while bearing witness to the slaughter (Aljazeera, 2024). The civilian infrastructure in Gaza has been decimated with

360,000 residential units and 392 educational facilities damaged or destroyed; only 12 out of 35 hospitals partially functioning; 267 places of worship damaged; and 132 ground water wells damaged or destroyed (Ibid.). In short, all essential public services needed to sustain life in Gaza have been deliberately targeted which means that the combination of disease, hunger, water scarcity and lack of shelter are propelling an entire people to eradication.

The question for development educators is how do we respond to the crisis, and this is addressed with typical passion and insight by Henry Giroux's Viewpoint article in which he rejects the 'lens of false equivalency' that suggests 'all sides are equally guilty in the war on Gaza'. The conflict in Gaza and the West Bank did not begin on 7 October and is rooted in the 'long legacy of Israel's colonialism and politics of disposability'. Giroux urges educators to 'reject attempts at censorship' and 'to refuse to run away from topics that are controversial, especially in a moment of disaster, war, and mass suffering'. Remaining silent in the face of this war, argues Giroux, will enable the 'politics of right-wing racists, antisemites and Islamophobes' to prevail. These comments resonated with me when Aaron Bushnell, a 25-year-old active-duty member of the US Air Force, self-immolated outside the Israeli embassy in Washington on 25 February 2024, in protest against the 'genocide' in Gaza. His final words were 'Free Palestine' (Stieb, 2024). Bushnell posted this message on his Facebook page before he died. His words warrant careful reflection by all those in the development education sector who have stayed silent on Gaza these past 166 days.

> "Many of us like to ask ourselves, 'What would I do if I was alive during slavery? Or the Jim Crow South? Or apartheid? What would I do if my country was committing genocide?'.
>
> The answer is, you're doing it. Right now" (Ibid.).

There are two other insightful contributions on the migration debate in Issue 38. Emma Soye, Assistant Editor of *Policy and Practice*, interviews Frank Berry, the director of the feature film 'Aisha', which tells the story of a Nigerian asylum seeker caught for years in Ireland's Direct Provision immigration system. And, finally, Gerard McCann reflects on the devastating impact of the COVID-

19 pandemic on the education of migrant children who 'lost an average of almost a year's worth of education' owing to major failings in international policy architecture including the UNESCO Incheon Declaration and Framework for Action for the implementation of Sustainable Development Goal 4. McCann argues for 'properly managed and supported migration policies' particularly in the area of education which is critical in 'building a positive migration experience'.

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Focus

Epistemic Injustice, the Far Right and the Hidden Ubiquity of Neoliberalism

Elizabeth Meade

Abstract: This article argues that a contributing factor to the rise of the far right is a lack of knowledge and understanding of neoliberalism among the general population, specifically how neoliberalism is a leading cause of global inequalities and injustices. Drawing on the work of Fricker (2007), Medina (2012; 2013) and Spiegel (2022), I suggest that the absence of a sustained public discourse addressing the root causes of social and economic inequality can be understood as a form of epistemic injustice, as knowers are restricted in their capacity to make sense of their lives. In turn, they are more susceptible to far right rhetoric and disinformation that seems to offer them a narrative that explains their struggles. In the final section of the article, I look at one way that development education (DE) can help to address this aspect of the problem. I argue that DE needs to return to its radical roots, and refocus on its commitment to explore 'the root causes of local and global injustices and inequalities in our interdependent world' (IDEA, 2020: 13). Additionally, DE ought to go further still and empower people to see that neoliberalism is a choice, and not an unwavering natural condition. DE must foster pedagogy of hope in opposition to the lingering Thatcherite legacy that 'there is no alternative'. We must dare to imagine that another world is possible.

Keywords: Epistemic Injustice; Neoliberalism; Development Education; The Far Right.

Introduction

One of the features through which neoliberalism has come to be the dominant ideology of our time, with devastating consequences for global communities and the very sustainability of our planet, is its hidden ubiquity. The hegemony of

neoliberalism renders it almost nameless, certainly in the everyday discourse of ordinary working people who have fallen prey to the dominance of market forces and the encroachment of private market interests into increasing aspects of their lives. As David Harvey wrote:

> "Neoliberalism has, in short, become hegemonic as a mode of discourse. It has pervasive effects on ways of thought to the point where it has become incorporated into the common-sense way many of us interpret, live in, and understand the world" (Harvey, 2005: 3).

This article argues that a contributing factor to the rise of the far right is a lack of knowledge and understanding of neoliberalism among the general population, specifically how neoliberalism is a leading cause of global inequalities and injustices. Drawing on the work of Fricker (2007), Medina (2012; 2013) and Spiegel (2022), I suggest that the absence of a sustained public discourse addressing the root causes of social and economic inequality can be understood as a form of epistemic injustice, as knowers are restricted in their capacity to make sense of their lives. In turn, they are more susceptible to far right rhetoric and disinformation that seems to offer them a narrative that explains their struggles. In the final section of the article, I look at one way that development education (DE) can help to address this aspect of the problem. I argue that DE needs to return to its critical origins, and refocus on its commitment to explore 'the root causes of local and global injustices and inequalities in our interdependent world' (IDEA, 2020: 13). Additionally, DE ought to go further still and empower people to see that neoliberalism is a choice, and not an unwavering natural condition. We must dare to imagine that there are socially just alternatives.

Neoliberalism: hiding in plain sight

One of the most serious problems of contemporary capitalism is socio-economic inequality (Piketty, 2014). The 2022 *World Inequality Report* finds that the poorest half of the global population barely owns any wealth at all, possessing just two per cent of the total. In contrast, the world's richest ten per cent own 76 per cent of all wealth (Chancel et al., 2022: 10). In Ireland, the Central Statistics Office (CSO) annual Survey on Income and Living Conditions report showed that there were 89,288 children living in consistent poverty in Ireland in 2022.

This was a 40 per cent increase from the year before (CSO, 2023). Global inequality is rising under the dominant economic ideology of our time. This situation is neither inevitable nor unavoidable.

Although initially conceptualised as an economic model, growing in global dominance over the last fifty years, neoliberalism's pernicious reach stretches far beyond our economic affairs (Brown, 2019; Giroux, 2008; McCloskey, 2022). Neoliberalism is also understood as a form of political, cultural and subject production (Brown, 2019), shaping people's social relations, desires, values and identities (Giroux, 2008). A central feature of neoliberalism, as Wendy Brown reminds us, is its 'drive to economize all features of existence, from democratic institutions to subjectivity' (Brown, 2019: 11).

Despite the extent to which this ideology has wreaked havoc around the world, it is rarely identified in popular mainstream discourse. The dominance of capitalism has come to be regarded as common sense, and unquestionable, as though it was a natural law that we must simply accept and learn to live with. This is unsurprising given that the long history of systemic violence used by the powerful to enforce this oppressive economic system is neglected almost to the point of its eradication (Angus, 2023). Consequently, the metaphysical view of human nature as inherently greedy, self-interested and competitive, which justifies capitalism, likewise commonly goes unchallenged. As the journalist George Monbiot succinctly wrote in relation to neoliberalism, 'what greater power can there be than to operate namelessly?' (Monbiot, 2016).

A central feature of neoliberalism is strong individualism and the collapsing of public issues into private concerns. Success is governed by individual effort in the level playing field of life, or so the story goes. Put forward initially as a way to address inequality by the centre-left, the idea of 'equal opportunity' convinced people that if they worked hard enough, and tried their best, their efforts would be rewarded. The prevalent belief in meritocracy serves to reinforce individualism and the mistaken faith in what Michael Sandel called 'the rhetoric of rising' (Sandel, 2020). But as Sandel argued, inequality is built into the fabric of the system. In a deeply unequal world, one's good fortune is mostly determined by accident of birth. The wealthier parties will always have the

resources to maintain the relative gap. Meritocracy is a myth. Nevertheless, for many, faith in this meritocratic myth persists. This is unsurprising given that it is reinforced by hegemonic mainstream discourse that encourages people to simply try harder. Social 'winners' mistakenly believe themselves to have earned their position, while those at the bottom of the economic ladder are told to blame themselves even though they could do little to change their circumstances (Monbiot, 2016; Stanley, 2018; Sandel, 2020). The 'winners' are also kept from seeing reality as it is. They are 'blind to their own blindness' (Medina, 2013: 75).

These dominant neoliberal myths often clash with the everyday lived experience of many people, who, despite seemingly playing by the rules, still struggle daily. Growing wealth and income inequality compels people to question why, despite doing their very best, they are finding it increasingly difficult to secure stable housing, access basic health care and obtain non-precarious employment. People have a growing intuition that something is amiss. However, as the ideology of neoliberalism is so embedded in the dominant culture, and dominant media, one finds little conceptual help in mainstream collective interpretative resources to answer their concerns (Spiegel, 2022). Whilst staying within the competitive logic of neoliberalism, and in the absence of the identification and critique of the system itself, it may seem logical to believe false narratives and disinformation that blame marginalised and othered communities as somehow skipping the queue or taking your fair share. If one knows that they are doing their very best, and yet they struggle daily, the lacuna created by an absence of a critique of neoliberalism can easily be filled with anti-migrant and anti-refugee narratives.

In the next section I examine how one of the causes of the recent global rise of the far right is the ability of these nefarious actors to take advantage of people's concerns and anger and exploit it for their own gain.

Neoliberalism and the rise of the far right

In recent decades, far right parties have made huge gains and surged to power across the globe. They include: Orbán in Hungary (2010), Putin in Russia (2012), Modi in India (2014), Erdogan in Turkey (2014), El-Sisi in Egypt (2014), Duterte in the Philippines (2016) and Bolsanaro in Brazil (2018). More recently, we have seen this phenomenon spread to countries with a long history of stable democratic

institutions. For example, the Finns Party in Finland, the Sweden Democrats in Sweden and the Alternative for Germany (AfD) in Germany. We can add to this growing list the surprise success of Geert Wilders' Party for Freedom in the Netherlands in November 2023. Although to date Ireland has been a notable outlier to this widespread trend, having no electorally viable anti-immigration radical right wing party, a rise in anti-migrant and anti-refugee protests since November 2022 reminds us that we are not invulnerable to the far right (Gallagher, O'Connor and Visser, 2023).

For those in Ireland still unwilling to believe that far right ideology could gain a foothold and pose a threat to the stability of democracy, the street group violence in Dublin city centre on 23 November 2023 brought the discussion centre stage. Rioters, in part spurred on by far right rhetoric and the spread of false information on social media, caused significant public damage and disorder. We have yet to see if the rise in far right discourse will lead to the growth of an electorally viable political party, but we must accept that it is certainly a possibility.

A welcome report by the Institute for Strategic Dialogue (ISD) into the online ecosystem of mis- and disinformation and conspiracy theories in Ireland, revealed that judging by online interactions the influence of the far right is growing (Ibid.). The report examined how the mis- and disinformation ecosystem has been co-opted by far right actors who have 'diverted attention towards targeting vulnerable communities' (Ibid.: 4). The report also claimed that the far right took advantage of the chronic housing crisis and lack of action by government to increase basic services in certain areas, to spread misinformation and exploit this anger (Ibid.). A similar point was made by academic Rory Hearne who argued that Ireland's unprecedented housing crisis is 'a gift to far-right fearmongers' (Hearne, 2023).

The connection between people's anger and frustrations at growing inequality, dissatisfaction with the failure of mainstream politics to improve their situation, and a turn towards far right politics, has been widely researched and acknowledged (Bonanno, 2019; Brown, 2019; Clewer, 2019; Fuller, 2023; Havertz, 2019; Rossi, 2023). Rossi's work points out that it ought not to be understood as a simple overt opposition to neoliberalism, as populism and

neoliberalism are more intertwined and complex than a simple opposition might imply (Rossi, 2023). Stressing an important point, Rossi argued that although 'populism' is 'effectively tapping into the discontent created by neoliberal economic policies', often the rise of 'populist' parties has actually strengthened neoliberalism (Ibid.: 2). Rossi referenced the work of De La Torre (2017), who showed that in Latin America, for example, the rise of populist discourse among leaders was combined with the actualisation of neoliberal economic policies (Ibid.). A similar point is argued by Bonanno (2019), who stressed that although many commentators viewed the turn to 'populist' parties and agendas, such as Brexit, as a revolt against neoliberal globalisation, these changes did little to address the problems and ushered in more of the same, 'enhanced deregulation of markets, the dismantling of welfare programs, the stigmatization of labour unions and the implementation of reforms that benefit the upper class' (Bonanno, 2019: 16).

Bonanno's point reinforces the argument in this article. I contend that a reaction to the consequences of neoliberalism ought not to be understood as a conscious reaction to neoliberalism. An important distinction needs to be made here. A rejection of the consequences of neoliberalism is not the same as a rejection of neoliberalism itself. If one does not have the epistemic insights to identify neoliberalism as the problem, then they can be more easily persuaded that the problem lies elsewhere. Those who have been persuaded by far right discourse have found erroneous counter narratives that speak to their dissatisfaction and offer an explanation for the relative hardships of their lives. A turn to the far right could be seen as an indication that they have failed to identify neoliberalism as the problem, as the far right does not offer an alternative to neoliberalism. As many scholars have rightly pointed out (Rossi, 2023; Clewer, 2019; Bonanno, 2019), the far right has done nothing to address the problems that fuel people's anger and resentment,

> "Mobilising hatred, it likewise relies upon ignorance. The demagogue has very little to say about the real causes of human suffering under the conditions of neoliberal capitalism which are mystified and personified as the product of the maleficence of those constructed as 'enemies of the people'" (Clewer, 2019: 498).

The framing of the discourse in relation to the far right in mainstream media and politics has also contributed to these phenomena. Mondon and Winter (2020) argued that dominant discourses around the rise of the far right contributed to their legitimisation and diverted attention away from the systemic and structural causes of racism and inequality which are firmly rooted in the policies, practices and ideologies of the liberal mainstream. Framing the problem as solely an issue of racism and xenophobia, attributed to certain communities, they argue, can be used to reaffirm classism and distract people from an important class analysis (Ibid.). In the absence of a sustained analysis of the legitimate source of many people's anger and frustration, the attraction of the far right may seem more appealing to people who see that their concerns are being overlooked. Sadly, the evaluation of the multiple crises that haunt us, offered by the far right, is steeped in bigotry, racism and xenophobia. Once attracted to far right misinformation, racism and xenophobia are easily spread through tropes designed to convince people that their way of life is threatened by fictionalised and vilified 'others'.

This analysis is supported by the work of Cas Mudde (2019), who showed that mainstream media can often contribute to the rise of the far right by creating a breeding ground for such ideology. This is seen in the xenophobia and racism spread by tabloid media, even if they do not state explicit support for far right actors who look to benefit from the spreading of such attitudes (Mudde, 2019). Aaron Winter made a similar point when interviewed for the 'Resisting the Far Right' report, noting that many of the ideas and attitudes of the far right, such as racism and Islamophobia, 'are institutionalised in European liberal democracies' (Cannon et al., 2022: 15). In order to counter the far right, there is a need for a wider discourse and education around the root causes of systemic racism, injustice, inequality, and a focus on the need for radical system change.

The 'Resisting the Far Right' report highlighted the need for the state to pay more attention to inequality issues that often bolster the attraction to the far right who piggyback on such issues to gain attention (Ibid.). The report stressed the need for education and awareness building. However, despite the finding that inequality creates anger and frustration that can be co-opted by the far right, there

is no explicit mention of neoliberalism as a leading source of such inequality and, as such, no focus on the need for education around neoliberalism in particular. Due to the large body of scholarship in this area, it is clear that the felt consequences of neoliberalism add to people's dissatisfaction with mainstream politics. However, as I have noted, dissatisfaction with the consequences of neoliberalism is not the same as an identification of neoliberalism as the source of the problem. I am arguing that an important missing piece of the puzzle is a clear identification among the wider public of neoliberalism as the root cause of many of the problems that concern them.

In the next section I propose that the exclusion of a discussion of neoliberalism in mainstream political discourse can be understood as an epistemic injustice issue. This can be seen as an infringement on the epistemic agency of knowers that reduces their capacity to avail of epistemic resources that would otherwise help them to understand the world. I argue that the omission of class from political left discourse and practice in recent decades is of particular relevance to the growth of the far right.

Neoliberalism and epistemic injustice

Epistemic injustice is an area of epistemology that is interested in the cross-over between epistemology and ethics in our everyday epistemic practices. Miranda Fricker's pioneering work in the area examined epistemic interchanges that are negatively affected as a result of people's social positioning, prejudice, and social identity (Fricker, 2007). An important insight provided by Fricker was how social power can constrain one's ability to understand their experience and make their experience intelligible to others. Fricker named this phenomenon 'hermeneutical injustice'. For Fricker, hermeneutical injustice occurs 'when a gap in collective interpretative resources puts someone at an unfair disadvantage when it comes to making sense of their social experiences' (Ibid.: 1). Fricker went on to explain collective hermeneutical gaps as preventing 'members of a group from making sense of an experience that is in their interest to render intelligible' (Ibid.: 7).

Although stretching the concept beyond Fricker's original formulation, I am proposing that a lack of attention given to neoliberalism in mainstream discourse, accessible to the general population, leaves communities at a

hermeneutical disadvantage in their attempt to understand the conditions of their lives. Fricker understood hermeneutical injustice as the absence of the epistemic resources needed to communicate marginalised experiences. It is when interpretative resources do not exist owing to the exclusion of marginalised groups from collective meaning making practices. Fricker's specific understanding of hermeneutical injustice is not applicable in this case as neoliberalism is a known and identified ideology and is certainly part of the vocabulary of certain communities, such as academics and activists. However, I am claiming that the absence of an accessible discourse naming, and making neoliberalism known in mainstream politics, culture and media, renders many communities ignorant of its existence and therefore impaired in their ability to understand the world. Furthermore, it is in the interest of these communities that neoliberalism be known and understood.

The concept of epistemic injustice has been broadened considerably since Fricker's original work. José Medina has shown how differently situated subjects have varying access to certain forms of knowledge; 'a complex society often contains diverse publics with heterogeneous interpretative resources and practices' (Medina, 2012: 210). There are a variety of hermeneutical interpretative resources, belonging to differently situated subjects. In an unequal society, knowledge is also unequally distributed. Social power has an impact on collective forms of social understanding. Kristie Dotson's work on 'epistemic exclusion' articulated another form of epistemic injustice whereby epistemic resources do exist but are blocked or excluded from the dominant systems (Dotson, 2012). Dotson explained how the epistemic insights of marginalised subjectivities can be excluded from the dominant culture and the prominent shared hermeneutical resources. The exclusion of a discussion of neoliberalism is not quite the same, as in this case it is the omission of epistemic resources that would help to explain the actions of the powerful that are obscured and hidden from the public. This safeguards power that rests on the exploitation of others. Intentional or otherwise, this prevents a widespread understanding of neoliberalism and the realisation that the dominant economic, political and cultural *modus operandi* is a choice and therefore can be overturned. Common to both cases is that the exclusion damages not only individual knowers but also 'the state of social knowledge and shared epistemic resources' (Ibid.: 24).

In his article 'The Epistemic Injustice *of* Epistemic Injustice', Thomas Spiegel argued that the lack of attention given to class and classism in research on epistemic injustice is itself a form of epistemic injustice. He convincingly argued that this lacuna serves to uphold existing structures of hermeneutical injustice and, although perhaps unintentional, the omission of class from research on epistemic injustice lends support to the continuation of neoliberalism (Spiegel, 2022). We can apply this analysis to society more generally. The lack of attention given to the socio-economic subordination of people contributes to the epistemic oppression of these communities. As Spiegel said, 'the vast majority of people are being systemically misled by neoliberal propaganda about their standing in the social world' (Ibid.: 85). Hegemonic political and economic discourse mainly reinforces and defends neoliberalism, even when done so unwittingly, as those who benefit from the continuation of the system may themselves be unaware of their blind adherence to this ideology. It has become an article of economic faith. The proliferation of neoliberal propaganda is a supra-personal phenomenon that serves to uphold a type of collective social blindness.

This problem is compounded by the wider contemporary neglect in left politics of class as a concept for understanding social injustice more broadly. Recent decades have seen a marked shift away from an emphasis on class as a crucial concept in the political left's discourse and practice in favour of a focus on forms of systemic violence in relation to cultural and identity categories. Nancy Fraser (1997) framed this separation as a shift towards centring systemic injustices related to a 'politics of recognition' and a neglect of socioeconomic injustices that calls for a 'politics of redistribution'. The erosion of class politics has coincided with the growth of identity politics. A lack of conscientisation around class, as a crucial concept for understanding growing inequality under neoliberalism and capitalism more generally, leaves an epistemic gap that can be exploited by far right discourse. Furthermore, the prioritising of identity politics to the exclusion of socioeconomic injustice can breed social polarisation and affords the far right the opportunity to position certain identities as gaining at the expense of others in a fabricated zero-sum game. In addition to exploiting a decrease in political class consciousness, Kenan Malik has argued that the reactionary right has further

gained from an embrace of identity politics as far right ideology often appeals to right wing identitarianism (Malik, 2023).

The multiple forms of systemic violence created and upheld through neoliberalism, and capitalism more generally, affect the lives of different communities in intersecting and interrelating ways. In contrast to a politics defined by solidarity and universality that seeks to unite and build capacity across various struggles and movements, identity politics can sow division. Additionally, movements that focus on cultural and identity issues in isolation from the class content of capitalist domination negate the transformative and emancipatory potential of their demands (Santos, 2024). As Santos (Ibid.) has rightly stated, when social justice analysis also contains an explicit focus on redistribution it poses more of a threat to neoliberalism than when the focus is on cultural and identity issues alone. What is called for is a universalist perspective grounded in solidarity that works towards capacity building across various struggles and movements (Malik, 2023), with demands that call for radical transformative solutions that seek to address the underlying root causes of all forms of systemic violence (Fraser, 1997). This must include a focus on socioeconomic inequality, redistributive justice, and a foregrounding of class as a crucial concept for understanding and working to eradicate capitalism in all its forms.

Reflecting specifically on the rise of the far right, Mondon and Winter argued that the framing of the mainstream discourse around the far right can be seen as a decoy 'diverting our attention away from new political imaginaries' (2020: 6). In turn, by not adequately addressing the concerns of people who are attracted to the far right, existing inequalities are reinforced and knowers are diverted away from considering radical alternatives to the current system (Ibid.). The absence of a critical understanding of neoliberalism renders people more susceptible to disinformation. Sadly, the growth of the far right sows division and hatred, turning communities against one another, vilifying the oppressed and preventing solidarity across communities who are all suffering as a result of neoliberalism.

The possibility of building solidarity across global communities, amongst people who are suffering as a result of our broken system, is severely

hampered in the absence of critical knowledge of neoliberalism. In the final section I argue that foregrounding a critical focus on neoliberalism as a root cause of global inequality and injustice is one contribution that DE can make to address the problem of the rise of the far right, particularly in the informal and community education sector.

How development education can help to address this problem

Education can serve to accentuate or alleviate hermeneutical gaps and silences that have been created over time through unequal social practices and positioning. As a critical understanding of neoliberalism is a public epistemic gap, facilitated by the dominance of neoliberal propaganda, education is one way to help to address this need. Paul Carr and Gina Thésée argued that a greater focus on political literacy in education can assist in countering neoliberal ideology and empower marginalised groups to organise and resist (Carr and Thésée, 2008). They emphasised the need for a politically literate population, 'supported and nourished through public education', as a key consideration in the discussion on neoliberalism (Ibid.: 177).

Given the origins of DE and its focus on tackling the root causes of poverty, injustice and inequality, one would imagine it to be well placed to address neoliberalism through a focus on global injustice (McCloskey, 2022). Sadly, this is often not the case. In many instances DE leaves neoliberal growth and globalisation 'in the shadows', or worse, provides implicit support (Selby and Kagawa, 2011: 25). The recent report by Harm-Jan Fricke shows that neoliberalism is a neglected focus in DE in Ireland. Although limited in scope, Fricke's research found that the DE sector 'appears to give little attention to a systemic exploration of root causes of poverty, inequality, injustice' (Fricke, 2022: 42). Despite DE's origins in critical pedagogy, regrettably the mainstreaming of DE has seen a shift away from a critical focus marked by an increasing political detachment. In his research, Fricke explored the question of what might be preventing the DE sector from critically addressing neoliberalism despite the necessity to do so in order to stay true to its radical roots and intent. Two such noted possibilities, based on the responses by DE practitioners, were a fear of a loss of funding and that international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) have perhaps become comfortable operating within the very system that sustains

the many crises they seek to address (Fricke, 2022). Although often unintentional, it would seem that DE has weakened its analysis and practice, and consequently its transformative potential as a result of becoming co-opted to work within neoliberalism.

Thanks to the work of Bracken and Bryan (2011), we can see that a focus on understanding and assessing the root causes of global poverty and inequality is also a neglected area in the post-primary curriculum in Ireland. The new emphasis on global citizenship education (GCE) provides a welcome opportunity to reassess this omission, provided that the approach is one of critical GCE. In the absence of a critical approach, GCE is in danger of becoming another educational placebo that serves as a pretend treatment to society's ills without substance or effect (Gillborn, 2006). A non-critical approach risks playing into the hands of neoliberal propaganda as it can be used to point to a focus on social justice education in schooling, despite not addressing the root cause of many of the problems. An uncritical approach to GCE can be demonstrated through the almost wholesale acceptance of the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) despite an underlying emphasis on the need for rapid economic growth (Klees, 2024). As Steven Klees reminds us, 'we will not grow our way out of our multiple crises' (Ibid.: 2) and many of the noble SDGs can never be achieved whilst staying within the neoliberal paradigm.

Racism and racial inequality cannot be systemically contested without opposing the power of neoliberalism (Robbins, 2003). Through critically addressing neoliberalism, DE can also help to challenge nativism, xenophobia, and racism, which are spread and exploited by the far right. The politics of racial superiority is not a recent development and predates the acceleration of neoliberalism. However, centuries of colonialism, and the continued presence of the 'coloniality of power' in shaping the world, is an important historical context that ought not to be overlooked (Quijano, 2000). As a late stage of capitalism, neoliberalism is deeply interconnected in the history of racial oppression (Quijano, 2000; Andrews, 2021). The invention of 'race' to justify the subjugation and exploitation of black and brown bodies for profit provides an important contextualisation that helps to understand the continuation of such practices through neoliberal globalisation. Effective DE ought to enable people to

make connections across local and global social justice issues. As Bryan has argued, this can help people to see how their lives are deeply interconnected with the lives of seemingly distant others, and how their decisions and the decisions of powerful forces in the global North impact communities around the world. The growth of such awareness can help people to see the connections between local policies and practices and many push factors that force people into migration (Bryan, 2011).

For those of us in social justice education, a failure to address neoliberalism and make it known and understood is, I believe, an example of what Medina called 'a failure in hermeneutical responsibility' (Medina, 2012: 215). By not critically addressing the leading ideology of our time, DE is contributing to the continuation of this death economy and the continuation of the myth that capitalism is natural, unchangeable and everlasting. We need to go further than mere critique, and empower and encourage communities to dare to imagine other radical possibilities for collectively managing our economic and political lives. We need to fuel imaginations and challenge hopelessness by exploring economic alternatives to neoliberalism, such as, for example, participatory economics (Hahnel, 2022; Albert, 2004). Continuing the legacy of Paulo Freire, for decades Henry Giroux has been one of the most prominent writers arguing for a foregrounding of critical literacy in education:

> "There is no radical politics without a pedagogy capable of awakening consciousness, challenging common sense, and creating modes of analysis in which people discover a moment of recognition that enables them to rethink the conditions that shape their lives" (Giroux, 2022: 142-3).

Concluding thoughts

I have argued that despite neoliberalism being a leading cause of global inequality and injustice, it mainly goes unnamed, unnoticed and unaddressed in mainstream public discourse and educational spaces. The hegemony of neoliberalism and the prevalence of propaganda to ensure the proliferation of dominant neoliberal myths make it very difficult for many people to name and understand this ideology. I have proposed that this can be understood as a form of epistemic

injustice. This injustice breeds many other forms of injustice. In the absence of this knowledge communities are left more vulnerable to far right narratives that erroneously claim explanatory power for the issues that trouble them. Far right hatred and nativism channel people's anger in the wrong direction, orientating them to look down the social hierarchy and blame marginalised others for their struggles, rather than looking up towards the powerful who orchestrate the system. This sows hatred among communities that are suffering from the effects of the same system. Perhaps if people were armed with an understanding of neoliberal globalisation, and an awareness of how the system creates mass involuntary migration, displacement, racism, and inequality both at home and abroad, communities could work together to grow solidarity and direct their collective energies to addressing the real culprit.

An additional loss that can be thought of as another consequence of this particular epistemic injustice is the loss of the freedom to imagine economic alternatives. Consequently, we lose possible futures that we could stand to gain through a collective mobilisation of global communities who suffer as a result of neoliberalism. An old saying comes to mind: 'the greatest trick the devil ever played was convincing the world that he did not exist'. But neoliberalism does exist, and it is turning the world into a living hell, with literal fires and floods consuming homes and habitats around the world. As hyperbolic as that may sound, it is sadly true, and without radical system change in the very near future, such effects of the climate crisis will only increase (Kahn, 2008; Kahn, 2010; Wissen and Brand, 2021). In doing so, it will further drive inequality, displacing ever increasing numbers of people, pushing involuntary migration, and destabilising global living conditions. In turn, this will create more anger and frustration that in the absence of understanding the true source of the problem could shift more people towards an increasingly extreme far right. We must defy Thatcher's legacy, and the false claim that there is no alternative. 'Things do not have to be this way' (Mondon and Winter, 2020: 4).

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DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION AS A CATALYST: CHALLENGING STEREOTYPES IN MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF MIGRANT COMMUNITIES

SWADESH KUMAR AND PRACHY HOODA

Abstract: This article analyses the media representation of two distinct refugee groups in India: Rohingya Muslims fleeing Myanmar, and non-Muslim religious minorities from Pakistan, Afghanistan, and neighbouring nations affected by the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA). Despite their experiences and narratives of persecution and injustice, the media's lens has painted divergent pictures, influenced by right-wing sentiments, solely based on the religious identities of the migrant groups. Analysing representations in the print media, we explore the perplexing phenomenon of the negative framing of one community and the positive depiction of another based on religious identity.

In addressing this disparity, the article scrutinises the role of development education as a transformative force. We investigate innovative approaches that actively engage with media representations of migration, aiming to dismantle anti-immigrant sentiments. Drawing inspiration from Paulo Freire's praxis, development education emerges as a powerful tool not only to challenge prevailing myths and stereotypes but also to empower learners towards meaningful interventions in societal realities. The opportunities and possibilities for development education to enhance our understanding of migration are illuminated through current and recent practices. By adopting an active learning, participative approach, development education seeks to unravel the root causes of injustice, fostering a space for learners to comprehend the complexities surrounding migration. This article contributes to the ongoing discourse on migration, emphasising the potential of education to shape narratives, challenge biases, and drive positive social change.

Keywords: Migration; Development Education; Media Narrative; Stereotypes; Rohingyas; Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA).

Migration and media narratives

In the ever-evolving landscape of media narratives, this article aims to address essential questions surrounding the nature of media narratives, particularly those related to perceived threats or dangers associated with the influx of specific migrant groups. It emphasises the cultural erosion of the 'imagined community', cautioning against the generalisation and homogenisation of diverse practices and understandings that constitute the nation (Anderson, 2016). The deployment of such narratives, marked by various ways of describing, representing, and writing about migration, is explored to comprehend the politics of this rhetoric. Migration is presented not only as a technical problem requiring governance solutions but equally as a political issue marked by contestations among different socio-political groups, government agencies, and popular media. The production of discourse is acknowledged as an integral part of politics, emphasising the selective and strategic deployment of language by governments, policymakers, civil society organisations, and media to influence each other and build consensus on public issues.

Different sections of the media employ specific images, metaphors, idioms, stories, and categories to portray migration as an alarming situation beyond the control of the majority community (Leudar et al., 2008; Ferreira, 2019). Media reporting often adopts an urgent tone and cinematic codes, using metaphors to indicate an imagined physical and societal threat in the form of an attack on the civilisational ethos of the dominant community, leaving little room for nuance. In this context, the role of development education becomes pivotal in revealing the political processes and power relations among different social and political groups, addressing anxieties that become overpowering due to media narratives that stereotype migrant communities. Understanding the politics behind these narratives can enhance awareness of socio-political realities, and opposition to dominant narratives can foster a sense of human solidarity based on principles of justice and equality, contributing to the ability to empathise with others' suffering.

This article is broadly divided into two parts. The first part attempts to unravel the contradictory discourse peddled by right leaning media portals of two distinct refugee groups in India: Rohingya Muslims fleeing Myanmar, and non-

Muslim religious minorities from Pakistan, Afghanistan, and neighbouring nations affected by the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) (The Gazette of India, 2019). Despite shared experiences and narratives of persecution and injustice, the media's lens has painted divergent pictures, influenced by right-wing sentiments, solely based on the religious identities of the migrant groups. Analysing representations in the print media, we explore the perplexing phenomenon of the negative framing of one community and the positive depiction of another based on religious identity. These media platforms were selected for discourse analysis due to their status as prominent right-wing news platforms in India. Characterised by accusatory rhetoric, their aim is to discredit mainstream journalism and provide alternative perspectives for right-wing audiences (Chadha and Bhat, 2022).

These outlets openly align themselves with right-leaning ideologies and pride themselves on being devoid of any liberal bias, offering contrasting viewpoints to the perceived 'left-liberal' mainstream media. They often criticise mainstream press for allegedly silencing the voices of the Hindu majority, while favouring minority groups and undermining India's global reputation (Bhat, 2020). According to Chadha and Bhat (2022), in April 2022, *OpIndia*, which describes itself as India's first digital fact-checking news platform, attracted 11.9 million unique monthly visitors, surpassing other right-wing news sites like swarajyamag.com, which drew 3.6 million monthly visitors. This amplifies the influence of other right-wing media outlets such as the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS)-affiliated *Organiser*. The RSS (Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh) is an Indian far-right, Hindu nationalist volunteer organisation. The incumbent Prime Minister of India, Narendra Modi, along with several cabinet ministers and Chief Ministers of the states, are associated with the RSS (Pandey, 2020). The content from these right-leaning platforms is widely shared by their readership, thereby perpetuating their ideological predispositions within the public sphere.

The second section observes the role of development education as a transformative force. Drawing inspiration from Paulo Freire's praxis, development education emerges as a powerful tool not only to challenge prevailing myths and stereotypes but also to empower learners towards meaningful interventions in social realities. Critical education, as envisioned by Freire, aims

to question and challenge unjust socio-economic systems by emphasising the influence of ideology on individual awareness and societal frameworks. This transformative educational approach has been expanded upon by development education, which delves into the dynamic relationship between education and development, seeking to tackle the root causes of inequity and injustice. Emphasising interactive and participatory learning, it addresses disparities rooted in class, race, and the unique challenges faced by regions in the global South, utilising tools such as social media and information technology. Its goal is to cultivate critical consciousness regarding one's local and global context, rooted in an understanding of social, economic, and political dynamics, ultimately striving for social change that champions equality, inclusion, and social justice. This extension of Freire's ideas underscores the importance of recognising power dynamics and social relationships in fostering a more equitable society. Drawing from this understanding, the article contributes to the ongoing discourse on migration, emphasising the potential of education to shape narratives, challenge biases, and drive positive social change.

India and its contradicting discourse: a juxtaposition

In India, sensitivity toward nationalism and the desire to uphold the sanctity of borders contribute to the normalisation of metaphors depicting danger, terror, or cultural devastation associated with images of migrants impacting the region's vulnerability and stability. This exacerbates concerns about poverty, transnational organised crime, population growth, and competition for limited resources. The politics of fear and narratives surrounding migration from neighbouring countries, such as from Bangladesh into Indian territory, intertwine to form a dominant discourse. This discourse is evident in the rhetoric of key political figures; for instance, the former Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) president and current Home Minister of India, Amit Shah, referred to Bangladeshi migrants as 'termites' during discussions on the draft National Register of Citizens (NRC), further fueling insecurity for the 'Others' (The Hindu, 2018). Illegal migration from Bangladesh or the Rohingya flight from Myanmar are projected as potential threats to India's national security, viewed through the lenses of terrorism, ethnic, or communal violence. Shamshad (2008) notes that Bangladeshi migrants became a central issue in the political rhetoric of the BJP during the 1980s and 1990s, as Hindu nationalists perceived the growing Muslim minority as a

potential threat to the Hindu majority status in India. This article examines the role and effects of media coverage on different groups of refugees, focusing on the Rohingyas and religious minorities included in India's controversial CAA of 2019. The act seeks to expedite the path to Indian citizenship for non-Muslim immigrants from neighbouring countries like Pakistan, Bangladesh and Afghanistan. The article also delves into the role of ideological constructs in normalising rhetoric surrounding these groups, as media trends impact the affected communities and influence citizens' attitudes toward them and humanitarian intervention.

The article specifically focuses on media reports from 2017 onwards, as August 2017 marked a deadly crackdown by Myanmar's army that sent Rohingyas fleeing across the border, particularly to India and Bangladesh (Sebastian, 2022). Due to the absence of a specific law or policy in India to deal with refugees, the treatment meted out to different communities of refugees differs based on ideological and political considerations. Juxtaposing these contradictory discourses allows for a comparison of narratives presented by news reports regarding the forced displacement of Rohingya Muslims and non-Muslim groups from other neighbouring countries. Both groups have experienced decades of systematic discrimination, persecution, and forcible displacement. As explained in the introductory section, the rationale for choosing the print media sample is rooted in their immense popularity for their right-wing leanings. This observation enables an understanding of how different crises are described and framed to influence the public by focusing on the narration of the crisis or its consequences.

The discriminatory treatment of the Rohingyas in Myanmar has triggered a large-scale humanitarian and refugee crisis as they sought refuge in neighbouring nations. While the Rohingyas became a stateless population in 1982, with the revised Myanmar citizenship law excluding them from the list of ethnic groups (Chaudhury and Samaddar, 2018), the outbreak of large-scale violence in 2012 accelerated their large-scale migration. Over the years, thousands of Rohingyas have entered India, fleeing violence and persecution (Faye, 2021). Anti-Rohingya sentiments are widespread across India, with right-wing groups often demanding their expulsion, labelling them as 'infiltrators' and 'illegal immigrants'. Reports in 2022 indicated that the Indian government had to retract

a plan to provide free residential housing to Rohingya Muslim refugees in New Delhi following protests by right-wing Hindu organisations (Rahman, 2022). Television channels and media have amplified allegations linking the Rohingya to terrorism, portraying them as security threats altering the demographic profile of Northeast Indian states bordering Myanmar. This has led to the systematic criminalisation of the Rohingyas, with instances of deprivation reported across detention centres housing them. There is a lack of education provision for children, and those whose parents are detained rely on the goodwill of other refugees, who themselves struggle for basic amenities and employment (Article-14, 2023).

Right-wing news platforms, such as *OpIndia*, have alleged that the 'illegal migration of Rohingyas to India and the decision to settle in any part of the country are being masterminded by a core group created by Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI)' (OpIndia, 2019b). They claim this group aims to spread fundamentalism and works towards the pan-Islamisation of the region, exacerbating political and religious conflicts and further driving away the Hindus to alter the regional demography (Bijapurkar, 2017; OpIndia, 2019a). Rohingyas are portrayed as a serious challenge to the national security of India and are deemed not fit to enter the country. The same *OpIndia* piece added:

> "The Rohingyas - who are revered in India by the liberal, communist, Islamist brigade as innocent and hapless - are just another group of veiled jihadis who, given the right opportunity, would massacre every non-Muslim in their path" (OpIndia, 2019a).

The above-mentioned reports claim that some Rohingyas are involved in criminal activities, drug trafficking, and executing terror activities, teaming up with Pakistan's Intelligence agency Inter-Service Intelligence (ISI) sleeper cells. Further reporting argues that, given their links with Islamist terror outfits, their deportation is justified (Organiser, 2021). It is the 'pseudo-secular', 'left-liberal' media that often downplays the extent of such threats (Mohta, 2018). Another pro-government media house named *Organiser,* the mouthpiece of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), wrote that 'India is in the midst of Islamist surge – a communal cauldron' and thus Islamic fundamentalists can easily 'recruit' these

Rohingya refugees, further proving to be threats to the national security (Reddy, 2022). Continuing these contentious viewpoints, an article by *TFIPost* blames Rohingyas for exponential population growth, putting strain on resources and forging government documents and enjoying welfare benefits meant for poor Indian families (Gupta, 2022).

The exclusion of Rohingyas from India's civil documentation process deprives them of access to basic services such as health and education. These exclusions contrast with recent inclusions and protections extended to non-Muslim migrant groups from Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Bangladesh through the CAA, 2019 (Khan, 2020). The absence of a standardised policy to treat refugees in India allows for differential treatment across different communities, particularly on the basis of ethnicity and religion. This impacts whether communities are referred to as refugees or illegal migrants. *OpIndia* favours the state's benevolence in providing citizenship to minority communities persecuted by the majority Muslim community in Islamic nations up until 31 December 2014 (OpIndia, 2022). *Organiser*, a widely circulated nationalist English weekly, commended the CAA for being a 'revolutionary humane step towards providing citizenship to minority communities in India's troubled neighbourhood', facing 'inhumane religious persecution' and a 'slow genocide' (Bora, 2022).

Such stereotyping of migrants by the media is witnessed in other parts of the world as well. In her study of the German media, Wigger (2019) has observed how the print media has drawn on stereotypes to represent migrant Muslim men as criminals and sexual predators in the wake of the 'European refugee crisis' due to rising migration from predominantly Muslim countries. Similarly, in the context of Britain, Bleich et al. (2015) noted the depiction of Muslim men in print media in a systematically negative way, and that Muslims are depicted more negatively than other religious communities, especially Jews and Christians. In the case of American cable news coverage, Lajevardi (2021) has observed that compared to people of other ethnicities, the coverage of Muslim Americans is more negative. Such negative portrayals lead to increased hostility against Muslims and gather wider support for stricter policies targeting them. Such large-scale stereotypical misrepresentation of Muslims in media is rooted in Islamophobia and further reification of the Islamic identity as violent.

Development education: humanising the discourse

The media's portrayal of migration and refugee crises serves to heighten public awareness. However, when aligned with right-wing political discourses, it also fosters sentiments of racism, xenophobia, and prejudice among the population. The negative depiction of the refugee crisis, and its frequent association with anti-social activities and threats to national security and terrorism, amplifies the appeal of far-right ideologies, deepening the divide between refugees and host communities. Mainstream media coverage tends to perpetuate stereotypes and categorisations of refugees as a collective 'other', distinct from 'us'. This portrayal often frames refugees as either a humanitarian or security problem, perpetuating a narrative that silences, dehumanises, and marginalises those being discussed.

The term 'refugee', frequently used interchangeably with 'migrant' or 'asylum seeker', is oversimplified, rigidly defining individuals as either 'worthy' or 'unworthy' of protection. This binary overlooks the diverse experiences, journeys, and historical contexts that led people to leave their homes. A brief examination of mainstream media coverage reveals two predominant narratives: one depicting the migration story as a tale of human loss, highlighted through iconic images of suffering, and the other presenting it as a story of large-scale population movements capable of disrupting the living conditions, security, and welfare of host communities.

The media's role in perpetuating narratives characterised by geographies of power and control becomes apparent through the repetition of divisive terms and the construction of differences along racial, ethnic, or religious lines. Unfortunately, this repetitive framing has a detrimental impact on public attitudes toward refugees, further fostering negative perceptions. Education emerges as a crucial tool to counteract discriminatory, violent, and anti-Muslim narratives, as well as hate speech. Implementing significant changes in both formal and informal educational settings in India becomes imperative, particularly in light of the disturbing rising trend of communalising young students in schools. For instance, an incident recently came to light involving a school-teacher instructing a fifth-standard Hindu school student to slap a Muslim classmate at her behest (The Hindu Bureau, 2023b). Instances like this underscore how educational

institutions can become instruments for normalising political indoctrination, prejudices, and propaganda.

Simultaneously, education serves as a powerful means for resistance, possessing the capacity to influence a broad spectrum of individuals at various stages of learning, spanning from childhood to higher education and lifelong learning. Critical educational practices strive to establish conditions wherein learners perceive themselves as multifaceted entities – 'social, historical, thinking, communicating, creative persons' (Freire, 2000: 25). The process of education reform necessitates comprehensive adjustments. Reforming education involves revising teaching practices, curriculum, and involving parents and communities at large to have larger impact of development education. Curriculum revision is essential, incorporating global, national, and local-level issues to comprehend the roots and consequences of inequalities, promoting inclusivity and holistic understanding. Both formal and informal interventions play crucial roles. For instance, a collaborative effort emerged among educationists, lawyers, and civil society activists in New Delhi, giving rise to the Democratic Outreach for Secular Transformation of India (DOSTI). This initiative, marked by the term 'DOSTI', meaning friendship in Hindi, aims to counter the escalating trends of hatred, communalism, and violence within the country (The Hindu Bureau, 2023a). DOSTI seeks to combat misinformation on social media platforms and extend support to those affected by communal and sectarian violence.

In conjunction with the DOSTI initiative, numerous other campaigns and platforms actively contribute to the realm of development education by fervently countering hatred directed towards minorities. One such exemplary campaign is led by Citizens for Justice and Peace (CJP), which vehemently opposes hate, communal bigotry, and prejudices through its 'Hate Hatao, Desh Bachao' initiative, which translates to 'Eliminate Hate, Save the Nation' in English. It suggests a call to eliminate hatred and promote unity for the well-being and preservation of the country. The campaign employs the innovative Hate Hatao app to identify and bring to justice individuals perpetuating hate, especially those abusing their positions of power to propagate anti-minority sentiments (CJP, n.d.). Beyond mere identification, CJP actively engages with relevant authorities, citing instances of hate crimes, to seek justice and facilitate solutions that maintain peace

and harmony. Notably, CJP also undertakes the critical task of documenting hate-driven incidents and speech targeting specific communities across the diverse landscape of the nation.

Similarly committed to challenging hate politics is the Gurgaon Nagrik Ekta Manch (GNEM), recognised for its significant efforts in promoting communal harmony, particularly during the challenging times of the COVID-19 pandemic. GNEM launches a compelling online campaign via social media, urging citizens to vocalise their opposition to hate politics through the use of the hashtag #HatePoliticsNotInMyName (The Hindu, 2022). As an integral part of this campaign, artists contribute poignant artworks designed to serve as profile images and banners, creating a visual narrative against hate politics. GNEM further extends its commitment to creating a platform that challenges hate politics, vowing to prevent its insidious infiltration into people's social lives.

In the realm of fact-checking and advocacy, the Citizen's Religious Hate Crime Watch by India Spend emerges as a dedicated entity (Scroll.in, 2018). This fact-checker meticulously tracks crimes targeting individuals or groups based on their religious identity, aiming to counter the deliberate obscuring of the nature and scale of hate crimes in India. Through this initiative, transparency is promoted, and awareness is heightened regarding the prevalence and impact of hate crimes on minority communities. Moreover, media monitoring emerges as a pivotal strategy in the collective efforts to reduce communal tensions. By actively monitoring and regulating media channels, the spread of misinformation and hate speech is curtailed, contributing to an environment that fosters understanding and tolerance among diverse communities.

Karwan-e-Mohabbat, also known as the 'Caravan of Love' or 'Peace Yatra', stands as a poignant manifestation of collective civic action. Launched in September 2017 in response to a series of extrajudicial killings and incidents of mob lynching, including the 2015 Dadri mob lynching and subsequent cow vigilante violence, this nationwide civilian campaign aims to express solidarity with victims of religiously motivated violence (Mander, 2017). The cow vigilante violence, often perpetrated by groups claiming to protect cows, primarily targets individuals from minority religious communities, particularly Muslims, under the

guise of protecting Hindu religious sentiments associated with the cow, considered as a sacred animal. Operating on the principle of peace and love, the campaign actively engages in promoting harmony, dialogue, and understanding in the face of communal violence. These initiatives collectively embody a concerted effort to promote dialogue, understanding, and harmony across all segments of society. Serving as formidable pillars against hate and bigotry, these endeavours remain steadfast in upholding constitutional values of equality and harmony.

Educators must teach learners about the root causes of hate speech. Educational interventions should focus on pedagogical methods that sensitise learners to cultural and social differences, enhance emotional intelligence, and train both students and teachers to create an inclusive and harmonious learning environment. This approach aligns with Paulo Freire's premise of establishing an 'active, dialogical, critical, and criticism-stimulating method' based on a horizontal relationship between parties (Freire, 2005: 40). Encouraging participatory engagement among students and communities is essential, fostering collaboration among different societal groups to develop relevant initiatives, programmes, and tools. Empowering young people to be advocates in their communities is crucial for effectively addressing hate speech. This empowerment equips them with the ability to decode narratives, cultural messaging, stereotypes, and misinformation used to propagate hate in the media, curriculum, political speeches, and propaganda.

Development education holds significant potential in challenging the perception of refugees as threats to the welfare system, cultural beliefs, and values of the host country. Instead, it can promote empathy, solidarity, and goodwill toward migrants fleeing war zones or facing tragic events. Moreover, it can contribute to a deeper understanding of how refugees are described, categorised, and represented, encouraging active engagement in constructing our understanding of these events, rather than passively consuming pre-existing views. This active involvement can shape the range of possibilities for comprehending migration stories and how we perceive migrants and refugees. Furthermore, development education can play a positive role in critically analysing the roots of social inequality and exploitation, addressing issues related to power and privilege,

and devising strategies to enhance social inclusiveness and diversity across all levels of society.

It can aid in comprehending the complexities of trauma and violence by contextualising and historicising grievances, sensitising the citizenry to engage in public discourses. This approach aligns with Freire's notion that teaching and learning should transcend technicalities and instead be rooted in the ethical formation of both individuals and history (Freire, 2000: 4). The aim of this knowledge production is to involve a dialectical movement between 'doing' and 'reflecting on doing', thereby fostering reflective beings (Ibid.). Such education recognises the right to express appropriate anger against injustice, exploitation, and violence, fostering a capacity not only to adapt to the world but to intervene and transform it. The development of social and emotional sensitivities through experiential learning and inclusive pedagogy helps dissociate from ideological or political propaganda. This approach is considered a defence of democracy, emphasising the 'inseparability of learning from political consciousness and of political consciousness from political action' (Freire, 1998: 7). In such a scenario, education has the potential to be liberating, focusing on the development of self and collective identity and fostering democratic participation.

Conclusion

The foundation of the transformative educational approach lies in the acquisition of well-grounded knowledge and a heightened awareness of how discourse shapes our perceptions, coupled with a discerning recognition of its inherent strengths and flaws. Central to this approach is the prioritisation of victims' narratives, allowing their experiences in humanitarian crises to counterbalance hegemonic voices that often go unquestioned. By providing a platform for these narratives, the initiative empowers individuals to represent themselves, their communities, and the multifaceted issues they confront. An integral aspect of this educational paradigm involves challenging the uniformity of exclusionary views, recognising the imperative need to sensitise the citizenry to the historical and cultural roots of crises and their enduring aftermath. This analytical understanding serves as a linchpin for challenging misleading narratives, cultivating empathy, and nurturing a more humane perspective towards the 'other'. As mentioned earlier, various campaigns in India have contributed to countering hatred. Such initiatives of

collective civic action have considerable impact in strengthening solidarity and goodwill towards minority communities as well as migrants.

In the realm of media advocacy, the education-driven approach emphasises the necessity for media professionals to enhance their coverage of migration issues. This enhancement requires effective collaboration among media professionals, activists, and citizens, collectively working towards the realisation of a more open, diverse, democratic, and human rights-based society. Such collaborative efforts aim to dismantle barriers to inclusive citizenship by fostering a more profound and inclusive understanding of the concept. This expansive educational initiative becomes a catalyst for transformative change, contributing to the fabric of a society that is not only informed but also empathetic, embracing diversity as an asset rather than a threat.

Moreover, in the academic discourse surrounding media advocacy, a comprehensive exploration of ethical considerations and power dynamics inherent in representation becomes paramount. This entails a rigorous inquiry into the ethical responsibilities of media professionals and the ethical implications of their narrative constructions, particularly within the context of migration issues. Additionally, an academic examination of collaborative efforts in media advocacy mandates an in-depth analysis of participatory approaches and their efficacy in amplifying marginalised voices and catalysing social change. By employing a multidisciplinary lens encompassing education, media studies, sociology, and ethics, this academic discourse seeks to engender a holistic understanding of transformative education and media advocacy as interconnected processes aimed at promoting social justice and inclusivity.

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FACING THE OTHER: DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION AND 'ENCOUNTER' IN CONTEXTS OF MIGRATION AND DISPLACEMENT

EMMA SOYE AND CHARLES WATTERS

Abstract: Migration and displacement to the global North have increased in recent years, and a growing number of social programmes have attempted to organise 'encounter' between young newcomers and their peers at school. Drawing on qualitative research during a large European Union (EU)-funded project for migrant and refugee wellbeing in two English secondary schools, this article examines the impact of school-based interventions on young people's peer relationships in contexts of migration and displacement. It uses focus group data and ethnographic fieldnotes to foreground the perspectives of young people and professionals in the two English secondary schools. Taking the Levinasian view of encounter as inherently 'unorganisable', the article shows how school-based interventions can encourage self-definition and address migration-related stereotypes among young people, opening up (although never guaranteeing) possibilities for their encounter. At the same time, however, these interventions can reinforce alienating distinctions and overlook real inequalities shaping young people's peer relationships in contexts of migration and displacement. The article draws out implications for development education policy and practice in these settings.

Key words: Migration; Displacement; Encounter; Levinas; School-based Interventions; Belonging.

"I'm not a migrant!" – Kingsley, East London school

Introduction

In the context of increasing migration and displacement to the global North, it has been suggested that school-based interventions can nurture a sense of belonging among young migrants and refugees and their new peers (Tyrer and Fazel, 2014; Pastoor, 2015; Fazel and Betancourt, 2018; Durbeej et al., 2021; Spaas et al., 2023). These interventions join a growing cohort of social

programmes which seek to harness the potential of intercultural 'encounters' to effect cultural change and transformation among young people from diverse backgrounds (Amin, 2002; Harris, 2016; Wilson, 2017). The notion of 'organising' encounter through school-based interventions raises important epistemological and ethical questions which have yet to be addressed by empirical research. Can encounter ever be organised? What are the effects of trying to do so through school-based interventions in contexts of migration and displacement? This article helps to fill this gap in the literature through qualitative research on a large EU-funded project for migrant and refugee wellbeing in two secondary schools in England. We draw on the work of French philosopher Emmanuel Levinas to theorise 'encounter'.

For Levinas (1985: 60), the sociality characterised by the 'face-to-face' encounter 'cannot have the same structure as knowledge'. Levinas explains that in the face-to-face relation we are confronted with the absolute alterity and 'otherness of the other' (Ibid.: 77). In confronting this otherness, our own otherness and unique personhood is confirmed. Yet the desire for the 'otherness of the other' can never be satisfied through 'knowledge' because the face-to-face encounter is the 'non-synthesizable par excellence' (Ibid.). It evades representation. Beavers (1993: 3) notes that, in Levinasian terms, 'The face of the Other resists my power to assimilate the Other into knowledge; it resists possession, which would have the net result of silencing the voice of the Other as Other'. Only in meeting the other in the vulnerability of the 'face-to-face' encounter can I fulfil my ethical responsibility to them and sanction the moral imperative to 'welcome the stranger in your midst'. Beavers emphasises that this ethical dimension is spontaneous: it is 'not predicated to this event from a pre-existing ethical base, it is the very emergence of ethics itself' (Ibid.). Although encounter can only emerge organically between individuals, studies have argued that it can be encouraged in different ways, for example by dismantling stereotypes or challenging entrenched economic and political inequalities (Amin, 2002; Valentine, 2008; Butler, 2012). Because practising vulnerability requires self-confidence (Brown, 2017), 'safe spaces' may also be necessary in order 'to offer an important site of respite and self-definition for marginalised groups' (Wilson, 2017: 614). Wilson (Ibid.) emphasises, however, that the potential for encounter in these spaces is minimal because encounters are never 'safe'. As hooks (1989:

19) confirms, the margin 'is not a "safe" place. One is always at risk'. For encounters to happen, 'something has to be left open' (Wilson, 2017: 612).

This article is based on a case study of the 'RefugeesWellSchool' (RWS) project (2018-2022), an EU-funded project that examined the effectiveness of school-based interventions in promoting the wellbeing of migrant and refugee adolescents in six countries across Europe (Belgium, Finland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and England). Several interventions focused specifically on encouraging peer group belonging. These included the 'Peer Integration and Enhancement Resource' (PIER) programme, and a 'Classroom Drama' workshop, which were conducted in two secondary schools in England. The eight-week PIER intervention aimed to develop 'empathy and understanding' for migrants and refugees by exploring themes such as reasons for displacement, migrant and refugee journeys, the asylum-seeking process, and social challenges and opportunities in the host country. The programme also encouraged young people from both migrant and host backgrounds to reflect on their diverse and multiple identities and to consider their relationships with each other. The first author facilitated the PIER intervention in a majority White British school in Brighton & Hove with Year Eight students (aged twelve to thirteen).

The nine-week Classroom Drama programme aimed to encourage 'positive interethnic relationships' by engaging young people in theatrical expression relating to themes of migration, exclusion, pluriform identities, and cultural adaptation in host societies. Drama therapists implemented the Classroom Drama workshop with Year Eight and Year Nine students (aged twelve to fourteen) in an ethnically diverse school in East London. East London is characterised by 'superdiversity', a concept which denotes increased diversity not only between migrant groups but also within them in certain cities and countries (Vertovec, 2007; Crul, 2016).

We use focus group data and ethnographic observations from the RWS project to foreground the perspectives and experiences of young people and professionals (including school staff and drama therapists) who were involved in the two interventions. The following section details the research methodology;

we then present and discuss the research findings before considering implications for development education policy and practice in the conclusion.

Methodology

The RWS project employed a mixed methods evaluation, conducting questionnaires and focus groups with young people and adults (including school staff and intervention facilitators) before ('T1') and after ('T2') the interventions. The aim of the evaluation at T1 was to gather information about young people's social and emotional wellbeing in each context. T2 aimed to evaluate the interventions and to understand contextual factors which might have influenced their effectiveness at each school. Pre- and post-intervention focus groups were conducted with a random sample from students who participated in the interventions. The focus groups were collaboratively designed by a qualitative cross-country team within the RWS project. In England, eight focus groups relating to the Classroom Drama intervention were conducted in the East London school: two with students and one with teachers at T1, and four with students and one with the drama therapists at T2. Nine focus groups relating to the PIER intervention were conducted in the school in Brighton & Hove: three with students and one with teachers at T1, and four with students and one with the school's English as an Additional Language (EAL) team at T2. The T2 focus groups at the Brighton & Hove school were conducted online due to COVID-19 restrictions in March 2020.

Questionnaires were conducted with both 'intervention' and 'control' student groups at each school. Although the questionnaire data is not used in this article, ethnographic observation by the first author during the quantitative evaluations in England gives insight into how young people reacted in different ways to the language used by the RWS project. The second round of questionnaires at the Brighton & Hove school had to be conducted online due to the COVID-19 'lockdown' in March 2020, meaning that it was not possible to observe young people's reactions to the project. Information sheets and consent forms were given to all research participants. These were translated into eighteen different languages. Parental consent was required for participants in the RWS evaluation who were below the age of thirteen. The information sheet provided participants with information about who to speak to should they feel

upset after having taken part in the research; it also informed participants that they could withdraw from the research at any stage in the process. Pseudonyms have been used to anonymise the names of all individuals in this article ('R' refers to 'respondent' in the focus group quotes). When describing young people's places of origin, we refer to regions (e.g. 'Northeast Africa'), rather than countries, in order to ensure their anonymity.

The article presents the findings in relation to each intervention and discusses their implications for development education policy and practice. Following Levinas, we understand encounter to involve self-confidence and setting aside stereotypes; we therefore examined the data to identify the impact of the interventions on young people's perceptions both of themselves, and of each other. We also understand encounter to be inherently 'unorganisable', and so examined how young people responded to the project's attempts to organise their encounter in different ways. We returned to the data many times during our analysis, following the iterative approach advocated by Braun and Clark (2006) in their guide to thematic analysis.

Stereotypes and self-definition

The PIER programme attempted to challenge xenophobic media and political narratives by using illustrated, written, and animated stories to portray refugees' experiences of flight and resettlement. George, a member of the EAL team at the Brighton & Hove school, said that for British students during PIER, 'there was a lot of new learning for the kids, you know, hearing the facts and dispelling some of the myths'. As Eten (2017: 59) posits, development education programmes have 'an important role to play in diffusing the prejudice and stereotypes that hang around migrant communities in the North'. This was confirmed by a British student [R4] during a post-intervention focus group:

> R2: We also looked at like, some refugees' stories, like how they got here.
>
> R4: Yeah, that was really interesting, looking at different people's stories. Especially in the animations, they really helped you to understand what they went through.

Another British student commented, 'Learning what it's like, for me who's lived in England all my life, to learn about somebody who's come from…had to leave their country and come to another country to flee, that would have been quite hard to understand before, without the PIER sessions'. Some students at the Brighton & Hove school with personal or family histories of migration and displacement also appeared to identify with the programme's content. Lila, who was from Central Asia, said: 'I'm not a refugee, but I did move here because of how corrupt my country was, so… it was also very hard, so it also kind of was quite accurate'. George observed that although Aaden, a British student with parents from Northeast Africa, didn't usually contribute much in 'normal lessons' and was 'quite reticent in earlier [PIER] sessions', he had 'watched him get into it more and more' as the sessions progressed. George added:

> "I felt that he certainly identified with a lot of the issues that were coming up in the materials…at home, in the home language, he has been hearing the story of [Northeast African country] and he knows that the older people have probably had a lot of those similar experiences as new migrants".

Annie, a European student with parents from North Africa, showed a keen interest in all the PIER activities despite her lack of English. George said that he was 'impressed with her responses, because probably it touched on things that she's heard about…people coming up through North Africa'. By giving recognition to their personal and family experiences of migration, the PIER intervention may have been 'an important site of respite and self-definition' (Wilson, 2017: 614) for these young people. Other newcomers, however, were more reluctant to signal their identification with the content of the PIER intervention. An EAL team member, Shaima, voiced her surprise at the lack of engagement from some newcomers:

> "There's a girl from [a Middle Eastern country], she wears the hijab and she's very, very quiet. And she was just…I was very surprised at how little she engaged, because I'd say her story is definitely a very interesting

one. But again, you know, it's about how much you want to share and how much you want to share with a whole class".

Shaima noted that younger students at the Brighton & Hove school tended to be 'a little bit more cautious and a lot more reticent' than older students, who might be more 'able to express themselves about where they're from and how they felt coming here'. This variability in engagement highlights the complex and contingent nature of identity. It indicates that development education projects must be sensitive to the nuances of recognition according to individual and context, and work to create 'safe spaces' where young people feel comfortable to share their experiences of migration and displacement if they wish to do so (Eten, 2017; Børsch et al., 2023).

The Classroom Drama workshop focused on young people's own experiences of migration and settlement. Yet many of the students in East London saw the Classroom Drama workshop's focus on these experiences as unnecessary and 'unexciting'. As they reported during a post-intervention focus group:

R7: We talked about like, journeys. And like…

R6: Countries and journeys.

R7: Yeah.

R3: Yeah, like one of the questions was, one of the questions, you had to answer how you came here. Well, we all know how we came here!

R6: Yeah, there's nothing…nothing exciting. Cos we were meant to do a drama play on how we came to another country. But there's no excitement in this play. Like, we just took the plane, came here, done, it's over, simple.

Migration studies have pointed out that in highly ethnically diverse contexts, migration is often seen as a commonplace, even 'banal' feature of everyday life (Sandercock, 2003; Berg and Sigona, 2013; Wessendorf, 2014a). The pre-

intervention questionnaire included a question about young people's migration status, but some students with personal histories of migration were unsure what 'migration' meant. As he completed the question, Martim, an African European student, raised his hand to ask, 'What does "migration" mean again, Miss?'. Bakewell (2008: 451) highlights the irrelevancy of policy categories to the lived experiences of migrants and refugees, noting that for many, 'such bureaucratic categories may have little day to day salience'.

During the same evaluation session, Kingsley (another African European newcomer) scoffed to his friend, 'I'm not a migrant! Do I look like a migrant?!'. Devereux (2017) suggests that challenging mainstream media constructions concerning migration should be a key priority for development education; Kingsley's scornful response to the RWS questionnaire demonstrates how development education can paradoxically reinforce, rather than challenge, stereotypes about the migrant or refugee. At the same time, his response points to young people's significant agency in rejecting dominant policy categories. As Watters (2008: 127) observes, 'the employment of specific discourses in relation to the social welfare of refugees is not a "one-way street" in which practices are simply imposed on populations'. Rather, people also 'do things' with categories that are imposed on them (Brubaker, 2002: 169).

Organising encounter?

In one PIER session at the Brighton & Hove school, students watched clips from a British documentary, 'Educating Greater Manchester', in which Rani, a 12-year-old student from Syria, arrives at a school in Salford, northern England. Jack, a White British student, welcomes Rani to school, and the documentary follows their blossoming friendship. Students were asked questions about the video such as, 'How are Jack and Rani similar? How are they different?'. EAL teacher George reflected on the positive impact of the session on British students at the Brighton & Hove school:

> "Perhaps because it was exactly the level those kids were, they were their age when that was filmed – they were Year 8 kids, they've been in school for a year and a half, they've got their peer groups, their buddies, they've got their little circles. And it was seeing Jack who welcomed the new

> one…I think it engaged a lot of kids. Maybe they were thinking, 'Hmm, you know, we've got kids like Rani arriving, and we've got kids around the edge, and who speaks to them?'".

During the focus groups, several British students confirmed that participating in the PIER intervention had changed the way they related to newcomers:

> R3: It changed it quite a lot, because you think if they've just come here, they're from another country, then you know that they've probably gone through quite a lot to get here…
>
> R1: Yeah, just like, instead of like, well I wouldn't say judging, but instead of like, not going near them, or cos they're new, it's just like, I'd put myself in their shoes and see what it's like for them to be new. And try to make them feel welcome and stuff.

This finding supports the 'extended contact' hypothesis, which posits that knowledge of friendship between the 'in-group' and the 'out-group' can reduce prejudice towards the 'out-group' (Wright et al., 1997; Cameron et al., 2006; Christ et al., 2014; Hewstone and Hughes, 2015). However, George suggested that instead of using video media, it might have been even more effective to invite an older student with a migration background to share their experiences with the class. This raises an important question about the role of video media in 'encounter'. Ignatieff (1998: 10) points out that the effects of 'televisual images' on 'moral relations between strangers' have rarely been examined. According to Levinas (1985), responsibility to the other cannot be mediated through image or representation. Rather, in Levinas' view, 'Responsibility is always a matter of meeting face to face' (Beavers, 1993: 8). While modelling encounter can be effective, there are also (as George suggests) limits to technological means; real moral transformation occurs only through the vulnerability and presence of encounter. Levinas (1985) emphasises that the unique and unrepresentable 'face' of the other is the ultimate confirmation of our inherent interdependence and mutual personhood.

Like the PIER programme, the Classroom Drama workshop aimed to encourage 'positive interethnic relationships', reflecting a wider academic and policy discourse which 'tends to see ethnic and religious diversity as a challenge and portrays the enhancement of positive relationships between people of different backgrounds as one of the solutions' (Wessendorf, 2014b: 18). In contrast to this discourse, the drama therapists noted that exposure to East London's 'superdiversity' meant that many students already had significant intercultural capabilities:

> R2: I think that the space is really important, really important for expressing adolescent issues which aren't always processed. But I don't think the focus being around creating empathy between people from different cultures was particularly...
>
> R1: I think what happened a little bit, because [the borough] is superdiverse or whatever it's called, they actually have a lot of solidarity and empathy with each other because they understand these issues.

As the drama therapists pointed out, regular engagement with ethnic difference in superdiverse contexts can generate intercultural capabilities including empathy and care for the other (Noble, 2009; Wise and Noble, 2016; Back and Sinha, 2018; Soye, 2024).

Young people at the East London school asserted the strength of their intercultural relationships when engaging with the RWS questionnaire, which included the questions: 'How many friends do you have that are British?', 'How many friends do you have that are from your country of origin?', and 'How many friends do you have that are not from your country of origin and not from the UK?'. In response to the last question, several students wrote down excessive numbers such as '1000000000'. In this instance, the students draw on the ridiculous and the absurd to resist and subvert the RWS project's attempt to categorise their relationships. Their use of the ludicrous indicates their awareness of friendship as involving the freedom 'to construct the relationship free from cultural prescription' (Blatterer, 2015: 6). It points to their implicit understanding that to try to 'organise' encounter involves a paradox, because 'any attempt to

design out uncertainty and risk…is at once a move to eradicate the very possibility of encounter (and in line with Levinasian ethics, the very possibility for an ethical relation)' (Wilson, 2017: 613). Wilson (Ibid.) posits that social projects frequently 'demand knowability and furthermore, they often demand spectacular outcomes, for claims to small and incremental changes rarely catch the eye of funders'. Bryan and Mochizuki (2023) argue that neoliberalism's ongoing influence on educational policy and programming is compromising development education's radical, transformative agenda. Here we see how young people can shrewdly challenge this neoliberal paradigm through their own discursive practices.

While young people at the East London school were at ease with ethnic difference, the drama therapists reported that the social issues which emerged organically during the Classroom Drama workshop were generally in relation to neighbourhood violence:

> R2: There was just a lot of general boys' stuff, like violence, gangs, death…they were interested in themes that had happened in the news…so I think that that needs to be a bit better reflected, especially if you're going to work with the Year 9s. The Year 8s are still a bit early for some of the darker themes, but the Year 9s are really in it.
>
> R1: Year 8, I found, was more around friendships, maybe losing friends, bullying at school, things not to do. Whereas Year 9 it was street stuff – it was knives, it was gangs, it was threats of…one kid, he said sometimes he gets scared when he's walking home, it's around them all the time. And I think that was a real threat.

Research on urban sociabilities in superdiverse settings in the UK confirms that intercultural competences often coexist with precarity, including neighbourhood violence (Back, 1996; Wessendorf, 2014a; James, 2015; Soye, 2024). Rattansi (2012) suggests that in British post-immigration policy, the historical focus on 'multiculturalism' has often been a strategic distraction from issues of systemic inequality. The findings from the East London school indicate that development education projects must be careful not to make the same mistake through 'soft' approaches (Andreotti, 2006) which interpret young people's peer relationships

in culturalist, apolitical terms. To be meaningful, interventions must pay attention to the inequalities that shape possibilities for young people's encounter in particular contexts (Amin, 2002).

Conclusion

This article highlights the value of research into young people's own experiences of, and responses to, development education projects in contexts of migration and displacement. Specifically, it shows how projects that are responsive to local conditions and subjectivities can challenge stereotypes and encourage self-definition among young people, opening up possibilities for (although never guaranteeing) encounter. At the same time, the article gives rare insight into the gap between the language used by development education projects and young people's own experiences, underscoring young people's agency in rejecting the policy categories that are imposed on them. In recognition of this agency, Haile, Meloni and Rezaie (2020: 28) suggest that individuals in displacement contexts should 'be able to decide when and how they want to be recognized under the refugee label, or decide not to be recognized under this label at all'.

The article adds to our understanding of the role of technology in modelling encounter by pointing to the limits of 'representation' and reinforcing the importance of meeting the other 'face-to-face'. It also demonstrates how development education projects which adopt apolitical, culturalist approaches can overlook the real inequalities impacting young people's peer relationships in contexts of migration and displacement. It follows that development education programmes must engage with situated social dynamics. Even after contextual understandings have been gathered, however, it is vital that the organisers of development education projects recognise that the 'unknowability' of encounter (in Levinasian terms) is intrinsic to its power. They must honestly assess the degree to which this unknowability is reflected in project evaluations and, more broadly, in the wider epistemological structures underpinning development education today.

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Perspectives

Migration Stories North West and Global Education: Perspectives from a Community Heritage Project

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Abstract: Drawing on the methodology and preliminary observations of a Heritage Lottery-funded project, we evidence how community heritage can promote global learning. *Migration Stories North West* (2021) is led by an interdisciplinary team of global education practitioners, artists and academic historians, and shaped by the interests and contributions of the adult and youth participants who have sought out stories of over a hundred individuals who have moved in or out of North West England from ancient to contemporary times. These stories, documented on an interactive online map, give migration a human face and a local connection. They capture the multiple drivers that influence relocation, reflect the contributions individuals made to their host societies, both mundane and exceptional, and reveal the impact of legislation in shaping migration patterns and migrants' lives. Researching the stories led participants from the local to the global, and from the past to the present to the future, fostering a sense of solidarity that stretches not only across space and place but across time. In this way, it helps to respond to the call by the Gesturing Towards Decolonial Futures Collective to challenge '(delusions of) separation' (n.d. a). Participants have uncovered for themselves narratives that challenge anti-migration rhetoric such as the long-standing hybridity of their localities. The temporal span has also encouraged both reflective distance and contemporary comparison (Santisteban, Pagès and Bravo, 2018). Presenting the stories on the interactive map enables viewers to explore the data following their own interests, but they cannot help but encounter a sum greater than its parts. Our methodology fosters perspective consciousness, cross-cultural awareness, and appreciation of individual choice and agency (Bentall, 2020), and is readily replicable. These qualities illustrate the alignment between heritage work and the values of global education, inviting new ways of

conceptualising migration - of self and other in the world - with hope, inspiration and learning (Bourn, 2021).

Key words: Migration Histories; Community Heritage; Solidarity; Global Education; Learning Resources; Collaborative Approaches.

Introduction

Migration Stories North West (2021) is a three-year National Lottery Heritage Fund project (2021-24), led by an interdisciplinary team of global education practitioners, artists and academic historians in the North West of England. The partnership is working with adult and youth volunteers to research stories of people who have migrated in and out of our region from the Roman era to the present day and collate these stories on an interactive digital map. In a period of increasing hostility towards migrants, the explicit aim of our project is to normalise migration by showing its long and diverse history, while also highlighting some of the many interconnections between our region and the rest of the world. In this article, we discuss our model of community heritage practice, reflect on the connections between the disciplines of history and global education, and point to ways in which our approach promotes global learning. The idea that a community heritage project could exemplify global education in practice is perhaps not an entirely obvious one, but we suggest that exploring the social, political and economic realities of the past helps our project participants better understand the challenges of today as well as the possibilities for the future. Specifically, our project supports the Dublin Declaration's definition of global education as an approach which 'enables people to reflect critically on the world and their place in it', 'opens their eyes, hearts and minds to the reality of the world at local and global level' and 'empowers people to understand, imagine, hope and act' for a better world (GENE, 2022: 3).

Background

Migration Stories North West (NW) (2021) is the latest in a series of community heritage projects led by Global Link Development Education Centre (DEC) in Lancaster, North West England, and is being delivered in collaboration with four other North West organisations: Cumbria DEC, Cheshire Global Learning, Crossing Footprints Community Interest Company (CIC) in Manchester and

Liverpool World Centre. It is supported by consultant historian, Professor Corinna Peniston-Bird from Lancaster University, a long-time collaborator on Global Link's heritage works. The project builds on our now well-developed practice of working with adult and youth volunteers, supported by historians, museums, archives and other heritage organisations. Through our work we research and document more 'hidden' local (hi)stories with the aim of using them as a way to shed light on wider, global stories about the ongoing struggle for rights and social justice. Previous projects have focused on, for example, LGBTQ+ histories, women's suffrage and activism, religious and political dissenters, and histories of peace and internationalism. We have learnt from participants in these previous projects how inspiring it can be to learn about people from the past who have worked towards shared goals and how this can promote a sense of solidarity and hope, spurring ideas for action and change today and in the future.

Migration Stories NW emerged specifically from a desire to counter negative narratives about migration kindled by the current 'hostile environment' (Yeo, 2018). Eten has argued (2017: 48-49) that as 'anti-immigration sentiment' grows in the global North, there is a lack of attention to the 'complex push factors'. As we will see below, these push factors are made implicit in this project through the wide-ranging stories collected and presented. As one of our project participants commented, 'We only hear the stories told without ownership by the right wing press or we hear only of those who died en route and it is never a complete or sympathetic story'. Parejo et al. (2021: 1) note that at the present moment, as the world experiences one of 'the most important moments of massive human movement since the Second World War', the language of 'us and them' is increasing with migrants associated with 'negative issues and problems'. Devereux (2017: 2) agrees that migrants are persistently 'othered' in the media, arguing that the language of 'refugee crisis' as opposed to 'humanitarian crisis' identifies migrants as the source, rather than an outcome, of the problem with little coverage as to *why* people are migrating. Through its focus on detailed narratives of real individuals, our project has encouraged instead an awareness of the complexities of migration and a sense of shared humanity (Golden and Cannon, 2017).

There is an emphasis in the literature on how global education can offer both a critical and positive lens on the very challenging topic of migration – critical, through taking 'an historical and global view of development processes' (Eten, 2017: 49), and positive, by helping to challenge mainstream media narratives and contribute to more inclusive societies (Devereux, 2017: 1; De Angelis, 2021: 71; UNESCO, 2018: 7). As Akkari and Maleq (2020: 8-9) note, exploring migration through the lens of global citizenship can help to challenge 'binary notions of us and them and here and there'. Migration poses challenges that global education can 'turn into opportunities' rooted in values of human rights and social justice (De Angelis, 2021: 56). De Angelis argues (2021: 72) for work that brings 'formal, non-formal education and local realities together' by 'integrating migration issues and migrants' stories within the school curriculum'. Below we outline our approach to community heritage work that aims to make these connections by creating opportunities for thinking and learning about the world today, in both formal and non-formal contexts, through engagement with local migration (hi)stories.

There is an existing body of useful and well-researched, historically based, global education tools and resources developed by practitioners across The Global Learning Network, a practitioner network of Development Education Centres (DECs) across England of which three of the *Migration Stories NW* partners are members. These resources – such as 'Global Stories', developed by Reading International Solidarity Centre (RISC) (n.d.) – use migration as a lens through which we can understand wider social, political and economic complexities. There is also a teacher training course on migration developed by Global Learning London (2023). These are particularly rooted in work that could be described as decolonising the curriculum and anti-racist practice. Whilst much of the reasoning underpinning the work may be similar to *Migration Stories NW*, there are explicit differences in our approach: as a community heritage project, our method can be more open and participant-led. In particular, we involve our participants (both adults and young people) as fellow researchers in the way advocated by Parejo et al. (2021: 3), contributing actively to knowledge building about migration history and having a voice on the way the content develops and thus the stories it reveals.

Project methodology and outputs

By discovering stories of individual women, men and children who moved in or out of our region from the distant past to the present day we aimed to highlight how the North West of England – like the rest of the UK – has always been a place of migration. The historical dimension was a deliberate emphasis, taking up the challenge voiced by Parejo et al. (2021: 1) that:

> "However obvious it might be that the mobility of people through territories is not a novelty, this must be restated, given the emergence of discourses that attempt to justify the adoption of measures against migration that go against human rights based on territorial and nationalist criteria".

Moreover, we hoped that the stories would demonstrate the positive impact of migration on place, shaping what the North West has become today and how it will continue to develop in the future. To challenge the prevalence of 'us and them' rhetoric, it was vital that we considered stories of both immigrants and emigrants and showed migration to and from other parts of the UK as well as other countries. The intent was that migration was not represented as a modern phenomenon, was not assumed to be unidirectional, and that the outputs did justice to diverse motivations and experiences of migration without claiming ever to be fully representative.

The project was designed in three cumulative stages:

In year one, each of the five regional partners recruited a group of local adult volunteers to research and write up stories of individual migrants from the Roman period to the mid-twentieth century. There was no expectation that specific themes should determine the volunteers' choices, rather that their starting place should be curiosity: how did my grandmother come to move here, or, who was the first professional Black footballer in Britain? Each group visited local archive offices and museums, consulted online databases including Ancestry and the British Newspaper Archive, and held regular meetings to discuss research ideas and progress.

The project team read and commented on every story, looking in particular for two dimensions: was every point made substantiated by evidence? And did the narratives do justice to the people whose lives were being explored? Those two issues were related: in first draft many of the stories were lists of evidence; what grew was the ability to weave the facts into a substantiated narrative. From a skills perspective, volunteers commented on having learnt, for example, 'how to search, how to use different sources, how to put our ideas together, link and express them'. But in terms of the subject matter, feedback suggested the powerful potential of this approach to encourage 'perspective consciousness' (Hanvey, 1982: 162-3), that is to say, 'being awakened to one's own unique perspective and its limitations' (Baker and Shulsky, 2020: 5f). We discuss this below.

The stories uncovered by the volunteers are presented digitally using ArcGIS 'storymapping' software, capturing both the many comings and goings that traverse our part of England and also the region's connection to locations across the globe (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. *Migration Stories NW* map (zoomed out view).

The visual and interactive nature of ArcGIS draws in the reader to discover individual stories through detail – a face, a place, a date – while at the same time allowing the viewer to 'zoom out' and get an immediate sense of the global nature of migration. We also built in keywords which allow viewers to search the stories for certain time periods or themes, including traditions, food and customs, climate and landscape, adventure and opportunity, or war, conflict and uprising. The presentation of the data through a map encourages geo-literacy, with its focus on interactions, interconnections and implications (National Geographic, 2023), a sense of shared humanity across space.

By the start of year two of the project, the interactive map featured around sixty stories of individual women, men and children from every continent and spanning the first to the twentieth century. Each partner then used this map as the basis for a series of global education workshops with local schools, extending the pupils' knowledge and understanding of migration through an exploration of the stories and of their own ideas, perspectives and preconceptions around migration. Following the initial workshops, the partners went on to train the pupils, aged nine to seventeen, in how to conduct oral histories. Each of our five regional groups then conducted ten interviews in their schools with people who have moved in to their locality, either face-to-face or on Zoom. These interviews are being edited into digital, audio-visual stories and added to our interactive map, extending its temporal range to the present day.

When working with the schools, we set out clear learning outcomes in our workshop plans in relation to knowledge and skills development. Alongside our global education focus, we also identified some specific links to the English national curriculum subjects of History, Geography, English, Citizenship and Spiritual, Moral, Social and Cultural Development (SMSC), demonstrating the potential for integrating migration issues and migrants' stories within the school curriculum to enhance particular learning objectives. It is important to note here that while there is value in global education practitioners exploring particular aspects of history, we did not explicitly set out to teach 'History' in creating our intricate web of stories, focusing more on individual journeys of discovery rather than predetermined content. The stories are intended to open up curiosity and inspire further research, and indeed to introduce through subjective narratives the

question of what constitutes 'fact'. Interestingly, whilst this is our approach, there are multiple examples from pupils' evaluation showing that they have enjoyed learning new historical information and were curious to learn more about a wide range of eclectic issues (from the existence of the Iron Curtain to that of a city called Bethlehem in the United States).

The focus of the project in year three is shifting towards evaluation and dissemination, including the development of a global learning resource for schools based on our map, the creation of three short films promoting the project and its outputs, and the production of a pop-up exhibition to tour around our region, bringing the stories to a wider audience. The exhibition will use a range of outputs and associated activities to engage and promote the work more widely. Within all of this, the multidisciplinary nature of the team has been of enormous importance. The role of the consultant historian on the project has been not to act as expert on the topic, but to encourage breadth and depth of coverage to counterbalance the emphases of the conventional archive, to offer training in archival and oral research, and to support the regional partners as they and their volunteers encountered the unfamiliar. The merits of creative and curatorial projects involving 'citizen historians' and 'citizen cartographers' have been extensively discussed in the field (see, for example, Lilley, 2017). The historical underpinning of the project was essentially about rigour of practice: ensuring that every story was rooted in primary and secondary evidence, and that absences in the historical record were also reflected. Although most partners have worked on heritage projects before, for all except Global Link this was the first time working with archives to conduct and write up original research and for several partners it was also their first oral history project.

Feedback from both the adult and youth volunteers suggests they have particularly appreciated the investigative process, one adult noting that what they had enjoyed about the project was 'the research, both online and in person, especially Carlisle Archive and the British Library' and making wider contacts such as the 'Museum of the City of New York'. A youth volunteer commented that they had most enjoyed 'asking people why they have made decisions to come to Britain – often it is seen as a conversation to avoid but it has been really beneficial as a young person to see what motivates or forces people to move'.

There was a clear skills development aspect to the work: archive research, use of primary sources, interviewing, referencing, editing, copyright and more. As one volunteer noted, 'the rigour of the referencing and editing' was 'good discipline!'. Moreover, the emphasis on volunteer choice and engaging with individual lives encouraged a deeper critical literacy. The intention was that expertise was co-created by all participants in the project. Participants could uncover for themselves any challenges to current preconceptions and emphases in public discussions of migration - and frequently did, as the participant voices included here evidence.

Findings

The (inter)disciplines of history and global education

This project accommodated paradox: the selection of individual stories never claimed to be representative and yet our map presents a picture of the diverse dimensions of migration that is greater than the sum of its parts. As one of our adult volunteers commented, 'It made me realise that every person's migration story is unique and carries valuable lessons for others to learn from'. Anchored in the local, *Migration Stories NW* encouraged openness to the global; rooted in the past, it provoked analysis of the parallels and departures between the past and the present, and the notion of potential futures (Santisteban, Pagès and Bravo., 2018). One volunteer noted that they had particularly enjoyed 'connecting people and places through time'. The temporal dimension of global education is often future-focused - the ability to envision and therefore strive towards a better future (e.g. Hicks, 2016). This can overshadow the parallels between historical research and the goals of global learning, the importance of understanding how our 'now' is the product of our past.

The overlap between the discipline of history and global education should not be overstated. Bourn (2021: 66) also argues that global learning rests on 'a sense of optimism that change is possible based on informed learning that can encourage movements towards a more just world'. Historians are not necessarily optimists, narrating the past as either progressive or declensionist: as William Cronon (1992: 1352) describes, the plotline:

> gradually ascends toward an ending that is somehow more positive – happier, richer, freer, better – than the beginning [or] the plotline eventually falls toward an ending that is more negative – sadder, poorer, less free, worse – than the place where the story began.

Global education principles challenge historians to reflect on the visions of the world they are co-creating, a provocation that sits well beside other central themes in the discipline, such as de-colonisation. This shift addresses cultures of exclusion and denial, seeks to open up new spaces and reflect more critically on the production of knowledge. As Atkinson et al. noted there is 'an increasingly "global" university History offer' (2018: 26).

Within the search for social justice, anti-racist practice and de-colonised curricula, there is a need to ask ourselves who is not in the room (Abdi, 2020). In this project we are seeking to bring such individuals into the room (although we acknowledge that only those who have left a trace in the historical record, however faint, are represented within the pre-1950 written histories). Even initiating conversations about these gaps in the historical context with our volunteers has opened their thinking about who gets to speak, where and how. For our heritage volunteers to consider piecing together the stories of those less documented individuals was a step forwards in critical thinking and perspective consciousness. As one adult volunteer explicitly noted, 'I particularly liked the fact that we found the ordinary people as well as the privileged entrepreneurs'.

All history engages with the interplay of space and time, the significance of temporality, continuity and change. The topic of migration is ideal to meet Bourn's (2021: 69) challenge that 'a crucial role of [global] education should be to encourage engagement in the complexity of issues, and the need to go beyond emotional responses to recognition of forces that affect processes of social change'. One argument of this perspective is therefore not only that heritage projects and the support of academic historians is added value to global education but that the values of global education challenge the discipline of history. Like all meaningful interdisciplinary work, all parties are transformed by each other.

GCE Otherwise?...

We are still in the delivery phase of this work and have therefore not yet undertaken exhaustive analysis of evaluation data. However, we are able to share our emerging thinking around the ways in which we are conceptualising this work. Of the many frameworks available to global education practitioners, the 'GCE [Global Citizenship Education] Ideascapes' of the researchers and artists collective Gesturing Towards Decolonial Futures (n.d. b) has best allowed us to reflect on the different dimensions of *Migration Stories NW*. Figure 2 shows our assessment of the project against their tabulated 'Four Approaches to GCE' (Gesturing Towards Decolonial Futures, n.d. a).

Figure 2. Gesturing Towards Decolonial Futures: 'Four Approaches to GCE' with the assessment of our project marked in green ticks.

	NEOLIBERAL GCE	**SOFT GCE**	**CRITICAL GCE**	**GCE Other-wise**
Key problem	UNDERDEVELOPMENT	POVERTY	INJUSTICE	(delusions of) SEPARATION
Nature of the problem	**Lack of adaptability, skills, technology, motivation**	**Lack of: education, democratic institutions, progressive thinking**	**Exploitation, enforced disempowerment, unfair systems**	**Immaturity, irresponsibility, denial of relations and accountability**
Basis for caring	Common economic interests Responsibility to GROWTH	Common humanity Responsibility *FOR* the other	Complicity in harm Accountability *TOWARDS* the other	Radical interdependence There is no "Other", if we harm the earth/each other we harm ourselves
Grounds for acting	Economic (based on social/human capital return)	Humanitarian/moral (based on normative principles for thought and action)	Political/moral (based on normative principles for justice)	Existential (based on "commoning", losing arrogance of separations and superiorities)
Understanding of interdependence	We are all self-interested rational individuals in pursuit of capital accumulation	We have common understandings, goals and aspirations	We are part of an unfair, violent and unsustainable systems	We are all part of a wider EARTH metabolism that we are now harming (we are nature)
What needs to change	People need to adapt to the changing economy	People need to participate in democratic and charitable processes	People need to take back power from the elites	We all need a different way to exist in the planet without separations
What for	More comfort and pleasure, advancements of science, fusion of technology and humans	More dialogue, consensus, cohesion, peace and tolerance	More justice, equality, autonomy, fairer distribution of resources	Accountability beyond single life spans (to past, present and future)
How does change happen	Through ambition	Through good will	Through struggle	Through 'growing up', becoming disillusioned with individualism, consumerism and competition
Goal of GCE	To inspire consumers to expand opportunities for social mobility and leadership	To support individuals to help those less fortunate to catch up with the modern world	To empower individuals to fight for justice in solidarity with the oppressed	To de-center, disarm, discern, remember, and disinvest in harmful dispositions
Slogan	BUILD CV	MAKE a DIFFERENCE (and FEEL GOOD)	BE an ALLY (and FEEL GOOD)	DIG DEEPER and RELATE WIDER

Exploring the four 'key problems' identified in that table as the root of differing approaches to GCE, *Migration Stories NW* most closely aligns with what is described as 'GCE Otherwise', the key issue dealt with being '(delusions of) separation'. Although within our individual stories all of the key problems

identified (underdevelopment, poverty and injustice) may be touched upon, the creation of our project map helps start to unpack the concept of 'the Other' and challenge the illusion of essential difference between different geographical and ethnological communities. In 'GCE Ideascapes' (Ibid.) the authors highlight that 'Social cartographies are educational instruments that are not meant to describe or prescribe things, but to be a stimulus for different conversations about intersections that are usually not talked about'. The map presents a simple starting point for our participants and the wider viewing public to visualise and explore ideas of interdependence in a way that reflects global education aims. To begin a journey that inspires us to question our 'arrogance of separations and superiorities' (Ibid.) in such a straightforward and accessible way is, we argue, an enormous achievement of this work. It is not a new idea that through the exploration of history we can come to understand poverty and injustice in the world today. However, to map and thus begin to understand how past, present and future are economically, politically and socially inextricable effectively addresses the problem of '(delusions of) separation'.

It should also be noted here that some of the above impact in terms of what might be described as systems thinking and understanding also applies to some of the teachers with whom the project partners have worked. One teacher, for example, noted that the stories highlighted the impact of migration 'in terms of e.g. the culture, diet, religion, legal systems etc of both our region and the wider world'. This supports Eten's suggestion that a GCE approach to migration serves to highlight the 'permeability of all cultures and citizenship beyond national polities' (2017: 59) and indeed at local level. Similarly, one adult volunteer came to recognise the long-standing hybridity of their region, noting that their region (Cumbria) was not nearly as historically homogenous as conventionally represented, while another from the same region became aware of the disjuncture between their research and the representation of the region by 'right-wing factions' as a 'last bastion of Englishness'. These interim observations support the argument by De Angelis (2021: 61) that the multidimensional approach of global education can help 'unpack definitions of migrant and migration' and promote the notion of 'intercultural citizenship' (Ibid.: 64), which embraces difference while understanding interconnectedness at a local, global – and indeed, glocal – level.

What seeing the world through the eyes of so many others has done, is to inspire a sense of solidarity and curiosity, alongside an openness to otherness and dialogue. In fact, inspired by the work of Biesta (2006), Bruce argues that 'learning ought not to be about the acquisition of knowledge, skills and attitudes at all, but rather a project of coming into the world, where the world is (engaging with) the Other' (2013: 39). Equally, the work of Bruce (Ibid.: 45), for example, clearly outlines how encounters with others and post-critical conceptual frameworks take us 'beyond the imperialist projects of benevolence, paternalism, and the 'helping imperative'. The project goes some way towards answering questions of what it means to be human, and in agreement with Biesta's work, suggests that this question is one to answer together through education, not before education can start.

It is useful to global education practitioners to be aware of what is accessible and palatable for educators working within statutory and formal education systems. This also applied to our adult volunteers in year one, some of whom may have initially joined the project because of their interest in heritage and history, as opposed to any wider social justice concerns. The emerging sense that this unique combination of history, heritage and migration supports a move towards 'GCE Otherwise' is of enormous value to the project team, and perhaps to the wider sector, addressing the 'local to global' objectives which we often hold in common.

Conclusion

The stories we have discovered through this project are rich and diverse and sometimes surprising: they encompass a range of push and pull reasons for migration including conflict, conquest and colonialism as well as the search for economic or educational opportunity and adventure. They reveal the way migration shapes language and culture as well as influencing the work we do, the food we eat and the clothes we wear. The focus on the past creates some distance from contemporary preoccupations and assumptions, but in so doing encourages greater awareness of the present not as a given, but as only one possible outcome of choice and happenstance. The contemporary interviews challenge

generalisations and stereotypes, suggesting the intricacies of lives behind the headlines.

Fundamentally the stories also show how migration forges connections within and across different places, spaces and times and, by their very individual nature, invite us to find points of connection between our own lives and those of others, countering delusions of separation. The focus on individual stories worked against the over-simplification of complexity that typifies reiterations of prejudice. As Cronon argues (1992: 1370):

> "As storytellers we commit ourselves to the task of judging the consequences of human actions, trying to understand the choices that confronted the people whose lives we narrate ... In the dilemmas they faced we discover our own, and at the intersection of the two we locate the moral of the story".

The model the team has developed for this project is entirely replicable in a range of scenarios and can be taken as a move towards developing best practice for those seeking to explore global education through community heritage. The tangible links this work creates between the local and global hits many of our global education ideals and starts to move individual participants towards 'GCE Otherwise', that is, more critical reflection on the interconnected nature of the world around us.

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GOING GLOBAL: DEFINING, CHARACTERISING AND CONSTRUCTING GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP

BARRY CANNON

Abstract: This article shares the rationale and outcomes of a research project, titled 'Going Global', which was funded by the Irish Research Council's New Foundations fund resourced by Irish Aid. The project held two regional workshops with personnel in the development and global citizenship education (GCE) fields, one in Belfast and one in Dublin. The workshops had three objectives: to gather views from participants on the meaning and content of global citizenship; to provide theoretical input to inform these discussions; and to enable participants to envisage more practice-grounded means to construct global citizenship in their work. The main finding from the project is that workshop participant attitudes to global citizenship range from the pragmatic, through the agnostic to the sceptical, but that none of these positions are mutually exclusive. Rather, it is recommended that global citizenship be treated as a provisional rather than a materially realised conceptual placeholder, enabling greater discussion and debate on the concept. Such debate should be around some key paradoxes identified by participants in this project including: the lack of a global state to guarantee rights; the perceived Eurocentricity of the concept; and depoliticised, technocratic and individualised biases in dominant conceptualisations of it. Greater conceptual exploration around such paradoxes in the sector could help tease out these positions further for professionals in the field, facilitating a deeper connection with the concept among them.

Keywords: Global Citizenship; Development Education; Citizenship; Democracy; Globalisation.

Introduction

This article sets out the rationale and outcomes of a research project, titled 'Going Global', funded by the Irish Research Council and Irish Aid, which was carried out in 2023 by the project Principal Investigator (PI) and author of this article, in association with Comhlámh, Suas and the Centre for Global Education (Cannon,

2023).[1] The project was motivated by some key questions that emerged in previous research conducted by the author for Comhlámh regarding the challenges presented by globalisation to state/citizen relation within the nation state and how the concept of global citizenship has emerged as a response to those challenges but is riven with contested definitions and meanings (Cannon, 2022).

Global citizenship has become an increasingly dominant term in international development discourse and policy in the Republic of Ireland (Government of Ireland, 2019) and internationally, most commonly in the context of the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and in particular in education (Irish Aid, 2021; United Nations Global Citizenship Foundation, 2022). Yet there is considerable discussion on the meaning (Carter, 2001), characterisation (Isin and Nyers, 2014a) and institutionalisation of global citizenship, particularly in the context of the persistent repercussions of colonialism (Lee, 2014; Tuck and Yang, 2012). As Isin and Nyers (2014b: 9), observe, while citizenship is changing as a result of globalisation no specific citizenship model can be pre-determined as a result of these changes. Citizenship in this changing context is 'incipient' rather than fixed, they argue, as while the globalising context is creating new conditions for the institution of citizenship, the latter has not yet fully transcended its traditional national context (Ibid.: 10). Greater conceptual discussion around this issue is important, then, as it allows us to generate shared meanings and hence provide more informed grounding for effective collective actions based on our changing contexts (Gerring, 1999). Nevertheless, the lack of consensus and clarity as to the meaning of global citizenship is amplified through its largely unproblematised use in the context of international development – a sector in which organisations face challenges with regard to achieving international development objectives in a culturally and

[1] Comhlámh is the Irish Association of Returned Development Workers based in Dublin; Suas, also based in Dublin, works on GCE and international volunteering with third-level students and recent graduates in the Republic of Ireland; the Centre for Global Education (CGE), based in Belfast, provides education services to enhance awareness of international development issues throughout the island of Ireland.

politically sensitive and relevant manner (Baillie Smith et al., 2013; Haas and Moinina, 2021; Loftsdóttir, 2016).

The 'Going Global' project sought to discuss these questions further with practitioners in the fields of global citizenship education (GCE) and international development more broadly, in the context of two regional workshops held in 2023, one in Belfast on 20 May 2023 and one in Dublin on 27 May 2023. These workshops, facilitated by global learning consultant Charo Lanao, had three objectives: to gather views from participants on the meaning and content of global citizenship; to provide theoretical input to inform these discussions; and, to enable participants to envisage more practice-grounded means to construct global citizenship in their work. Both workshops attracted a total of twenty-six participants for the two three-hour sessions.

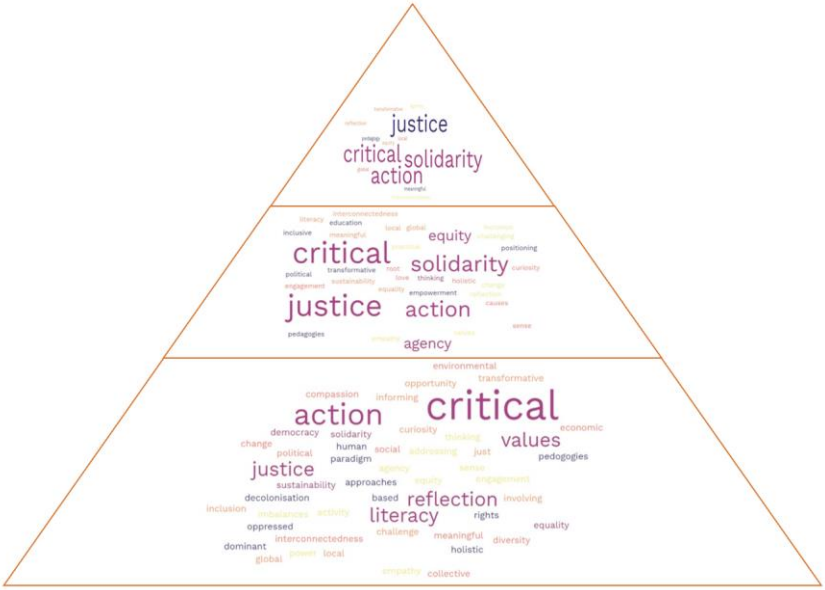
The following section is an account of workshop proceedings and ensuing discussion, followed by a short concluding section discussing findings in the light of some of the literature on the subject. In the workshops, the author presented theory on the concepts of citizenship, democracy, globalisation and global citizenship, while the facilitator discussed with participants what they felt were the essential elements of global citizenship, the relationship between democracy and citizenship, the impact of globalisation on citizenship, their attitudes to dominant conceptions of global citizenship in GCE and how they approached the concept in their work. The following sections look at outcomes from participant discussions on each of these themes.

Essential elements of global citizenship

In this first section, using a World Café methodology, moving from individual to group consensus, participants were requested to identify four words which for them signalled the essential content of global citizenship. In the initial stages of the activity a very wide range of concepts were identified, but subsequently Belfast participants identified 'learning', 'sustainability', 'solidarity' and 'justice', with Dublin participants also identifying these last two, but additionally the words 'critical' and 'action' as central elements for the concept. Figure 1 below gives a flavour of the words chosen by Belfast participants, with Figure 2 doing the same for Dublin:

Figure 1: Content of Global Citizenship: Belfast (Cannon 2023: 14)

Figure 2: Content of Global Citizenship: Dublin (Ibid.)



Analysing these responses, what is notable first is the wide range of concepts and ideas provided by participants, revealing a rich and varied conception of the meaning and content of global citizenship even among relatively small groups. Secondly, it is instructive to observe Parmenter's (2018: 332) distinction of citizenship as legal status (i.e. membership of a political collective, usually a state) and as activity, that is 'related to a political form of life, the flourishing of which one deliberately strives to foster' (Ibid.: 332, citing Seubert, 2014). Participant responses seem to bear out the truth of Parmenter's observation, with participants placing an emphasis on citizenship as action (e.g. learning, activism, action, transformative, agency, communication etc.) and informed by values (i.e. justice, solidarity, equity, democracy). The concept of citizenship as status (i.e. tied to the state) is almost entirely absent from participant's conception of global citizenship in both workshops, a revealing finding which deserves future exploration.

Relationship between democracy and citizenship

In this part of the workshop, the PI first made a presentation on definitions and characteristics of democracy and citizenship before exploring the relationship between the two. These concepts were chosen due to their emphasis in the dominant literature, which argues that citizenship and democracy are like two sides of the same coin, meaning that the greater citizenship rights are guaranteed by the state for citizens, the more democratic that state will be, and the more reduced citizenship rights, the less democratic is the state (i.e. a de-democratising dynamic) (Merkel, 2014; Marshall, 1950; Balibar, 2008). The PI concluded that while the meaning and content of citizenship and democracy are contested, they are also mutually co-dependent and historically tied to the development of the nation-state.

In response to this presentation, participants felt that democracy and citizenship regimes had been regressing rather than advancing in their respective jurisdictions. In Belfast, there was an emphasis on de-democratisation processes, both generally and in the UK. One participant commented, for example, that, 'In the era of neoliberalism and globalisation over the past fifty years, the state has gotten smaller', leading to greater inequality and higher levels of apoliticism among citizens, with a resulting reduction in civil participation for those left behind. Some participants commented that 'some rights exist above the level of the state', pointing to their universal character, while another pointed out that with a 'shrinking [national] state' and 'no global state' these cannot easily be guaranteed. In Dublin, participants also felt that the state was 'shrinking' with a negative impact on rights guarantees. One participant pointed out, however, that 'when we get into rights it's about inherent rights…the state isn't the ultimate authority'. Participants hence point to a paradox of global citizenship, already alluded to in Belfast, whereby on the one hand rights transcend states, but on the other, the state is the fundamental route of access to these rights. Additionally, in Dublin, some participants pointed to the Eurocentric nature of the global citizenship conceptualisation. As one participant put it, 'I'm so uncomfortable here. It's theoretical [given from] a man from the [Global] North. And we're here for global citizenship…to learn how to deal with people who are not included at all'.

The impact of globalisation on citizenship

The PI began this part of the workshop, presenting definitions, characterisations and impact of globalisation on democracy and citizenship. His conclusion was that in general globalisation has negatively impacted on the powers of the nation-state at the economic, political and cultural levels, which in turn has had negative impacts on the quality and reach of democracy and citizenship, particularly social citizenship. Participants in both workshops responded to this presentation with a wide variety of comments around power asymmetries between states and capital and between different categories of citizen. In Belfast, participants noted differentials of power among citizens both within states and also between national and global citizenship regimes. One participant noted that 'in some states, some identities are not given the same status as others'. In Dublin, participants also noted differentiation of power between global capital and some states. One participant noted how the profits of companies like the United States (US)-based tech giant, Apple, 'exceed the GDP of Norway', illustrating the difficulty for states to regulate such large and powerful companies. Processes of neoliberal 'deregulation' were also pointed to as a source of such asymmetries of power. Other participants pointed once again to the Eurocentricity of the globalisation concept. One participant felt that the presentation 'didn't go global' as the title of the workshop suggested, with most examples given from 'Europe and the US', but not from the global South. Hence, a tension was noted between the negative impact of globalisation on democracy and citizenship on the one hand and the need to respond with a truly global citizenship which can counteract these dynamics in a positive manner.

Global citizenship and its discontents

In the final part of the workshop, participants were shown a short video uploaded onto the Our World Irish Aid Awards webpage to encourage school children to think and act as 'global citizens' (Irish Aid Awards, 2020). The video provides examples of children from mostly developing countries acting to solve problems around education, water, waste, urban deprivation etc. mostly through technical innovation. This video was chosen as it illustrates in a short, succinct and approachable manner what being a global citizen can mean for international development agencies. Participants were asked to analyse the video in groups based around the four classic elements of citizenship: status, rights, membership

and participation. Belfast participants' overall evaluation was that the examples portrayed in the video were individualised and undifferentiated culturally (despite cases from different parts of the world being presented), whose solutions to development problems were technocratic and depoliticised, with an absence of reference to the state and collective action.

For example, regarding status, one group noted that the video 'rapidly considers communities in: Turkey, Bali (Indonesia), Bangalore (India), Jordan, Nigeria, Philadelphia (US) – interchanging cities and states without any differential – providing a thumbnail sketch at best of these communities'. Another group commented, regarding rights, that the:

> "film is less concerned with rights than development deficits such as sanitation, plastic in oceans, child marriage, waste and pollution. The film is more reactive, looking at how to respond to these problems rather than consider them in the context of rights. The state is edited out of the film [with the latter] more interested in what you can do to make the world better".

Regarding membership and identity, participants thought that the:

> "film focuses on individuals in each community it describes as 'young inventors, innovators and campaigners' who can make a difference. It appears to be more concerned with technological fixes through innovation than political responses and root causes".

Finally, with regard to participation, Belfast workshop participants commented that the film's 'framing device... is the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) agenda with each case study relating to a specific Goal. The kids are portrayed as individuals rising to the challenges of the Goals which are uncritically presented and assumed to be a development asset'.

In Dublin, commenting on the same video, the group considering status noted some differentiation between cases due to the social/legal situation of some of the children portrayed (one as a Syrian refugee, others as poor inner-city kids

in the United States). Regarding rights, one member of that group noted 'there was nothing about rights' in the film, while another exclaimed that the group 'hated the video', going on to comment that 'children were bestowed with fixing the world. That child's right is....to be a child. Bestowing that responsibility on children [i.e. fixing the world] is problematic'. The individualisation of the cases was also noted, with little reference made to collective struggle. Another participant questioned the film's portrayal of 'ordinary kids'. While this participant admitted that the film 'tried to show other countries', the group felt that the label 'ordinary kids' was 'very subjective' and may be more 'relevant in Europe'. Another participant echoed comments in Belfast on the SDGs as the basis for the film's portrayal of global citizenship, believing that it could limit alternative interpretations of the concept. The group considering membership and identity, questioned the 'global' nature of citizenship portrayed, feeling that 'there was no relationship to being [a] global citizen because children were solving issues in their own area. There was no interconnectedness'. Finally, the group discussing participation was impressed by the film encouraging children to 'take action' on climate change and other pressing issues but noted the absence in the film of 'institutions, governments, countries help[ing] that project to be accomplished'.

Constructing global citizenship in your work

In this section and, indeed, throughout both workshops, an analysis of participants' discussions could be said to reflect three different ways of relating to the concept of global citizenship in their work: a pragmatic relationship, an agnostic one, and a sceptical one. No participant unreservedly endorsed the concept, but the categories nonetheless are useful for understanding how participants approach the concept in their work.

Pragmatists

Some participants in both workshops did not endorse the term wholeheartedly but found it useful to help understand or frame activities which connect local with non-local experiences (i.e. fostering intercultural understanding in local settings); to act as an 'umbrella' term to help encompass the breadth of activities carried out by their organisations; or to access funding. One Dublin participant, for example, saw the term as:

> "aspirational. Clearly, it's not materialistic. It's a useful term for the work that I do, connecting people who are living in a flat complex in inner city Dublin with refugees down the road when they've been antagonistic towards one another. Using global citizenship as an aspirational term among these two cohorts…is more useful than Development Education".

Another participant commented that, 'The broadness of the umbrella [terminologies] allows us to do different things. Change happens in lots of different ways. It happens within systems as well as around'.

Some participants in Dublin felt that the term hasn't really impacted on their organisation's activities and that the change of terminology from 'development education' to 'global citizenship' was a mere formality. One participant ventured, for example, that the choice of the term 'was a lot more functional than critical' and that perhaps removing 'citizenship' from the term to make it global education might be more apt for the future. Dublin participants in particular felt that they had to work with the term in order to access funding for their activities. One participant voiced their curiosity about who in the workshop was 'funded by Irish Aid and so has to write about global citizenship [in the application]'. Another noted that in applying for funding, 'We have to promote the SDGs…[but] aren't encouraged to have critical conversations about the SDGs'. In effect, it was argued, 'Global Citizenship Education has become the Sustainable Development Goals'. Another Dublin participant commented: 'what global citizenship is and how it's defined doesn't matter too much to me. As long as it's rooted in the core values so I can get funding to do the programmes with the people who need the programmes'.

Agnostics

Agnostics acknowledge that the term can have uses, but it is important to debate and discuss its content more, particularly with other sectors such as academics. One participant in Dublin noted, for example, that the workshop was:

> "one of the few sessions where we've actually had a definition of what [global citizenship] is. A kind of perceived definition. This is the only time I've ever been somewhere where we've actually interrogated the word in the first place. A definition is so badly needed".

A Belfast participant commented that the 'workshop has been important in facilitating discussion on what Global Citizenship means for the international development and development education sectors. It hasn't been widely debated in that context'. A Dublin participant felt that 'it's important to talk about what we should do as global citizens, those actions would need to be meaningful. I want to hear more about research and what we should do...' Another Dublin participant drew attention to the need to include excluded voices in discussions on the term:

> "we're always informed by dominant structures and narratives. Where the wisdom comes from is the non-dominant... We need to be accessing and involving authors from the Global South. I'd like to see a version of this [workshop] with the alternatives. This is half of what we need to do. I look forward to the other half".

Sceptics

Sceptics find that 'global citizenship' is a depoliticised concept which lacks the critical edge needed to achieve the kind of changes necessary in our current global context, and is rather supportive of existing dominant systems, such as neoliberalism and Eurocentricity. One participant in Belfast compared GCE unfavourably with development education:

> "Development education is a consciously political and radical form of learning with a literature steeped in [the Brazilian educationalist and radical theorist] Paulo Freire. By contrast, Global Citizenship Education appears to be a comparatively depoliticised and lightly discoursed concept without the same literature base".

Conversely another Belfast participant reported a comment heard in another event 'that GCE was used by the sector now because the term "development" in

"development education" is problematic. Global Citizenship more accurately describes what we do'. A Dublin participant commented on the neoliberal underpinnings of the concept of global citizenship:

> "I think about the packaging and models of development and some of us have come to talk about it as 'old wine in new bottles'. I was then asking, what are the vineyards we're drinking from? This is the neoliberal vineyards - being raided and repacked and being sold to us".

Conclusions

Participant positions on the concept of global citizenship - pragmatist, agnostic or sceptic - emerge from concerns found in the literature on the subject of global citizenship. Andreotti (2021) demonstrates, however, that such positioning is not of itself antagonistic, despite reflecting different professional and ideological approaches to the concept. Rather it points to the need to 'learn to dig deeper and relate wider, together' (Ibid.: 508) in our discussions, without necessarily arriving 'anywhere specific' (Ibid.).

A key finding of the project is the unfinished nature of discussion on the change from 'development education' to 'global citizenship education' which began with the consultation exercise on Irish Aid's Global Citizenship Education strategy in 2021. Many participants consistently brought up comparisons of the two, with GCE tending to be viewed with less enthusiasm than DE. Additionally, we found in discussions a tendency to confuse 'global citizenship' with 'global citizenship education'. Participants found it difficult to separate the two, and this may be due to the lack of clarity on the meaning and content of 'global citizenship' and the fact that in some quarters it was felt that the concept was imposed on the sector rather than being adopted freely after adequate deliberation. This points to a contradiction at the heart of global citizenship education in that professionals in the sector are being asked to prepare their students for a role whose content is disputed, which does not exist materially, and indeed may never exist. More work is, therefore, needed to discuss and debate the concept to help clarify these issues. In Northern Ireland on the other hand, while the concept is not used operationally in the sector, participants showed a clear interest in learning more about it and debating these questions further.

This project has been part of an effort to 'dig deep and relate wider, together', as Andreotti (Ibid.) recommends. It has done so by attempting, as Parmenter (2018) suggests, to bring political context to global citizenship discussions, drawing on political theory on key underlying concepts of global citizenship, specifically on citizenship, democracy and globalisation, as well as global citizenship itself, to help in this process. These efforts suffer from many of the critiques made in the literature and voiced in the workshop, such as Eurocentricity. Yet, an appetite was also apparent among participants to continue the conversation. One key issue which emerged in the Dublin workshop, as mentioned above, is the need to continue discussion on the relationship between the current dominance of global citizenship education in the Republic and its long history of development education. Additionally, within this, there could be discussions on funding for the sector, particularly on the suitability of having the sector under the purview of Irish Aid and not under the Department of Education.

Additionally, Parmenter (2018: 342) makes some further suggestions which can help to create 'a valuable foundation for global citizenship education teaching and research'. These include more 'research examining non-Western conceptualizations, perceptions, and experiences of the changing relationships between individuals and polities, and of citizenship at all levels' (Ibid.); a greater research effort into those scattered elements of global citizenship that do exist, at least in embryonic form, 'including the politics of global citizenship in global agendas, e.g., UN and OECD, and in diverse contexts' (Ibid.); and more collaborative applied research 'conducted…by politics and education specialists to explore ways of effectively using politics research and concepts to inform education for global citizenship' (Ibid.).

Finally, there are a number of questions emerging from this project that can be considered by practitioners. First, practitioners could ask themselves where they would locate themselves in the typology of positions on global citizenship and why they would choose that location. That is, are they pragmatic, agnostic or sceptical of the concept of global citizenship, or a mix of some, all or none of these. They could further ask what needs to be done with the concept in future, based on their positioning on it, and how having such a position might impact

on their practice. Second, they could interrogate their materials from a more political perspective, asking what is included and what not in the content and construction of citizenship found in these, and why this might be the case. Here practitioners could consider the political content of citizenship, both real and suggested, the presence or absence of democracy in these materials, and if the materials are Eurocentric and if so, how might this be remedied.

A further key question is on the content, extent and impact of rights and duties in any putative global citizenship. Marshall (1950) famously identified three facets of citizenship: civil, political and social. Civil citizenship is traditionally associated with fundamental freedoms of movement, speech, religion, assembly, to own property etc. Political rights are seen as the right to stand in elections and the right to vote for a political representative in free and fair elections. Social rights are as Marshall (Ibid.) puts it, the right 'to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in the society' by having access to education, health, welfare etc. Global citizenship as currently conceptualised is based on the SDGs, which as some participants pointed out is not based on rights, but on aspirations and remain within the remit of individual nations to achieve, despite being promoted by the United Nations. While citizenship is predicated on equality, great inequalities remain in access to citizenship rights both within and between countries.

One fundamental right associated with citizenship is freedom of movement. Movement of people is highly restricted at a global level, despite an increasing death toll resulting from such restrictions, and is at the centre of much political debate, especially in the global North. Would global citizenship mean freedom of movement for all people of the globe, up to and including the eradication of borders and hence border controls (Jones, 2019)? If not, what should freedom of movement look like within a global citizenship regime? Additionally, which civil, political and social rights would those arriving have in their country of destination and who would guarantee them? And how should questions such as these relate to the concept of development?

Finally, on analysing their material, practitioners could ask how these absences in GCE might be made present and what research would be useful to

achieve this. Collectively these suggestions could make continued contributions to furthering discussions on the concept of global citizenship while deepening and widening that debate and enriching practice.

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LEARNING ABOUT MIGRATION THROUGH ECONOMICS: A DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION APPROACH

MARIA INMACULADA PASTOR-GARCÍA, ANTONIO FRANCISCO RODRÍGUEZ-BARQUERO AND JUAN GONZÁLEZ-ALEGRE

Abstract: Most economics handbooks describe multiple applied market-related issues and situations from a purely economic perspective. The social or environmental aspects of these issues are, however, rarely discussed and, in any case, considered of residual importance. This gap can be filled by introducing development education (DE) and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) into economics teaching, as these encompass the three dimensions of sustainability: economic sustainability, social inclusion and environmental protection. The DE approach analyses social and environmental problems that need to be taken into account in economics subjects. It also involves increasing analytical and critical capacity, as well as offering a multidimensional perspective to economics or related fields. This article aims to highlight different economic concepts in which DE can be embedded. We will make use of standard economic concepts that can be found in a standard syllabus or in textbooks used in most universities around the world, such as the popular handbooks written by Mankiw and Taylor (2017), Blanchard (2017), Samuelson and Nordhaus (2010) and Acemoglu, Laibson and List (2022).

Migration provides a rich source of issues and questions that can provide useful examples when teaching economics, while simultaneously serving to raise awareness of, and teach, solidarity principles. Different economic concepts relating to migration can be exposed, analysed and discussed from alternative viewpoints. A deeper analysis may help to improve students' ability to identify fake news and fallacies related to immigration, which have recently arisen all too frequently. This article will discuss positive and negative macroeconomic perspectives on migration, such as brain drain and imbalances in the supply of workers. From a microeconomic point of view, we will cover issues such as competition in access to goods and other externalities. The article concludes by arguing that introducing DE in these elementary economics subjects offers useful

opportunities to understand and learn more deeply about the reality of migration. This way, learning economics may offset the use and abuse of migration as a source of social and political tension.

Keywords: Development Education; Migration; Economics; Critical Thinking; Meaningful Learning.

Introduction

A common assumption often propagated by some sections of the media is that, if the population increases, the same resources will have to be distributed among more people, making each of them poorer. As an extreme argument, if people die from hunger and malnutrition in the world, the solution is to reduce the population size. As Pazos (2019) states, it is a mistake to blame population growth as the main cause of impoverishment, since both poverty and wealth exist equally in populated and unpopulated places. For example, New York City, with its very high population density, may appear abundant and wealthy, but experiences significant levels of poverty (Elliott, 2022). On the other hand, poverty may occur in places where neighbours are kilometres apart but shortages of vital supplies abound. One can compare India and Japan, both of which have dense populations, but with disparate development rates. Pazos (2019) states that there is no constant relationship between overpopulation and poverty, but rather that levels of wealth depend on the economic policies implemented. A clear comparative example was in West Germany, which was much more densely populated and strongly developed than East Germany; while their populations were of the same religion, race and culture, the main difference between the two was their political and economic systems.

People from all over the world try to cross borders in search of opportunity and security. There is a continuous movement of migrants and refugees. The reasons for emigrating are mainly economic, and to find better working and living conditions. But other compelling reasons also push people to emigrate to other countries or move within them, such as situations of continued violence, conflict, natural disasters, climate change and food insecurity. Chapter two of the World Migration Report (WMR) of the International Organization for Migration (McAuliffe and Triandafyllidou, 2021) states that the

migration process itself turns many people into vulnerable subjects who suffer violence, exploitation and abuse, becoming objects of human trafficking, being trapped without being able to cross borders, and suffering worse situations than those they were fleeing. The lack of legal channels for international migration makes migratory movements difficult. The World Migration Report also shows that the number of people migrating is significant and increasing (McAuliffe and Triandafyllidou, 2021: 23). The percentage of international migrants worldwide increased from 2.3 percent of the world's population in 1980 to 3.6 percent in 2020.

Thus, human mobility and migratory phenomena are increasingly common and the debate about them in public and political discourse is important and enduring. The WMR states that the news media is often excessively negative and that key aspects of the migration issue have been endlessly distorted (Ibid.). It indicates that misinformation is widespread about migration and migrants. The report also states that this trend has increased interest in investigating misinformation and verifying facts to minimise the spread of false ideas about migration (Ibid.: 13). According to Lazer et al. (2018), fake news is a socially harmful phenomenon that generates an increase in cynicism and apathy, and encourages radicalisation. Lazer et al. suggest two possible solutions: one is to control and prevent the publication of fake news, and the other is to improve the ability of individuals to recognise and protect themselves from fake news. This requires new teaching approaches that help university students detect fake news, as Ramos Ruiz (2023) also recommends. Since, as has been shown in recent studies (see Vosoughi, Roy and Aral, 2018), fake news has a much greater diffusion and impact than real content, the vehicle for spreading it is mainly social networks and especially news from the political sphere that influences political, economic and social well-being and causes misinformation and other information disorders (Lilleker and Pérez-Escolar, 2023).

Economics subjects in higher education have great potential to educate students and challenge anti-immigrant discourses. This article aims to describe key moments in introducing development education (DE) in economics teaching and to take advantage of the opportunity it offers for raising awareness and training in the field of migratory movements, as well as helping to develop

analytical and critical thinking. This fits with Bourn's (2018: 80) claim that 'companies and organizations need skills to interact with other people from different linguistic, cultural and religious origins', which has been referred to as the acquisition of 'intercultural competence'. This is a task that is characteristic of DE and which is necessary to overcome the added difficulties that trigger the information distortions referred to above.

The 2030 SDG Agenda incorporates migration issues in SDG target 10.7, which aims to facilitate orderly, safe, regular and responsible migration and mobility, as well as to apply planned and well-managed migration policies (United Nations, 2019). In addition to contributing to the achievement of SDG 10, which aims to reduce inequality, other objectives are also achieved with migratory movements, such as the reduction of poverty in places of origin by migrant workers sending remittances home. The 2030 Agenda makes clear the importance of migration, and SDG target 17.18 specifically requests that reliable data be obtained to monitor migratory movements (UN, 2024).

DE can support actions that improve social cohesion as well as relations between states by enhancing the mutual knowledge that fosters communication and coexistence (Vallés Marugán, 2021). DE actions promote rapprochement between countries and regions that share a common relationship such as migratory flows. Economic analysis must, therefore, take account of more than just the economic contributions that those who migrate can make in their role as workers. Vallés Marugán (Ibid.) advocates highlighting the benefits of migration as a source of cultural and social enrichment, in which migrants see their voice and vision recognised, and which serves to promote the construction of an active, participatory citizenship that is open to coexistence with others.

As long as migration is taking place and is a reality, it is vital to evaluate political discourses and actions, as well as to promote solutions, cooperation and support. Research is also necessary to help to protect human rights in the field of migration. As part of this process, projects like the one presented in this article, which seeks to open up new ways of showing the positive effects that migration can have on communities, may contribute through scientific arguments and facts to support interculturality and coexistence and challenge discrimination. This

process augments other international efforts to promote social cohesion and manage migration.

One of the aims of DE is to challenge the growth of racism, anti-immigrant vitriol and disinformation that threatens human rights, and promote values of solidarity and equality. This article reviews the opportunities offered by teaching economics in university studies to expose, analyse and debate different situations related to migration. Some examples and strategies for delivering DE in economics teaching are outlined that raise awareness of the protection of the human rights of migrants.

Materials and methodology

Economics education is home to diverse fields of study. One of them is business management, which includes topics such as social economy and transformative economy movements like the green or the circular economy, among others. The United Nations Global Compact (UN, 2019) defines ten very clear principles that promote respect for human rights and avoid any form of discrimination. However, this article is oriented towards a more general economic overview, looking for topics and theoretical resources from macroeconomics, microeconomics and introductory economics in which DE issues can be included, in particular those related to migration and social and economic sustainability. A classic review has been conducted of economic cases and content covered in economics subjects and which can be found in reference books for undergraduate economics studies in numerous related degrees from around the world. Among the authors consulted were Acemoglu, Laibson and List (2022), Blanchard (2017), Mankiw and Taylor (2017), and Samuelson and Nordhaus (2010). Thematic contents have been selected that can provide key answers to economic issues related to migration, and that are also found in the professional skills development of economics students.

The aim is to generate innovative teaching by using meaningful learning as a teaching strategy. For Moreira (2017: 2), meaningful learning, a concept originally proposed by David Ausubel, 'is the acquisition of new knowledge with meaning, understanding, critical awareness and the possibility of using that knowledge in explanations, arguments and solutions to situations or problems'

and not just deposit content in the student's head as suggested by Freire (2009: 12). Literacy implies 'a critical understanding of social, political and economic reality' (Ibid.: 48). There is a strong contrast between rote and meaningful learning. The former is based on decontextualised repetition, while meaningful learning requires examining ideas, critically analysing, comparing with previous knowledge and applying knowledge in new contexts. The theory of meaningful learning remains one of the strongest theories of modern pedagogy. According to Baque Reyes and Portilla Faican (2021), meaningful learning supports the acquisition of efficient knowledge, which remains and is nourished over time in the student's daily life. As Moreira (2017) explains, if learning is mechanical and meaningless, the student will reject it, and to achieve meaningful learning a predisposition to learn is required. Previous knowledge and a context to which to add new knowledge are also needed. In addition, significant learning is obtained if thoughts, feelings and emotions are integrated along with, ultimately, a more humanistic approach that improves personal growth.

Results

Below are four adaptations of economic content that include analysis of immigration issues and facilitate the implementation of DE for economics teachers.

Supply shifts caused by an increase in the active population: The arrival of immigrants supports development

People often migrate either for work or to study, although the most controversial migration flows are usually linked to employment. The migration of workers increases the active population and, therefore, the potential level of production of an economy. Gross domestic product (GDP) is the level of production towards which an economy tends in the long term. It is the totality of goods and services generated by the group of companies and producers in a country over a specific period of time and is determined by the so-called 'aggregate supply'. The resources traditionally considered necessary for growth are: land and natural assets, work, capital and, finally, technology or technological knowledge. Any economic measure or event that raises any of these four factors will increase a country's production and its level of wealth.

If immigration increases in an economy, the number of available workers rises, and by employing them, the quantity of goods and services produced also rises. Technically, this is said to shift the aggregate supply to the right or increase it. If, on the other hand, workers emigrate, the aggregate supply curve contracts. The reasoning is the same whether we are talking about physical capital or human capital, the latter being defined as the body of knowledge, experience and skills of a company's employees. The greater this human capital, the larger and more effective the productive and economic value of the employees. Just as increasing the number of machines will raise the capacity to produce goods and services and help to achieve the company's objectives, if human capital is increased, productivity rises and there will be economic growth, and hence a shift of the aggregate supply to the right.

The well-being of workers, including their physical and mental health, is also an essential factor in the effective delivery of activities and for optimising motivation and productivity. Economically, it is very important to the achievement of SDG 3, health and well-being, in both developed and developing countries. Along the same lines, the contribution of technological knowledge, although it is not literally technological progress, acts as a change in technology and produces effects similar to investments in new technologies, generating economic growth. Classical economic theory believes that each person is a determining element in generating production due to their contribution to the labour force and human capital. Out of the four resources that can grow the economy and create new economic wealth, three of them can be provided by immigrants: work, human capital and technological knowledge. An additional question in this regard is what training do immigrants have? According to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (2016), it is increasingly common for immigrants entering advanced economies to be highly qualified, and as early as 2010, they surpassed low-skilled and medium-skilled immigrants in number. This may be due to the fact that access to university studies is becoming easier, but also because of policies that enable the entry of highly qualified people, such as those applied by the United Kingdom, which continues to increase the number of visas granted to highly qualified personnel, based on queries to the Office for National Statistics (ONS) (2023). What is known as brain drain is positive for

receiving economies but negative for countries that see their better-educated population leave.

Shifts in aggregate demand due to increases in population: The increase in spending in the economy leads to an increase in GDP

Aggregate demand is the curve that represents the quantity of goods and services that families, companies and the state aim to purchase at each price level. But, in addition to prices, there are factors that affect the quantity of goods and services demanded. If, at the same price, there is a circumstance that causes the quantity demanded to be different, we will observe shifts in demand. Shifts in aggregate demand may be caused by: families, who consume; companies, which make purchases for investment; the state, which spends and also collects taxes; and external agents, by which exports occur.

If the mood and confidence in the political, economic and social situation improves and increases, which encourages families to consume, then aggregate demand will move to the right and there will be growth. The same will happen if there are positive expectations for businesspeople who will increase their purchases and investments if the government decides to raise budgets for public spending, or similarly if the products of a certain country become fashionable and exports grow. The economy as a whole will have the same effect if the population increases, because the demand for goods and services that will be necessary to survive immediately rises. This increase in demand, given market prices, shifts aggregate demand to the right.

The following question may arise, as in all cases in which aggregate demand increases: if the immigrant population that needs to consume goods and services increases, can it generate inflation? The answer is that the market responds to the increase in demand with an increase in production that satisfies it; the supply adapts flexibly to demand and will incorporate more labour into production levels. As supply also shifts, the prices of these goods and services do not necessarily increase. Therefore, welcoming immigrants does not generate inflation and impacts positively on the labour market. Other events generate inflation: for example, bad weather that destroys crops, as agricultural products become scarcer, or political and military conflicts that interrupt the supply of

goods necessary for production and transportation, thereby raising production costs.

It should be added that immigrants contribute from the beginning to providing tax benefits to the host state when consuming goods and services, since they pay the taxes associated with their acquisition, such as value added tax (VAT). Secondly, as has been indicated, if companies have to increase their production in order to satisfy the new demand that is generated, they need to hire more labour, generating new employment opportunities. In the same way, other economic activities will be triggered more in the long term, when the stay lengthens. In fact, the IMF (2016: 185–186) states that there is a positive relationship between the entry of immigrants and the growth of GDP. Rowthorn (2015: 40) estimated that in the UK, GDP per capita would be three percent higher in 2087 with high migration versus very low migration, especially if human capital and productivity are high. And not only in the UK, but in general, the economic repercussions of immigration for host countries are positive in terms of economic growth and productivity (IMF, 2020).

The labour market

The labour market supports the aggregate supply of a country, where the worker is the key to creating goods and services, and is central to the debate on immigration. The labour market is also governed by the laws of supply and demand; it contains people looking for employment and companies offering jobs. The operation is similar to that of an agreement between workers and companies that reach a balance where the interests of both parties are united. The balance they reach determines salary and hiring levels. This basic operating scheme may suggest that, if there are more people willing to work, they will tend to lower wages in negotiations, and that it will be the immigrants who are willing to accept wages lower than those of the initial equilibrium, appropriating jobs that were previously performed by natives. In any case, standard economic theory (Krugman and Obstfeld, 2003: 161-166) also predicts greater per capita production for the host country which leads the way for improving the quality of life of affected workers through redistribution policies.

This could be true in very specific labour markets, in which a very high number of immigrants willing to work at any price have been concentrated, such as in agriculture. But in developed economies, labour markets are highly regulated. Wages and working conditions are not as flexible and do not adapt freely to population fluctuations in such short periods of time. Research by the Migration Observatory (2023) in the UK shows that the influence of migration is not considerable, either on wages or on unemployment.

Spain, a country that traditionally welcomes immigrants, has conducted various investigations on the matter of immigration; these investigations concluded that the impact of migrants on average salary and employment is insignificant or even beneficial for natives, and they demonstrate that it is economic recessions that increase unemployment, not immigrants (Atienza-Montero and Romo-Calixto, 2021). In the same way, at a global level, the IMF (2016: 186) indicates that the global impact of migrants on jobs and salaries is very limited, including the specific case of the mass migration of Syrian refugees to Turkey.

What happens if there are waves of massive and unexpected immigration? There may be certain segments of the labour market in which migrants present skills similar to those of natives or other previously existing migrants. This competition may occur in the short term, but in the longer term, immigrants, while increasing the available labour force, also generate the need for more goods and services; more will have to be produced and more people will need to be hired. It is the natives, who have more language skills, that usually occupy the best job positions generated (Atienza-Montero and Romo-Calixto (2021; D'Amuri and Peri, 2014). Migrants tend to exchange family caregiving roles with qualified natives. If cases of competition are observed, one solution could be for the state and social services to provide training and thus facilitate the acquisition of complementary job skills so as not to compete.

Comparatively speaking, it is much more damaging for employment and wages when developing countries have extremely low wages. Global North companies take advantage of this to relocate their production to countries around the world where work is arguably the worst paid, with no guarantee of safety or

social rights, even in conditions that resemble slavery or using child labour. These are places where targets such as SDG targets 8.7 and 8.8 are urgently needed. It is understandable that a company would want to take advantage of the relatively lower costs in other countries, but it is abusive if wages barely cover daily subsistence needs. Wage increases can be very positive for a country's development; an example is the Chinese economy, which has also progressively raised its wages (IMF, 2016: 176).

Microeconomics: market failures and negative consequences of its natural functioning

Another economic topic that is studied generically is where the market does not regulate itself and the state intervenes to correct the inefficient effects. Although the market should provide sufficient quantities of the goods and services that society demands, this is not always the case. The market does not always respond to certain needs, particularly if they are social. The state is the only institution that can provide a system of goods, services and investments that would never be profitable for a private investor. These are clear cases of negative market effects, or market failures, which can include difficulties in accessing private goods, such as housing or public goods, and education or healthcare, among others.

In this case, it is the state and public institutions that are responsible for providing what is necessary for the well-being of the population, whether native or immigrant. If a very large number of people come to a locality, quick responses are required from administrations to equip the area with what is necessary, or provide private companies with incentives to do so, such as the construction sector, or even the local redistribution of activities and population. The solutions lie in public actions, from water supply and sanitation to housing, education and health. Could population aging be considered a negative externality? It could be considered an economic and social cost due to high levels of dependency along with a small active population. If the demographic system becomes unbalanced, it is very easy to understand that a low contribution in terms of production and payment of taxes is unsustainable in the face of high social costs. Facilitating the entry of younger people may provide the solution.

Could a possible culture clash between natives and immigrants be considered a negative externality? This does not have economic effects per se, but it does have social effects that can indirectly affect other areas of well-being. Standards of tolerance towards criminal behaviour, for example, are often stricter in the wealthiest countries, therefore it is important to promote integration, but also to make an effort to understand and incorporate migrants' faiths and cultures in order to achieve mutual appreciation and social well-being. Development education activities can support this integration by promoting values such as diversity and respect in order to obtain positive social results that reduce these externalities (Vallés Marugán, 2021).

The economic principle that states that the market itself is regulated to achieve economic well-being is well known, and it should not be separated from another economic principle, as important as the previous one, which indicates that the state can improve the results of the market (Mankiw and Taylor, 2017), precisely because it protects from 'market failures'. If coexistence problems are seen as a market failure caused by immigration, the state can act by introducing DE, as it promotes social cohesion and cultural diversity. Critical analysis is necessary to go further and actively demand solutions in the field of migration, that require the joint effort of different actors, such as governments, civil society organisations, and the media. De Angelis (2021) asserts that DE can be an effective response to migration-related issues to address the drawbacks found in educational and policy strategies. Integrating the analyses outlined above, and many more that have not been addressed here, into economics teaching is one way to implement DE. But the DE sector needs to pay more attention to neoliberalism, which Fricke (2022) highlights as one of the root causes of poverty and inequality, both locally and globally, and which is not adequately addressed by the development education sector.

Conclusions

This article has reviewed the opportunities offered by teaching economics in university studies to expose, analyse and debate different situations related to migration. The most basic examples and topics have been listed, including examples of, and strategies for, delivering development education through economics. The article has considered key economic concepts related to migration

including aggregate demand or supply and the labour market, while also discussing issues central to the human rights of migrants. In economics there is always a debate around two trends. One is letting the market regulate itself. Another is for the state to control the economy with fiscal, monetary and even social policies, to try to counteract some of the negative effects in those areas and prevent them from creating unwanted levels of inflation, production or unemployment. State intervention is necessary to ensure an adequate supply of infrastructure and public services for both migrants and natives. Too often migrants and new communities are blamed for cuts to public spending to mask a lack of public initiative to resolve the needs of the general population. However, from an economic point of view, immigration has positive effects on the economy and DE could incorporate these benefits into its public engagement programmes.

It is essential to understand the dynamics of migration. This is an issue that requires special attention in analysing the policies, interventions and aid that impact the lives and rights of migrants and natives. Therefore, it is necessary to train citizens who are capable of formulating more humanitarian policies and promoting a more supportive approach to migration crises. The phenomenon of international migration is complex and has economic and social repercussions. Real data, although abundant, remains difficult to extract and manage because changing realities emerge. But the most basic economic theory leaves no doubt about the benefits, even the necessity, of immigration from a demographic point of view, especially in the future, given the current population projections.

It is necessary to be prepared to change the dynamics of migration through immigration policies and practices. DE can prepare the population to understand the economy, in addition to training them to exercise political influence. The training of students capable of dismantling myths about migration is a task that involves putting DE into practice. Concepts such as co-development, launched for the first time by Naïr (1997), are now part of DE programming (IDEA, 2022: 23) with the idea of seeking alliances with organisations led by migrants to promote solidarity and fight against racism and discrimination. Development education is well positioned to incorporate a positive economic narrative about migration into its programmes and activities thus ensuring that the public is better informed about this critical development issue.

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Viewpoint

Genocide in Gaza and the Politics of False Equivalencies

Henry A. Giroux

The condemnation of the killing of civilians and children cannot be addressed through the lens of false equivalency, suggesting all sides are equally guilty in the war on Gaza. What Hamas did on October 7th 2023, however horrendous, is not equivalent to the suffering and terror imposed by the Israeli state on Palestinians both historically and in light of the current escalating scale of what amounts to massive, unthinkable, and unconscionable violence. The relentless killing of children by Israeli Defence Forces and its elimination of the most basic needs of the Palestinian people in Gaza is far from an abstraction or a sound bite that can be buried in the language of equivalence, or for that matter, the cravenly appeal to balance. The killing of innocent children has continued in shockingly accelerated numbers with Israel's policy of collective punishment. As of February 22nd 2024, over 12,300 Palestinian children have been killed in Gaza '(43% of the total death toll), more than 1,000 children [have] one or both legs amputated', thousands remain missing, and over nine thousand are injured (Haiven, 2024; Aljazeera, 2024). It is estimated that one Palestinian child is killed every fifteen minutes or over a hundred a day (Alsaafin and Osgood, 2024).

The International Court of Justice reinforced South Africa's claim, however tempered, that Israel is waging genocide and must 'take all measures within its power' to uphold its obligations under Article II of the Genocide Convention (CBC News, 2024). The United States' (US) Campaign for Palestinian Rights stated rightly that 'One thing has been made clear on the world stage: There is vastly documented evidence that Israel is committing genocide against Palestinians' (Ayyash, 2023). While the International Court of Justice judgment should be welcomed, it is hard to imagine why there isn't an immediate call for a cease-fire and a full-fledged acknowledgment of Israel's committed war crimes and acts of genocide.

Israeli prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu's war only has one endpoint, the complete destruction of the Palestinian people along with the land they still possess. The long legacy of Israel's colonialism and politics of disposability and extermination/elimination cannot be hidden behind the false claims of defence and sovereignty; this is a project of massive cruelty and dispossession boldly proclaimed endlessly by Netanyahu and his right-wing criminogenic associates (Graham-Harrison and Helm, 2024). Their dark impulses and mobilising passions of murderous violence are no longer hidden. The death machine rolls on with a smirk, boast and a sickening smile, boldly announced by Netanyahu and his far-right associates. In the war's wake, the bodies of the dead – mostly women, children, and civilians add up – nearly 30,000 thus far (Reliefweb, 2024). Jeffrey St. Clair (2023a) movingly captures the merging of the crimes against the people of Gaza and the pathological openness, if not pleasure, of the Israeli state in affirming its criminal rampage. He writes:

> "In contrast to other historical atrocities, the crimes against the people of Gaza – mass murder, manufactured famine, dispossession, looting of property, demolition of cultural and religious heritage, and forced expulsion – have all been committed in the open, the genocidal plans have been written about in newspaper columns and freely expounded on talk shows. You won't have to excavate through secret archives, the evidence of these grotesque crimes is there for all to see. What they've said and what they've done is on the record. There can be no hiding from it. And those who've armed, funded, abetted, and justified these genocidal measures should be condemned for their complicity".

The suffering of children in Gaza is visceral and way out of proportion to Hamas's crimes and this war of revenge is conducted in a way that echoes crimes of a totalitarian past, with its colonial legacy of dispossession and elimination. Blood flows every day in Gaza, and it comes largely from the bodies of the most vulnerable: women and children. This was made particularly clear in a post provided by Dr Seema Lilani, describing the first three hours working at Aqsa Hospital in central Gaza. She writes:

> "In my first three hours working at al-Aqsa hospital, I treated a one-year-old boy with a bloody diaper, and his right arm and right leg had been blown off. There was no leg below the diaper. He was bleeding into his chest. I treated him on the ground because there were no stretchers and no beds available, and when the orthopedic surgeon came to wrap his stumps up to stop the bleeding, I would've imagined in the US this would've been a straightforward case that went immediately to the OR because of the severity, but instead, the impossible choices inflicted on the doctors of Gaza have made it such that he wasn't 'the emergency of the day', there was a waiting list and the OR was already full with other more pressing cases; and so I ask myself, what's more pressing than a one-year-old without an arm, a leg and who is bleeding in his chest and choking on his blood. And that will tell you a little about the scale of devastation that the people of Gaza are suffering" (quoted in St. Clair, 2023b).

This is just one example of the horror the Israeli state is inflicting on Palestinians as part of its right-wing war of revenge. This is a horror magnified thousands of times. The smell of needless destruction, death, and untold misery in this case is only matched by the cowardly collapse of conscience, especially among the United States and other nations who refuse to call for a ceasefire and are supplying Israel with military weapons. Surely, a den inhabited by barbarians and cowardice. The war on Gaza and the Palestinian people makes clear what the death of humanity looks like through the lens of militarisation, extermination, colonialism, and war.

How else to explain, not only the terror waged by Israel against women and children in Gaza, but also what Arwa Mahdawi (2024) writing in *The Guardian,* calls President Joe Biden's 'clear disdain for Palestinians, his dehumanization of Arabs, and his complicity in what many experts have termed a plausible genocide'. She states that 'there is not a single university left. The health system has basically collapsed. 1.9 million people have been forcibly displaced. The UN has said 100,000 people in Gaza have been killed, injured, or are missing' (Ibid.). Gaza now faces a humanitarian crisis as diseases are spreading, hospitals are destroyed, children are staving to death. At the same

time, Israel spins out empty propaganda covering up what appears to be war crimes. For example, Megan K. Stack (2024) writes in *The New York Times* that 'Israeli officials have said there was no shortage of food in Gaza and denied that they were responsible for people going hungry, accusing Hamas of pilfering aid bound for civilians and saying the United Nations failed to distribute food'. These are the words of officials who have blood in their mouths as they wage a form of totalitarian terror that is both unthinkable and unimaginable.

Higher education may be one of the few sites left where prominent issues such as the genocidal war on Gaza can be analysed, engaged, and subject to the rigours of history, a comprehensive analysis, and relevant evidence. It should be a place where students are given the knowledge to make informed judgments, deal with unsettling knowledge, and engage in pedagogical practices in which the search for truth is matched by a sense of ethical and social responsibility. Put simply, it should be a place where the habits of citizenship and critical agency should be allowed to bloom. Education in a time of crisis should reject attempts at censorship, especially aimed at those fighting for Palestinian rights, and refuse to run away from topics that are controversial, especially in a moment of disaster, war, and mass suffering. Instead of refusing to address such topics in the classroom, educators and other cultural workers must take on the role of engaged intellectuals who make visible the history, crimes, and neo-colonial war machine of elimination that is now engulfing the Middle East and other parts of the globe.

If we remain silent in the face of this war and refuse to act individually and collectively to bring it to an end, more children will die, and the bombs and violence that define the politics of right-wing racists, antisemites, and Islamophobes will prevail. Before long, the scourge and darkness of authoritarian politics will drown out whatever hope lies in the promise of a strong democracy and the calls for peace. The morally reprehensible killing of children in Gaza is part of a larger problem that haunts the modern period: the merging of colonialism and neoliberal capitalism. Regardless of the diverse forms it takes in various parts of the world, it is a dehumanising politics of greed, disposability and extermination. Its allegiance is not to human dignity but to the rewards of militarism, war, state violence, dispossession, and the repression of dissent and broader struggles for economic and social justice. Pressing the claims for truth,

justice, freedom, and equality is no longer simply a political objective; it is an ethical imperative at a time in which democracy across the globe is struggling to survive.

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SEEKING ASYLUM IN IRELAND: EMMA SOYE IN CONVERSATION WITH DIRECTOR FRANK BERRY ABOUT 'AISHA'

Frank Berry is the writer and director of 'Aisha', a film about a young woman from Nigeria who was forced to leave her home after violence towards her family. The film follows her life after she claims asylum in the Republic of Ireland, beginning in Dublin where she works part-time as a hairdresser and lives in an accommodation centre under Ireland's 'Direct Provision' system for asylum seekers. There she meets Conor, a security guard, and they strike up a friendship. While this could have developed into a 'white saviour romance' story, the film does not take this path. Aisha is moved to accommodation centres throughout the country, becoming increasingly concerned about her mother's safety in Nigeria and her own chances of being granted asylum in Ireland. With profound care and sensitivity, the film shows how Aisha navigates the hugely frustrating – and often shockingly inhumane – bureaucracy of the asylum system, providing rich insight into the challenges the system presents, not only to safety, but also to dignity and the very ability to survive.

Emma Soye spoke to Frank Berry about the film and its potential as an educational resource.

Emma Soye (ES) What drew you to this project?

Frank Berry (FB) I began researching Ireland's Direct Provision system while researching my previous film about the Irish prison system. I discovered that both systems at the time were the responsibility of the same government department, the Department of Justice, and I was interested in knowing more about the experiences of people coming to Ireland seeking international protection.

ES The film was researched with current and former asylum seekers in the Republic of Ireland. Can you tell me more about the research process?

FB In January 2017, I made contact with Lucky Khambule, the co-founder of Movement of Asylum Seekers Ireland (MASI). Lucky and I met at the accommodation centre in Dublin where he was living and he told me about the reality of life in Direct Provision, how the system has caused additional suffering for already traumatised people. Through Lucky I met more people with lived experience of Direct Provision and from there I continued on a journey of primary research, meeting with people and listening to the experiences they felt comfortable sharing. In 2018, I started meeting with participants of the Mukisa programme in County Waterford, an educational programme focused on creating opportunities for, and supporting the integration of, asylum seekers and refugees in Ireland. Among the many inspiring people I got to know in Waterford were several Nigerian women who made a significant impact on the story. In workshops we explored aspects of life as an asylum seeker in Ireland such as

engaging with a protracted legal system, the power that centre managers have over the lives of residents, and what it's like to live for years under the threat of deportation. During this collaborative process I find that a picture starts to emerge as to what this story could be, one that echoes many experiences. For this film what started to emerge was a theme of a human connection in an inhumane system.

ES

A recurring theme throughout the film is the emphasis in the asylum system on legitimising one's asylum claim through telling one's 'story'. 'Try to put them in the room', Aisha's solicitor advises her. When asked to tell her (intensely painful) 'story' during her asylum appeal, Aisha finally cracks, admonishing them, 'This is not a story!'. There is also, perhaps, an implicit rebuke to those viewers who watch the film seeking entertainment in the form of a 'story'. What did you seek to do in making the film?

FB

My films are fictional dramas but they come from a documentary impulse. I want the audience to feel like they are watching real life. The aim with all my work is to ask the audience to consider the life experiences of other people, often marginalised characters in society, and to consider how they would feel if they found themselves in that situation. The overall drive is to evoke compassion and understanding.

ES

How did you want to portray Aisha? How does this differ from other portrayals of asylum seekers in the media?

FB

Our primary focus in the depiction of the Aisha character was to make her as real as possible. Her character was developed from numerous conversations and workshops over the years. But most significantly, as I mentioned, through working with a group of Nigerian women I met in Waterford, who were taking part in an educational programme called the Mukisa programme. We worked hard to put on paper a realistic experience for Aisha, based on their lived experience. During the process we would frequently read the script out loud to authenticate it. The final part of the journey is of course the performance. Letitia Wright, who played Aisha, connected deeply with what we had done, and felt very strongly about playing the part. When we were filming, I stepped aside, and we watched the character of Aisha blossom from the page into life. Letitia brought so much to the role, much more than I could ever write from my perspective. The result of this process is a very human, real performance that I think delves deeper than many of the depictions of asylum seekers that we are used to seeing in films.

ES

In an early scene, Aisha is doing the makeup of other women living in the accommodation centre. The camera focuses on their faces in the mirror as they tell her about their experiences of the asylum system in Ireland. The effect is intimate and personal. Can you say more about this?

FB

I have a community video and documentary filmmaking background, and all of my feature films draw on these roots. The collaborative nature of my research is carried into every part of the filmmaking process. For example, with each film it is important

that the people who I researched the film with are represented on screen, either as actors, special extras or extras. And during the editing process I screen various versions of the cut along the way with the community, to make sure I'm on the right track. The documentary sequence you mention was a deliberate effort to be inclusive and to remind the audience that the feelings they are experiencing watching the film are very real for people living in Direct Provision at the moment.

ES

A close friendship (and something more) slowly develops between Aisha and Conor, the security guard at the accommodation centre in Dublin. Early on in the film, Conor tells Aisha, 'I just do what I'm told'. But as the film progresses, he starts to subvert the stereotype of the faceless bureaucrat through small acts of resistance, such as sneaking Aisha into the kitchen to put her halal food into the fridge. By the end of the film, he seems to need her as much as – if not more – than she needs him. What did you hope to show through this?

FB

I try as much as possible to not make things up when writing the script. The aim is for the story to emerge during a long and expansive process of discussions and workshops. During these meetings I mentioned how I came to this subject via researching the prison system in Ireland. This opened up conversations about how a person seeking international protection is looked upon and treated in Ireland and what the rationale could be to have the immigration system run by the Department of Justice? So through these conversations we brought the Conor character into the room as a sort of organic development from my

previous film. It felt right that his character emerged in this way, and opened up conversations about his relationship to Aisha, and how they form a very genuine friendship, one that represents a simple human connection. We thought that by asking the audience to identify with this human connection, we could express a lot by placing that recognisable relationship in the context of Direct Provision.

ES What changes, if any, do you hope the film might lead to?

FB There has been a very active and vocal movement to end the Direct Provision system in Ireland over the last few years, spearheaded by Movement of Asylum Seekers Ireland (MASI) and other activist groups, journalists, non-governmental organisations, artists and citizens, and my hope is that this film joins the chorus of objection. I don't make any great claims for the film to lead to major change but I do believe it was worth making. I think it is valuable and purposeful to have a realistic depiction of a system that exists in the name of every Irish person, out in the world. Hopefully the film will create further spaces in society for important discussion.

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Emma Soye is Assistant Editor on *Policy and Practice: A Development Education Review*. She is the author of *Peer Relationships at School: New Perspectives on Migration and Diversity* (2024, Bristol University Press).

Frank Berry is an award-winning filmmaker whose work focuses on important social issues in Ireland. To date he has directed the films *Ballymun Lullaby*, *I Used to Live Here*, *Michael Inside* and *Aisha*.

Left Behind: Migrant Children, SDG 4 and Pandemic Recovery

Gerard McCann

The key 'promise' of the United Nations' (UN) Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) is that in the process of development as actioned by governments, they would 'leave no one behind' (LNOB). All of the United Nations' member states signed up to the principle which holds that strategic engagement around policy formation would ensure that poverty and its multiform systems would be mitigated, inequality tackled and the marginalised included in human development in its broadest sense. The lifting of those in vulnerable environments to the point of empowerment and equality has been a struggle from day one, with the SDGs (arguably the only meaningful *global* development strategy) faltering and invariably the most vulnerable have been, in fact, left behind. The UN is blunt in its analysis:

> "It is time to sound the alarm. At the midpoint on our way to 2030, the Sustainable Development Goals are in deep trouble.... Shockingly, the world is back at hunger levels not seen since 2005, and food prices remain higher in more countries than in the period 2015–2019. The way things are going, it will take 286 years to close gender gaps in legal protection and remove discriminatory laws. And in education, the impacts of years of underinvestment and learning losses are such that, by 2030, some 84 million children will be out of school and 300 million children or young people attending school will leave unable to read and write." (United Nations, 2023: 4)

Global inequality has reached such a point of disequilibrium that those in the richest regions both locally and globally have come through COVID-19 with wealth enhanced and power relations highly skewed. Indeed, with post-pandemic political and socioeconomic adjustments, the governments of the global North have come to habitually and blatantly discriminate against the most vulnerable, deliberately excluding large numbers on a global scale by restricting access to public services, limiting education provision and in many countries

forcefully detaining migrants (Carmody and McCann, 2022: 104-115). This dissonance and the othering of migrants that has occurred, has further accentuated the difficulties faced by families and individuals who are precariously living on the periphery of society. From a social justice lens, we need to look hard at socioeconomic inequality as the source of many of our current global issues, from fiscal mismanagement, climate injustice and conflict, to chronic power imbalances. The plight of migrant children in particular remains a scar on the global development landscape, yet it is a scar that is addressable.

Looking at the various meaningful indicators monitoring inequality, the Human Development Index (HDI) (2024) and the World Inequality Database (WID) (2024) to name a few, the divergence between the endowed/empowered and the impoverished/disempowered is at a historically high rate (Human Development Index, 2024). With this has come a distance not only in our understanding of what global poverty is doing to poor societies in the global South but also how it has been debasing the communities in the global North as well. The acceleration of this process is cross cutting in its discrimination, leaving many of the most vulnerable excluded while permitting a political mix that cynically denies rights, disenfranchises large sections of the population (usually the poor and unregistered) and voices justification for actions - such as genocide - that would be unthinkable not ten years ago (Hickel, 2020; Jackson 2017; Chancel, 2020; Piketty, 2014; 2021).

The hegemonic shifts over the pre- and post- pandemic periods are quite notable, where there has evidently been a recalibration in power relations, filtered through either populism or indeed a fear of populism in many countries. The targeting of migrant communities and families seems to have become an outworking of this process; 'othering' - and in some cases blatant dehumanisation - has become the normative means of political engagement. In the pre-pandemic scenario, the United Nations' (2017) document *Leaving No One Behind: Equality and Non-Discrimination at the Heart of Sustainable Development* had provided a roadmap to policymaking and action, instructing:

> "…equality (the imperative of moving towards substantive equality of opportunity and outcomes for all groups), non-discrimination (the

> prohibition of discrimination against individuals and groups on the grounds identified in international human rights treaties) and the broader concept of equity (understood as fairness in the distribution of costs, benefits and opportunities). It addresses both horizontal inequalities (between social groups) and vertical inequalities (e.g. income) as well as inequalities of both opportunities and outcomes. Intergenerational equity is also addressed, as are inequalities among countries" (United Nations, 2017: 4; also see 16-18).

The societal systemic shock of the COVID-19 pandemic, and the obvious and unashamed resort to global inequality to protect the global North and its wealthier communities, seem to have facilitated a sea-change in attitudes towards marginalised and vulnerable groups. This has been registered with growing levels of racism and xenophobia across the global North and as evidenced by electorally surging anti-migrant political parties. Compounded with conflicts breaking out across the globe and pre-judicial genocidal interventions across the Middle East, Central Europe and the Sahel, the global rights agenda and the drive for equality of lived experience as envisaged through the SDGs has been, arguably, fundamentally compromised.

Education for All

The outcome of the World Education Forum, held in Incheon South Korea in May 2015, gave a sense of the global state of education vis-à-vis the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals at that point. The *Education 2030: Incheon Declaration* (UNESCO, 2015), together with the *Framework for Action for the implementation of Sustainable Development Goal 4*, aimed to bring forward a strategy to improve on the disparate inequalities in education with respect to what was available for the richest and poorest communities around the world. Working from an encompassing action point, to 'Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all' (UN, 2015), the educational and governmental Forum proposed the *Education 2030* agenda and the *Framework for Action* with priorities and strategies for actual achievement. The Incheon Declaration was, at that point in history, quite clear:

> "Inclusion and equity in and through education is the cornerstone of a transformative education agenda, and we therefore commit to addressing all forms of exclusion and marginalization, disparities and inequalities in access, participation and learning outcomes. No education target should be considered met unless met by all" (UNESCO, 2015: 7).

Taking part in this Forum, 160 countries stood by a commitment to dedicate 15-20 per cent of their public expenditures to improve education. Going into the pandemic, one-third of the countries had not moved on this action or indeed had decreased educational budgets in real terms. Coming out of the pandemic, the consensus around education budgets and policies seemed broken.

The pandemic had a disintegrating effect on education provision in the most vulnerable regions with almost 1.6 billion students being subjected to education institution shutdowns and catastrophically cut budgets, as public resources were redirected towards virus contagion mitigation, vaccines, public health resourcing, and personal protective equipment (PPE). For example, between 11 March 2020 and 5 May 2023 - the official World Health Organization (WHO) dates for the pandemic - 94 per cent of school aged children globally lost an average of almost a year's worth of education (United Nations, 2020: 5). While children in wealthier communities, particularly in the global North, were provided online, blended, hybrid, synchronous or asynchronous teaching and learning methods, in the global South it was more common to see lockdowns with little to no educational provision whatsoever. The impact of this on children and young people globally is still being felt and the recovery to pre-pandemic levels of provision has still a long way to go. 'By mid-April 2020, 94 per cent of learners worldwide were affected by the pandemic, representing 1.58 billion children and youth, from pre-primary to higher education, in 200 countries' (Ibid.: 5).

The effects of the pandemic alone, coupled with sporadic wars, will be adverse and generational on many societies, with the most disadvantaged and marginalised children caught further outside meaningful strategies for educational recovery (Lennox, Reuge and Benavides, 2021). The impact is multifaceted and will substantially affect the quality of life and opportunities that children may otherwise have had. Wellbeing and safety are key to this and in situations where

these cannot be provided, the vulnerability of the children is exacerbated and can at times be life threatening. Migrant children remain globally the most exposed to these dangers, particularly those who are caught outside familial and community support networks or are isolated and caught within state institutions or systems which cannot mobilise the support needs of these children. For others, the exclusion can include homelessness, exploitation, trafficking, child labour, imprisonment in camps or being disappeared. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN, 1989) is absolutely clear on what is needed and expected by state agencies in their responsibilities to protecting children. Its so-called General Principles form the basis for action in realising the rights of children: 1. Non-discrimination (Article 2); 2. Best interest of the child (Article 3); 3. Right to life survival and development (Article 6); and 4. Right to be heard (Article 12) (Ibid.). In reality, for many, and particularly those in the cycle of forced migration and its transitory lifestyle or those detained in camps, these Principles are not being applied.

Education can and does provide a structure for developmental inclusion. It gives a safeguarding framework within which children can belong and thrive even in difficult circumstances. Without protective environments such as schools and the professionals behind them, children can be subject to life limiting circumstances. The Convention stipulates the absolute need for the fabric and culture of education as a means of protecting children. Caught outside, there is the likelihood of a cycle of impoverishment and the co-relators of diminished access to health provision, bad nutrition, and susceptibility to disadvantage at every point of personal development. The implications are social/familial as well as personal, with dependency becoming a notable feature of communities lacking adequate educational provision. Drilling into this further to look at refugee children, the *Refugee Education Report* (UNHCR, 2023) sets out the problem in stark terms and highlights those who are left behind at all levels of state and societal intervention - with over half of the world's 14.8 million refugee children out of formal education (Ibid.: 6).

The *Refugee Education Report* looked at 70 'refugee-hosting countries' and uses the data to get a measure of the level of access to education that the children within refugee communities in these countries have. Admittedly, it does

not have an adequate survey of those not in formal refugee regimes, such as asylum-seeking children, those who are undocumented or unaccompanied migratory children. The point of closure for the Report is December 2022 - which predates the ongoing forced movement of people across Central Europe, the Sahel and as a result of the conflict in Palestine - but the report notes that:

> "the number of school-aged refugees jumped nearly 50 per cent from 10 million a year earlier, driven mostly by the full-scale invasion of Ukraine. An estimated 51 per cent – more than 7 million children – are not enrolled in school" (UNHCR, 8 September 2023).

Within the report, the gender-based inequalities were also highlighted, causing further complications for girls' development and societal inclusivity in general. The problem of increasing child marginalisation is global and can be seen in varying measures to be affecting migrant children in the global North as well as the global South. Reports of children sleeping rough on the streets of the United Kingdom and Ireland or forced into sleeping arrangements with strange adults in detention camps run by the state, or children being refused schooling in some of the wealthiest countries on earth, is an indictment of political intent, a complete disregard for child safeguarding and legally defined rights under the *Convention of the Rights of the Child* (United Nations, 1989).

SDG 4, in principle, offers a means of lifting migrant children out of the cycle of poverty and exploitation that they can fall into. This is dependent on governmental agencies and civil society providing the appropriate safety nets and mechanisms for levelling up in a meaningful manner, creating equitable and quality educational provision. Having room for opportunity and support to bring migrant children into educational environments is critical. In practice, it starts with political will and runs throughout education to the classroom and the professionalism of teaching staff. It can mean additional educational support through language classes, mainstreaming migrant children's integration, meal provision, wellbeing initiatives and documenting the young people to put them onto a similar footing as their peers. It can also mean upskilling for teachers or professional development in the formal sense.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) is well aware of the ongoing needs for achieving equitable provision but has struggled to get governments to acknowledge their responsibilities to vulnerable children under international law. Indeed, the Global Compact on Refugees (UNHCR, 2018), affirmed by the UN General Assembly on 17 December 2018, also gives specific direction on the urgency of linking the rights of migrant children to education provision and opportunity. This had brought together stakeholders in refugee protection and highlighted the actions necessary for a comprehensive transnational and intersectoral response to the forced movement of people, including children. Checking through various drafts towards the final document, it was evident that momentum on the importance of education grew with consultation and governmental commentary at that time, and a mission in respect to funded provision. In the years prior to the pandemic there was an acknowledgement of the scale of need. This can be seen in that in a document of 60 pages, education for refugee children is mentioned no less than 28 times (Ibid.). It comes out in the thematic discussions and the numerous written contributions. Indeed, the Lebanese government even complements the UNHCR for doubling down on the point. The drive was evidently towards 'a tangible mechanism for burden- and responsibility-sharing and a demonstration of solidarity' (Ibid.: 36). Article 69 is advanced enough to show that there was - in that pre-pandemic period - the wherewithal and competence in international development practice to specify action:

> "Additional areas for support include efforts to meet the specific education needs of refugees (including through "safe schools" and innovative methods such as online education) and over-come obstacles to their enrolment and attendance, including through flexible certified learning programmes, especially for girls, as well as persons with disabilities and psychosocial trauma. Support will be provided for the development and implementation of national education sector plans that include refugees" (UNHCR, 2018: Article 69).

In this and other complementary strategies, applying international law with authentic policymaking commitments, there remains the possibility of revisiting SDG 4 and prioritising those who have been through the pandemic in

the most challenging of circumstances and have been left behind. One obstacle remains and it is a formidable one indeed, political will. With the understanding that properly managed and supported migration policies can substantially benefit host communities as well as those who are arriving, there can indeed be tangible benefits from the processes of accommodation, solidarity and integration. The role of education in building a positive migration experience is critical to this, but invariably needs investment and governmental shifts which favour processes that go beyond borders to act without prejudice.

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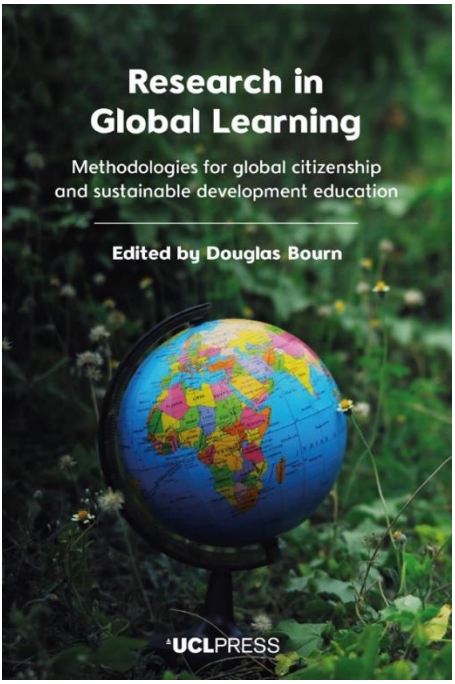
Resource reviews

Research in Global Learning: Methodologies for Global Citizenship and Sustainable Development Education

Julie Hamilton

Bourn, Douglas (ed.) (2023) *Research in Global Learning: Methodologies for Global Citizenship and Sustainable Development Education*, London: UCL Press.



Research in Global Learning brings together thirteen chapters showcasing a range of methodologies within the area of global citizenship education (GCE). The volume's stated aims are to promote a range of methodologies in global learning, to highlight research from across the world, to showcase examples of research in a variety of educational settings, and to demonstrate the importance of research within the field of global learning. Each of these aims is underpinned by the desire to see research contribute to the realisation of target 4.7 of the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). All of the book's contributors are early career researchers with most chapters based on their doctoral work, giving the book breadth and variety. The research spans five continents, with roughly equal numbers of contributions from the global South and North. Chapters are

arranged under four main themes: policy and practice; opportunities and constraints within education systems; higher education; and the perspectives of young people.

In his introduction, Bourn highlights that to date, there has been comparatively little study of different methodological approaches within global learning research, and presents this book as a step towards addressing that gap. This is achieved not so much by a direct critique or discussion of different methods (although each author explicitly justifies their choice of research method), but by a 'gallery' approach which showcases a range of practice, giving a flavour of the resulting data, conclusions, and implications. The key benefit here is that examination of said methodologies is well grounded in actual research practice, warts and all, and it is accordingly much easier for the reader to get a sense of how any given approach looked in 'real life'. In a field like global learning, where the aim must always be to work in real circumstances for a better world for real people in real time, this grounding feels entirely appropriate. However, I did feel that the subtitle was therefore slightly misleading – the book is an interesting read, but not a handbook on research methodologies for global learning.

The variety of methodologies is broad, ranging from desk based critical discourse analysis of policy documents, through case studies (single, comparative and longitudinal) to personal reflective and ethnographic studies. Case studies comprise the most common approach, but the variety between them strongly underscores the central position and significant effect of local context, and there is no sense of duplication as each one adds a different colour to the methodological canvas. Yet within this significant diversity and variety, there are clearly recurring motifs: common opportunities and challenges that may express themselves differently in local contexts, but which have the same basic shape and flavour across the miles. Across varied contexts, different theoretical perspectives and a multiplicity of methods, there are several themes that recur with notable persistence.

The first is the challenge of defining GCE in a way that is meaningful in each local context, yet provides sufficient shared understanding to facilitate a conversation that is truly global. Most conceptions of global learning can be

broadly categorised as neoliberal (valuing skills for a global economy), cosmopolitan (respecting 'universal' values) or critical (examining systems and justice), and there is substantial divergence between these in terms of theoretical outlook and priorities (Bourn, 2011). In the opening chapter, Goren raises the complicated issue of 'measuring global competence using supposedly universal measures… as these measures inevitably encapsulate values, cultural assumptions and terms with different semantic meanings across contexts' (Ibid.: 31). The rest of the book attests to this, negotiating competing views of globalisation and GCE in schools, policy documents and higher education institutions (HEIs). This is complicated further by the specific perspectives and views held by individuals and groups; staying with Goren's study, a case in point was provided by her participants (teenagers and teachers in Israel) asking for clarity on what 'types' of diversity were relevant to include when evaluating their understanding of GCE.

The second recurring theme is the challenge of integrating (or otherwise) national identity with concepts of global citizenship, and how this varies across settings. In Hanley's chapter, Kazakh students felt conflicted; although they associated global citizenship with fairly general characteristics such as respect and tolerance, they also felt that patriotism and global citizenship could not coexist. An interesting perspective was provided by a teacher: 'Education should be global, but *vospitanie* [upbringing] – national' (Ibid.: 86). In a study of teaching resources, Pasha suggests that the standard textbooks used for GCE in Pakistan may have a tendency to gloss over issues of ethnic, cultural and religious difference, leading to a view of global learning that views values and practice as homogenous within groups, with national identity playing the ultimate uniting role. Elsewhere, Tao highlights the tension between global and national identity among Chinese students who study in the UK as they navigate the differences between a traditional Chinese view of global citizenship – 'a shared destiny of all mankind' (Ibid.: 211) – and the broad Western approach of seeking a more just and sustainable world.

Third, there is repeated mention of the extent to which local context can support or hinder engagement in GCE, in relation to both affective and active aspects. De Angelis's ethnographic study in Jamaica notes that social spaces beyond the classroom have a profound impact on learning, and can either

reinforce or undermine lessons and perspectives taught in school. Similarly, Mitsuko Kukita, in her longitudinal case studies of engagement in GCE in Japan examined how person, place, context and time could impact an individual's engagement with GCE. Most specifically, she highlights that this is a dynamic situation, with engagement changing over time, sometimes intentionally, sometime not. Such themes are further reinforced by Allen's research with young people of Caribbean heritage in England and Tobago. As well as the impact of different local settings, she observes the factors that have the potential to exclude individuals and groups from GCE, in this case, issues of race, and a perceived lack of relevance of global learning.

Fourth, many studies raise the challenge of neoliberalism as a driving force which has so often hijacked GCE for its own ends. Lee observes that Korean GCE can often be seen as a method by which to develop global talents, as opposed to strive for justice, a perspective echoed by Tao, who notes that Chinese students coming to the UK felt that attaining a global outlook was a priority for the purpose of securing the edge in a competitive job market upon their return home. In England, Strachan's study found that GCE within science teaching is often valued primarily as a means to improve engagement with content of the primary curriculum. Such a perspective is also evident in higher education: Eten Angyagre voices concern that the apparent key motivation for adopting global learning principles in a Ghanaian university was to aid the journey to being recognised as a world-class, research-intensive university. This view is mirrored in Kraska Birbeck's four case studies of universities in Poland, England, Brazil and the US which found that internationalisation and globalisation were strongly linked to issues of prestige in the world of academia.

Lastly, this publication considers to what extent GCE is something over which teachers (and pupils) feel they have ownership, or whether it is something done 'to' them. To borrow from Kennedy's (2005) model of professional development, is GCE transmissive or transformative? Several studies highlight models of GCE which are mainly transmissive: for example, in Korea, Lee sees that while teachers are viewed as having agency, in practice this is interpreted as possessing the capacity to implement reform policies that have been already set. Soysal paints a mixed picture of the situation in Turkish Initial Teacher

Education, arguing that while there are elements that would be generally considered transmissive (in particular, a strong emphasis on content, as opposed to dispositions), there are other signs that the approach may be moving towards one which is more transformative, as teachers are overtly positioned within policy documents as social and moral leaders, who play an active role in shaping Turkey and the world. While teacher agency can certainly be supported or undermined in policy documents, teachers' views of themselves are no less important. In a Greek context, Efthymiou initiated a plan-act-review process with primary school teachers to explore issues of GCE; while the teachers' context remained static throughout, they changed personally, and reported that the biggest change was not knowledge or skills acquisition, but their capacity to bring the own voice to bear on the issues at hand. This study was, for them, genuinely transformative.

To conclude: with its variety of methods, and yet clear convergence of themes, *Research in Global Learning* manages to achieve its stated aims. For me, its greatest asset was the wide variety of contexts in which research was undertaken; the differing environments, outlooks and settings of each of the fifteen countries included in the text bring enormous richness to the perspectives offered, and provide an illuminating glimpse into places and systems that may well be unfamiliar to readers. In doing so, this book provides insight into three different spheres: a window on the global world itself, a window on the world of research in global learning, and a window on the world of GCE.

Note: *Research in Global Learning* is published by UCL Press and is available in an open access digital copy that can be downloaded at www.uclpress.co.uk.

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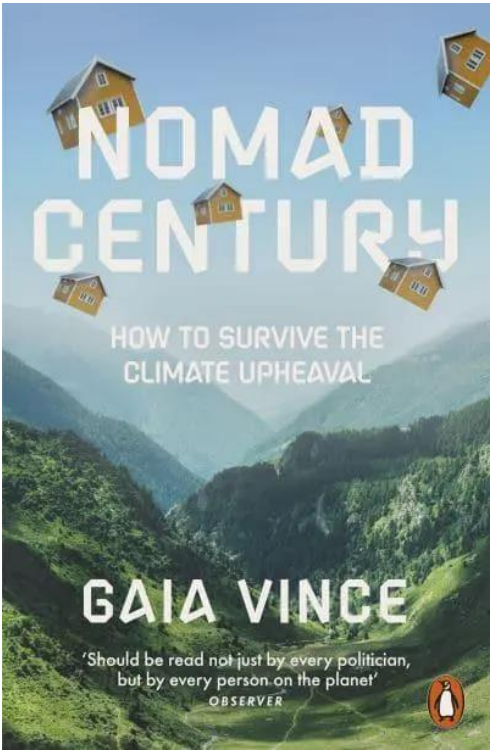
NOMAD CENTURY: HOW TO SURVIVE THE CLIMATE UPHEAVAL

NEIL ALLDRED

Vince, Gaia (2022) *Nomad Century: How to Survive the Climate Upheaval*, London: Penguin Books.



Many of us in the development education (DE) sector have been clear on the goals of our movement: to work towards the elimination of global inequities and to promote equal opportunities for individuals, families, communities and peoples, irrespective of their race, ethnicity, gender or national status. Sixty years of research, teaching, learning and activism for the achievement of this noble goal has shaped the careers, hopes, efforts and energies of many of us. And then comes along what the United Nations (UN) Secretary-General, António Guterres, the former Socialist Prime Minister of Portugal, describes as 'global boiling' (UN, 2023). The climate crisis is now – officially – the greatest problem facing the world.

Gaia Vince is a senior research fellow at University College London and author of *Adventures in the Anthropocene* (Vince, 2016) for which she became the first woman to receive the Royal Society's Science Book of the Year prize solo.

With senior editorial posts at the journals *Nature* and *New Scientist*, she has impressive credentials as a science writer and investigator. Her latest book - *Nomad Century* - makes it clear that the climate crisis is now an existential question: everything else is really secondary to the issue of planetary survival. Vince suggests that a rise in global average temperature of 4°C above the pre-Industrial Revolution norm will cause not only planetary damage over the remaining seventy-seven years of this century, but will also force mass migrations as people flee the aridity and climatic chaos of this global boiling. Her numbers and time frames vary: she believes 3.5 billion people may be forced to relocate within the next fifty years (Vince, 2022: xi) but also quotes the UN's International Organisation for Migration estimate that some 1.5 billion people will be on the move within thirty years (Ibid.: xv); and later states that by 2050 more than one billion people will be on the move (Ibid.: 209). But the details are perhaps less important than the overall message: the climate crisis is horrific but people have always been adaptable, and migration will give billions of them new opportunities in lands far away from their country of birth.

As the tropics become uninhabitable, people will seek safety almost anywhere and there are very few spaces in the more southerly latitudes: Southern Australia, Tasmania, Patagonia and so on that represent relatively small spaces for more temperate living. Northern latitudes, however, represent vast areas that Vince believes will inevitably be more conducive to resettlement: the huge spaces of Canada, Russia, Greenland, Scandinavia and other northern areas will draw billions of people who seek new lives in greater safety. Peoples across much of Africa, Asia and Latin America will be forced to flee their unliveable habitats. She cites what she sees as the positive experience of China in successfully relocating 400 million people from rural areas into huge cities over the last forty years or so, though many of us would see that as perhaps more an exercise in, and justification of, heroic state capitalism than any planned and deliberate response to climate chaos, and of perhaps dubitable value as a template for future strategy.

Readers of her book may cavil, too, with some of her estimates. The UN system has agreed to support the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change's (IPCC) estimate of a 2°C maximum rise as the global goal to be followed, and to '"pursue efforts" to limit the temperature increase to 1.5°C by

2100' (Ibid.: 3), rather than watch helplessly as it climbs to 4°C. There may eventually not be 3.5 billion people forced to move but 'only' two billion or so. We may rally round, and agree strategies that will mitigate the worst effects and adapt to changed conditions. And, of course, maybe we won't.

Vince doesn't shy away from bad news:

> "Even reaching 1.5°C... is no picnic. At this temperature, around 15 per cent of the [global] population would be exposed to deadly heatwaves at least every five years – that's 1.3 billion people, rising to 3.3 billion at 2°C" (Ibid.: 9).

Fire, heat, drought and floods she labels as the four horsemen of the anthropocene, and she makes a compelling case - with publicly available data, statistics, charts and citations - that the entire tropical belt, the location of 3.5 billion people, will be uninhabitable very soon. Indeed, the first 30 pages or so of her book are a seriously difficult read - emotionally rather than intellectually - because they draw a picture of inevitable and serious misery for the entire human race and the planet we inhabit. The now-famous placard, citing 'you will die of old age, I'll die of climate change', first seen being borne by a schoolgirl in an Oslo school climate strike (c40 Cities, n.d.), resonates sharply, because it states ever so simply that we, the current generation of ordinary people, are complicit in this mass immiseration of billions of our fellow citizens.

After a fairly convincing description of the coming apocalyptic events, however, Vince moves to a surprisingly positive picture of what changes are needed to mitigate the causes and effects of climate deterioration, and what can be successful. She reviews carbon capture and storage, global geoengineering, renewables and sustainable energy systems, rewilding, regenerative agriculture - even genetically modified crops. These will all help us mitigate some of the impact of a catastrophic climate breakdown. However, she sees positive acceptance of migration as the principal ingredient of humanity's adaptation to climate degradation. Other problems such as capitalism's inability to pursue goals apart from economic profit for the few (see Schmelzer et al., 2021), or the rising threat

of artificial intelligence (AI), or the worrying rise of populist autocrats and the decline in democratic performance, appear to be considered as near negligible.

A year before Vince published *Nomad Century*, Sonia Shah wrote her own paeon to migration, *The Next Great Migration* (Shah, 2021). Like Vince, she argues that migration has always been a mechanism for human communities to seek a better life, to explore, to improve opportunities and to exploit new resources and new contexts. Shah, however, situates human migration in a detailed and evidence-based context of planetary ecology, reserving only the last two brief chapters to human migrations. Unlike Vince, Shah argues that migration is a genetically given, and that it will happen irrespective of the collapsing climate. She does not, however, argue that migration will be the saviour of human populations in the coming century: that remains Vince's argument, and it looks somewhat unrealistic and off-target.

Migration does have positive aspects, of course, and the wealthier countries do need to be more welcoming of immigrants, and recognise their added benefits to social and community life. But *how* are we to achieve this goal of managed migration? For Vince, there appears to be little recognition of much of the inadequacy of our current political mechanisms for socially positive and progressive decision-making. The dysfunctionality of the UN system, created after the Second World War and structured for the benefit of just five veto-wielding countries, is apparent to most observers. The need for a World Parliament is not even mentioned in the book, which reflects the more general dearth of interest in, and commitment to, systemic and structural change advocated by organisations such as Democracy Without Borders (Leinen and Brummel, 2018). Across much of the European Union (EU), the United Kingdom (UK) and the United States there are currently innumerable calls to halt the arrival of migrants - both refugees fleeing desperate circumstances and incomers simply seeking better opportunities - and the anti-immigrant rhetoric is appalling and unhelpful in any realistic strategy to help humanity adapt to the growing climate crisis. Vince, however, appears to ignore or at least downplay the political factors in her otherwise welcome rush to promote what for her should be the primary strategy of facilitating and planning organised migration.

In 2018, Andreas Malm wrote his excellent essay, *How to Blow Up a Pipeline* (Malm, 2021). He argued that non-violent direct action has achieved a number of goals throughout human history but the most significant social and political change has often required violent reaction to oppressive, rigid structures and systems. His essay is perhaps more philosophical than action-specific but Malm poses the question to all of us: just how far are we prepared to go in our determination to right the wrongs of the present governance of some 200 national structures and entities? How at ease have we become with capitalism's unequalled ability to nullify our potential resistance with comforts, entertainments and distractions? Is there any sincerity in our much-proclaimed desire to right the wrongs of past and present generations when we seemingly find it impossible to jettison our clearly unsustainable lifestyles? How do we reconcile our oft-asserted moral values and our essentially amoral (and thus immoral) ways of living?

In the DE sector, we have not shied away from moral issues or from questions of human rights and freedoms. Perhaps, though, we have turned away a little too easily from recognising the need for the global North to shoulder more of the burden of change than the global South. Under the administrations of Tony Blair, Bill Clinton and Gerhard Schröder, it was easy to accept the nostrum of *pain-free social justice*. Strong economic growth in countries in the global North would allow them to be generous towards peoples and communities in the global South (after investing some of that 'surplus' in domestic economies and communities, of course).

Some in the sector have long argued that economic growth in the global South would be insufficient (McCloskey, 2022). Rather than waiting to see the global South somehow catch up economically with the global North - almost impossible given the rigged international economic structures and systems - perhaps we need to see bigger and more fundamental system changes. Some kind of redistribution of global resources will be necessary. In summer 2023, the Brattle Group report on reparations (Bazelon and Vargas, 2023) estimated that recompense for the impact that transatlantic slavery has had on the Caribbean islands and the countries of Latin America (and, importantly, not at all for any 'remitting' African countries!) amounts to some $100-131 trillion!

Indeed, there are things that can be done to help poorer communities - particularly but not exclusively in the global South - to mitigate the impact of the current climate crisis. And the sooner we find solutions to the migration 'problem' that also address the equally critical issues of global inequality and historical injustices, the sooner we will be able to demonstrate to peoples and communities around the world of the need for that global perspective. Gramsci spoke of a 'pessimism of the intellect but an optimism of the will' (Gramsci, 2011: 49) and it is certainly feasible that action and agency can generate a positive focus even within clearly grim contexts and situations. We *could* begin the redistribution of wealth from the global North to the global South - and a large proportion of that could perhaps go to climate mitigation and adaptation as well as to loss and damage recompense. We *could* stand up and state clearly and firmly that a wealth tax, or an assets tax, *could* be levied for global support and solidarity. A World Parliament is not an impossible dream and we have no moral right to leave its establishment, and the resolution of myriad other problems, to future generations. We *could* tell fossil fuel companies that they must close down operations, beginning right now. Such responses would be painful for some, but they would surely constitute an infinitely better strategy than assuming climate breakdown will continue with our blessing or our indolence, and accepting global migrations as the main strategy of adaptation.

None of this is new, of course. The Club of Rome commissioned *The Limits to Growth* back in 1972 (Meadows et al., 1972). William Catton's *Overshoot: the ecological basis of revolutionary change* was published in 1980 (Catton, 1980). Kate Raworth penned *Doughnut Economics* in 2017 to translate everything into language we could all understand (Raworth, 2017). Nathaniel Rich in 2019 reminded us all that the 1990s was a lost opportunity for climate activists (Rich, 2019). And Jason Hickel has shown convincingly that capitalism is the single greatest creator of, and contributor to, global destruction (Hickel, 2023). So it is not a question of disagreement over end goals, nor is it any lack of awareness, knowledge or understanding of the dimensions of the existential challenges climate breakdown entails. Organising and managing the movement of people across the planet will be perhaps just as difficult as the struggle against climate breakdown. But surely the need for *political will* in response to the climate challenge is primordial. The question that Vince and all of us need to ask of

ourselves every morning is: what politically significant action can I do today, as an individual but more importantly as a member of the vast and ingenious human collective, to halt and reverse this deadly journey to oblivion?

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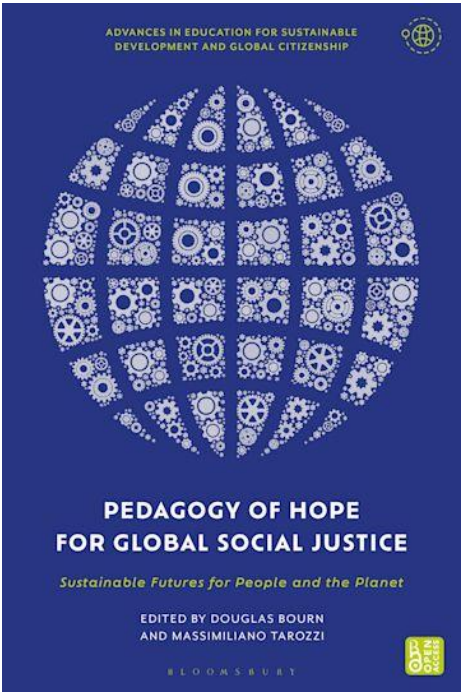
PEDAGOGY OF HOPE FOR GLOBAL SOCIAL JUSTICE: SUSTAINABLE FUTURES FOR PEOPLE AND THE PLANET

GIULIA FILIPPI

Bourn, D and Tarozzi M (eds.) (2023) *Pedagogy of Hope for Global Social Justice: Sustainable Futures for People and the Planet*, London: Bloomsbury Academic.



This book emphasises the role of hope in education, especially in the context of global citizenship education (GCE) and social justice. In particular, hope is identified from the beginning of the book as a necessary component to adopt a global perspective in education, understood as the process of thinking otherwise (Andreotti, 2015) and imagining possible solutions. It is viewed by the editors in the introduction as an 'ontological need', which needs to be addressed in our world. For this reason, Tarozzi clearly states that the idea of hope is far from being 'naïve' but rather ought to be critical. This critical perspective is, in fact, that hope leads to change, which is explored throughout the book in different ways.

Beyond the Freirean idea, linked to the awareness and the *conscientisation* process related to the reality of oppression; Tarozzi, draws upon the ideas of Swanson and Gamal (2021) to extend the concept of hope to *radical*

hope and builds a conceptualisation of global perspectives about education. And specifically, a global social justice (education). In the neoliberal era, the concept of hope is highlighted here as fundamental for educators, educational institutions and civil society for its intrinsic transformative power and stimulus to social change. The book seeks to clarify this idea of hope as a cognitive and political act which has a critical value for the present. Hence, *Pedagogy of Hope for Global Social Justice* is an insightful collection of perspectives that delves into the interplay between education, global citizenship, social justice and sustainable development.

The book calls for the integration of global social justice primarily into the concepts and ideas of education, but more specifically, its scope is to present different strategies, research methods, conceptualisations and pedagogies to deal with current global challenges, making it a timely and essential read for anyone involved in the educational process and social development. The book has fourteen chapters grouped into three well-divided sections. The first section is titled the *Conceptual Framework*, which presents theoretical perspectives related to hope, GCE, global social justice and eco-pedagogy. The second section relates to *Global Perspectives*. Here, theories and empirical works are presented as examples from different parts of the world, including Australia, China, Brazil, sub-Saharan Africa, Europe and North America, underlying the importance of diversification in the narrative around GCE. The last section is titled *Applying Global Social Justice* and focuses on practical applications that demonstrate how theories of GCE can be put into action in various educational settings.

The theoretical underpinnings in the first section are based on some fundamental topics. Torres introduces the concept of 'real utopia' and the necessity and incentive to search for new utopias that go beyond the current neoliberal education system linking the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) to GCE and sustainable education. Contextual oppression is something that Mesa also refers to as 'the systemic crisis we are facing' (40) and calls for new interpretative frameworks for tackling humanity's global challenges, especially considering the right to citizenship for women. Another important theme presented theoretically is planetary citizenship (Chapter 3), in which eco-pedagogy is presented as a framework for addressing socio-environmental justice. Section

one also includes an extensive research work conducted by Scheunpflug and colleagues, about global values within the school curriculum, showing the difficulties of integrating them into educational systems.

The second section considers where the concepts of GCE and hope are explored challenging the Eurocentric views of GCE. Pieces of works and research, such as the use of Social Network Analysis (SNA) in the global North, provide insights into how ideas and practices in GCE spread and take root across different educational and cultural contexts (Chapter 6). The showcase of an Australian educational system based on the neoliberal agenda unveils participants' intercultural understanding through their voices thanks to action research (chapter 7). Chapter 8 investigates the connection between the philosophical Chinese tradition and global competencies highlighting the important concepts of 'benevolence', 'equality' and 'the human heart', rooted in the *Relational Rationality Approach*. In chapter 9, a Brazilian case study emphasises the role of education in empowering marginalised communities, including the knowledge of Indigenous and Afro-descendants, alongside Western knowledge in the curriculum. The intricacies of this core section show perspectives and conceptions that may pose challenges in understanding the different aspects covered in every chapter, but despite this, it is precisely this depth and diversity that enriches the work, giving an extensive and wide view around the concept of GCE and global learning.

Section three is structured around practical examples of global social justice within different case studies. The first chapter in this section invites us to reflect on how Social Emotional Learning (SEL) and digital learning could be more transformative, moving away from the *learnification* of education. In Chapter 11, a case study from Ghana highlights the limitations of traditional teaching methods and proposes development education as a means of building learners' critical thinking skills. Chapters 12 and 14 address the role of online Continuing Professional Development (CPD) for teachers and in a case study conducted in South Africa, interrelating with the concept of hope as fundamental for training active teachers. Expanding on the idea of the value of active change and continuity actions that can deeply engage individuals, Chapter 13 addresses gender equality issues in a Portuguese context. The practical case studies shown

here are crucial for educators, policy-makers, and practitioners who seek to translate ideas into action and take some examples to replicate, modify, and adopt them in their own context.

Within the book, certain concepts recur, each uniquely articulated through the diverse contributions presented. The book highlights the importance of the transformative power of hope when connected to a real context and a deep awareness of individuals. As Bourn states in the conclusion, hope is necessary and effective for putting into action a pedagogical approach that is participatory, progressive and optimistic. The book provides valuable insights into implementing these concepts from formal education systems to a non-traditional learning environment. Furthermore, the plurality of voices in the book provide different methodologies, topics, and contexts for creating a multifaceted set of concepts. They provide an accurate representation of the challenges and complexities of introducing the concept of hope in different learning contexts. In this way, the editors seek to inspire the GCE sector with new perspectives and, most importantly, a new pedagogical approach.

Pedagogy of Hope for Global Social Justice is a crucial contribution to the field of education. It delivers a fresh perspective on a potential shift in the discipline and expands our understanding of GCE. The book highlights the current state of GCE and social justice education through the lens of different actors. Pointing towards future directions and challenges, it emphasises the need for ongoing research, policy development, and curriculum innovation to keep pace with a rapidly changing global landscape.

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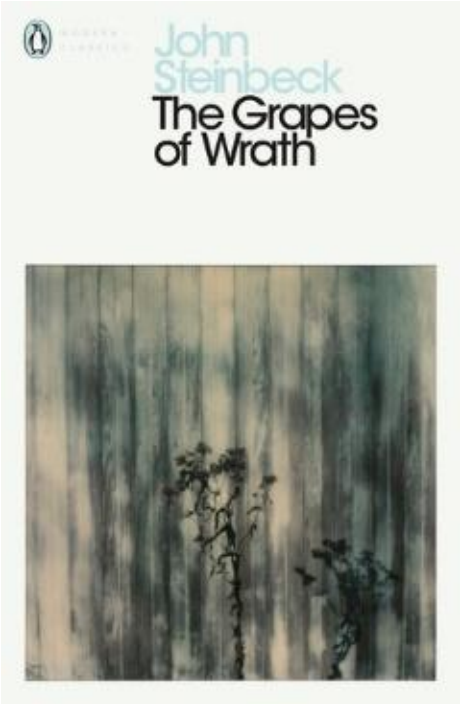
THE GRAPES OF WRATH

STEPHEN MCCLOSKEY

Steinbeck, John (1992) [1939] *The Grapes of Wrath*, London and New York: Penguin Books.



It's a novel about migrant workers escaping environmental catastrophe, being subjected to racist abuse and robbed of their dignity and basic rights by extreme poverty. It has the ingredients of a contemporary narrative of forced migration driven by climate change but *The Grapes of Wrath* was written during the Great Depression and the mass displacement of farming families by drought, flooding and the dust bowl in south-west America in the 1920s and 30s. Data presented by Long and Siu (2016: 8) shows that inter-county migration by male heads of household exceeded 50 per cent within dust bowl states – Colorado, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas – between 1930 and 1940. They also show that 33.5 per cent of male heads of household migrated to another state from the dust bowl region in the same period (Ibid.). It was 'one of the greatest environmental and economic catastrophes in U.S. history' (Ibid.: 2) and one that continues to resonate today with 'up to three billion people expected to be displaced by the effects of global warming by the end of the century' (Vince, 2022). While climate change migrants are living more than a century on from

the Great Depression, they share with the dust bowl migrants the shock of a lost livelihood and forced displacement with a very uncertain future.

John Steinbeck immersed himself in the migrant experience and had already published two books, *In Dubious Battle* (2011 [1936]) and *Of Mice and Men* (2011 [1937]), about the labouring class in California. But *The Grapes of Wrath* became his towering achievement with the physical toll of writing 260,000 words in a year nearly finishing him as a writer (De Mott, 1992: xxxviii). During one of his long trips along migration routes he witnessed deplorable conditions in migrant camps in the valley of Visalia, California, where he tried to assist starving workers marooned by floods, knee deep in mud and lacking basic sanitary facilities. He invested the seething anger induced by these experiences into his writing and said 'I've done my damndest to rip a reader's nerves to rags' (Ibid.: xiv). In his introduction to the book, academic Robert De Mott describes its mission to expose:

> "the entrenched power, wealth, authority and consequent tyranny of California's industrialized agricultural system (symbolized by Associated Farmers, Inc.) which produced flagrant violations of the migrant's civil and human rights and ensured their continuing peonage, their loss of dignity through threats, reprisals and violence…" (Ibid.: xxiii).

The market as 'monster'

The Grapes of Wrath tells the story of the Joad family who are lured to the fruit valleys of California by a handbill calling for labour to pick the harvest on farms across the state. California becomes a kind of Eden in the minds of the migrants with its promise of swollen, bountiful crops and ample labour opportunities. When the story opens, the Joads have already left their home and are living with an uncle in preparation for the journey West. Tenant farmers are being dispossessed of their land across Oklahoma by representatives of the bank and their clients in the corporate farming associations. A combination of mechanisation in the form of tractors and dust storms caused by drought and over-farming have left them without income or land to cultivate. In one of the book's most powerful chapters, bank officials arrive to evict tenants from their land:

> "We're sorry. It's not us. It's the monster. The bank isn't like a man".
> "Yes, but the bank is only made of men".
> "No, you're wrong there – quite wrong there. The bank is something else than men. It happens that every man in a bank hates what the bank does, and yet the bank does it. The bank is something more than men, I tell you. It's the monster. Men made it, but they can't control it" (Steinbeck, 1992 [1939]: 35-36).

This chapter brilliantly anticipates how today the markets are often discussed in ethereal terms – akin to temperamental gods – leaving us to speculate as to how they might 'react' to human-made crises and what measures are needed to 'placate' or 'steady' them (Cox, 2016). The social conditions of the farmers are irrelevant to the bank and its client 'because those creatures don't breathe air…they breathe profits' (Steinbeck, 1992 [1939]: 34).

The migrant experience

Three generations of the Joad family load their possessions on to a Hudson Super Six sedan and their journey to California forms the book's narrative arc. The mater familias, Ma Joad, is the family's anchor and dispenser of wisdom. Her son Tom Joad undertakes a journey of political awakening under the guidance of a former preacher, Jim Casy, who joins their odyssey to the West. All of the characters are convincingly etched in a structure that combines the family's narrative with short 'interchapters' that provide exposition and detail on the predicament facing migrants at the time. They include: a race to the bottom in terms of wages and conditions; the plight of indebted small farmers unable to pick their crops and forced to torch their harvests; and the virulent racism directed by 'men of property' in the West at 'dirty and ignorant' Okies (Ibid.: 296). Readers today will think of migrant children from Latin America being pushed into the Rio Grande by Texas troopers (Oladipo, 2023) or the thousands of migrants who have drowned in the Mediterranean while seeking sanctuary in Europe (IOM, 2022).

For large parts of their journey, the Joads are forced to take shelter on the roadside, cooking meals on camp fires and lacking facilities to care for the

sick, elderly and children in their family. They finally find relief in a government camp offering sanitation and refuge from corrupt police officers complicit with large farmers in cracking down on organised labour. But the need to find employment, and their dream of having their own home, drive the family into the clutches of unregulated employers paying a pittance for a day's labour. The book's climax is based on the flooding of migrant camps in Visalia that Steinbeck witnessed in 1938, where desperate workers clung to life in the most miserable of conditions and he 'worked day and night for nearly two weeks' trying to provide relief (De Mott, 1992: xxvii). By this stage, Tom Joad is a fugitive from the law having challenged the oppression of workers: 'wherever they's a fight so hungry people can eat, I'll be there. Wherever they's a cop beatin' up a guy, I'll be there' (Steinbeck, 1992 [1939]: 439).

Book's reception

The Grapes of Wrath became a publishing sensation, sold 14 million copies and has been translated into nearly thirty languages (De Mott, 1992: xi). It 'speaks to the universal experience of human disenfranchisement', argues Robert De Mott, and 'still holds hope for human advancement' (Ibid.: xv). The driving force behind the book was Steinbeck's first wife Carol, a more committed political activist than John who was 'not much interested in doctrinaire political theories at this point in his career' (Ibid.: xvii). Indeed, it was Carol who found the title of the book in Julia Ward Howe's 1862 'Battle Hymn of the Republic': 'Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord. He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored' (Ward Howe, 1862). Carol typed and edited the book and as Steinbeck acknowledged in his dedication, it was Carol 'who willed it'.

The book speaks to urgent themes that we are currently grappling with: trade unions striking for decent pay and conditions, and fighting for the right to strike; the climate emergency which has caused the internal displacement of 26.4 million people since 2008 (Amnesty International, 2022); and the racism, oppression and discrimination directed at migrants across the world (Amnesty International, 2023). Development educators can draw upon this classic work to actively challenge the 'othering' and scapegoating of migrants, champion migrant rights, and offer a voice to migrants as part of their practice. The 'radical voice of

protest' in *The Grapes of Wrath* still resonates loudly today 'wherever human beings dream of a dignified and free society' (De Mott, 1992: xl).

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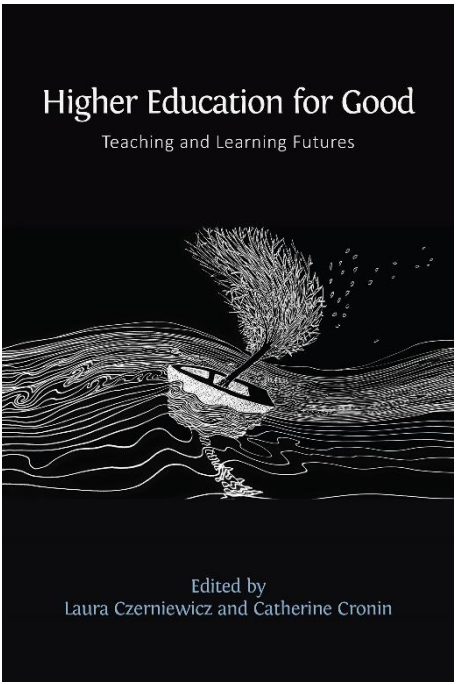
HIGHER EDUCATION FOR GOOD: TEACHING AND LEARNING FUTURES

DOUGLAS BOURN

Czerniewicz, Laura and Cronin, Catherine (eds.) (2023) *Higher Education for Good: Teaching and Learning Futures*, Cambridge: OpenBook Publishers, available in open access format at: https://www.openbookpublishers.com/books/10.11647/obp.0363



This is a very impressive publication which is fortunately freely available online as an open access volume. There have been many volumes in recent years that have reflected on the changing nature of higher education, including those that have questioned the dominant neoliberal framework that influences the policies and practices of many universities and funding bodies. This volume falls into the category of reflecting critical approaches to higher education but it does so in a very different way from many similar publications. Within its 27 chapters and authors from 17 different countries, a range of styles and approaches are conducted. Some are written in the traditional academic style of book chapters. Others use a range of visual approaches including photographs, drawings, poetry, comic book style and wide usage of broader literature including fiction.

It is divided into five sections: finding fortitude and hope; making sense of the unknown and emergent; considering alternative futures; making change through teaching, assessment, and learning design; and (re)-making higher education systems and structures. In addition, there is a foreword from Jonathan Jansen, a preface from Carolina Guzmán-Valenzuela, an afterword from Raewyn Connell and last word from Jyoti Arora. Whilst there is only one author, Su-Ming Khoo, who might be well known to readers of *Policy and Practice*, the authors are a combination of key academics in the field of higher education alongside new researchers, artists and others engaged in promoting learning that is critical of dominant neoliberal approaches.

Within many of the chapters there is reference to the work of Paulo Freire and others who promote a critical pedagogical approach. Postcolonial thinking is also evident and there are some references to the work of Vanessa Andreotti, Sharon Stein and Karen Pashby. The volume also directly addresses two other themes – data extraction and knowledge construction – and the ways in which evidence is used or misused, and applied to re-enforce dominant neoliberal approaches. Dina Zoe Belluigi directly addresses this theme in her chapter on 'Why "Decolonising" Knowledge Matters: Deliberations for educators on that made fragile'. Several authors offer alternative models including making reference to forms of artistic expression, quilt making and story-telling.

There are a number of themes that can be seen within the chapters. The first of which is in the title of the volume: 'good'. What does this mean in the context of higher education? Reference is made in several of the chapters to UNESCO's attempts to re-focus higher education more in terms of public good and this relates to the organisation's important recent work on sustainable development, global citizenship and futures of education. The second is 'hope' and here the influence of Freire can be seen. This theme is reflected in chapters that link hope to direct personal experience and people's own journeys towards more positive futures. The editors of the volume note that they see it as a journey of radical hope. The third theme is 'futures' and this is particularly tackled in terms of alternative forms of learning within higher education, that outline a range of pedagogical approaches that can give space to the voices of the marginalised and dispossessed. For many people working in higher education, addressing

today's big global challenges can appear difficult and challenging. Several chapters demonstrate, through a range of pedagogical approaches, ways in which learners can be inspired to consider and engage in social change. As Sherri Spelic writes in her chapter, 'Counters to Despair', 'hope is a teacher who is still curious' (Czerniewicz and Cronin, 2023: 83). It is reminding us all of our roles as educators and that we are not working alone.

Reflected throughout the volume is also a recognition of the importance of multiple stories and perspectives. Many of the chapters encourage the reader to challenge their assumptions but also to move beyond just critiques to consider visions of the future and ways to make positive change. It is very difficult to identify chapters which are directly relevant to readers of this journal as in some ways all of them are. Some may appear more relevant than others to practices in higher education. The editors bring in experience and perspectives from Ireland and South Africa but all regions of the world are included within a rich tapestry of chapters. It is most likely to be a volume that the reader will dip into in part for inspiration and ideas but also as a form of showing the ways in which learning within higher education can be enhanced by considering a range of pedagogical approaches that go beyond the norm of lecture, tutorial and seminar.

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