Learning to Read the World?

Teaching and Learning about Global Citizenship and International Development in Post-Primary Schools

Audrey Bryan and Meliosa Bracken

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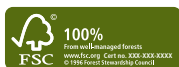
Audrey Bryan and Meliosa Bracken

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About the authors

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Foreword

It is with respect and appreciation that I write the foreword to this timely and important study. In the wake of the Arab Spring, the shootings in Oslo, the riots in London and the global mobilization against the financialization of the globe, development education acquires renewed significance. It may be the most suitable space in the curriculum where learners and teachers are equipped to address contemporary social, cultural and economic crises and imagine a future 'otherwise': of ethical solidarities towards global justice beyond national borders and interests.

This research report presents the results of a theoretically and methodologically rigorous inquiry into the understandings, practices and representations of development in post-primary schools in the Republic of Ireland. It shows that the relationship between the generation of poverty and wealth, and the cultural and structural aspects that create and maintain the unequal distribution of labour and resources in the world are often extremely difficult and sensitive issues to address in development education. The much less complicated idea of rich, powerful and benevolent donors 'making a difference' by donating time, resources and expertise to poor, powerless and grateful receivers has dominated the scene, despite periodic disruptions brought about by more critically informed pedagogies. This report highlights that if the connections between power relations, knowledge production and inequalities are overlooked, the result is often educational practices that are ethnocentric (projecting one view as universal), ahistorical (forgetting historical/colonial relations), depoliticised (foreclosing their own ideological location),

paternalistic (seeking affirmation of superiority through the provision of help to other people) and hegemonic (using and benefiting from unequal relations of power).

In a clear, articulate and persuasive way, this study highlights the importance of teacher education and outlines three key aspects that can strengthen and enable new directions in development education:

> the need to integrate more sophisticated tools of social analyses that address questions of distribution, knowledge production, representation, power relations, and self-implication;
> the need for a more nuanced engagement with educational and pedagogical aims (as educators in a classroom context, are we lobbying, raising awareness or equipping learners to participate in an on-going dialogue and process of co-construction of society?);
> the need for more appropriate methodologies to address complexity, uncertainty, inequality and plurality in international and social relations; as well as the links between affect, relationality and cognition in the learning processes of teachers and students.

I commend the authors for their courageous stance that makes visible the irony of normalization of social hierarchies in precisely educational practices that aim to work against injustices. By bringing an extremely difficult and important issue to the discussion table, the investigators and funders of this research demonstrate the intellectual maturity of the field in their region and its commitment to enabling possibilities for ethical solidarities and global imaginaries to be structured away from relationships of subordination. I do hope this example is taken further in the international sphere.

Vanessa de Oliveira Andreotti
Professor of Global Education
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'I sit on a man's back, choking him and making him carry me, and yet assure myself and others that I am very sorry for him and wish to ease his lot by all possible means – except by getting off his back.'

Leo Tolstoy, 1886

Executive Summary

The study

This is the first published study of its kind in an Irish context, offering combined insights into the status and practice of Development Education in post-primary schools as well as an interrogation of how development issues are represented in the formal curriculum. It adopted a qualitative approach, enabling a rich description of what Development Education looks like in an Irish context and how it is understood in post-primary schools, as well as an in-depth exploration of teachers' experiences and views about 'doing' Development Education in post-primary settings. Combining an analysis of curriculum materials (including 75 lesson plans and a similar number of textbooks) as well as in-depth interviews with 26 in-career teachers currently teaching Development Education in a broad and diverse cross-section of post-primary schools, the study provides a comprehensive portrait of Global Citizenship Education in Irish second-level schools.

Research aims and objectives

The overall aim of the research was to identify the strengths, possibilities and limits in existing pedagogical and curricular approaches to Development Education across a range of subjects at post-primary level in Ireland.

The specific objectives of the study were:

❯ To enhance our understanding of the resources that educators utilize in delivering Development Education content and methodologies in the classroom context.
❯ To identify points of comparison, tension and contradiction in notions of development within and across educational resources designed for use within post-primary schools.
❯ To identify personal, curricular and institutional (school-based) factors which facilitate and/or constrain teachers and schools in engendering reflexivity and a critical engagement with development issues.
❯ To propose, where necessary, alternative discourses of development as a basis for establishing interconnectedness and solidarity with majority world inhabitants.

Methodology

Data were collected from three principal sources:

❯ Curricular resources and textbooks used for Development Education purposes in post-primary schools;
❯ Development Education lesson plans created and implemented by student teachers enrolled in a Post-graduate Diploma in Education course (PGDE); and
❯ In-depth interviews with in-service teachers and school administrators.

Main findings

❯ Development Education occupies a marginal status within the formal curriculum in post-primary schools.
❯ The exam-driven focus of the post-primary system is a major obstacle to the meaningful inclusion and in-depth exploration of global justice themes in the classroom.
❯ The status of Development Education within schools and the responsibility for ensuring that young people are exposed to social justice issues falls largely upon the shoulders of 'willing and able' teachers who have a personal and passionate commitment to social and global justice.
❯ The discourse of development within state-sanctioned curriculum materials is not completely uniform, coherent, or consistent, either within or across texts; exceptions, inconsistencies and contradictions are evident within the same texts.

❯ Modernization theory is the most popular and pervasive perspective on development in Irish post-primary schools. This perspective attributes few if any external 'causes' for the continuing 'underdevelopment' of majority world countries and thus offers limited scope for understanding how 'global citizens' are implicated in global economic processes.

❯ Development activism in schools is generally underpinned by a development-as-charity framework, and dominated by a 'three F's' approach, comprising *Fundraising, Fasting and Having Fun* in aid of specific development causes.

❯ Only a very small number of the in-career teachers who participated in this study had undertaken any in-service training in Development Education, resulting in few formal 'displacement spaces' wherein teachers could engage with their own underlying assumptions, values and beliefs which affect teaching and learning in Development Education.

❯ Teachers frequently mentioned the need for opportunities where they could come together to learn more and exchange information and knowledge about their own experiences of 'doing' Development Education in schools.

Textbook Representations of International Development

Three subject areas – Geography, Civic, Social and Political Education (CSPE), and Religious Education (RE) – proved to be the academic subjects with the most substantive treatment of development themes and issues and were therefore selected for a thorough and in-depth exploration and analysis.

CSPE Textbooks – Key Findings

There is a significant disconnect between the impressive goal of Development Education as articulated by official state agencies such as Irish Aid, and the reality of its application in the CSPE classroom. A number of discourses and narratives contribute to de-contextualized and superficial explanations of development 'problems' in CSPE texts.

Development as modernization

While not always explicitly evoked, 'development as modernization' was the underlying theoretical framework within a number of the CSPE texts examined. Modernization theories argue that global poverty and inequality are primarily caused by endogenous factors, and that inequality can be overcome through a process of 'modernization' which would enable 'traditional' societies to 'catch up' with their more developed counterparts.

*Some countries are at different stages on the road to development. While some are very advanced, others are underdeveloped. These countries are known as **developing countries** because they still have some way to go.*
(Harrison & Wilson, 2007, p. 119; emphasis in original)

CSPE textbooks often espouse a circular logic that defines and explains underdevelopment in terms of what developing countries lack and where *symptoms* of global inequality are presented as *reasons* for inequality. These de-contextualized and apolitical understandings of global problems do little, if anything, to inform young people of their underlying complexities and causes.

Obedient activism
While CSPE texts do promote student activism to address development 'problems' such as poverty, inequality and injustice, calls to action overwhelmingly encourage 'obedient activism', whereby students are channelled into apolitical, uncritical actions such as signing in-school petitions, designing posters or buying Fairtrade products. This framing of development as a set of problems or issues to be resolved through clear-cut and specific forms of obedient action closes off possibilities for dialogue about the limitations of these kinds of development interventions. It further presents activism as having some kind of definitive end goal rather than as an ongoing commitment to social justice.

Development as charity
Development as charity, which portrays Western official development aid and charitable donations as key responses if not *the* solution to the development 'problem' was a common theme in CSPE texts. This narrative, endorsing 'quick-fix' charitable solutions to global poverty, does little to open up any real debate about the very institutions, policies or systems which have created the 'need' for aid in the first instance.

Celebrity humanitarianism
Irish-born celebrity humanitarians, such as Bob Geldof and Bono, feature prominently in CSPE texts, often to present Irish people as compassionate global citizens driven by a humanitarian impulse to 'help' less fortunate others.

Religious Education Textbooks – Key Findings

The existing RE curriculum was found to offer *some* possibilities for teachers and students to engage in learning activities that underpin a more critical Development Education agenda. A willingness to engage in sustained and critical inquiry of the political, cultural and social arrangements underpinning global inequality was evident in some senior cycle textbooks.

However, evidence was also found of the following range of obstacles which prevented or weakened the kinds of understanding and reflective action required for successful Development Education:

A duty to 'help'

Social justice and activism were interconnected concepts in many of the RE textbooks analysed. Similar to CSPE texts, the focus often shifted away from uncomfortable explorations of the global arrangements that keep large sections of the world's population in deep poverty towards a moralistic 'duty' to do good. In many cases, de-contextualized narratives of poverty, suffering and deprivation in the majority world are framed purely as opportunities for 'us' to lend a helping hand. Developing countries and their inhabitants are often portrayed as altruistic burdens for Westerners to carry or as victims in need of our salvation.

'Show-and-tell' social justice

Development activism was sometimes framed – not in terms of a genuine or deep commitment to social justice and equality – but rather in terms of personal payback, often in the form of public recognition and media attention.

'One-to-one' versus collective action

Students are often encouraged to 'make a difference' through individualized acts aimed at helping one starving child, or one family or school or community, at a time. Little evidence could be found which reminded students of the power of solidarity and collective activism.

Geography Textbooks – Key Findings

A highly complex pattern of representation is evident within Geography texts. Although Geography is the subject that engages most substantively and critically with development in the post-primary curriculum, it is also the subject where the 'contradictory faces of development' are most evident.

Problematic portrayals of development

While senior cycle Geography textbooks offer complex and nuanced representations of development, several junior cycle textbooks provide homogenized comparisons of the 'developing world' and the 'developed world'.

> *Child mortality is very low in the developed world (the North) because children's health is a priority … Mothers – educated and aware – generally provide their children with a balanced and a healthy diet.*
> (Ashe & McCarthy, 2009, p. 235)

> *The North is said to be **developed** and **rich,** whereas the South is said to be **developing** and **poor.** In the North, the government tends to play a central role in the welfare of its citizens. In the South, the government may not be actively concerned with the country's development. It is sometimes said that they are more interested in holding onto power than in the citizens and their needs.*
> (Guilmartin & Hynes, 2008, p. 198, emphasis in original)

Critical versions of Development Education

While some Geography textbooks (most notably junior cycle textbooks) articulate de-contextualized understandings of development and development issues, ample evidence was also found of deeper and more substantive critical engagement with development. Some Geography texts directly challenged the modernizationist development model, a critique notable for its absence from the textbooks of most other academic subjects.

Most Geography textbooks explore the strengths and weaknesses of multiple, competing development frameworks, often problematizing the reductive and homogenizing effects of dichotomous North/South or First/Third world models:

> *A problem with all geographical models [is that] they categorise the countries of the world in a way that is logical and fairly easily understood. But they present generalized pictures of large areas of the world without recognizing that every country (and sometimes every region within a country) is unique in its own levels and type of development.*
> (Brunt, O'Dwyer and Hayes, 2007, p. 416)

Analysis of Visual Imagery in Geography Textbooks

Seven senior cycle and six junior cycle Geography textbooks were selected for systematic analysis of visual representations of development within the formal curriculum which yielded approximately 350 images with clear connections to development themes.

Development pornography

Most Geography textbooks were found to contain particularly graphic images of poverty, severe, deprivation, ill-health, bereavement, suffering and/or distress. Common examples included images of child soldiers, child labourers, malnourished women and children, emaciated corpses and families living in sewage-polluted landscapes. These images were used to 'illustrate' a range of generic geographical themes, such as economic measurement, infant mortality, migration, desertification, ethnocentrism, pollution, geoecology and the impact of multinational corporations.

Selective stereotyping

Images of both majority and minority world countries tended to pander towards homogenized and stereotypical world views. Through this lens, benign portrayals of developed nations (such as Ireland) as places of plenty were contrasted with portrayals of the South as deficient and undifferentiated 'trouble spots' or 'problem regions'.

Dignity

Photographs of black or Asian people experiencing various forms of hardship, distress and suffering appeared frequently in Geography textbooks. In contrast, photographs of white peoples' pain were far less common, if not absent, in most of the texts we examined. On rare occasions, where images of White Europeans were used to illustrate more sensitive topics, such as homelessness, illegal immigration and the sex traffic industry, conscious efforts were made to protect the anonymity and privacy of the subjects by intentionally obscuring or blurring their facial features. In contrast, AIDs victims, homeless families, starving children and mothers holding dying babies were afforded no such luxury once they resided in the Global South.

A small number of Geography textbook authors did make a conscious effort to avoid overly negative or stereotypical images in favour of more balanced and nuanced representations of the minority and majority world.

Pre-service teachers' Development Education lesson plans – Key Findings

Positive attitudes towards Development Education

Most student teachers are enthusiastic and motivated about engaging students with development issues in class. A small number placed a high priority on the regular integration of social and global issues into their day-to-day teaching.

> *I enjoy integrating world issues into my lesson plans and I have done so on more than one occasion. I think it is vitally important that students are aware of the world around them in order to become global citizens.*
> (Female, Maths Lesson Plan, No. 3)

A number of student teachers noted pupils' responsiveness towards development-themed lessons and commented on their positive and enthusiastic engagement with the subject matter.

> *Possibly the most successful lesson I've had with this class.*
> (Female, French Lesson Plan, No. 70)

> *Assessment of Pupil Learning: Brilliant! I was shocked and amazed by how many of them already refuse to wear Nike and [are] aware of the abuses by companies such as Nestle … The conversation was great.*
> (Female, English Lesson Plan, No. 59)

Negative attitudes

Only a small number of student teachers expressed more negative views about having to implement a Development Education lesson in their class. In those cases, student teachers had difficulty seeing a connection between their subject and development issues, or had concerns about their own 'expertise.'

> *Personally I believe all pupils should be educated in Development Education. However, I am not sure if the music class is the most suitable. I do not have the necessary expertise in the subject to discuss the issues as in-depth as I would like.*
> (Male, Music Lesson Plan, No. 67).

Active Learning Methodologies

A large number of student teachers (n=54) incorporated a range of participative and active learning activities into their Development Education lesson plans. In a number of cases, student teachers reported enjoyable and successful classes often with higher levels of participation than usual.

> *I'm delighted with the amount of effort the students put into this lesson. The majority of this class are usually reluctant to participate… but today everyone participated really well.*
> (Female, CSPE Lesson Plan, No. 22)

However, despite the positive pupil response to more active learning methods, a number of teachers expressed concerns over noise levels, pupils' boisterous behaviour during these kinds of lessons, and time and space constraints. Time constraints also seriously limited the ability of teachers to successfully engage students in any kind of reflective discussion about the issues raised during the class.

> *I would have preferably done this activity in a double class or over two classes. However, I do not have double classes available to me nor did I have the time available to spread it over two classes. As a result this limited the activity …*
> (Male, CSPE Lesson Plan, No. 15).

A majority of student teachers opted for softer and less challenging versions of Development Education – often building lesson plans around the 'us/them' narrative or 'development-as-charity' framework evident in post-primary CSPE and RE textbooks. A significant number of student teachers did, however, demonstrate a willingness to engage pupils in more complex explorations of development issues, actively challenging existing beliefs and empowering pupils to interrogate their own role in the creation and maintenance of global injustice.

In-career teachers' views on the status of Development Education within post-primary schools

Profile of Development Education in schools

In-career teachers were drawn from schools with differing levels of emphasis and approaches to Development Education.

'High visibility' Development Education

Those schools where global justice issues featured prominently were characterized by a management structure that was highly supportive of Development Education initiatives and often had strong historical connections to majority world countries, typically through religious missionary orders and/or were staffed by a number of individuals with a strong personal interest and investment in Development Education. The pursuit of Development Education principles and activities was perceived to be of intrinsic, as well as status value, for schools, enabling them to demonstrate to parents, members of the public and the DES their ability to produce altruistic, well-rounded citizens who are aware of their 'responsibility to humanity.'

> *And again I think it comes back to the overall ethos of the school, that, you know, getting 600 points in your Leaving Cert is, we aim for every child, every student to do their very best and reach their full potential. But that would not be seen as the overriding ambition or as an excellent education, we would look at the spiritual education, the human rights education, the physical, the social, all of those elements are equally important in the school.*
> (Female, 20 years' experience, Woodlands Comprehensive School)

'Poor visibility' Development Education

> *I wouldn't say particularly there is a social justice ethos at all in the school. I think you are expected, there's a sort of an individualistic approach to everything in the school. You work hard, you get on, you go to, you get your points you go to the top universities in the country and there's huge emphasis on points in the school and there are, more time is taken up with considerations about how to get as many Leaving Cert points as possible.*
> (Female, 9 years' experience, Whitechurch Secondary School)

Those schools where the status of Development Education was low tended to be characterized by a reluctance to divert time, money, resources and energy away from more academic concerns. In those cases, a more holistic approach to students' education appeared to be a luxury they could not afford, given that their students' ability to perform well academically or to access third level education did not have the same level of 'taken-for-grantedness' displayed in some of the more privileged schools.

Status of Development Education in the Formal Curriculum

Status within Religious Education

Although often viewed as a subject which lends itself easily to a consideration of development issues, many participants argued that there was little formal attention to Development Education in the formal RE syllabus and that student exposure to development themes was thought to be largely contingent on the willingness of individual teachers to incorporate Development Education into their RE classroom.

> *But from an RE point of view [development is] not on the curriculum anymore. It's up to individual teachers if they want to bring it in… so it's left up to the individual teacher really, it's not a state thing or not in the textbooks.*
> (Male, 30 years' experience, Blessed Sacrament Secondary School).

Status within Geography

While the analysis of Geography textbooks indicates substantive and critical engagement with development issues, teachers themselves viewed the Geography syllabus as limited in terms of the opportunities it produces for Development Education.

> *I wouldn't say [development features] prominently. No, Geography is very, very broad. And [development is] a definite section within it, but you know really a fifth of an area of study, that you can give over to it, but there's another four-fifths that can't be excluded either.*
> (Female, 20 years' experience, St Fergna's Secondary School)

Status within CSPE

CSPE, the subject area most often associated with development issues, is widely perceived as a 'Cinderella subject'; its relegation to a single forty-minute period per week sends a clear, albeit implicit message, that development and global justice themes are simply not as important as other subjects.

> *And you know people really, people feel like 'ah God that CSPE thing.' They all feel like it's a vague subject, a mishmash of various other things, and they don't have time.*
> (Female, 3 years' experience, St Elizabeth's Secondary School)

Many of those who taught CSPE spoke about their lack of formal training on how to teach the subject and how they were 'conscripted' into teaching it:

> *No it was just one of those, they had one [CSPE] class to spare, so they shoved it my way last year… Yeah they kind of just threw it at me…*
> (Female, 12 years' experience, Hazelwood Community College)

Status within Transition Year
Of the 22 schools included in the sample, 18 schools ran a Transition Year (TY) programme for post-Junior Certificate students. In nine schools, specific Development Education modules were offered, sometimes as a preparation for school linking or immersion schemes. Participants were generally very enthusiastic about TY and the flexibility and freedom it offered them.

> *I suppose Transition Year is an absolute gift because it's the one place where you do have time, you can develop your own curriculum, you can go with the desires and, and whatever floats the boat of the students in your classroom, you can go with that, and it gives you great flexibility.*
> (Female, 21 years' experience, Woodlands Comprehensive School)

The Role of Individual Teachers

The presence of Development Education within the classroom appears largely dependent upon the willingness or capacity of individual teachers to 'bring in' Development Education. Those teachers who saw opportunities to 'creatively' 'bring development in' to their subjects, even if there were few formal spaces to do so, tended to be highly experienced educators who felt very knowledgeable and confident in their understanding of development issues. Those who were less experienced, and/or less confident, were far less likely to 'deviate' from the set syllabus due to fear of resistance from students or of negatively impacting their students' exam performance.

In-Career Teachers' Experiences of Educating Young People for Global Citizenship

Teachers' Understandings of Development Education

The Local-global dialectic
While many teachers understood Development Education as pertaining to inequality and justice-related concerns at multiple levels including local, national and international concerns, others were more inclined to associate the term with factors

impacting the development of those in developing countries and tended to focus on the experiences of those in the Global South in their teaching.

> *Right, well I would say [Development Education] means, I suppose learning more about the core issues that face people in developing countries and particularly issues that would restrict or obstruct them in development in a whole range of things, in terms of education or human rights or access to basic resources or to fair trade.*
> (Male, 17 years' experience, Ashfield Community School)

The 'bigger picture'

As most participants perceived student knowledge of 'the outside world' to be very limited, Development Education was viewed as a means of exposing students to a deeper set of understandings and experiences of the world.

> *Well I suppose [the main aim of Development Education] is to get students to think outside of their own country. I mean, I'm teaching in [Hazelwood Community College] ten years and I know that there is lots of students who think that you would nearly need a passport to go to [a nearby town]. Like, I mean they really are so involved in their own little town and their own little world and there are lots of them, who I'll know that I'll teach that will probably never work anywhere else, they will go on their Santa Ponsa holiday or whatever and that will be about as broad as it's going to get. And it's no fault of their own; there is a certain culture that exists sometimes, where people don't think outside of what is going on in front of them. So [Development Education aims to] bring some of that into the classroom.*
> (Female, 12 years' experience, Hazelwood Community College)

Teachers' Perceptions of Development Activism

'Making a difference'

A number of participants explicitly evoked the discourse of 'making a difference' in their narratives and implicitly or explicitly highlighted the importance of producing 'active citizens' in society or 'empowering' students by giving them the opportunity to 'practise development.'

> *We have to create awareness and give facts and information, but with that we must not only empower the students to take action, but give them experience of taking action. And this sense of having made a difference, 'cause I think that is ultimately what will drive them on to further action.*
> (Female, 21 years' experiences, Woodlands Comprehensive School)

Activism through fundraising

A number of teachers tended to equate development activism with individualized and highly 'doable' forms of action, such as fasting, fundraising, or other forms of charitable giving.

Political activism

Far fewer teachers identified development activism in terms of more politically or collectively oriented forms of social action. While participants were not opposed to the notion of students becoming politically engaged, most were reluctant to explicitly encourage the political 'mobilization' of students.

> *I think one has to be careful of mobilizing students who are children rather than adults. I would be reluctant to do it but I would be more comfortable trying to expose them to experiences where some form of political activism or a subsequent politicization was a natural response to what they have experienced and what they have learnt.*
> (Male, 15 years' experience, Good Shepherd Secondary School)

Some teachers expressed concern that political actions might provoke negative consequences or sanctions from parents or the wider community. One participant had direct experience of a public backlash to his school's decision to support students' engagement in peaceful protest and demonstration.

Teaching Global Issues

Confidence levels

> *I wouldn't be that confident, and I'm definitely not an expert, and I think a lot of people who teach it do have a background in Geography and stuff, and I definitely don't.*
> (Female, 6 years' experience, St Martha's Secondary School)

There was a general acknowledgement that the nature of Development Education did not lend itself easily to claims of expertise. Participants with direct experience of having worked or spent time in a majority world country and/or who were very experienced educators were more likely to feel confident about teaching development issues.

Use of textbooks to communicate development knowledge

We'll talk about the people and their poverty but we won't talk about why they're poor and decisions we make. You see, we're talking about the facts in [textbooks], but we're not talking about the why. And I think that's what needs to change, and that's my frustration with textbooks.
(Male, 26 years' experience, Greenwood Community College)

Participants' perceptions of the coverage and treatment of development issues in textbooks highlighted the tendency for textbooks to 'flatten out' and over-simplify the complexity of development problems and to present sanitized and depoliticized understandings of global injustices.

Specific challenges

The Travelling community would be one [topic] that would, I would find it difficult enough to deal with. I suppose because a lot of the children in classes, you would have a member of the Travelling community and they would be very sensitive, you know? So, I mean you talk, you're trying to give a kind of a, you know, an idea that they have their own, obviously, culture and that we have to appreciate this culture and accept this culture, but I suppose maybe some of them, some of the kids would have had negative experiences with the Travelling community, and they would be sensitive enough issues, one kind of, that you might you know, kind of skip over really I suppose because you don't want to be, you know, fussed up in the class, you know?
(Female, 20 years' experience, Forest Hill Community School)

A number of teachers felt anxious, uncomfortable, or ill-equipped to address themes of racism, discrimination and multiculturalism in their classrooms. Some expressed fears about upsetting and/or further stigmatizing ethnic minority students in these lessons. Participants also spoke of the complex nature of Development Education and how they struggled with the dual responsibility of making students aware of global problems without making them feel depressed or powerless to intervene.

I always either over-simplify it and then walk away thinking I didn't tell them the truth at all, or else I tell them the truth and walk away thinking I've completely depressed them and I don't think any of them will get involved in charity because I told them the ugly truth. So I don't know what the balance is, I haven't figured out how to try and tell them the truth but in a way that doesn't depress or discourage them.
(Female, 8 years' experience, Woodlands Comprehensive School)

Teachers expressed the need for Development Education resources that were specifically designed for teachers that would help them to engage in the issues at a more 'intellectual' level.

So I would love to have resources where [development] issues that are dealt with perhaps in a simpler way in the CSPE textbook, but that there will be a marrying resource for the teacher where the issue will be, um, a little more complex and studied too in greater depth, to give us the background to this issue and to be able to engage with it on a more intellectual level, to have ourselves the ability to engage with the students and get them to see the complexities of it.
(Female, 21 years' experience, Woodlands Comprehensive School)

In-Career Teachers' Experiences of School-Linking and Immersion Schemes

Fourteen schools in the sample engaged in some form of linking activity with a school or community in the majority world. In all fourteen cases, Irish teachers had engaged in visits abroad, while six schools had organized study visits or immersion trips for Irish students. Two distinct models of school-linking emerged from teachers' accounts of these initiatives.

The 'helping' model

School-linking schemes were sometimes viewed primarily as a vehicle to 'help' or 'do something.' The development-as-charity framework permeated 'helping' models, positioning Irish participants as 'global good guys' and Southern participants as needy recipients of 'our help.' School links initiated for charitable reasons are counterproductive to the aims of global education and global citizenship and reinforce stereotypical thinking which, in turn, can lead to feelings of intellectual and moral superiority.

We work with them, show them how to do it and then when we go the work continues on, which is great. We are involved in the building of classrooms as well. So you'd be there to help out. And they would see that both the male and females of our group would be working, which is good for them as well so it's a whole, like say, the issues over there in relation to male/female, the different jobs that they'd have we'd show that it doesn't matter who's doing it as long as people are doing it. (Female, 30 years' experience, Abbeyfield Community School)

The 'mutual learning' model

[The] strongest objection was the imagery of it, the imagery, the idea that a group of Irish teenagers would arrive for a short period of time and would build something and then would go away. And they just saw that as all wrong in terms of development and in terms of education and in terms of intercultural links. They said that the message we'd send to the locals was they can't build and the message you'd send to the Irish kids was that the locals can't build and we have to go and do it for them.
(Male, 15 years' experience, Good Shepherd Secondary School)

Some schools actively resisted positioning themselves as more knowledgeable or powerful than their Southern counterparts and instead, viewed linking schemes as vehicles for learning for their students. In those cases, the donor-recipient relationship was backgrounded or eliminated in favour of more a reciprocal and mutual partnership with perceived learning and benefits on both sides.

Supports for school linking schemes

One of the most challenging and most informative and best, kind of, evenings that I did in all of the in-services was the Irish Aid one, linked to the Links programme. You know, they challenged. I thought one of the best things about it, it didn't give resources, it wasn't geared towards giving resources for the classroom, but it challenged our own beliefs about development and, you know, our impressions that most of development, most of the people in the developing world are rural small farmers living in poverty, as opposed to the growing slums in cities. So I find it really interesting as a teacher to have that kind of challenge.
(Female, 21 years' experience, Woodlands Comprehensive)

Most participants were appreciative of support from Worldwise in providing training, support and/or funding for school partnerships and saw a definite need for an overarching support structure to facilitate North-South school partnerships. In particular, teachers expressed a need for a support system that could help distil good practice out of existing practice, promote networking opportunities for school personnel and carry out research into the long-term effects of school partnerships.

> *I would love the support of that time from organizations such as Irish Aid and, and to be able to engage during our summer holidays, to give us an ability to look at the bigger picture and to get involved in link programmes and so on.*
> (Female, 20 years experience, Woodlands Comprehensive School)

Concerns about support available focused exclusively on the more bureaucratic elements of the process. Inflexibility, time constraints, and excessive paperwork were all cited as significant stress factors in the organization and implementation of state-funded linking schemes.

> *I have to fill out this form next week. It's going to take me hours. I'll stay up all night doing it. So there's an awful lot of … because you're involved with a government agency, I suppose, there's a lot of form-filling, bureaucracy, which is very tiresome.*
> (Male, 15 years' experience, Glenabbey Secondary School)

Recommendations

Department of Education and Skills/National Council for Curriculum and Assessment

> CSPE should be afforded parity of esteem with other academic subjects.
> At senior level, the proposed *Politics and Society* subject needs to offer students 'follow through' opportunities in Citizenship Education.
> The practice of conscripting teachers who lack appropriate training in Citizenship Education into teaching CSPE should end.
> All Citizenship Education teachers should be offered regular in-service training.
> All teachers, but especially those charged with addressing racism and discrimination as part of their subject specialisms, should be provided with high-quality intercultural educational training.

❯ The CSPE action project needs to be radically revised and fundraising projects, currently accounting for about a quarter of all action projects, should no longer be permissible.

❯ It is critically important that the NCCA liaise with commercial textbook authors regarding the content of textbooks, particularly around the need to remove all forms of 'development pornography'.

❯ Calls to obedient activism within the curriculum should be removed from educational materials in favour of educational initiatives designed to empower students to critically evaluate the ideological underpinnings, strengths and weaknesses of different kinds of development interventions.

Teacher Education Programmes

❯ Initial and in-career teacher education programmes must provide teachers with opportunities for sustained and critical engagement with Development Education.

❯ Pre-service and in-service teachers should receive support in developing critical literacy skills which they can, in turn, cultivate in their own students.

❯ Education schools and departments in universities and Colleges of Education should employ highly skilled lecturers with a dedicated Development or Citizenship Education brief.

Schools

❯ Teachers should promote critical literacy in their classrooms to enable students decode and develop oppositional readings to dominant development narratives.

❯ Schools should not endorse Development Education programmes that are coupled with fundraising initiatives.

❯ Administrative bodies in schools should be mindful of the importance of *whole-school* support for Development Education to avoid over-burdening individual teachers with the responsibility of exposing students to development themes and issues.

❯ To raise the profile and status of Development Education within schools, specific time should be allocated at staff meetings to discuss ongoing development-themed initiatives.

Irish Aid

›   All Development Education initiatives receiving financial support from the agency should be premised on critical and substantive engagement with development themes and issues.

›   Irish Aid should support the development of an interactive, easily updatable, substantive curricular resource for teachers which has a corresponding resource for students.

›   In collaboration with other relevant bodies, Irish Aid should facilitate regular, structured networking and capacity-building opportunities for teachers.

›   Irish Aid, through Worldwise, should continue to deepen its support for 'Mutual Learning Model' school-linking schemes. However, programmes premised on a donor-recipient relationship or 'helping model' should not be supported by the agency.

›   A less-time consuming and less complex application process and reporting mechanism for schools should be implemented.

Future Research

›   There is a need for ethnographic studies detailing how Development Education is actually practised in schools.

›   There is a need for more systematic research on those young people who choose to 'go against the societal grain' where dominant consumer practices and behaviours are concerned.

›   There is a need for longitudinal, ethnographic studies of school-linking and immersion schemes.

Chapter 1

Global Citizenship Education in Context

Introduction

This report focuses on the status and nature of global citizenship or Development Education[1] within post primary schools in the Republic of Ireland. Development Education is 'an educational process aimed at increasing awareness and understanding of the rapidly changing, interdependent and unequal world in which we live' (Irish Aid, 2006, p. 9). In addition to increasing understanding of development issues, Development Education aims to '…challenge attitudes which perpetuate poverty and injustice, and empower people to take action for a more equal world' (Irish Aid & Trócaire, 2006, p. 6).

The formal education sector is increasingly recognized as having an important role to play in the alleviation of global crises and injustices by cultivating informed and ethical 'global citizens' who understand the asymmetries and detrimental effects of globalization and who are motivated to redress social and global injustices (Dower, 2003; Schattle, 2008; Tully, 2009). Yet, despite this increased recognition of the need to cultivate citizens who possess multiple identities and a sense of belonging at global and local levels (Reid & Gill, 2010), little systematic, published research exists on how ideas about global citizenship and international development are actually mediated in Irish schools. Existing research carried out in an Irish context provides

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[1] The terms 'Development Education' and 'Global Citizenship Education' are used interchangeably throughout the report.

valuable information about opportunities for integrating Development Education within specific subject areas (National Council for Curriculum and Assessment [NCCA] & Irish Aid, 2005) and about teachers', students' and young people's knowledge about, and attitudes and towards, development issues (e.g., Bryan, Clarke & Drudy, 2009; Devlin & Tierney, 2010; Gleeson King, O'Driscoll & Tormey, 2007). However, there remains a dearth of knowledge about the substantive content of the curriculum as it relates to development and global issues in an Irish context and how those charged with cultivating global citizens actually understand and experience their role as development educators in formal education settings.

This report seeks to redress this gap in the literature by examining how knowledge about global or development issues is constructed and how the so-called 'developing world' is made intelligible to young people in an Irish context.[2] Combining data derived from in-depth interviews with 26 post-primary teachers involved in the delivery of Development Education content and methods in schools as well as representative examples from textbooks, lesson plans and related instructional resources designed for use with post-primary students, we examine how global themes and development issues are *represented* in the curriculum, as well as teachers' perspectives on what it means to produce global citizens. The focus on the formal curriculum is intended to provide a deeper understanding of how curricular knowledge is structured to define development in particular ways for teachers and students (Connell, 1996; Kuzmic, 2000). The teacher data provide insights into how teachers themselves mediate these curricular representations and act as *agents* in the construction of knowledge about development (Kuzmic, 2000).

Study aims

The overall aim of the research was to identify the strengths, possibilities and limits in existing pedagogical and curricular approaches to Development Education across a range of subject areas at post-primary level in Ireland, with a view to informing teacher education and curriculum development as it relates to Development Education.

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[2] We use terms like 'First World,' 'the North' and 'the West' interchangeably when referring collectively to Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand. We use the terms 'developing countries', the 'Third World' the 'Global South' and the 'majority world' when referring to former colonial countries within Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean and Asia. We acknowledge that these terms have a homogenising, essentializing effect that obfuscates variations between them and that their usage reflects their continued role in reproducing material and discursive relations of power (Heron, 2007).

Development educators are charged with the complex task of at once engendering development awareness and engagement. While Development Education strives to support people in understanding and acting to transform the social, cultural and economic structures which affect their lives (NCCA & Irish Aid, 2005), this is contingent, in part at least, upon the availability of effective educative materials and resources upon which teachers and other development educators can draw on in classroom contexts. The study seeks to interrogate the kinds of development awareness and types of engagement that the particular forms of knowledge and understandings of development relayed in curriculum resources imply and engender by providing a representative critique of junior cycle and senior cycle textbooks and related resources across a range of subject areas at second level. Relatedly, we seek to explore the meanings that those charged with cultivating global citizens ascribe to this educational process and to illuminate their experiences of incorporating Development Education content and methods in schools.

The purpose of the study is to address challenges and contribute to debate in the field of Development Education about how best to engage students in meaningful dialogue and prepare them to emerge from their schooling experiences more inclined to challenge major global issues and injustices.

Objectives

The specific objectives of the study are:

> To enhance our understanding of the resources that educators utilize in delivering Development Education content and methodologies in the classroom context.
> To identify points of comparison, tension and contradiction in notions of development within and across educational resources designed for use within post-primary schools.
> To identify personal, curricular and institutional (school-based) factors which facilitate and/or constrain teachers and schools in engendering reflexivity and a critical engagement with development issues.
> To propose, where necessary, alternative discourses of development as a basis for establishing interconnectedness and solidarity with majority world inhabitants.

This introductory chapter seeks to provide an overview of recent scholarship on the evolution, nature and effectiveness of Global Citizenship Education as it is conceived

and practised in formal education settings in a range of Northern contexts and within the Irish context more specifically. We begin by sketching the contextual backdrop for increased statutory commitment and investment in more global versions of Citizenship Education in recent years.

The evolution of Global Citizenship Education

Educating for global citizenship has been in existence, under various labels and guises, for more than half a century with references to global education appearing as early as 1939 (Pike, 2008). In the UK, the concept gained prominence in the 1970s and 1980s within the context of the world studies movement (Osler & Vincent, 2002; Richardson, 1976). Educating for global citizenship is very closely linked to, and sometimes viewed as synonymous with, Development Education (Godwin, 1997), an educational process which aims to deepen understanding of injustices at local and global levels and to encourage people towards action for a more just and equal world.

The origins of development as a distinct enterprise have been traced to the 1960s and can be understood as a response on the part of development NGOs to inform donors and the public more broadly about elements of the broader economic, political and social settings within which they carried out development work (Mesa, 2005). Since then, both the scope of Development Education as well as the range of institutions and actors involved in its delivery have become more varied and complex (ibid). The current 'generation' of Development Education, therefore, is very closely aligned with the principles and values of Global Citizenship Education (Mesa, 2005) and the terms are often used interchangeably (as they are here) within the overlapping domains of Development and Citizenship Education.

In recent years, the forces and challenges of globalization have sparked renewed interest in Global Citizenship Education. Schools are increasingly looked upon as a key site within which to prepare young people for multiple levels (local, national, supra-national and global) and dimensions (ecological, economic, political, social and cultural) of citizenship (Lapayese, 2003). Once the remit of transnational advocacy groups, educating about global and development issues has now also become the responsibility of teachers in the formal education sector. The availability of statutory funding and support for Development Education in recent years, combined with increased recognition of the need to inform citizens of the effects of intensified globalization, has enabled a range of educational programmes, initiatives and resources with a global or development remit to be developed and implemented in schools and universities. The NGO sector has played an influential role in shaping understandings of Global Citizenship Education within formal educational settings;

in some cases, key transnational advocacy groups (most notably Oxfam in the UK) have worked closely with Ministries of Education to shape the national citizenship curriculum (Ibrahim, 2005; Schattle, 2008).

Global Citizenship Education within the formal education sector in the Republic of Ireland

Despite a historically active Development Education sector in the Republic of Ireland, the status of Development Education within the formal education sector remained marginal prior to the first decade of this century (Kenny & O'Malley, 2002; McDonnell, 2003). Since this time, Development Education has, theoretically at least, come to occupy a more central role within the formal education sector. Attempts to 'mainstream' Development Education within formal educational settings have been facilitated by increased government support for Development Education initiatives as well as the introduction of Citizenship Education or Civic, Social and Political Education (CSPE) as a discrete subject area at lower secondary level in 1997.

Development Education is typically conceived of as a means of exploring issues and enabling students to develop skills across a range of subject areas; however, Citizenship Education – as a discrete subject area that lends itself directly to a consideration of issues such as development and interdependence – is seen to play a particularly important role in the Development Education process. Consistent with the broader aims of Development Education, CSPE seeks to promote 'active exploration and study of citizenship at all levels (personal, local, national, global) in the context of contemporary social and political issues' (Department of Education and Skills, no date, p. 7). Despite evidence to suggest that schools have struggled with the implementation of CSPE since it was first introduced (Gleeson, 2009; Gleeson & Munnelly, 2003; Murphy, 2009; Redmond & Butler, 2003), its appearance as an examination subject on the Junior Certificate timetable in 1999 has been identified as a 'landmark development' (Jeffers, 2008, p. 11).

In 2003, a dedicated Development Education unit was established within Irish Aid, the Irish government's official development assistance (ODA) programme, to support endeavours that seek to enlarge public understanding of development issues and the underlying causes of poverty and underdevelopment and to empower people to take action for a more equal world (Irish Aid & Trócaire, 2006, p. 6). Promoting Development Education within the second-level curriculum has been identified as a strategic priority of the Irish government in successive Irish Aid Development Education strategy documents (Irish Aid, 2004, 2007b). Formal education is often perceived as having a 'pivotal role' to play in cultivating global citizens because

schools are thought to be uniquely positioned to present alternative visions of reality and the future (Pike, 2008).

Research on young people's understandings of international development and levels of intercultural awareness suggests that the government's prioritization of Development and intercultural Education within the formal education sector is indeed warranted. In a recent study of the experiences of 'newcomer' students in schools in the Republic of Ireland, Smyth, Darmody, McGinnity & Byrne (2009) reported that many Irish students reported knowing little about other cultures, especially non-European countries, and that newcomer students described a lack of awareness among Irish students of religious differences and had very stereotypical understandings of their countries of origin. Similarly, a recent examination of young people's attitudes towards global justice issues more generally revealed that while some young people are in fact very knowledgeable about development issues, that a majority demonstrated only limited understanding of global issues or relationships, despite having a keen interest in them and an appreciation of their relevance (Devlin & Tierney, 2010).

Challenges to embedding a global ethical dimension in schools

Despite increased attempts to incorporate or 'mainstream' Global Citizenship Education across the curriculum in many countries over the last two decades, some argue that little progress has actually been made (Pike, 2008; Shultz, 2007). Collectively, the research evidence points to a number of common perceptual, structural and curricular factors which impede the realization and effective implementation of Development Education in schools. International evidence suggests that a constellation of factors – including competing and contradictory understandings of Global Citizenship Education and significant ideological tensions between the national and the global that pervade the curriculum – mitigate against the substantive development of a global perspective in schools (Pike, 2008; Richardson & Abbott, 2009; Schultz, 2007). Based on research carried out in the UK, Davies, Evan & Reid (2005) identified a number of major constraints where the teaching of Global Citizenship Education in schools is concerned. Chief among these were the constraints imposed by the national curriculum, perceived by both teachers and students as a major barrier to the implementation of a meaningful global citizenship programme in terms of its Eurocentric mindset, the lack of time it allowed for substantive engagement, and the nature of, and focus on, assessment.

Furthermore, Citizenship Education, the subject which is often viewed as lending itself most directly to a consideration of development themes and issues, generally occupies a marginal status in schools in numerous countries. Commenting on the low status of citizenship in the UK, Davies (2010) argues that 'Citizenship, as something that all are expected to know about, is often being taught by anyone with space on their timetable and occupies a small and neglected part of the teaching week' (p. 122–123).

In the Irish context, Citizenship Education is widely perceived as a 'Cinderella subject' due to the lack of adequate time, resources and capacity-building measures devoted to it (Gleeson, 2009; Honan, 2005; Murphy, 2009; Niens & McIllrath, 2010; Sugrue, Devine, Conway & Smith, 2007). Research also suggests that, despite policies and curricula advocating active learning methods in second-level schools – methods which are central to the practice of Development Education – teachers often experience difficulties when implementing them (Callan, 1994, 1997; McMorrow, 2006). McMorrow (2006) found that there were 'few facilitating factors but a host of constraining factors' which worked against the implementation of active-participatory learning methods in schools and highlighted the 'architecture of the curriculum' as a major factor which militates against the use of participatory learning methods in schools in an Irish context (p. 331). Moreover, teachers often experience a pedagogical conflict between the perceived need to maintain classroom control or manage students' behaviour and the 'productive noise' which is often central to the active learning process (Bracken & Bryan, 2010). This suggests that active learning methods – key elements in Development Education practice – are likely to be avoided or watered down if teachers are concerned about appearing incompetent or ineffectual or need to appease colleagues with more traditional understandings about what constitutes 'good' teaching practice.

Teachers' attitudes towards, and understandings of, Global Citizenship Education

It is widely recognized that the effective delivery of Development Education is largely dependent on the understanding, ability and motivation of teachers to help young people to make 'global connections' (Holden & Hicks, 2007). In general, research on teacher attitudes suggests high levels of theoretical commitment to Development Education (e.g., Bryan et al., 2009; Holden & Hicks, 2007; McDonnell, 2003). However, teachers often feel they do not possess the requisite resources, knowledge or expertise to translate their positive attitudes toward education for global citizenship into classroom practice (Clarke & Drudy, 2006; Holden & Hicks, 2007;

Reynold, Knipe & Milner, 2004; Robbins et al., 2003). A nationally representative study of 119 Irish post-primary schools by Gleeson et al. (2007) found that less than one fifth of teachers regarded themselves as being well informed about 'Third World issues' and that only a minority were engaged in forms of development activism besides making charitable donations to development NGOs. Other research suggests that teachers are especially concerned about how best to teach 'complex' and 'controversial' issues, such as war and conflict, and often avoid such topics because they do not feel adequately prepared, or are afraid of politicizing students (Davies et al., 2005; Tamashita, 2006).

High levels of teacher anxiety and concern about teaching in culturally diverse settings are also evident (e.g., Bryan, 2009; Devine, 2005; Rousseau, 2006). Teachers often feel ill-equipped to address issues of 'race' and racism in their classrooms and are concerned about reinforcing negative racial and national stereotypes within the context of ethnically diverse classrooms. These findings suggest the need for anti-racist approaches within teacher education which provide spaces for teacher candidates to interrogate their own racial-ethnic identities as well as their pre-existing assumptions, beliefs and knowledge regarding 'race', racism and racialized minority students (Solomon, Portelli, Daniel & Campbell, 2005). Even those who have been exposed to Development and Intercultural Education content during their initial teacher education can lack confidence addressing development issues and intercultural education, especially with younger children (Dillon & O'Shea, 2009). Recently qualified teachers who have undertaken Development Education training as part of their initial teacher education degree identify a need for ongoing in-service training and effective resources in the area of Development and intercultural Education (ibid).

Collectively, these studies highlight the need for formal and sustained Development Education 'spaces' within initial and in-career teacher education as a means of enhancing 'average' teachers' willingness, confidence and expertise to embrace the global dimension and to expose their own students to Development Education principles and methodologies. However, providing teachers with specific guidance on appropriate teaching methods and better subject knowledge is not, in and of itself, a panacea to the range of factors impacting the effective implementation of Global Citizenship Education in classrooms. School-level challenges associated with mainstreaming Development Education are compounded by the fact that Development Education continues to occupy a marginal status within the post-primary teacher education curriculum, often taking the form of 'add development and stir' introductory lectures and/or 'Development Education weeks', thereby

rendering critical, sustained engagement with Development Education hard to achieve (Bryan et al., 2009). Consequently, many student teachers often have only limited exposure to development themes and methods before being expected to translate them into classroom practice. While limited interventions may be preferential to no Development Education interventions at all, teachers new to Development Education need pedagogical spaces where they can engage more deeply with the complexities of global injustices or critically reflect on their own assumptions about development (Andreotti, 2006; Bryan et al., 2009). In the absence of such spaces, teacher educators run the risk of reinforcing – rather than challenging – unequal power relations and colonial assumptions and promoting uncritical forms of development action (ibid).

A related barrier to engaging students with the complexities of social injustice is an identified tendency within teacher education programmes to avoid especially 'controversial' or 'confrontational' subjects, for fear of alienating, disengaging or paralyzing students from taking action (Andreotti, 2006; Phelan 2001; Smith, 2004). Phelan (2001) maintains that teacher education is inclined to reinforce existing educational and social structures by teaching prospective teachers 'to assimilate and accommodate to existing ways of thinking and acting – dominant discourses – that are prevalent within a given context during a particular period in time' (p. 584). The overcrowded nature of the curriculum further limits possibilities to equip pre-service teachers with knowledge and tools that will enable them to resist, rather than fit into, 'existing patterns and structures of teaching, schooling and society' (ibid).

Research also demonstrates that student teachers can experience high levels of discomfort when discussions of oppression, marginalization, colonization, racism and alternative ideologies are initiated and that they can be resistant to critical engagement with systems of national, global or racial privilege (e.g., Hytten & Warren, 2003; Picower, 2009; Solomon et al., 2005). Such discomfort and resistance stems from the fact that teachers are typically members of dominant cultural groups (e.g., white, Irish, settled) and this information presents an inevitable challenge to their reality system and knowledge base, resulting in feelings of vulnerability, guilt, indignation, uncertainty, anger and paralysis.

These feelings and anxieties highlight the complexities associated with 'doing' Global Citizenship Education in formal educational settings. Smith (2004) argues that despite some teachers' recognition of the need to engage critically with development, that this is often not realized in practice. Drawing on research carried out in the UK, he argues that educational restructuring – and its associated additional pressure on teachers' time and an emphasis on measurable educational outputs –

have left little space for critical or open-ended dialogue and reflection, with the result that political consciousness and action are increasingly difficult to facilitate.

Global Citizenship Education: fulfilling its radical agenda?

Both official development assistance agencies and transnational development NGOs tend to frame Global Citizenship Education in radical terms, identifying its ultimate goal as positive social transformation and the alleviation of global injustices and inequalities. In the Irish context, Development Education is seen as 'having a key role to play in building a deeper understanding of the causes and complexities of poverty and underdevelopment and in contributing to public debate and activism on the need to alleviate global poverty and promote sustainable solutions to these issues' (Irish Aid, 2007b, p. 6).

Recent years have witnessed a growing body of literature on the complexities and challenges associated with the conceptualization and implementation of Global Citizenship Education (e.g., Davies, Schweisfurth & Harber, 2002; Osler & Vincent, 2002; Scott & Lawson, 2002). Some of the complexity stems from the diverse and pluralistic nature of Citizenship Education (Tully, 2009) which has resulted in competing definitions and understandings of citizenship and Citizenship Education (Scott & Lawson, 2002) and a range of associated difficulties with implementation (Davies, 2006). In this vein, Schattle (2008) argues that Global Citizenship Education is a contested terrain, is aligned with different 'ideological constellations' and does not always or necessarily stem from progressive politics (p. 73).

While advocates of Global Citizenship Education are optimistic about its potential to redress social inequalities at local and global levels, some have pointed to the persistence of a 'rhetoric/reality dichotomy' (Gleeson, 2010, p. 121), wherein rhetorical support for global citizenship is not matched by implementation at the local level (Lapayese, 2003; Osler & Vincent, 2002). Others have highlighted the tension that exists between the goal of educating for global citizenship, which seeks to promote active citizens who can respond to pressing global issues, and a more dominant instrumentalist approach to schooling, which views the primary purpose of education as preparation for competitive employment in the global marketplace (Andrzejewski & Alessio, 1999; Bryan, 2009).

A number of scholars remain deeply sceptical about the agenda behind Development Education itself. Biccum (2005), for example, argues that official Global Citizenship Education efforts constitute part of a broader effort to normalize neoliberal-shaped globalization and to produce a citizenry that is complicit in, and

unquestioning of, a 'new imperialist' agenda. Similarly, Schattle (2008) presents evidence to suggest that some Global Citizenship Education programmes implicitly endorse neoliberal free-market ideologies and have been packaged in ways that 'appeal to the political right' (p. 85), focused as they are on stressing the need to prepare students to compete in the world economy. Roman (2003) offers an equally sceptical view of the ways in which the discourse of global citizenship has been used by some North American universities to fulfil a nationalistic, as opposed to transnational, democratic agenda. Adopting a similar focus on the ways in which global citizenship is articulated and practised in university settings in the Canadian context, Jefferess (2008) is critical of what he characterizes as the 'unselfconsciously celebratory appeals to global citizenship that currently circulate in OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) states' which he maintains 'are indebted to earlier European, and specifically Eurocentric, formulations of humanity, civilization, and peace' (p. 28). Jefferess argues that, contrary to its appeals to notions of interdependence and human commonality, the discourse of global citizenship actually has the effect of simultaneously masking and reinforcing unequal relations of power between those who are positioned as having the capacity to act or 'help' to 'make a better world' *for*, rather than *with*, 'Others' (Jefferess, 2008). He critiques these models for the ways in which dominant discourses regarding aid, responsibility and poverty alleviation come to define a global citizen as one who is somehow naturally endowed with the ability and inclination to 'help' the Other while constructing this Other as an object of the global citizen's benevolence, empathy or pity (ibid).

A further challenge to ensuring more critical and complex understandings of global poverty relates to the actual content of the curriculum itself. Post-colonial scholarship has shown how contemporary educational practices and systems continue to be informed by colonial and neo-colonial ideologies which actively frustrate the educative and transformative goals of more radical versions of global Citizenship Education. Willinsky's groundbreaking *Learning to Divide the World* demonstrates how modern curricula in the West continue to be informed by imperial ideologies and the ways in which the 'imperialist past has worked through and continues to operate in the teaching of History, Geography, Science, Language, and Literature' (Willinsky, 1998, p. 132). Development Education, as it is articulated in the West, cannot therefore be viewed apart from the intellectual legacy of imperialism which continues to shape – albeit unconsciously – what we have come to know about ourselves and the world through the Western experience of schooling.

Referring to official and supplementary curriculum materials produced in Canada, Bickmore identifies a range of curricular impediments to the implementation of what she describes as 'difficult Citizenship Education,' including: inaccurate information; a tendency to avoid critical or troubling information; or shallow, decontextualized and uncritical accounts of various social injustices (2005, no page). Similarly, a comparative analysis of Citizenship Education textbooks produced in Australia, Canada, and the UK by Davies & Issitt (2005) highlights a disconnect between official rhetoric – which supports a radical conception of Citizenship Education which stresses the need to engage with the challenges and complexities of the current historical moment – and the reality of curriculum resources which provide mere surface treatment of these issues and which fail to engage with issues of power. These authors highlight the tendency for these materials to privilege national rather than global issues, to devote limited attention to issues of diversity and to favour cognitive thinking or reflection about personal issues over active involvement in political issues. Similarly, Ibrahim's study of secondary school texts produced by commercial publishers and development agencies in the UK suggests that, while these materials offer scope for detailed analysis of global issues, some of the resources provide simplistic interpretations of complex development problems and offer limited opportunities for students to reflect on their own, or Britain's implicatedness in processes such as global warming, unfair trading practices or the arms trade (Ibrahim, 2005).

'Soft' versus 'critical' Global Citizenship Education in schools

Despite its radical agenda, there is some evidence to suggest that the kinds of Development Education being advanced in mainstream educational settings is consistent with 'soft' as opposed to more 'critical' approaches (Andreotti, 2006). Softer versions of Global Citizenship Education include those which explain poverty primarily as a result of internal problems and endogenous factors and attribute 'underdevelopment' to such things as a lack of national resources, including skills, technology, education and so on. Andreotti (2006) suggests that a number of mainstream educational practices often categorized as Development Education are actually premised in Western notions of cultural superiority and are reminiscent of the 'civilizing mission' advanced during the colonial era.

This report is situated within a critical Development Education framework which privileges the inequitable and exploitative nature of the West's structural relationship with communities and countries in the Global South as an explanation for global injustices. Additionally, critical versions of Development Education seek to interrogate individuals' own complicity in enabling or perpetuating these

relationships through their ordinary actions or inactions (Andreotti, 2006). More specifically, critical approaches to Global Citizenship Education emphasize the extent to which contemporary difficulties in social and economic conditions in the developing world are rooted in exogenous factors, including colonial processes of wealth extraction, neo-colonial political-economic arrangements imposed by Western-led international institutions, and Western consumption patterns and lifestyles. Summarizing the detrimental effects of the West's structural relationship with the majority world, Heron (2007) argues that:

> *The terms of world trade, acquired national debts of crippling proportions, and externally imposed fiscal policies known collectively as 'structural adjustment' (spearheaded by the World Bank and the Internationally Monetary Fund) have been instrumental in compromising the autonomy of post-colonial states and keeping them in a dependant relationship with the former colonizing powers, thereby continuing exploitative relations that have been operating for the last five hundred years.* (Heron, 2007, p. 17)

Furthermore, critical approaches to Development Education offer scope for students to interrogate how they themselves (and the nation and regions to which they belong) are implicated in the global economic processes and relations of domination that have generated, and reproduce, global inequality in the first place (Andreotti, 2006). A very clear illustration of this 'active complicity' in relation to transnational harm (Dobson, 2006) relates to the widespread consumption of electronic products such as smart phones, MP3 players and laptop computers in the West which are powered using 'conflict minerals' or illegally mined ores from places like the Eastern Congo, often with devastating consequences. As highlighted in a recent educational resource produced by the Development Education NGO 80:20: 'There are few other conflicts in the world where the link between our insatiable consumer appetites (what has been dubbed our 'gadget greed') and mass human suffering is so direct and immediate' (80:20, 2010, p. 1). This resource further highlights how 'our growing demand for electronic products, such as cell phones and laptops, has been linked directly to widespread and systematic violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)' (p. 3). At the time of writing, further evidence of widespread, systematic rape of local villagers by rebel armed groups who control the mines (and who buy weapons with the proceeds) as the preferred strategy of intimidation and control of the population around the mining region has come to light. Rape as a weapon of war and control has become 'shockingly commonplace' in DRC in recent years, where

UN peacekeepers and the army have failed to defeat the few thousands rebel soldiers responsible for the protracted conflict fuelled by the country's vast mineral reserves (Snow, 2010).

As highlighted above, one of the major challenges to ensuring that young people are exposed to critical and complex understandings of global poverty is the nature of formal curriculum content itself. While neither textbooks nor the curriculum in and of themselves determine what is taught and learned in and through schools (Kuzmic, 2000; Rizvi, 1993), the dominance of textbooks and their presence in the curriculum and classroom practice endows them with what Rizvi (1993) terms an effective *steering capacity* which *steers* readers *towards* certain interpretations, while *steering* them *away* from others. The popularity of textbooks as tools to teach about development and global issues raises important questions about the nature of development messages to which young people are being exposed in schools. Gleeson et al. (2007) revealed that over 70% of teachers surveyed used textbooks as their primary teaching tool to engage students with social justice issues in the classroom, despite being perceived to be the most effective method of teaching development/global issues by less than 5% of teachers.

While recent research has identified opportunities for incorporating development issues across the curriculum (Honan, 2005), to date, there has been little attempt to subject the existing curriculum to systematic scrutiny. Yet the power of instructional materials to mediate the world to young people is well documented.

As Apple (2000) argues:

> *Textbooks are surely important in and of themselves. They signify, through their content and form, particular constructions of reality, particular ways of selecting and organizing the vast universe of possible knowledge. They embody what Raymond Williams called the selective tradition: Someone's selection, someone's visions of legitimate knowledge and culture, and one that in the process of enfranchising one group's cultural capital disenfranchises another's.*
> *(Apple, 2000, p. 182)*

An exploration of textbooks is of profound importance in a field like Development Education because it has an explicitly transformative agenda. In other words, the representation of development in textbooks is linked to broader political questions about how to alleviate global injustices and what responsibility the reader has towards those who are oppressed and discriminated against.

Organization of the report

The report is organized as follows: Following this initial chapter which provides an overview of recent scholarship and developments in the field of Global Citizenship Education, we provide an outline of the research sample profile and the methodology employed in the research (Chapter 2).

The next three chapters are taken up with an analysis of how development themes and issues are portrayed in the formal curriculum, drawing on three 'focal' subjects: CSPE (Chapter 3); Religious Education (Chapter 4); and Geography (Chapter 5).

To illuminate the understandings and experiences of novice teachers who receive Development Education training as part of their initial teacher education, we present a documentary analysis of 75 Development Education lesson plans designed, delivered and self-evaluated by student teachers in 'real-life' classrooms in Irish post-primary schools (Chapter 6).

The following three chapters focus on the experiences and perspectives of in-career teachers, drawing on in-depth interview data with more experienced educators.

Chapter 7 examines the perceived status of Development Education in schools.

Chapter 8 focuses on teachers' own understandings and experiences of 'doing' Development Education 'at the chalkface'.

Chapter 9 is concerned specifically with school-linking and immersion schemes.

Chapters 10 and 11 synthesize some of the main findings from the report and assesses their implications for embedding or 'mainstreaming' critical versions of Development Education in schools.

Chapter 2

Research Methodology

Introduction

This study set out to examine how development knowledge is constructed and communicated in Irish post-primary schools. Combining a number of distinct, yet interrelated research priorities, it sought to address the following questions:

❯ What are the dominant development themes or 'stories' that are presented in curriculum materials?

❯ How are notions of engagement and action conceived in these various resources? For example, how are development solutions or responses conceived? Are these responses presented in predominantly individualized or collective terms?

❯ Are conceptions of development largely internalized (focused on indigenous governments and stakeholder communities and their actions) or externalized, portraying Northern NGOs, governments and other Northern donors as the central agents of development?

❯ What are the effects of particular photographic images of the Global South in curriculum resources?

❯ How is Ireland's role in international development presented in these resources?

❯ What are teachers' understandings, experiences and perceptions of teaching Development Education in post-primary settings in Ireland? To what extent do these experiences and understandings differ, depending on their own level of

experience of development or of teaching about development issues and/or on the context of the school?

› What are teachers' perspectives on the curriculum materials that are available to teach about global citizenship?

› How – and to what extent – do Development Education curriculum resources promote critical awareness? How can they be used to enhance or facilitate the development of critical literacy skills?

› What are the effects of particular 'development moments' in classroom contexts where textbook authors and educators are placed in a position of presenting complex development issues in a limited time/space period?

Data were collected from three separate sources:

› Curricular resources and textbooks used for Development Education purposes in post-primary schools;

› Development Education lesson plans created and implemented by student teachers enrolled in a Post-graduate Diploma in Education course (PGDE);

› In-depth interviews with in-service teachers and school administrators.

Drawing on data derived from the reflective practice portfolios of students enrolled in an initial teacher education programme as well as from in-depth interviews with in-career teachers, we sought to derive insights into some of the pedagogical struggles that teachers of development or global issues encounter in post-primary settings. We also conducted an in-depth analysis of textbooks from a number of subjects that are seen to lend themselves directly to a consideration of development themes and issues to interrogate how development is represented in the formal curriculum (See Appendix for a list of all textbooks that informed the analysis).

Conceptual framework

Theoretically, the research draws on post-colonial concepts and methodological techniques. Post-structuralism has been identified elsewhere in the literature as a useful theoretical tool in trying to understand the public and educative formulations of development and their connections with citizenship (Smith, 2004). Central to development is the practice of *representation* of the Global South by the North; in other words, how the South is discursively produced within Development Education materials, images and resources (Doty, 1996). From a post-structural perspective, development theory and practice are premised on the construction of certain represen-tations of the world whose apparent 'truth' and authority provides the basis for

particular development interventions which constitute expressions of power (Crush, 1995; Escobar, 1995; Sachs, 1992). In the context of the present study, representation refers to the ways in which the development enterprise, the Global South, its 'problems' and its inhabitants, are discursively produced by textbook writers and publishers in an Irish context. Because education provides a key site for discursive struggle over versions of social reality (Tikly, 2004), an analysis of state-sanctioned Development Education materials produced for use in schools is especially useful in terms of elucidating how global problems and the Global South are constructed.

Analytically, the research hinges on the distinction drawn in the literature between 'soft' and 'critical' versions of Global Citizenship Education (Andreotti, 2006).[3] 'Soft' understandings of global citizenship include attributing the prevalence of poverty in poorer countries to internal or endogenous factors or the belief that the 'problem' of developing countries is based primarily on a lack of attributes that the North possesses (e.g. education, modern values, attitudes and so on). More critical approaches to global citizenship emphasize the extent to which contemporary difficult social and economic conditions in the 'developing' world are rooted in exogenous factors, including colonial processes of wealth extraction, neo-colonial political-economic arrangements imposed by Western-led international institutions and Western consumption patterns and lifestyles. Critical approaches to Development Education also offer scope for students to interrogate how they themselves (and the nation and regions to which they belong) are implicated in the global economic processes and relations of domination that have generated – and reproduced – global inequality in the first place (Andreotti, 2006).

Research methods

Textbook analysis

We sought to provide a representative critique of contemporary textbooks designed for use with post-primary students in Ireland which explicitly address development themes and issues. Initially, we developed a database documenting all textbooks in print and on sale at the time of the research on the basis of the catalogues of the main educational publishing companies and book retailers in Ireland.

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[3] Lapayese (2003) draws a similar distinction. She uses the term 'critical Global Citizenship Education' to differentiate from 'potentially more conservative forms of global citizenship that impose a set of values and ultimately fail to challenge the prevailing paradigms and interests of dominant groups' (p. 500).

Also included in the database was a range of additional curriculum resources documented in such publications as the *Guide to Development Education Resources in Ireland 2006–2008* (Irish Aid & Trócaire, 2006) and *Opportunities for Development Education at Senior Cycle* (NCCA/Irish Aid, 2005). Resource and time constraints did not enable a fully exhaustive analysis of all instructional materials listed in the database. In the end, we elected to present a detailed analysis of three academic subjects – CSPE, RE and Geography – as these proved to be the academic subjects with the most substantive treatment of development themes and issues.

A qualitative research methodology was adopted which entailed a critical discourse analysis (CDA) of selected texts. As defined by Sheppard, Porter, Faust and Nager (2009):

> *In critically interrogating how we think about development and the Third World, we need to pay attention to discourse. Words, and the representations they unconsciously and automatically invoke in our minds, are far from innocent. "Discourse" refers to the set of social and cultural practices and norms that limit and shape what can be said (i.e., what seems normal, legitimate and truthful, and what does not), in ways that we are quite unaware of unless we challenge ourselves. In short, discourse sorts out what is taken to be knowledge from what is taken to be belief.*
> (Sheppard et al., 2009, p. 52)

CDA involves a multilayered process of reading, writing, interpreting, re-reading, re-writing and re-interpreting texts to derive recurring patterns and themes. As such, it involves examining various degrees of presence or absence in the texts, such as foreground information (those ideas that are present and emphasized), background information (those ideas that are explicitly mentioned but de-emphasized), presupposed information (that information which is present at the level of implied or suggested meaning) and absent information (Fairclough, 2003). Focusing on what is not said, as much as on what is openly stated in textbooks which explicitly address a range of development themes, we examined which understandings of development are privileged and which kinds of development practice and activism are endorsed, to the exclusion of alternative forms of development knowledge, practice and activism.

Using the framework and techniques of CDA, we examined how particular development 'problems' get constructed as well as how certain forms of development intervention and activism are enabled while others are precluded by the discourse (Doty, 1996). Reflecting on the broader political and ethical consequences or ideological effects of dominant development discourses (Jackson, 2008), we interrogated these

understandings in terms of the likelihood that they will, in fact, foster 'deeper understanding of the causes and complexities of poverty and underdevelopment and in contributing to public debate and activism on the need to alleviate global poverty and promote sustainable solutions to these issues' (Irish Aid, 2007b, p. 6).

Analysis of pre-service teaching portfolios

The study also drew upon lesson plans which focused on a range of development themes and issues which were developed and implemented by pre-service teachers who were enrolled in a postgraduate diploma in education (PGDE) programme at an academic institution in the Republic of Ireland during the 2008–2009 academic year. As a compulsory aspect of the PGDE programme, all students were required to create a Development Education lesson plan, deliver it as part of their teaching practice and provide a written evaluation of their experience. The decision to include data from pre-service teachers' teaching portfolios was grounded in the notion that teaching portfolios can 'provide a connection to the contexts and personal histories of real teaching and make it possible to document the unfolding of both teaching and learning over time' (Wolf, 1991, p. 129). We felt that this research strategy could add a further layer of understanding to real-life experiences of integrating Development Education issues into a range of second-level subjects in post-primary schools.

Written permission was sought from all PGDE students to access and analyze the content of their Development Education lesson plans. Seventy-five lesson plans were included in the final analysis. Analysis of the lesson plans involved the creation of a matrix documenting Development Education topics, approaches, methods, resources and tools. This matrix was then used to provide a descriptive overview of lesson plan objectives, the learning process employed and the intended and unintended outcomes. A more in-depth analysis of development discourses which featured in the lesson plans was then carried out to give greater insights into how student teachers understood, interpreted and translated Development Education into their classroom practice.

Qualitative interviews with in-career teachers

The third research strategy involved the collection and analysis of data gathered from 26 in-depth, semi-structured interviews conducted with teachers currently working in Irish post-primary schools. The purpose was to capture as much information as possible on the day-to-day experience of educators involved in integrating Development Education issues into formal curricular structures and spaces. An interview schedule was drawn up to address a number of key issues pertaining to the

nature and status of Development Education within schools, teachers' understandings of Development Education and development activism, the pedagogical challenges they experienced incorporating development themes and issues in their teaching etc.

The interview schedule drew on relevant themes which emerged from a review of existing literature and from initial findings from the textual analysis component of the study. Rather than imposing a strict structure and working from a baseline of pre-determined ideas, the emphasis throughout the interview was focused on creating space for participants to develop and express their understandings, perceptions and experiences of Development Education. As such, the interview schedule allowed for flexibility, both in terms of the order of topics and in how precisely they were addressed, offering individual participants the freedom to privilege their own ideas and experiences. Interviews took between 30 minutes and two hours, with most interviews lasting approximately an hour. All interviews were digitally recorded, following verbal and written consent from participants, and transcribed verbatim at a later date. In addition, field notes were taken during and after each interview.

In-depth interview sampling strategy

Mixed sampling strategies were used to select teacher participants for in-depth interview. The selection and use of mixed sampling strategies allowed for design flexibility, permitting the addition of new and appropriate approaches to sampling as the study progressed. While the qualitative sample makes no claim to being 'representative' of the teaching population, a systematic approach was adopted with the aim of including teachers with a diverse and illustrative range of experiences and expertise. A majority of in-depth interview participants were recruited following initial contact with a number of relevant statutory bodies, NGOs and universities who then publicized and informed teachers about the study on our behalf using 'listservs' or other means of personal contact.

Since the research sought to include a broad cross-section of teachers with different levels of experience who taught different subjects in different school settings with varying Development Education 'profiles,' purposive sampling – including snowball, targeted and critical case sampling techniques – were employed. Purposive sampling – sampling for a particular purpose – enables the research team to develop a sample that is considered critical to the research project and its specific aims (Denscombe, 2007). Purposive sampling allows the researcher to monitor the characteristics of those being recruited while data collection is still underway to ensure that the sample is sufficiently inclusive of those being sought and to 'target' those who are poorly represented, where necessary.

Snowball sampling, which involves asking respondents to suggest others who may be eligible and agreeable to taking part, was also used in a minority of cases. Snowballing techniques were used only when deemed appropriate as the research team was mindful of the risk of sampling bias that can occur through an over-reliance on networks of peers whose members are likely to be similar in age, gender and other variables (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981). Finally, targeted or critical case sampling was used as the study progressed to 'target' particular individuals and schools that could illuminate key issues related to the status of Development Education in schools. In this vein, we deliberately sought out teachers who taught CSPE, Geography and RE, as well as schools which were known to have a reputation for according high priority to development or social justice issues.

Sample profile of in-depth interview participants

A total of 26 qualified post-primary teachers took part in semi-structured, one-on-one interviews.[4] Although there were fewer male participants than female participants (seven as opposed to 19), this imbalance is broadly reflective of the gender ratio within the teaching profession as a whole (Department of Education and Skills, 2007). All of the participants were employed as teachers at the time of the interview. Only two participants had less than five years post-qualification experience; the remainder (n = 24) had between five and 38 years' experience working in post-primary schools.

Particular attention was paid at the recruitment stage towards ensuring that a wide range of subject areas were reflected in the sample, but also that 'focal' subjects, such as RE, CSPE and Geography were 'over-represented.' This was helped by the fact that the vast majority of participants (n=22) had responsibility or past experience in more than one curricular subject. Table 2.1 provides a breakdown of subjects taught along with the number of teachers who have or have had teaching responsibilities in this area.

Background information on each participant's school was gathered to provide a broader context for their experiences of integrating Development Education into classroom practice. Figure 2.1 presents a breakdown of the schools from which the

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[4] The vast majority of interviews were 'face-to-face' meetings which took place in, or close to, the schools where the participants taught. In three instances, interviews were conducted by phone.

Table 2.1 Subjects taught by in-career teacher sample		
Subjects taught	**N**	**% of teachers**
Civic, Social and Political Education	12	46.2
Religious Education	8	30.8
History	5	19.2
Geography	4	15.4
Science	3	11.5
English	3	11.5
Modern Languages	3	11.5
Maths	2	7.7
Irish	2	7.7
Social, Personal and Health Education	2	7.7
English as an Additional Language	2	7.7
Home Economics	1	3.8
Business Studies/Economics	1	3.8
Information Technology (ICT)	1	3.8
Technical Graphics	1	3.8
Classics	1	3.8

interview sample was drawn along a number of key characteristics including school type, size, and nature of the student body.[5]

Participants were drawn from a range of school types and settings, including both co-educational (n=11) and single-sex schools (n=11), urban, suburban and rural schools, and schools ranging in size from small (less than 300 students) to large (more than 700 students). Four fee-paying schools, catering to students from upper and middle class backgrounds, were represented and a similar number of designated 'DEIS'

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[5] A small number of participants taught at the same school and therefore the participant sample of 26 teachers was drawn from a total of 22 schools.

schools, who cater to students from communities with high levels of socio-economic disadvantage, were also included.[6]

In the remaining schools, teachers tended to describe the student body as very mixed or socio-economically diverse, or predominantly middle class. Schools from each of the different sectors, Secondary (n=13), Community Colleges (n=4) and Community/Comprehensive schools (n=5), were represented.[7] In all, schools from 12 counties situated in the three provinces of Leinster, Munster and Connacht were represented in the study.

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[6] The DEIS initiative – Delivering Equality of Opportunity in Schools – which is administered by the DES is an 'action plan for educational inclusion' which 'focuses on addressing the educational needs of children and young people from schools and communities with concentrated levels of educational disadvantage'. Schools which qualify for the DEIS scheme are eligible for a range of additional targeted supports, resources and interventions with the aim of redressing educational disadvantage (Department of Education and Skills, 2005, no page).

[7] Community Colleges comprise about a third of all post-primary schools in the Republic of Ireland and cater for a similar proportion of post-primary students. They are administered by local Vocational Educational Committees (VECs), which are statutory bodies with responsibility for providing a broad range of educational and training programmes, including the management and operation of post-primary and further education colleges. Secondary schools, which comprise approximately 54% of post-primary schools in the Republic, are, by contrast, privately owned and managed, in most cases by religious (predominantly Catholic) communities. Community/Comprehensive Schools comprise the remainder and are co-managed by a board of management representative of the diocesan religious authority, the local VEC, and the Minister for Education and Skills.

Figure 2.1 School sample characteristics

Key characteristics of schools where in-depth interview participants taught
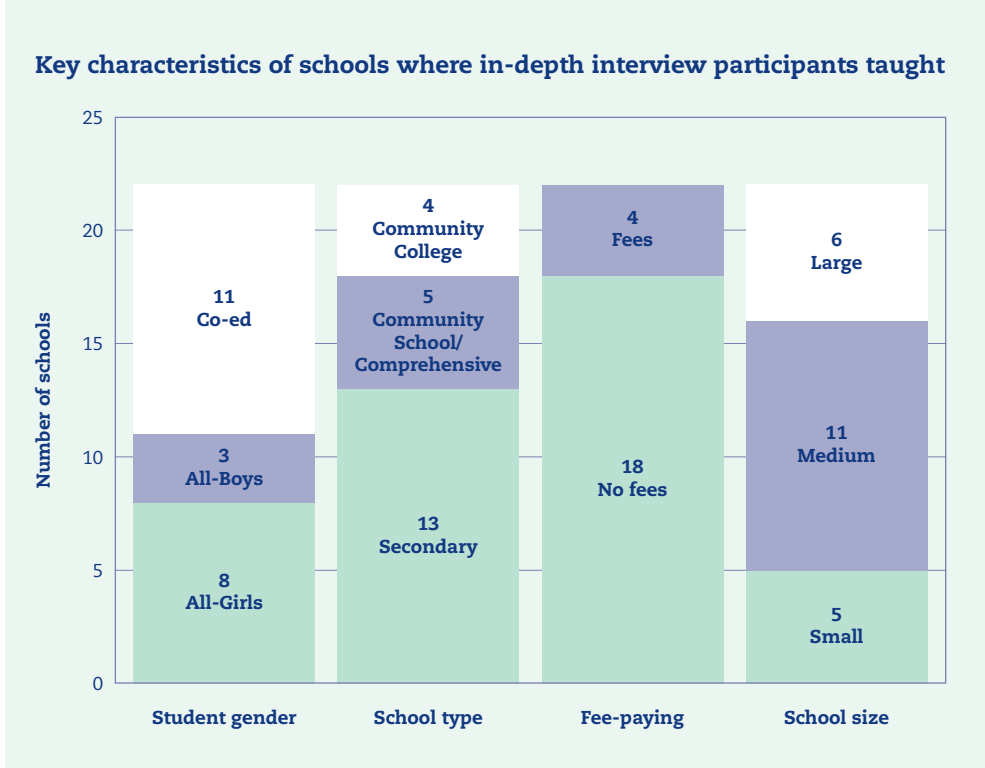
Data analysis

The qualitative data analysis process was sensitive to the following stages and sequence of analysis:

❯ *Generative and emergent stage*: Analysis began when the researchers started to generate ideas for making sense of the data while still in the field. At this initial analytic stage, ideas about directions for future analysis were recorded that informed subsequent fieldwork.

❯ *Confirmatory stage*: Later stages of fieldwork enabled the team to move towards confirmatory data collection, deepening insights into, and confirming (or disconfirming), emerging patterns in the data.

❯ *Systematic analysis* following fieldwork: Writing case studies and conducting cross-case analyses based on rigorous review of interview transcripts.

Verbatim transcripts of all 26 in-depth interviews were prepared. In the presentation of study findings, representations of participants' experiences and perspectives are supported by excerpts from interview transcripts. All quoted excerpts are presented as closely as possible to participants' own words. In some cases, minor editing was required to make narratives more comprehensible to the reader. All major identifiers (actual names of towns or other local areas, names of specific majority world countries to which participants referred, actual names of staff members or students, and so on) have been removed to preserve confidentiality and anonymity. At the end of each narrative excerpt, the participant is identified by the school where they taught (a pseudonym), their gender and the number of years' teaching experience they had.

Ethical, consent and confidentiality procedures

All participants were informed about the nature and purpose of the research prior to their agreement to take part. An accessible written account of the study's aims was made available to all prospective participants and individual interviews were conducted only after the researchers had given a detailed verbal account of what the interview would entail. Written documentation of voluntary informed consent was obtained from all participants prior to the conduct of individual interviews. All participants reserved the right to refuse to participate in the study and to withdraw from the study at any stage, even after participating in the interview. Participants received assurances of confidentiality, including the assurance that their name or other identifying information would not be mentioned in any written dissemination of the research findings. To ensure confidentiality and anonymity, code numbers were assigned to identify data, and identifying information (place names, staff names, school details, etc) were removed from the transcript material.

Chapter 3

Representations of International Development in Civic, Social and Political Education Textbooks

This chapter focuses on how development themes and issues are portrayed in CSPE textbooks, the subject area that is often associated most directly with Development Education, because a number of its core organizing concepts – such as interdependence, stewardship and development – speak directly to the principles undergirding global citizenship. We begin by providing an overview of the CSPE curriculum before presenting a number of discrete and, at times, overlapping understandings of development which are dominant within and across CSPE texts.

Overview of the CSPE curriculum

CSPE was introduced as a mandatory examination subject at Junior Certificate (lower secondary) level in the late 1990s. Consistent with the aims of Development Education, it seeks to promote the 'active exploration and study of citizenship at all levels (personal, local, national, global) in the context of contemporary social and political issues' (Department of Education and Skills, 2006, p. 7).

CSPE as a subject is organized around four units: the individual, the community, the State (Ireland) and the wider world. The curriculum is also framed around seven key organizing concepts including: democracy, citizenship, interdependence, human dignity, stewardship, rights and responsibilities and development. In particular, concepts like stewardship, development and interdependence advance a global perspective that allows one to see the experience of the local community as interconnected with the experiences of others around the world. Students are required to

write a report on an 'action project' they have completed during the course of their CSPE studies on an issue they feel strongly about (Murphy & Ryan, 2006).

The action project is a central pillar of the assessment structure for CSPE, accounting for 60% of the overall mark. In addition to the action project, the titles of the CSPE texts themselves reveal how citizenship is conceived of in global terms and/or as an ethics of action. Titles such as *Make a Difference!* (Harrison & Wilson, 2007); *Taking Action Now* (Quinn & O'Flynn, 2009); *Stand Up, Speak Up!* (Holmes & O'Dwyer, 2010) and *Impact!* (Barrett & Richardson, 2006), speak directly to the idea of active citizenship, whereas titles such as *One World* (Murphy & Ryan, 2006) and *We are the World* (Cassidy & Kingston, 2004) connote a global identity.

Specific development issues and institutions addressed in CSPE textbooks include, *inter alia*: human rights (including children's rights), refugees and asylum seekers, racism and anti-racism, child labour, the environment, the European Union, the United Nations etc. Development knowledge is typically relayed using a combination of informative text, bullet points and statistical information, excerpts from NGO campaigning materials, and personalized stories and case studies informing readers about the experiences and conditions of asylum seekers, fair trade farmers, child labourers, factory employees of multinational corporations etc.

Since its inception in 1997, there have been a number of studies which have examined the reception and implementation of Citizenship Education as a discrete examination subject in Irish schools (e.g., Gleeson, 2010; Gleeson & Munnelly, 2003; Niens & McIllrath, 2005; Nugent, 2006). Gleeson & Munnelly (2003) have highlighted the role of school cultural and organizational factors in influencing perceptions of, and attitudes towards, CSPE. They attribute the poorer reception of CSPE in privately-owned schools (most of which are denominationally managed) to the historic opposition by the Catholic Church to citizenship as a discrete subject in the school curriculum, whose representatives believed that RE should be the primary vehicle in the school curriculum for social, moral and personal development.

While much of the research on Citizenship Education in an Irish context has thus far focused on the implementation of, and attitudes towards, Citizenship Education, or the history and context within which the subject has developed (e.g., Rami & Lalor, 2007), far less attention has been paid to the substantive content of the CSPE curriculum itself. Those studies that do exist have pointed to the underdeveloped or 'lightweight' nature of the subject relative to other geographical contexts (Garvin, 2004), its failure to address issues of social class or power (Baker, Lynch, Cantillon & Walsh, 2004) and its tendency to promote an 'uncritical attitude' towards the practices of Northern governments where issues of aid and trade are concerned (Finlay, 2006, p. 8).

As discussed in more detail in Chapter 8, while textbooks are often used by CSPE teachers as springboards for dialogue or in conjunction with NGO-produced materials to teach about global and development issues, their status as state-sanctioned, legitimate sources of knowledge raises important questions about the nature of development messages to which young people are being exposed in schools. Thus, while neither textbooks nor the curriculum in and of themselves determine what is taught and learned in and through schools (Kuzmic, 2000), their presence in the curriculum and classroom practice can be said to endow them with an effective *steering capacity* which *steers* readers *towards* certain interpretations, while *steering* them *away* from others (Rizvi, 1993).

Findings

The following section outlines a number of discrete, yet at times overlapping discourses of development which are dominant within and across CSPE textbooks. The analysis reveals that the discourse of development within CSPE texts is not completely uniform, coherent, or consistent, either within or across texts, and that exceptions, inconsistencies, and contradictions are sometimes evident, even within the same texts (Jackson, 2008). Nevertheless, we argue that there are dominant development storylines which offer limited scope for interrogating how 'global citizens' (and the nations, institutions and ideologies to which they subscribe) are implicated in the global economic processes and relations of domination that generate global inequality which warrant attention (Andreotti, 2006; Heron, 2007, Jefferess, 2008).

Development as modernization

A variety of theoretical positions have been advanced to explain the persistence of extreme poverty and associated injustices in the Global South; some of the most well-known explanations include modernization theories, dependency theories and post-colonial theories. Modernization theory, which gained prominence in the 1960s, remains hugely influential as a framework to the way in which global inequalities are understood in the twenty-first century (Greig, Hulme & Turner, 2007). From this vantage point, the prevalence of extreme poverty in poor countries is attributable primarily to endogenous factors (ibid), and development involves facilitating developing countries along a path of progress from tradition towards modernity. In other words, inequality between the richer and poorer countries could be overcome through a process of modernization which would enable 'traditional' societies to 'catch up' with their more developed counterparts, facilitated by Western development assistance in the form of international aid and technical expertise.

While not directly invoked, modernization theory was embedded in the ideological character of a number of the CSPE texts examined. For example, *One World* alludes to the fact that 'many countries throughout the world…are developing at a very slow pace' and experience problems 'which slows down their rate of development' (Murphy & Ryan, 2006, p. 6.18). *Make a difference!* (Harrison & Wilson, 2007) initially offers a somewhat fluid understanding of development, informing readers that the concept has 'multiple meanings' and asking students to select from a series of statements the one they feel best describes development (p. 106). However, the description of 'developing countries' which is provided in this text also evokes a stage-like metaphor, which implies that post-colonial countries are lagging behind and have yet to 'catch up' with their more modern, Western counterparts.

> *Some countries are at different stages on the road to development. While some are very advanced, others are underdeveloped. These countries are known as* **developing countries** *because they still have some way to go.*
> (Harrison & Wilson, 2007, p. 119; emphasis in original)

A similar stage-like metaphor is utilized in *Stand Up, Speak Up!* (Holmes & O'Dwyer, 2010) accompanied, on this occasion, with an explicit focus on what 'developing nations' lack and their need for 'assistance'.

> *Just as with communities, nations can be at different stages of development. Globally, we say the world is divided into the '***developed world***' and the '***developing world***'. There are 6 billion people on Earth, 80% of whom live in the developing world. Many developing nations need assistance. A lack of schools, health care and food shortages stand in the way of a nation's chance to develop and grow.*
> (Holmes & O'Dwyer, 2010 p. 100; emphasis in original)

These narratives, which contain an implicit modernizationist theorization of how societies evolve, have a naturalizing effect. This naturalization is achieved in part through the state of underdevelopment as a simple statement of fact, as something that simply 'is' (Doty, 1996), but that will eventually be overcome when 'slowly developing countries' catch up with the Western world which they seek to emulate. Modernization theory has been critiqued for its failure to engage with the legacy of colonialism and how it continues to structure contemporary experiences. In other words, through the discourse of modernization, the power differential between the Global North and South is naturalized in such a way that 'colonialism is either ignored or placed securely in the past, so that we think it is over and does not affect – and has not affected – the construction of the present situation' (Andreotti, 2006, p. 4).

Not one of the fifteen 'reasons' for the 'slow rate of development' listed in *One World*, for example, pertain to colonialism, and the chapter on development as a whole fails to offer any meaningful analysis of the structural relationships between communities of the developed and developing world. The 'reasons' for the 'slow rate of development' which are identified include: poor health care, unemployment, high death rates, poor levels of education, lack of proper food, starvation, malnutrition, HIV/AIDS, debt, poverty, war, famine, drought, flooding and desertification.

Similarly, *in Stand Up, Speak Up!*, students learn that 'a lack of schools, health care and food shortages **stand in the way** of a nation's chance to develop and grow' (Holmes & O'Dwyer, 2010, p. 100, emphasis added). Thus, students are presented with symptoms of global inequality, as opposed to the *actual* reasons for underdevelopment (Jefferess, 2008), espousing a circular logic that defines developing countries – and explains underdevelopment – primarily in terms of what they lack (access to healthcare, employment and education, proper food etc). Absent from the picture is a consideration of why governments in developing world countries cannot deliver the services and systems that would enable their citizens to have an adequate standard of living, or an interrogation of the systems and structures that produce poverty and suffering in the first instance (Jefferess, 2008). The closest *One World* comes to offering a structural analysis is its explanation of the term debt, which maintains that '[it] is very difficult for developing countries to improve if rich countries (mostly in the Northern Hemisphere) insist on them repaying loans which they have received' (6.18). Yet at no point are students asked to contemplate (or, indeed, is any explanation offered for) why developing countries are so indebted in the first instance, or the need for developing countries to question their own role in sustaining inequitable systems or practices.

One World continues to attribute development problems to endogenous factors in other parts of the text and fails to offer any real engagement with the structural dimensions of conflict or global poverty. A section on 'Why refugees leave their homes,' which is used to illustrate the concept of human dignity, explains that people leave their homes due to war, natural disasters and for political or economic reasons. The explanation as to why refugees leave their homes for political reasons reads as follows:

> *Some countries, especially developing countries, are ruled by governments that are corrupt. These governments introduce policies and measures that discriminate against various individuals and groups and deny them their basic human rights.*
> (Murphy & Ryan, 2006, p. 2.18)

Official corruption is thus portrayed as a problem that disproportionately affects developing countries; while not seeking to deny that corruption exists in some developing countries, the application of different standards helps to convey that corruption is a problem internal to these countries rather than a consequence of external political-economic policies and actions which are rooted in colonialism and neo-colonial forms of exploitation (Yrjölä, 2009).[8]

Moreover, while students learn that 'a civil war is raging in Sudan' that has caused 'thousands (sic) of Sudanese people' to leave their homes for refugee camps (p. 2.18), there is no space within the discourse to represent the complex forces that cause and sustain conflict in places like Sudan, including British colonial administrative and ideological policies that served to racialize identities and foster cleavages, the steady flow of arms from the US to Sudan, or the role of petro-politics and the US desire to control the substantial petroleum reserves recently discovered in the region (Mamdani, 2009).

Another illustration of the circular logic evident in some CSPE texts is contained in *Make a Difference!*, in an explanation of why 'in some poor and developing countries, children do not go to school':

> *In some poor and developing countries, children do not go to school. Here are some reasons why.*
> ❯ *They have to go out to work to provide for their families – in fact child labour is the biggest reason why children don't go to school. They work at things like making bricks, weaving carpets, building and making designer goods, fireworks and matches.*
> ❯ *They are farm workers and have to work on the family farm.*
> ❯ *They have to stay at home to care for the needs of the family. As young carers they have to cook, mind children and do housework.*
> ❯ *They are very unhappy or being bullied at school*
> (Harrison & Wilson, 2007, p. 29)

Wholly absent from this analysis of child labour and how children's 'human dignity' is being denied 'without an education' is any consideration of the role of draconian

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[8] The same narrative is echoed in an updated version of the text, published in 2010. By associating corruption mainly with developing countries, the rampant corruption, exploitation, greed and deregulation by Western banks, corporations and investment firms, which led to the global financial crisis in 2008 is neatly avoided.

cuts in social spending via structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) imposed by the International Monetary Fund and World Bank upon the countries in question which prevented children from going to school, the devastating effects of which are well documented. Klees (2008a), for example, meticulously demonstrates how two decades of imposing user fees in education has exacerbated inequality and inefficiency in the provision of schooling in developing countries. While other texts (outlined below) do engage more directly with the effects of these broader international political-economic policies, the aforementioned examples promote apolitical, sanitized understandings of global problems which do little, if anything, to inform students of their underlying complexities and causes.

Development as 'luck'

In the section on education in the CSPE textbook *Make a Difference!*, students are asked if they have ever thought about how 'lucky' they are to have the chance to go to school (Harrison & Wilson, 2007, p. 29). Questions of this nature implicitly encourage students to judge their nation favourably over others in the developing world and imply that contemporary Western society is much more complex in its moral stance regarding children (Aitken, 2001). These ideas of difference and cultural superiority are further reinforced by a 'brainstorming' activity on the following page, which accompanies a story about a young tannery worker, Mandar (whose hometown, country or continent are never specified), which asks: 'In what ways are your day and your life different from Mandar's?' (Harrison & Wilson, 2007, p. 30).

While arguably designed to produce empathy and understanding towards 'Others', this question reproduces a dichotomous world of 'us' and 'them' which affords 'us' a way of knowing and defining 'ourselves' as 'developed', 'modern', 'wealthy', 'lucky' and 'educated' (Heron, 2007). It closes off consideration of the possibility of 'us' being similar to 'them' in any way. At best, it produces feelings of pity, compassion or empathy for 'less fortunate Others'; at worst, it reinforces a sense of privilege and cultural superiority and fails to interrogate the internationally derived political-economic conditions that create child labour and prevent children from going to school in the first place, or, indeed, how 'us' – concerned global citizens – are complicit with the systems that perpetuate these phenomena. In other words, it closes off consideration of the extent to which 'the struggle is not about "us" and "them", but about "us all",' always (Andreotti & Dowling, 2004, p. 611).

In constructing child labour as inherently problematic, CSPE texts close off consideration of alternative, more critical discourses on campaigns against child labour

(see for example Nieuwenhuys, 1996), including evidence to suggest that they do not necessarily result in children returning to school and improving their situation and that the effects of these campaigns can, in fact, be counterproductive (Lancy, 2008).

Compounding the circular logic on underdevelopment contained within texts like *One World* is the evocation of a discourse of luck in explaining global disparities.

> *In a country such as Ireland, we are now seen as one of the most developed societies in the world. We have enormous wealth and so are regarded as a developed country. However, many countries throughout the world are not as lucky and often are developing at a very slow pace.*
> (Murphy & Ryan, 2006, p. 6.18)

The evocation of luck as an explanation as to why other countries have not developed at the same 'pace' as Ireland further produces a sense of distance and separation from Others who are less fortunate than the national 'we,' and ascribes a form of 'lotto logic' to disparities, thereby eclipsing considerations of oppression, injustice and inequality, justice or equity (Quinby, 2002; cited in Simpson, 2004). As Simpson (2004) explains: 'Learning that living conditions and life are products of a randomized process of luck sets particular parameters for social justice, wherein wealth and poverty are not part of the same process, but attributed independently of one another' (p. 689). Moreover, the discourse of luck naturalizes and reinforces unequal relationships between those who are constructed as lucky or fortunate and, hence, in a position to 'help', and those unfortunate 'Others' who are the object of 'our' concern and benevolence.

Development as obedient activism

One feature of the discourse of development within CSPE texts is a tendency to present global issues as 'problems' to be resolved (often through the identification of specific issues that can be acted on in very specific and concrete ways), rather than multidimensional and complex issues to be grappled with. Drawing on the previous example of child labour, we see evidence of obedient activism within CSPE texts, wherein students are encouraged to organize and sign petitions against child labour, or to design posters to raise awareness of the 'problem' to end this practice. This call to obedient activism, which presents development as a set of identifiable problems that can be acted on with specific, measurable interventions, further erases the complexity of development themes and issues. In other words, it offers an assuring 'closure' in the form of clear-cut resolutions to what are, in effect, highly complex,

interrelated and often intractable problems. It further presents activism as having some kind of definitive end goal rather than as an ongoing commitment to social justice.

Another illustration of this narrative closure relates to the ways in which the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are presented in the reading materials. The MDGs, which serve as a framework for development in a number of the texts examined, are typically presented in wholly positive terms, despite widespread acknowledgement that the 2015 goals will not be attainable under current conditions and evidence to suggest that they comprise yet another set of 'perpetually deferred' promises that are likely to be replaced with another set of goals when they are not reached (Biccum, 2005).

Make A Difference! (Harrison & Wilson, 2007), for example, describes a sample action project, focused on the MDGs, where students developed posters to raise awareness of the MDGs (which are defined in terms of 'making the world a fairer place') and sold *'Make Poverty History'* wristbands, which they thought 'were cool' (p. 127). Klees (2008b) argues that frameworks like the MDGs serve a 'compensatory legitimation' function for states and agencies who are deeply implicated in the perpetuation of global poverty, enabling them to restore some of their legitimacy through playing a 'good cop' role. This framing of development as a set of problems or issues to be resolved through clear-cut and specific forms of obedient action (as with Child Labour) or limited targets (as with the MDGs) closes off possibilities for dialogue about the limitations of these kinds of development interventions and frameworks which are presented as axiomatically good.

Development as charity: aid to the rescue

The de-historicized and de-politicized modernizationist narratives alluded to previously have the effect of legitimizing Northern intervention in the governance of developing countries and position them as being in need of 'our help' in the form of financial aid, technical expertise and assistance, and charitable giving. As highlighted by Rist (2002):

> …by defining 'underdevelopment' as a lack rather than the result of historical circumstances, and by treating the 'underdeveloped' simply as poor without seeking the reasons for their destitution, 'development policy' made of growth and aid (conceived in technocratic, quantitative terms) the only possible answer.
> (Rist, 2002, p. 79)

Not surprisingly, therefore, official development aid and charitable giving are positioned within CSPE texts as key responses – if not *the* solution – to the problems previously identified. For example, a section titled 'How can Sub-Saharan countries become more developed?' in *One World* states that:

> The solution to the problems of these countries may be found in the countries of the developed world.
>
> **Aid** is the word used to describe the transfer of food, money, skills and technology from developed countries to developing countries. There are many types of aid and it comes from many different sources. ...
>
> Development aid tries to help the people like those in the Sub-Sahara to help themselves. The idea is that it is much better to provide training and equipment for the people, rather than spend money which may not be put to proper use. Money runs out, while skills remain in the community
>
> (Murphy & Ryan, 2006, p. 6.20, emphasis in original)

This particular representation explicitly positions the West, and development aid more specifically – in the form of money and technical expertise or human capital – as the solution (the only solution, in fact) to underdevelopment. Notwithstanding the discourse of 'helping people to help themselves', development takes on a transitive meaning here; it represents something that is 'done' to people in Sub-Saharan Africa by exogenous agencies and actors from developed countries (Tikly, 2004). In the above passage, the dominant focus on the virtues of aid leaves little room for a consideration of the ways in which the structure and organization of the aid relationship can disempower locally rooted development initiatives (Samoff, 2007).

While some texts, including *One World*, do acknowledge that development aid is not always necessarily effective, and that it can cause people to become 'dependent on the aid deliveries' without developing 'farming and other skills in their own communities (p. 6.5). However, the narrative does little if anything to challenge the logic of the development project. Rather, as Ferguson (1994) argues, development becomes its own standard of measurement and the focus becomes how to get it right, as opposed to opening up any real debate about the very institutions, policies or systems which have created the 'need' for aid in the first instance.

Similarly, the development-as-charity motif is either implicitly or more often explicitly portrayed as important and is, therefore, assumed to be axiomatically good (Heron, 2007). For example, in *Make a Difference!* readers are provided with 'two examples of development, the first of which is referred to as 'development through

charity' and the second is described as having 'a different focus' which tries 'to teach the skills, show how it's done and give power to the local people.' Students are asked to 'explain why both of these types of development are important' (Harrison & Wilson, 2007, p. 119), the implication being that development-as-charity is an axiomatic good. Yet, as Appiah (2006) points out, charitable giving is not necessarily an absolute 'good'; while it may be a means of 'helping', it does little to transform the situation that produces the conditions of poverty and human suffering in the first instance (cited in Jefferess, 2008). In other words, the inequalities which charity seeks to alleviate will remain, in the absence of structural and material changes to the circumstances that bring about and sustain them. Moreover, as Dobson (2005) argues, charity is a notoriously weak response to injustice because it can be easily withdrawn or reduced and merely serves to reinforce the vulnerability of the recipient. Additionally, to the extent that charitable giving has a conscious-salving effect in that it helps donors to feel better about themselves, they are arguably less compelled to look at the multitude of ways they are themselves implicated in perpetuating global injustices through their 'ordinary actions' (Lawson, 2005).

Development as celebrity humanitarianism

The discourse of development is frequently deployed within CSPE textbooks to underscore national benevolence and to present the Irish nation and its inhabitants as exhibiting such admirable qualities as compassion, concern and generosity. This positive national image relies on the presence of less fortunate 'Others' through which we come to define and understand ourselves as good and ethical human beings. The following examples convey how the national imaginary is evoked to instil a sense of national pride and to present 'Irish people' and the Irish nation as 'helping', 'concerned' and 'making a difference' to unfortunate 'Others' in the world.

> *Irish Aid enables the Irish people to show their concern for the well-being of people in other countries. Ireland has a long tradition of helping the people of developing countries.*
> (Quinn & O'Flynn, 2009, p. 106)

> *[The Tsunami Disaster] brought out the best in people and Irish people can be proud of the efforts they made in helping people such as the Sri Lankan fishermen to get back to work. The money raised made a huge difference and will go a long way towards developing the economy of Sri Lanka.*
> (Murphy & Ryan, 2006, p. 6.23)

Accompanying narratives that mark the Irish nation as a generous and compassionate provider to the less fortunate in the world are those portraying representatives of the Irish nation as fearless and tireless campaigners for the cause of human rights globally (Bryan, 2008). Consider, for example, the following remarks by former US president Bill Clinton during a visit to Ireland in 1998, which appeared in a section on interdependence in *One World*.

> *…there are few nations that have contributed more than Ireland, even in times which were difficult for this country, to the cause of peace and human rights around the world. You have given us now Mary Robinson to serve internationally in that cause. But since peacekeeping began for the United Nations 40 years ago, 75 Irish soldiers have given their lives. […] In the 40 years in which the world has been working together on peacekeeping, the only country in the world which has never taken a single, solitary day off from the cause of world peace to the United Nations peacekeeping operations is Ireland. And I thank you.*
> (Cited in Murphy & Ryan, 2006, p. 7.34)

While not seeking to deny or undermine Mary Robinson's role in promoting human rights, exaggerated statements about Ireland's unstinting commitment and unique contribution to world peace serve to promote an image of the Irish nation and its representatives as 'global good guys' (Heron, 2007, p. 87), such that to be Irish is to be marked as a benevolent promoter of world peace and justice (Jefferess, 2008).

Irish-born celebrity humanitarians, Bob Geldof and Bono, feature prominently in CSPE texts, often to present Irish people as compassionate global citizens driven by a humanitarian impulse to 'help' less fortunate others. For example, in *We are the World*, we learn that 'Goal Director John O'Shea believes Bono will achieve more in ten days than the international community has in ten years' (Cassidy & Kingston, 2004, p. 233). In some instances, these celebrity humanitarians act as *the* symbol of development, with *Stand Up, Speak Up!*, (Holmes & O'Dwyer, 2010) for example, choosing to introduce the very concept of development itself at the outset of the textbook with a photograph of Bob Geldof and a caption about how he has 'worked tirelessly to bring food and medical aid to people in Africa affected by drought and famine' and speaks of his desire 'to help the developing world' (p. 5). Similarly, almost a page in *Taking Action Now* (Quinn & O'Flynn, 2009) is devoted to Bob Geldof and his involvement in various initiatives including the DATA [Debt, Aid and Trade for Action] and *Make Poverty History* campaigns (p. 48), while in *One World*, we learn about Birhan Woldu 'a young woman who was a baby in the 1985 Ethiopian

famine, but lived because of international aid' who is pictured as an adult in a photograph next to Bob Geldof (Murphy & Ryan, 2006, p. 6.19).

While ostensibly *about* the lives of those whom they seek to uplift and save, discourses of high-profile Western benevolence, concern and compassion, actively position 'our guys' as *the* stars of the development show, while the objects of national (and Northern) benevolence merely function as the backdrop to a story which is *really* about 'us.' In other words, the trope of celebrity humanitarian functions as a redemption fantasy within CSPE texts (Roman, 1997), wherein inhabitants of the Global South are discursively positioned as the backdrop against which 'global good guys' can enhance their sense of themselves and the reputation of the nation they represent, with insufficient attention to their own participation in relations of domination.

Yrjölä (2009) highlights the ways in which the moral discourse evoked by celebrity humanitarians Bono and Geldof carries considerable 'normative power' and lends legitimacy to Western interventions and policies concerning Africa while closing off consideration of other issues which would cast doubt on the projected image of the West as anything other than a just, neutral or heroic actor in global politics. The evocation of the trope of celebrity humanitarianism within CSPE texts, therefore, is incompatible with more critical versions of Global Citizenship Education which define a global citizen as someone who '…reflects on their complicity in global power relations, considers their responsibilities to those who are disadvantaged by current global arrangements, and who actively resists perpetuating them so that Othered groups can actively exist in a more just social reality' (Cook, 2008, p. 17).

Critical Development Education?

Many of the examples thus far suggest that development as a concept is treated in a highly uncritical way in CSPE texts and that dominant, discursive representations are consistent with 'soft' versions of Global Citizenship Education. However, some CSPE texts do contain more critical development narratives, addressing, to some extent at least, the structural dimensions of global poverty and the West's implicatedness in perpetuating global injustices. Topics consistent with more critical versions of Global Citizenship Education include: case studies of the arms trade and global military spending; the West's disproportionate responsibility for global warming; the role of oil companies in damaging the environment; and the so-called 'race to the bottom'.

The following excerpt on the underlying reasons for the debt crisis in *Impact!* (Barrett & Richardson, 2010) is worth quoting at length because it serves as a useful illustration of how complex causal factors can, in fact, be presented to young people in an accessible way (Barrett & Richardson, 2010).

How the developing world has huge debts that they have to repay has a history dating back to the 1970s, when massive loans were given to countries in South America and Africa, some of which were run by military dictatorships. A lot of these loans never reached the people they were intended to help because of corruption. However, international organizations like the World Bank insisted that these countries cut back on government spending in order to repay their debts. This meant that health clinics and hospitals often had no medicine, and primary school children had to pay to go to school, as these governments had to keep money to repay the loans instead of using it to improve the lives of their citizens. This has kept ordinary people, who had no part in the arrangement of these loans, in poverty.
(Barrett & Richardson, 2010, p. 197)

Almost all texts highlight the role of transnational corporations in perpetuating unfair global trading practices and exploiting workers to maximize profits, or in causing damage to the environment typically in the units on interdependence. All texts stress the importance of ethical consumption and the role of purchasing power in 'influencing working conditions across the world' (Holmes & O'Dwyer, 2010, p. 144). For example, *One World* asks students to think about the fact that Cristiano Ronaldo received €30 million from Nike while workers producing sportswear for the company receive less than €1,000 per year. Readers are informed that: 'It would take thirty thousand years of hard work … to earn the same amount as Ronaldo' and are asked to think about this the next time they buy 'a replica shirt or a pair of trainers' (Murphy & Ryan, 2010, p. 179).

Taking Action Now informs students that: 'Child labour is driven by global demand for cheaply produced products, products that we buy every day' (Quinn & O'Flynn, 2009, p. 53). *Stand Up, Speak Up!* introduces an important critical development narrative on the role of EU trade policies and practices in keeping Third World farmers 'in a state of permanent poverty' (Holmes & O'Dwyer, 2010, p. 108). But the likelihood that students will engage critically with EU trade policy is arguably compromised, to some degree at least, by a competing narrative elsewhere in the text which frames the EU as an international organization that 'can work together to help improve the lives of all.' In this section of the text, the EU is presented in an extremely positive light as 'a group of twenty-seven countries that cooperate to ensure human rights, freedom, justice and a clean environment and economic success for its citizens' (Holmes & O'Dwyer, 2010, p. 145).

Equally problematic is the way in which narratives which are critical of multinational or transnational corporations (TNCs) typically gravitate towards encouraging

students to buy fair or ethical trade products. In other words, the problem is seen to be resolvable via individualistic, voluntaristic forms of activism (Schattle, 2008), which typically involve no more than minimal effort on the part of the actor who engages in them. While prompting students to reflect on the ways in which their own consumption patterns are implicated in perpetuating global injustices, the discourse is ultimately non-confrontational and fails to promote critical reflection on the broader ideology sustaining global capitalism, such as lifestyles and identities based around consumerism, which are characteristic of consumer capitalist societies. To this end, it is unlikely to result in radically changed belief systems or practices on the part of learners, or to result in the reduction in Western consumption practices necessary to ameliorate global injustice.

Critics of the fair trade movement are quick to point out the extent to which fair trade relationships depend upon the unpredictable spending habits of Northern consumers (Smith & Yanacopulos, 2004). Meanwhile, this particular development narrative reassures consumers that they can contribute to global justice while maintaining high levels of personal consumption (Wright, 2004).

The 'feel good' factor associated with fair trade is neatly captured in the description of fair trade offered in *One World*, which describes how Irish fair trade consumers can 'celebrate' the fact that they 'clearly make a difference to the lives of farmers throughout the world' (Murphy & Ryan, 2006, p .7.25). The fair trade movement is frequently legitimized within CSPE texts with personalized accounts and case studies featuring farmers who describe the tangible, positive impact that fair trade has brought to their lives and communities. In some cases, it is implied that an act as simple as 'buying one [Fairtrade] chocolate bar from your local newsagent or a bunch of [Fairtrade] bananas in your weekly shop' can transform people's lives (Holmes & O'Dwyer, 2010, p. 144).

While evoked to provide students with concrete and constructive ideas about how they can 'make a difference' in the world, such that they 'don't have to feel powerless about the world's problems' (Holmes & O'Dwyer, 2010, p. 144), there is something problematic about a self-celebratory discourse which privileges *their* need to overcome their sense of disempowerment through self-gratifying, voluntaristic purchasing practices which require minimal effort or sacrifice. In other words, the Northern, benevolent self is empowered in relation to the helplessness and powerlessness of the Other, whose entire lives are said to be 'transformed' by simple acts of Western consumerism.

Discussion

This final section seeks to synthesize some of the broader political and ethical consequences of dominant development discourses with a particular emphasis on the kinds of development action or activism they make available. The foregoing analysis suggests that there is a significant disconnect between the impressive goal of Development Education as articulated by official state agencies such as Irish Aid and the reality of its application in formal academic subjects like CSPE.

The findings mirror criticisms levelled against Global Citizenship Education as conceived and practised in a range of other Northern contexts. Gillborn (2006) has likened Citizenship Education in the UK to a placebo – maintaining that it 'gives the appearance of addressing issues like racism and race equality but which, in reality, manifestly fails to tackle the real problem' (p. 85). Similarly, we argue that Global Citizenship Education, as discursively produced in state-sanctioned textbooks for use in an Irish context, appears to confirm a meaningful commitment to global justice and equality but, in effect, conceals the root causes of the very injustices it seeks to raise awareness about and fails to critically or meaningfully engage students with their own complicity in these unequal global relations of power.

The implicit theorization of development as modernization in a number of the texts reviewed presents 'underdevelopment' or 'lack of development' as an identifiable problem generated by forces endogenous to individual poorer countries which needs to be resolved (but is not caused) by the West. The framing of developing countries or their inhabitants as 'unlucky' or 'unfortunate,' relative to a 'lucky', more fortunate 'us', further naturalizes global inequities as a consequence of the human condition rather than an effect of specific historical and contemporary internationally derived political-economic arrangements, interventions, and practices, such as loan conditionality, debt peonage, colonial and neo-colonial forms of exploitation, resource extraction and so on. This failure to engage more with the structural, institutional and relational dimensions of injustice enables the North to absolve itself of responsibility for the very problems these texts seek to raise awareness about. Furthermore, it restricts the scope of the response to particular kinds of actions – such as development aid, fundraising and fair-trade consumption – which do not transform the conditions of poverty and human suffering nor challenge the political-economic systems that create them (Appiah, 2006; Jefferess, 2008).

Global Citizenship Education as band-aid pedagogy

Global Citizenship Education – as conceived in CSPE texts – serves as a kind of 'band-aid' pedagogical response to the problems of global injustice – denying complex

political or economic realities in favour of overly-simplistic, easily digestible and 'regurgitatable' laundry lists of symptoms of global poverty. The safer, more sanitized presentation of development as a set of identifiable causes or problems to be resolved, rather than a set of interrelated, multidimensional and contentious issues to be debated and engaged with, renders alternative perspectives and contention invisible and offers a reassuring narrative closure to ongoing relations of domination.

The 'band aid' approach to Development Education is most evident, perhaps, in the ways in which CSPE texts promote overly-simplistic, quick fix, and ultimately ineffectual solutions to global problems. While implying the need for political and social change, CSPE texts tend to privilege understandings of Global Citizenship Education that are premised upon individual actions and are largely devoid of a struggle to alter or dismantle existing institutions and structures that lie beneath the injustices they seek to inform students about. Grounded in expressions of concern and a desire to 'help' or to 'make a difference', interventions of this nature reduce the lives of inhabitants of the Global South to 'causes' about which 'we' in the Global North can feel good – or at least better – about ourselves; they narrow the possibilities for understanding development and development activism within alternative paradigms and frameworks while offering assurance, absolution and resolution to complex realities which would require radically different responses if they were to be meaningfully addressed.

Global Citizenship Education as cosmopolitan provincialism

Another effect of dominant development discourses in CSPE texts is that they promote an ideology of 'cosmopolitan provincialism' (Milner, 2004, p. 178) which discourages global citizens from seeing any real connection between the poverty of others and their own style of life. Milner draws on David Brooks' analysis of 'Bobo – [Bohemian Bourgeois] culture' to develop the cosmopolitan provincialism thesis – a term used to describe a compassionate, emotionally sensitive, environmentally conscious, upper-class individual, who has limited or superficial interactions with those who are less privileged than themselves (Brooks, 2000).

Milner suggests that:

> [Cosmopolitan provincialism] is not a provincialism rooted in a lack of knowledge, or even a lack of concern; their politics may very well be informed and support efforts to reduce poverty and inequality. Rather, it involves seeking little connection between the poverty of others and their own style of life.
> (Milner, 2004, p. 178)

Similarly, we argue that Global Citizenship Education, in its attempts to promote empathy and concern about other people's tragedies, other countries' crises and so on – and in marking 'us' as benevolent – closes off consideration of the ways in which we are implicated, through our ordinary actions, in perpetuating the very suffering we are informed we are alleviating through 'taking action.'

For example, the discourse of modernization leaves little room for a consideration of the ways in which the wealth of the North is predicated on the continuous impoverishment of other parts of the world which originated in colonial times, through which 'we' in the Global North benefit on a daily basis (Heron, 2007). The discourse of development as luck further avoids any consideration of the ways in which the generation of wealth is related to the existence of poverty (Biccum, 2006) and how individuals are interconnected through economic and political structures that allow some to have more access and opportunities than others to employment, fresh water, or material goods etc. Far more challenging, albeit less palatable versions of Development Education are those which examine individual and everyday 'complicity in transnational harm' (Dobson, 2006, p. 177). These more critical versions of Global Citizenship Education are crucial precisely because if we fail to understand how we are implicated in these relations of global domination, we are bound to reproduce them (Heron, 2007).

Removing the band-aid

Collectively, these findings suggest the need to promote understandings of Development Education that do not reproduce a dichotomous world of 'us' and 'them,' but which privilege instead understandings based on the nature of structural relationships between communities of the developed and developing world and the unjust nature of these relations and practices. As highlighted by Cook (2008), within this more critical construction, a global citizen is someone who reflects on their own positionality and complicity in global power relations and who actively resists perpetuating inequalities so that a more just world can be realized. Far more sustained attention to how individuals, as well as the national institutions of which they are a part and which are inevitably intertwined in these unjust and unequal power structures, is fundamental to the realization of Global Citizenship Education's radical agenda.

CSPE textbook authors are charged with the difficult task of rendering complex development issues intelligible and knowable to a non-specialist audience who are grappling with multiple subjects simultaneously. While a degree of over-simplification of the complexities of global poverty may seem necessary within the context of a curriculum designed for use with 12–15 year olds, the counter-examples alluded

to above clearly suggest that this is not an inevitable feature of the curriculum and that there is indeed 'wriggle room'.

Teachers and students, as agents and meaning-makers of the curriculum, have the power to go beyond the existing order of knowledge while still being bound to its frameworks. One of the ways this can be achieved is by enabling students to critically examine the notion of development itself and to encourage them to challenge commonsense and dominant understandings of the term. Instead of presenting the MDGs as an axiomatic good, for example, students could be asked to critically reflect on 'perpetually deferred' development targets as a framework for development and to consider how they might otherwise have been achieved. For example, an alternative discourse on the MDGs would encourage consideration of how poverty might actually have been reduced if governments had been willing to devote the same kind of resources and attention they devoted to the Iraq war (Klees, 2008b). Likewise, a more productive means of highlighting the causes and complexities of poverty and underdevelopment would include an examination of failed international policies – including user fees, social sector spending limits, high burdens of debt and neo-liberal ideology – that have generated and perpetuated the inequalities from which these problems have emerged (Paluzzi & Farmer, 2005).

The band-aid approach to Development Education is based, in part at least, in a felt need to offer up tidy solutions in an attempt to avoid the potential for disengagement and to motivate some kind of 'active' response (however minimal). Yet the reality is that there are no quick fixes or band-aid solutions that can adequately address the historical and ongoing patterns of exploitation, injustice and oppression that inhabitants of the Global South experience. As aptly pointed out by Lapayese (2003), the magnitude of global problems is such that Global Citizenship Education needs to go way beyond the need for amelioration and reform. Ultimately, therefore, we need a very complex understanding in order to derive meaningful and sustainable solutions to the problems we seek to illuminate and remedy.

Chapter 4

Representations of International Development in Religious Education Textbooks

Introduction

This chapter explores how Development Education intersects and interrelates with the overarching aims and substantive content of the Religious Education curriculum in Irish post-primary schools (henceforth RE). Adopting a critical Development Education 'lens,' we analysed 21 junior and senior cycle RE textbooks in terms of their treatment of social justice and related concepts such as morality, responsibility, duty and obligation. We begin by briefly sketching recent developments in the post-primary RE curriculum in an Irish context before presenting key findings on how social justice is articulated in both junior and senior cycle RE textbooks.

Overview of Religious Education in post-primary schools

Until recently, RE was taught as a non-examination subject in Irish schools, which meant that schools had the freedom to devise their own RE programme. However, the launch of a new RE programme in 2000 for junior cycle students and in 2003 for senior cycle students represented an 'apparent paradigm shift from the ecclesial to the educational' (Looney, 2006, p. 959). The revamped state syllabus and curriculum framework also introduced the option to take RE as a state examination subject. The exam-based curriculum has proven to be extremely popular at junior cycle level, with 25,000 students (more than 45% of all candidates) taking assessment in RE within a few years of its introduction (Goan, 2010).

At senior cycle level, the vast majority of students continue to follow the non-examination course, although the number of students opting to take RE as a Leaving Certificate examination subject has increased twelvefold since its first appearance on the timetable in 2005 (Tanner, 2009). The revised junior and senior cycle syllabi acknowledge and seek to foster a critical appreciation of the significant role played by Christianity in shaping Irish society (NCCA, 2000). However, also reflected in the revised syllabi is 'an appreciation of a variety of religious traditions encountered, not just in Ireland but in the wider world, as well as an engagement with the secular response to the human experience' (NCCA, 2000, p. 7). Thus, the new RE curriculum emphasizes learning *about* and *from* religions while aiming to promote 'tolerance and mutual understanding' and seeks to develop 'the skills needed to engage in meaningful dialogue with those of other or of no religious tradition' (NCCA, 2000, p. 4).

The RE syllabi for junior and senior cycle students share the following aims:

❯ To foster an awareness that the human search for meaning is common to all peoples of all ages and at all times.
❯ To explore how this search for meaning has found, and continues to find, expression in religion.
❯ To identify how understandings of God, religious traditions and, in particular, the Christian tradition have contributed to the culture in which we live and how they continue to have an impact on personal lifestyle, inter-personal relationships and relationships between individuals and their communities and contexts.
❯ To appreciate the richness of religious traditions and to acknowledge the non-religious interpretation of life.
❯ To contribute to the spiritual and moral development of the student. (NCCA, 2000, p. 5)

Religious Education and Development Education

There is evidence of considerable overlap between the educational objectives of the RE curriculum and the stated aims of Development Education. For example, the following statement, contained in both junior and senior cycle RE syllabi, highlights the significant contribution RE makes to students' future commitments at a local and global level:

Religious education makes a significant contribution to a curriculum which seeks to provide for the moral development of students. It introduces a variety of ethical codes and norms for behaviour. Students are encouraged to engage critically with these moral systems in an effort to arrive at a thought-through moral stance, which will serve as a foundation for the decisions they will face as adults, and for the patterns of behaviour and commitment which will mark how they will relate to their local communities and to the world in general.
(NCCA, 2003, p. 8)

In addition, both Development Education and RE are concerned with fostering critical inquiry skills, respect for self and others and the need for creative action. This suggests that there is a 'substantial convergence of aims, values, attitudes, and skills' and that RE 'can support and complement the work of Development Education and vice versa' (NCCA, 2005, p. 107). Theoretically at least, there are clear opportunities within the RE syllabus for students to engage in a critical and creative fashion with a range of Development Education issues. The purpose of this chapter is to explore how those opportunities are framed and to interrogate which forms of development intervention and activism are enabled and which are precluded by the discourse of development as it is presented within RE texts (Doty, 1996).

Junior cycle textbook analysis

All ten of the junior cycle textbooks selected for inclusion in the analysis were compatible with the aims and objectives of the exam-based RE syllabus and therefore contained sections on each of the following key components:

› Communities of Faith
› Foundations of Religion – Christianity
› Foundations of Religion – Major World Religions
› The Question of Faith
› The Celebration of Faith
› The Moral Challenge

While each of the textbooks analysed were similar in terms of their overall structure and core content knowledge, they differed in terms of their tone, style and the ways in which key topics were presented and contextualized. Particular attention was paid to a number of concepts that seemed to overlap with Development Education aims and objectives, as shown in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Selected key concepts from Junior Certificate Religious Education syllabus (NCCA, 2000)	
Key concept	**Description of content**
Co-operation/ lack of co-operation	The human need to live in community and the tension between the needs of the group and the needs of the individual
Commitment	Looking at the work done by different types of local, community, national and international organizations
Meaning	Finding answers; sources of meaning in human life
Materialism	Challenges to religious experiences (such as materialism, individualism etc.)
Morality	Different descriptions of what it means to be moral
Influence	Looking at the nature of human relationships, interpersonal, communal, and global
Action and consequence	Exploring the connections between action, consequence, rights and responsibilities
Moral maturity	The human and religious imperative to move beyond selfishness to maturity; conscience and morality

Although the concepts identified above allowed for a focused and thematic analysis of the selected textbooks, a more holistic approach was also used to derive an overall sense of how Development Education issues are embedded in RE textbooks.

Senior cycle textbook analysis

Ten senior cycle RE textbooks were selected for analysis from the curriculum database devised for the study (See Chapter 2 for an overview of the study's methodology). While junior cycle textbooks were printed by a range of publishers, the selection of textbooks at senior cycle was heavily dominated by one publisher, *Veritas Publications*, which is owned by the Irish Catholic Bishops' Conference. Only one other publishing company – Gill and Macmillan Publications – offers RE textbooks for use at senior cycle level.

The senior cycle RE syllabus is designed to build upon the aims and objectives of the junior cycle syllabus, with a particular emphasis on preparing students for 'active, participatory citizenship' (NCCA, 2003, p. 8). The syllabus structure is outlined in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Structure of the Leaving Certificate Religious Education syllabus	
Unit	**Sections**
Unit 1	Section A: The Search for Meaning and Values (Compulsory)
Unit 2 (Any two sections)	Section B: Christianity: Origins and Contemporary Expressions Section C: World Religions Section D: Moral Decision-Making
Unit 3 (Any one section, excluding the two sections designated for coursework)	Section E: Religion and Gender Section F: Issues of Justice and Peace Section G: Worship, Prayer and Ritual Section H: The Bible: Literature and Sacred Text Section I: Religion: The Irish Experience Section J: Religion and Science

King (2009) highlights a number of key topics within the senior cycle RE syllabus which allow for a discussion of complex and difficult global issues, including the accumulation of wealth and the dominance of elites (Section B), the meaning of authority (Section C) and structural injustice (Section F). Other elements of the syllabus which provide similar opportunities include the role of religious belief in contemporary conflict situations, the balance between 'the common good' and individual rights and gender perspectives on empowerment and exclusion. Of particular interest is one section, albeit an elective component of the RE senior cycle curriculum, which focuses on 'Issues of Justice and Peace' (Section F). This unit seeks to provide the social analysis tools necessary for students to reflect on their own situation and context in light of questions of resources, power, meaning, relationships and the economic, political, cultural and social structures that determine the

meaning and value accorded to people (NCCA, 2003). Within this framework, issues of hunger, local and global poverty and discrimination are identified and explored.

Once again, a thematic and holistic approach was taken in order to hone in on specific areas of interest without fragmenting or losing the shared structure of the data. The next section presents key findings from the analysis of RE texts. It does not claim to offer an exhaustive analysis of the RE curriculum but rather seeks to illuminate key themes, patterns and concepts that have a direct bearing on, or resonance with, Global Citizenship Education.[9] In what follows, we pay particular attention to the representation of social justice, given its centrality to both RE and Development Education.

Key findings

Understandings of social justice

Social Justice Education generally involves cultivating an awareness of the nature and causes of injustice and inequality and the motivation of individuals or groups to effect positive social change and to engage in transformative action (Bryan et al., 2009). As such, educating for social justice can take place within a wide range of closely-related 'adjectival educations,' including, *inter alia*, Development Education, Citizenship Education, Global Education, Human Rights Education, Intercultural Education and Religious Education. Social justice is considered a key element of all major world religions and belief systems (Raftery & de Barra, 2006). Consequently, the RE syllabus identifies justice as a core concept in both the junior and senior curriculum (NCCA, 2000, 2003).

Naturally, understandings of justice in the curricular materials selected for analysis were overwhelmingly viewed through a religious lens, integrating theological and philosophical approaches to justice and injustice and exploring how justice and religious beliefs are linked. Although acknowledged, minimal space is allocated to the exploration of morality and justice from a non-religious or humanistic standpoint. For example, one textbook identifies the first element of justice as the recognition that 'we are totally dependent on God and must therefore place God before everything else in our lives' (Walsh, 2007, p. 448).

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[9] Additional themes such as celebrity humanitarianism, which were evident in RE texts, are not addressed in this chapter because they have already been dealt with in the context of the CSPE curriculum.

Another textbook notes that 'justice is an important part of the religious moral vision of both Christianity and Judaism' (Duffy, 2006, p. 501). A difference was observed, however, in how definitions of justice were presented at junior and senior cycle levels. At junior cycle level, the definitions of justice that were provided were simplistic and general, emphasizing rightness and fairness, but not necessarily defining either.

Justice is about giving people what is rightfully theirs.
(Walsh, 2007, p. 448)

Justice – to act justly and fairly towards others.
(Fields-Whelan & McDermott, 2007, p. 284)

Justice is treating all people fairly.
(Mullally, 2006b, p. 308)

Justice: to treat all people fairly and respect all their rights.
(Duffy, 2009, p. 501)

At senior cycle level, the understandings and interpretations of justice were more complex.

Justice has many meanings depending on the way we look at the world, our beliefs, our experiences, and commitments, our place in relation to other people, in relation to the environment and to the universe.
(Raftery & de Barra, 2006, p. 29)

In a number of cases, concepts of justice were closely linked to issues of morality and conscience and to religious obligations to 'love' and 'help one another.' Of particular interest is how and where RE textbooks locate or contextualize these issues – in other words, how they are connected with 'real life' examples. Generally speaking, RE textbooks adopted a holistic approach to the local as well as global dimensions of justice and equality, helping to counter stereotypical notions that social injustices and inequalities only exist 'over there'. Scattered throughout the textbooks are acknowledgements that human rights abuses and social injustices also occur 'here' in Ireland and Europe and not just in 'distant, far off places'. The following vignettes, for example, highlight racial discrimination against Travellers and migrants in Ireland.

Many travellers live in appalling conditions on the side of a road or in inadequate halting sites which, although provided by local authorities, often do not have adequate washing, cooking or toilet facilities. Their basic rights are often neglected (especially in the area of education) and they experience prejudice and refusals from restaurants, pubs, etc. on a daily basis.
(Cyberclass, 2003, p. 29)

Very many people coming into Ireland are highly educated, yet they are frequently given menial and low-paid jobs, often because they are seen as second-class people and are not trusted to have the ability. Belief systems, values and the attitudes of people keep the system of discrimination in place and are passed on to the younger generation.
(Raftery & de Barra, 2006, p. 27)

Curriculum materials which openly discuss human rights failures and social injustices in an Irish or Western context, at individual as well as institutional levels, are useful as a means of challenging assumptions of cultural superiority and Eurocentric views of 'them' and 'us'. While issues of poverty and injustice vary in extremity, positioning 'ourselves' as sites of fully established justice tends to propagate overly simplistic, dichotomized views of the world as developed/undeveloped or civilized/primitive (Duke, 2003). Furthermore, it creates and perpetuates the notion of 'us' as saviours and the people of the Global South in need of salvation. Acknowledging that social injustices occur at local as well as global levels can help to challenge these superficial interpretations of social injustice and open up opportunities to critically reflect on underlying assumptions that 'we' are developed/civilized/advanced and 'they' are not (Andreotti, 2006).

However, in other cases, such opportunities were overshadowed or contradicted by stereotypical representations of Third World countries, often heavily embedded within a missionary discourse, while the root causes of global inequality and poverty are ignored or presented without critical examination. Instead, de-contextualized accounts of deprivation and suffering are showcased as opportunities for 'us' to develop and demonstrate a Christian moral sense of self, undergirded by an ideology of 'helping' those less fortunate than oneself. In one junior cycle textbook, the following vignette is offered to present a Christian moral outlook in action. It presents a story from an Irish missionary priest working in Brazil who visits an elderly couple living in a nearby *favela*.

As I entered the shack I was taken aback by the lack of basic furniture, the dirt of the mud floor and the smell of urine. Joaquina lay on a bed that also acted as a chair for Marcel. There was a gas cooker with some pots and plates on it and a tap sticking out of a wall, but no sink. There was no table or chairs. During the visit I discovered that Joaquina had suffered a number of strokes which left her almost paralysed. Marcel was riddled with arthritis and could barely move. He was unable to care for Joaquina properly so she was left unwashed and unchanged for much of the time, although he was constantly by her side.
(Goan & Ryan, 2004, p. 411)

After visiting the couple, the priest decides to bring a Lenten prayer group from his parish to Marcel and Joaquin's home who respond to the elderly couple's plight with 'shock and sadness' before setting about 'cleaning and tidying the room and washing and bathing our two needy friends'. Invited back a short time later, the priest recounts:

… I was thrilled to find that instead of a shack made from scraps of wood and cardboard, there was now a house made from bricks with a cement floor. There were chairs, a table, a kitchen sink and presses, and best of all Marcel and Joaquina were seated in two armchairs smiling through their tears. The prayer group had managed to do all this through voluntary work and some simple fundraising.
(ibid, p. 412)

Notable here is that the history and context of the lives of 'our two needy friends' are not considered relevant for the reader's understanding of the priest's narrative. The story here is not about the structural causes of the elderly couple's exclusion 'from an unjust society.' Nor is it about Marcel and Joaquina's experience of poverty. Instead, the story focuses on the priest and the prayer group's experience – their 'shock' and their 'sadness' when confronted with the lived outcomes of social injustice and his 'thrill' when 'voluntary work and some simple fundraising' liberate the pair and allow them to live 'dignified lives.' Voiceless, but grateful, Marcel and Joaquina are useful only for demonstrating how much 'they' are in need of 'our' help.

In such cases, concepts of social injustice are bound up with individualistic and personalized accounts of a moralistic duty to those in need. Dobson (2005) challenges such readings of social injustice arguing that they reproduce inequality through paternalistic relationships and maintains that the 'granting' of social justice through acts grounded in moralistic obligation are too transitory, too subjective and too easily

taken away, thus leading to increased vulnerability among recipients. While not disputing the obvious improvement in Marcel and Joaquina's day-to-day life, examples such as these offer restricted views of social justice and ignore the limitations of charitable and individualized responses.

In the foregoing narrative, students are not encouraged to ask what would happen if the prayer group disbands, or if it finds another couple in even greater need. Instead, Marcel and Joaquina's salvation is presented as *fait accompli*, suggesting that even the most entrenched deprivations can be cured by a simple show of compassion and a moral outlook. This is not to say that compassion or, indeed, the cultivation of a moral perspective, are unimportant. As Andreotti (2006) notes, less critical understandings of global issues are appropriate in certain contexts and can represent a major step. However, it is also important to note that an uncritical intertwining of social justice and moral obligation can become problematic. As highlighted in Chapter 3, the privileging of individualized responses of charity and compassion to global issues of inequality, typically results in root causes being overlooked and the importance of structural change being de-emphasized. Furthermore, issues of complicity and collusion in global inequality are dismissed in favour of self perceptions that cast 'us' as innocent bystanders or defending heroes.

Counter-narratives to Marcel and Joaquina-style stories were difficult to find within junior cycle textbooks, indicating a perceived difficulty in relating complex understandings of social justice to younger adolescents without softening their impact with 'doable solutions' (Simpson, 2004). However, at senior cycle level, textbooks were more likely to contain more contextualized accounts of poverty and injustice. One textbook, designed for use with section F of the curriculum – *Issues in Justice and Peace* – adds depth to its description of deprivation in Zambia with a critical analysis of historical and causal factors. Exploring the role of 'the great nations of the world, who control world power, resources and decision-making' and who 'drain the country of its resources and deny the people a right to life,' it cites Zambian policy analyst, Jack Jones Zulu, who claims that 'Africa does not need perennial foreign aid but realistic prices for its products' (Raftery & de Barra, 2006, p. 18). The section ends with a rallying call:

Read the following cry of the hungry of the earth and ask yourself how you would answer back.
I am hungry and you circle the moon.
I am hungry and you set up a commission.
I am hungry and you say the poor are always with us.
I am hungry while my lands grow exotic fruits for your table.
I am hungry while my land grows flowers to decorate your table.
I am hungry while multinationals build roads through my patch of land.
(Raftery & de Barra, 2006, p. 19)

Of particular note is that the authors refrain from offering easy solutions, quick fixes or suggestions for atonement and instead open up a space for students to engage in a critical and creative analysis of possible responses to complex issues of complicity and responsibility. The expectation that students must or should *respond* to social injustice is embedded in many of the accounts and narratives contained in RE textbooks and echoes the call for activism contained in official interpretations of Development Education (Irish Aid, 2007b, p. 6). The next section explores in greater detail how different kinds of responses or activism are encouraged or discouraged in selected textbooks.

Acting justly: morality and social justice in action

Social justice and activism were interconnected concepts in many of the RE textbooks analyzed for this study. This section explores how these textbooks define action; how certain forms of action are privileged over others; and how this has implications for students' understandings of their role in development and social justice.

In *Religion for Living*, a junior cycle textbook, students are informed that 'feeling sorry for people in need is not enough. Christians have a duty to act justly and to help others' (Duffy, 2009, p. 503). In exploring textbook constructions of how 'good Christians' or, more generally, people with morality should behave, there is ample evidence of a binary discourse which divides the world into two distinct halves – those who need help (always 'Others') and those who have an obligation to provide it (always 'Self'). For example, one junior cycle RE textbook presents concepts of rights and responsibilities in a manner that clearly demarcates expected roles and reflects the Eurocentric views discussed earlier in this chapter.

In an activity aimed at identifying rights and responsibilities in various situations, the following scenario is suggested: 'I see images of starving children on the television.' This statement is followed by three others which must be sorted into

three categories – 'My Rights', 'My Responsibility' and 'Other People's Rights' (Cyberclass, 2003, p. 131). The first statement: 'To be aware of and respond to the needs of others' is, presumably, intended to be assigned 'My Responsibility.' The second statement: 'To enjoy a good quality of life without being made feel guilty because of my comfort' is, again presumably, 'My Right,' while the third statement: 'To be helped when life is threatened by hardship' apparently falls into the category of 'Other People's Rights' (ibid). This exercise is preceded by a piece of text which discusses how 'our individual rights are *limited* by our responsibilities towards others' (Cyberclass 2003, p. 129, emphasis added).

Notable here is the instant positioning of the reader/student as someone whose freedom is limited by their responsibility or obligation to help 'Others.' Also noticeable is the construction of 'Others' as people in need of help (as opposed to people who are entitled to, and denied, social justice and equality). Through this lens, 'Other People's Rights' only extend to getting 'help' and thus, the roles of Self and Other are concretized into the helper and the helped. More complicated issues of colonial legacy, inequality and social justice are ignored in favour of a far less challenging or confrontational alternative. When confronted with starving children, students are told that they have a responsibility to 'respond' and a right not to feel guilty, while the starving children themselves have a right 'to be helped.' Heron (2007) argues that the 'helping imperative' that is so endemic in contemporary dominant responses to global poverty and social injustice needs to be located within an understanding of historical and ongoing operations of imperial relations. Similarly, Rossiter (2001) maintains that such relationships between helper and helped obscures problems of power and privilege and perpetuates an unequal relationship where the helped person's rights are eclipsed by the helper's 'addictive gratification.'

It is also notable that the textbook authors saw a need to appease possible feelings of guilt in students who may feel uneasy about the discrepancies between their lives and the lives of the starving children displayed on their TVs. As highlighted previously in the context of the CSPE curriculum, development narratives are often utilized to present Irish people as generous and compassionate which in turn obfuscates their collusion in global exploitation. Similar discursive strategies were evident in a number of RE textbooks, in that a range of personal narratives, stories and biographies were presented with the effect of alleviating feelings of complicity or inadequacy.

In *The Inner Place*, a senior cycle RE textbook, the impact of media images of starving children is addressed (Gunning, 2006, p. 299). This time, however, Mary, an Irish school girl, provides a personal account of how she dealt with her feelings of moral obligation in response to a famine appeal that 'really affected' her. Finding no

relief from saying a prayer 'for those people', the schoolgirl recounts how she felt 'God wanted [her] to do something.' Deciding to shave her hair off to raise money, she talks about the response she received – the 'thrilled' charity who sent her sponsorship forms, the people who 'thought she was mad,' the newspaper reporters who came to the hotel where she had her hair shaved and 'everyone at school' who wanted to rub her head afterwards 'like a pet.' Watching the television a few nights later, the same ad appeared and the newly shaved narrator reports: 'I felt good watching it.'

The narrative is accompanied by 'before and after' photographs of Mary and a reproduction of the newspaper coverage her fundraising event received. In this account, the experiences and voices of the people whom Mary was endeavouring to help were notable only by their absence. They are identified only as 'poor' and 'those people.' Even their nationality is unimportant, with Mary noting only that the famine was taking place in 'some Third World country.' Strikingly, it is not their story that is being told here, nor is it about Mary's desire to help, although that information is assumed. Instead, Mary's experience of the attention she receives takes centre stage – the newspaper coverage, the attention at school and the gratitude of the charity. While not wanting to denigrate the girl's charitable efforts, it is important to critique the way Mary's story is framed here – not just in terms of how it privileges a particular type of action – charity – but also how it emphasizes, without acknowledging, a powerful incentive in today's media-driven society. There are inherent problems in the overshadowing of a young girl's altruistic impulse to 'do something' by an accentuation of the fame and social reimbursement that she receives from her actions. By privileging types of action that garner media attention and public recognition, it is possible that students will be steered towards high-impact but short-term grandstanding rather than the long-term, but less visible, activism needed for sustainable change.

Social justice: one-to-one vs. collective action

A recurring discourse in RE textbooks – often present when encouraging students to take action against social injustice – centres on the message that students should not be discouraged by the scale of issues such as global poverty, inequality, famine or environmental damage.

> *It is natural for us to feel inadequate in the face of huge obstacles and great injustices but a Christian response to injustice tells us most definitely to get involved and believe we can make a difference.*
> (Gunning, 2007, pp. 222–223)

Significantly, little evidence could be found of RE textbooks advocating the power of collective action or the importance of building solidarity with others in response to feelings of inadequacy. Instead, textbooks tended to focus on how individualized responses, no matter how small, can have a positive effect on other individuals in need. An illustration of this type of approach to social justice is contained in the following story entitled 'Small Ripples', recounted in junior cycle textbook *Community of Faith* (Quigley, 2002, p. 140).

> *A young man was walking down a deserted Mexican beach at sunset. As he walked along, he saw an old man in the distance. When he came nearer, he noticed that the old man kept bending down, picking something up and throwing it out into the water. As he moved even closer, he noticed that the old man was picking up starfish that had been washed up on the beach and, one at a time, he was throwing them back into the water. He was puzzled. He approached the man and asked him what he was doing. 'I'm throwing these starfish back into the ocean' the old man said. 'You see, it's low tide right now and all these starfish have been washed up on to the shore. If I don't throw them back into the sea, they'll die from lack of oxygen.'*
>
> *'I understand,' said the younger man, 'but there must be thousands of starfish on this beach. You can't possibly get to all of them. There are simply too many. And don't you realise this is probably happening on hundreds of beaches up and down the coast? Don't you see that you can't possibly make a difference?'*
>
> *The old man smiled, bent down and picked up yet another starfish. As he threw it back into the sea, he replied, 'Made a difference to that one!'*
> (Quigley, 2002, p. 140)

Individualized responses to large-scale 'problems' can be appealing as they represent a 'doable' development 'solution' (Simpson, 2004), sometimes with the added bonus of highly personal dividends. However, it is also necessary to interrogate those responses that aim or claim to 'tick all the boxes.' The downside of a one-to-one style of social justice is that it minimizes the concept of interdependence in favour of (falsely) personal relationships. Thus, students are encouraged to ignore global power arrangements and concentrate instead on saving one starving child 'at a time'. We become connected, not through a sense of global solidarity, but through our role as personal saviours to identifiable individuals, protected from feelings of inadequacy and guilt because we *know* that we are making a difference 'to that one.'

It is entirely understandable that textbooks and teachers might seek to protect young students from feeling paralyzed or overwhelmed by the scale of global poverty and social injustice. In addition, other chapters in this report which highlight the

tendency for textbooks to represent the persistence of 'Third World problems' as internal failures of governance could easily lead to beliefs that external efforts to address such 'problems' are doomed to failure. However, offering bite-sized activism as both a coping mechanism and a solution to the world's ills downplays the importance of a cohesive and synchronized commitment to social justice and equality. A one-to-one social justice approach is invariably underpinned by assumptions that 'you can't save everybody' and encourages students to see themselves as isolated individuals in an indifferent world who must perform 'ethical and psychological triage, deciding which victims of human suffering [to] help, which [to] ignore' (Ostrom, 1992) – surely an approach that is equally liable to paralyze and overwhelm.

In contrast, textbooks that emphasize a sense of global community, collective action and solidarity make a significant contribution to a deeper understanding and recognition of interdependence. In this way, a commitment to social justice is framed as both a personal choice and a shared undertaking. One junior cycle textbook – *Exploring Faith* – describes a community as 'a body of people with something in common' and points out that communities of faith are 'core connections in the lives of the vast majority of the six billion people who live on earth' (Goan & Ryan, 2004, p. 21).

Another senior cycle text argues that 'the most important thing of all is that we, as a global community, work to stop the cycle of injustice' (Gunning, 2007, p. 218). Summing up a global community approach, one senior cycle textbook offers the following examples of local and global solidarity (Raftery & de Barra, 2006, p. 44–45):

> The women of India's Chipko movement wrapped themselves around threatened trees to save them from loggers.
> Indigenous miners, farmers and fisher folk in the Philippines mobilised to challenge the right of a few powerful mining corporations to destroy the livelihoods of thousands of people.
> To protest against the war in Iraq, girls from a midlands school organised a 'river of peace' parade and ceremony 'to challenge the adult population to take positive action for peace.'
> In Ecuador, the people organised to reclaim their lands, protect the Ecuadorian rain forests from foreign oil companies and block a Government agricultural modernization programme that would drive them off their farms.
> Debt and Development Coalition [Ireland] continually take part in non-violent protests, lobbying the World Bank and International Monetary Fund to cancel the payable debts of the least developed countries.
> (Raftery & de Barra, 2006, p. 44–45)

The power of presenting social justice as an act of solidarity alongside and interconnected with other global examples is that it relieves students of the burden of being standalone saviours and counters accusations that only white Westerners can 'save' the world. In this way, a bond is forged between the transformative agenda of Development Education and the social justice and moral development agendas of RE.

Discussion

This chapter has attempted to unravel the multiple ways in which the aims and objectives of Development Education converge and conflict with the content and rationale of RE programmes in post-primary schools. A critical discourse analysis of RE textbooks, syllabi and curricular materials uncovered a range of opportunities for students to engage with issues relating to social justice, equality, and morality. In addition, the curriculum at both junior and senior level presents students with space to engage in open dialogue and critical reflection about their own position as local and global citizens.

In an Irish context, analysis of the RE curriculum is complicated in that post-primary schools are free to devise their own programme of religious instruction or follow an exam-based state syllabus. Added flexibility exists within both junior and senior cycle syllabi with a range of elective modules allowing schools to follow the exam-based syllabus while selecting modules that complement the characteristic spirit of the school. This flexibility is, of course, beneficial in that it permits a tailoring of RE programmes to suit the ethos of the school. However, it is regrettable from a Development Education perspective that some of the more pertinent sections of the senior cycle RE syllabus – modules on moral decision-making, gender, justice and peace – are elective.

As pointed out by the NCCA (2003), while Leaving Certificate RE provides opportunities for the exploration of a range of global justice issues, 'in practice… students may not be exposed to the full range of opportunities due to the range of options available for study within the syllabus' (p. 107). In the face of a highly competitive and demanding examination schedule, there is a possibility that the complex and contested nature of the subject matter may steer teachers and students away from such modules in favour of more straightforward alternatives. In fact, as highlighted in more detail in Chapter 8, teachers themselves often feel that there is little formal attention to development issues in the RE syllabus. Rather, teachers maintain that students' exposure to development themes within the context of RE is contingent on the willingness of individual teachers to incorporate Development Education into their RE classes themselves.

Nonetheless, as shown here, the existing RE curriculum does offer *some* possibilities for teachers and students to engage in learning activities that underpin a critical Development Education agenda – that is, a deeper understanding of underlying causes of poverty and underdevelopment in the world and an ability to take action for a more equal world (Irish Aid, 2007b, p. 6).

With regard to the first element – a deeper understanding of underlying causes of poverty and underdevelopment – substantial differences were found within and between textbooks in terms of how these issues were framed and represented. A willingness to engage in sustained and critical inquiry of the political, cultural and social arrangements underpinning global inequality was evident in some senior cycle textbooks. In addition, a number of textbooks avoided 'us'/'them' analyses of poverty and inequality by acknowledging and exploring local and national examples of social injustice. However, evidence was also found of a range of obstacles which prevented or weakened the kinds of understanding and reflective action required for successful Development Education.

A duty to 'do good'

A pattern emerged within some RE textbooks whereby instances of poverty and social injustice in developing countries were re-packaged as opportunities for outsiders to lend a helping hand. The example of Marcel and Joaquina, our two 'needy friends' from Brazil, is a case in point and echoes similar stories in other texts. In these accounts, the focus is shifted away from uncomfortable explorations of the global arrangements that keep large sections of the world in deep poverty and that might require a more radical response than a religious/moral duty to 'do good.' Instead, poverty and deprivation serve only as a backdrop for 'our' altruism, motivated in this instance by a moral obligation to act justly. Such perceptions of 'developing' countries as an altruistic burden for Westerners to carry or as victims in need of 'our' salvation suggest that we may not, in fact, have moved very far from the ideological justification or '*mission civilisatrice'* associated with the colonial era (Heron, 2007; Rossiter, 2001). While messages that promote compassion and action are worthy and beneficial, care should be taken to avoid presenting the consequences of social injustice as unconnected events, easily fixed with a desire to help and a duty to 'do good'.

'Show and tell' social justice

Regan (2007) argues that it is critically important to reach an honest understanding of our motivations for becoming involved in Development Education and activism in the first place. In RE textbooks, there is evidence to suggest that development

activism is often framed, not in terms of a genuine or deep commitment to social justice and equality, but rather in terms of the possibility of public recognition and personal payback for one's investment or sacrifice. The case study of Mary, who was rewarded with media attention and an elevated social status for her highly publicized head-shave, is one illustration of this 'show and tell' approach to social justice that pervades dominant representations of development activism. It is possible that this approach is influenced by the uncritical treatment of celebrity activism found in many Irish textbooks (including many of the textbooks analyzed for this chapter), highlighted in more detail in Chapter 3. When development issues are given a stamp of approval, not to mention a high profile, by famous celebrities, it encourages young people to mimic their idols and get similarly involved. Suggestions that social justice activism can lead to being famous (however briefly) are likely to help 'seal the deal.' However, privileging this kind of activism, without highlighting the benefits of less visible but equally effective initiatives, may have the effect of steering students towards high-profile stunts that do little to achieve sustainable change.

It is also possible that textbook attempts to 'sell' social justice activism to young people are grounded in a cynical view of adolescents – that is to say that young people are perceived as needing a substantial carrot in exchange for their involvement. This viewpoint is especially evident in one textbook that devotes two pages to 'why it's good to get involved', citing benefits such as suffering less from the ill effects of stress, a feel-good sensation – 'helper's high', improved health and similar effects to regular exercise (Gunning, 2007, p. 226). Without a hint of irony, it finishes with the question: 'Why do you think people today seem to be more preoccupied with helping themselves than with helping others?' (ibid, p. 227). While adolescents, like everybody else, may need support in engaging in effective forms of development activism, such inspirations should be rooted in a deeper understanding of rights and responsibilities rather than the possibility of fame or physical or mental well-being. Moreover, it perpetuates the notion that issues of social justice and development are, and always will be, all about 'us'.

Stand-alone saviours

Similar to the CSPE curriculum, our analysis of RE materials demonstrates the way in which RE students are encouraged to respond, not in solidarity, but *individually* to issues of social injustice. Even while RE textbooks point out that the vast majority of the world's population belong to communities of faith, little evidence can be found which reminds students of the power of collective action and that people acting together can be a powerful agent for change. While spiritual and/or moral

development is often a personal journey, this should not be translated into messages that students are obliged to act alone to combat social injustice.

One of the difficulties arising from this individualistic or 'stand-alone' approach to social justice is the 'scaling back' of development activism so that tackling global problems seems more 'doable'. Hence, global issues of poverty, inequality, famine or environmental damage become personalized – reduced to bite-sized issues which can easily be fixed with one-to-one assistance – but lack any critical understanding of interconnectedness and interdependency.

In conclusion, the foregoing analysis offers a sense of how the aims and objectives of Development Education are variously strengthened and weakened by represen-tations and understandings of a range of issues contained in a broad selection of RE textbooks. The complexity and diversity of the RE syllabus at both junior and senior level, not to mention the ability of individual schools to adapt the curriculum to their own ethos, prevents claims of comprehensiveness or generalizability. However, the extensive range of textbooks included in the analysis does allow this chapter to reflect some of the most pertinent issues relating to the intersection of Development Education and RE. Findings suggest that substantial opportunities exist and, in some cases, are utilized to fulfil the more radical elements of the Development Education agenda. However, in terms of realizing the full potential offered by the RE syllabus, RE textbook authors need to take care that simplistic or superficial understandings, civilizing-mission mindsets and 'what's in it for me' approaches to social justice do not do more harm than good.

Chapter 5

Representations of International Development in Geography Textbooks

Introduction

This chapter offers a critical exploration of how development is communicated in the junior and senior cycle Geography curriculum. In-depth interviews with in-career teachers who participated in the study suggest that Geography teachers rely heavily on Geography texts to communicate development to their students (see Chapter 8), suggesting that a detailed analysis of Geography texts is warranted.

This chapter differs somewhat from the previous chapters in that we also utilize the Geography curriculum as an illustrative case study of how people and countries in the majority world – and the issues affecting them – are visually represented in the curriculum; hence, much of this chapter is taken up with a critical analysis of photographic and cartoon images of development. Before we present an analysis of visual stimuli, we provide an overview of the narrative portrayal of development issues in commercially produced Geography texts. The analysis suggests that a highly complex pattern of representation is evident within Geography texts. More specifically, we argue that while Geography – and Leaving Certificate Geography in particular – is the subject that engages most substantively and critically with development in the post-primary curriculum, it is also the subject where the 'contradictory faces of development' are most striking (Smith, 2004, p. 742).

Overview of the post-primary Geography curriculum

Junior Certificate Geography curriculum
At Junior Certificate level, the Geography syllabus comprises three sections:

a) *The Human Habitat – Processes and Change;*
b) *Population, Settlement Patterns and Urbanization;* and
c) *Patterns in Economic Activity.*

Each section is further subdivided into units, which contain a list of key ideas that are explored in a local, national or international setting (the latter including studies from both the developed and developing worlds). Development themes and issues are addressed in sections b and c. For example, Unit B4 within *Population, Settlement Patterns and Urbanization,* is focused on *Urbanization: Changing Patterns in Where we Live – Cities.* The focus is, in part, on the notion that 'urbanization in the developing world has led to patterns and problems of urban growth which differ from those which characterize western cities' (Department of Education and Skills, 1990, p. 22). As part of this unit, students study urbanization as it has affected one of the following cities: Sao Paulo; Kolkata; Lima or Manilla.

Development themes feature most prominently in Unit C4 within *Patterns of Economic Activity,* which is titled *Economic Inequality: The Earth's Resources – Who Benefits?* This unit examines such themes as the global distribution of wealth, global trade, official development assistance, 'factors [that] slow up economic development,' 'differences… between rich and poor regions and differences in terms of how economic inequality should be resolved' (Department of Education and Skills, 1990, p. 27).

Leaving Certificate Geography curriculum
The Leaving Certificate Geography syllabus is divided into core, elective and optional units. The core units focus on patterns and processes in the physical environment and regional Geography. Within these units, there are limited opportunities for adopting a Development Education approach (NCCA & Irish Aid, 2005). The third core unit, geographical skills, encourages active learning methodologies as a means of integrating content and skills.

There are two elective units, one of which must be chosen by all students. Ordinary level Geography students are required to study either elective Unit 4 *Patterns and Processes in Economic Activities* or elective unit 5 *Patterns and Processes in the Human Environment.* Higher level students are required to take one of these electives as well as one optional unit from among global interdependence (optional

unit 6), geoecology (optional unit 7), culture and identity (optional unit 8) and the atmosphere – ocean environment (optional unit 9). The optional units on global interdependence and cultural identity and an elective unit on patterns and processes in economic activities address a wide range of development themes and issues. The unit on global interdependence in particular offers considerable scope for examining development through a critical lens.

As highlighted by the NCCA & Irish Aid (2005):

> *The idea of development is itself put under the microscope and differing views of development are examined [in the unit on global interdependence.] The unit links closely with Elective Unit 4 in its focus on the role of multinational companies (MNCs) within the global economy. It examines the consequences of global trade for those regions excluded from world manufacturing activities and those supplying raw materials. The unit examines the economic and social impacts of the global economy on developing regions. The unit also examines the validity of current strategies in dealing with the problems of underdevelopment, including the aid debate and the role of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). It takes sustainable development as a model for future human and economic development. Having completed the study of this unit, students should have a critical understanding of different views of and approaches to development and have an appreciation of the real impact of global interdependence.*
> (NCCA & Irish Aid, 2005, p. 78)

Of course, it is important to bear in mind that Geography is an elective subject at Leaving Certificate level. Furthermore, although development issues are addressed in considerable detail in the optional and some of the elective units, opportunities for adopting a Development Education approach to topics within the core units are limited (NCCA & Irish Aid, 2005).

Having provided an overview of the Junior and Leaving Certificate Geography syllabi, we now present a critical exploration of the actual content of the textbooks where these syllabi are enacted.

Narrative portrayals of development in the Geography curriculum

Problematic representations of development

Overall, our analysis of the Geography curriculum revealed far more nuanced understandings of development, compared with CSPE and RE texts, where 'softer'

versions of Development Education predominate. Textbooks corresponding to Leaving Certificate Geography electives and options in particular demonstrate substantive critical engagement with a broad range of global themes and issues which enable students to critically reflect on the development enterprise itself and how the developing world is portrayed in the media. Specific development themes and topics addressed include *inter alia*: Eurocentrism, the legacies of colonialism, the inequities of world trade and its institutions such as the World Trade Organizations (WTO), the unethical practices of Transnational Corporations (TNCs), the detrimental impact of World Bank and IMF policies, the arms trade, and the advantages and disadvantages of official development assistance (ODA).

Problematic representations of development in Junior Certificate texts

While there is ample evidence of critical engagement with development where global themes and issues are being addressed in Geography texts, this is not to suggest that representations of development within the Geography curriculum are always unproblematic. Indeed there was evidence of decontextualized analyses of global inequality within some Geography texts. In a comparison of child mortality rates in the developed and developing worlds, *New Geo* (Ashe & McCarthy, 2009) for example, implies that the higher rate of child mortality in the developing world is attributable to uneducated and ignorant mothers in the Global South and to the fact that child health is not deemed a priority there.

> *Child mortality is very low in the developed world (the North) because children's health is a priority. …. Mothers – educated and aware – generally provide their children with a balanced and a healthy diet.*
> (Ashe & McCarthy, 2009, p. 235)

In other junior cycle texts, similar blanket-style statements have the effect of reinforcing crude 'us'/'them', North-South dichotomies which denigrate institutions and leaders in the Global South while simultaneously portraying the Global North and its rulers as superior and less corrupt. *Earth Matters* (Guilmartin & Hynes, 2008), for example, presents Northern governments as benevolent entities who prioritize the wellbeing of their citizens in stark contrast to their Southern counterparts who are portrayed as selfish and preoccupied with power.

> *The North is said to be **developed** and **rich**, whereas the South is said to be **developing** and **poor**. In the North, the government tends to play a central role in the welfare of its citizens. In the South, the government may not be actively concerned with the country's development. It is sometimes said that they are more interested in holding onto power than in the citizens and their needs.*
> (Guilmartin & Hynes, 2008, p. 198, emphasis in original)

These 'discursive homogenization' strategies (Escobar, 1995), which present different geographical regions as undifferentiated and homogenous are arguably difficult to avoid within a curriculum which seeks to enhance students' understanding of 'the world [as] divisible into developed, quickly developing and slowly developing states' (Department of Education and Skills, 1990, p. 27). However, over-generalized comparisons of the so-called 'developed' and 'developing' world strip entire continents of nuance and context and close off consideration of the underlying structures of global inequality. In doing so, crude 'us'/'them' dichotomies are reinforced, which afford 'us' a way of knowing and defining ourselves (or mothers at least) as 'educated' and 'aware' and 'our' governments as superior and driven by altruistic motives, compared with those ignorant and uneducated mothers and power-hungry, irresponsible governments 'over there.'

This is not to say that more nuanced understandings of the distribution of wealth across the global were wholly absent within Junior Certificate Geography texts. The following narrative, contained in Junior Certificate Geography text *Groundwork*, for example, is illustrative of how some texts succeed in offering more complex analyses of the disparities that exist within and between countries, while still managing to retain a focus on overall patterns of global inequality.

> *You find differences in the share of the world's wealth <u>between</u> different parts of the world and <u>within</u> countries themselves.*
> *The wealthiest counties in the world are the **developed** countries. [...]. Of course **inequality** exists <u>within</u> countries. Not everyone in America for example is well off. But it is true that even poor people in rich countries are not as poor as poor people in poor counties. The poorest people in the world are said to be part of the **developing** world.*
> (King & Hopkins, 2005, p. 192; emphasis in original)

Some of the most problematic representations in Junior Certificate Geography texts were evident in the units on urbanization. *New Complete Geography* (Hayes, 2003), for example, contains a chapter on 'Urban problems in Calcutta,' which includes a

case study of 'Calcutta and its problems' focused on the 'unplanned development of shanty towns' and its 'lack of infrastructural services' (p. 272–273). The lived reality of existence in a *bustee* (defined in the text as 'hastily-built urban slums') is portrayed through the voice of an Irish development worker, who was hosted temporarily by a local family. Readers are informed that the Gomes family, who are described as 'kindness itself', generously share the little they possess with this Irish stranger and face life with a cheerfulness which … seems quite astonishing' (ibid, p. 273).

Simpson (2004) critiques this well-intentioned, *poor-but-happy* storyline on the grounds that it implies a trivialization and romanticization of poverty, by advancing the notion that somehow people do not really mind living in poverty. Simpson argues that narratives of this nature lay the basis for excusing or justifying material inequality to the extent that they imply that those subjected to it are not unduly concerned by their material well-being. Our understanding of the lived realities of *bustee* dwellers in Kolkata is further compromised by a narrative device which constructs development through the Northern gaze of an 'Irish stranger,' whose exposure to these overcrowded and cramped conditions – described as 'a little smaller than our kitchen in Ireland' – is short-lived.

This rhetorical strategy has the simultaneous effect of privileging the voice of the Irish Aid worker while marginalizing and silencing local perspectives, preventing the Gomes family from describing their lives in their own terms. The comparison of the Gomes household to that of the size an Irish kitchen reinforces the 'us'/'them' dichotomy, defining the Gomes family in narrow and negative material terms.

While the representation of radically different living standards and conditions in parts of the majority world may encourage students in Ireland to reflect critically on their own lives, analyses of this nature also run the risk of depoliticizing poverty in the absence of a concomitant critical consideration of why these differences between 'us' and 'them' exist in the first instance. Kolkata's problems are attributed primarily to 'its rapid growth' (Hayes, 2003. p. 272), eclipsing consideration of inequality, oppression and injustice at multiple levels and the nature of the Global North's relationship with 'developing' countries like India. On the other hand, those representations of development which emphasize the underlying structural dimensions of global poverty and how individuals as well as national governments and international institutions are implicated in sustaining it, open up possibilities for students to consider how the very structures and systems that underlie it can be altered (Simpson, 2004; Smith, 2004).

Other chapters in this text do, however, engage directly with the underlying dimensions of poverty and global inequality, drawing attention to the exploitation

resulting from colonization as well as the excessive profit margins generated by multinational corporations and the unfair trade policies implemented by International Financial Institutions (IFIs). However, the chapters on Kolkata discussed above do not address the causes of poverty but describe its manifestations, thereby providing a somewhat decontextualized and partial understanding of the problems outlined. As highlighted in previous chapters, accounts of poverty which are disarticulated from their underlying causes are unlikely to generate the kind of understanding necessary to fuel changes in the structures and systems that perpetuate global injustice (Smith 2004).

Critical versions of Development Education within Geography texts

Critiquing modernization theory

Of particular interest, in light of the implicit or explicit endorsement of modernization theory and an associated failure to conceive of development in any other terms in other academic subjects (See Chapters 3 and 10), is a recognition within the Geography curriculum of multiple, competing development frameworks which identify strengths and weakness of different ideological and theoretical approaches. One Leaving Certificate options text, *Planet* and *People* (Honan & Mulholland, 2007b), examines development from three different theoretical vantage points: environmental determinism; modernization theory; and post-modernization theory (p. 4). Junior cycle (and to a far greater extent, senior cycle) texts explicitly critique the modernization and development-as-charity approaches to development and actively encourage students to reflect critically on dominant ways of thinking about development. Somewhat ironically, the same Junior Certificate text which employed discursive homogenization strategies to imply that mothers and governments in the Global South were ignorant or unconcerned about children's health needs, offers the following critique of this homogenist lens:

> *People in the North (the developed world) tend to think that all countries in the South (the developing world) are the same. Their view of the South is strongly influenced by images that they see on TV. These images include civil war, hunger, refugee camps and natural disasters. However, as we know, many countries in the South are making great economic and social progress.*
> (Ashe & McCarthy, 2009, p. 396)

The following text is notable in that it encourages readers to consider how much 'we' in Ireland *actually* understand the underlying causes of global poverty and to question the rationale behind the development-as-charity approach to global justice. This critical and questioning disposition is further encouraged in a series of cartoon images designed to stimulate reflection on 'how do you see the Third world?' and 'how do developing countries see the First World?' (O'Dwyer, 2002, p. 311).

> *As Irish people we are somewhat aware of the difficulties that slowly developing countries face on a daily basis. Many Irish people volunteer to take an active part in projects that aid [developing] countries in times of extreme crisis, such as charity collections and poverty awareness projects at school. As individuals we give more per person than most other EU countries. Many NGOs are Irish-run organizations, such as Trócaire, Goal and Concern.* **But are we as aware of the issues involved in creating poverty in developing countries and of the real issues which could reduce or eliminate it?**
> (O'Dwyer, 2002, p. 311, emphasis in original)

Within Leaving Certificate Geography texts, there was ample evidence of deep and substantive critical engagement with development although, notably, this was predominantly a feature of the elective and optional modules. The following vignettes provide a snapshot of some of the common themes and issues addressed from a critical Development Education perspective in the Leaving Certificate syllabus which directly or indirectly challenge the modernizationist frameworks undergirding much mainstream international development policy and practice today.

> *Over-development: Many commentators believe that the modernization model is fundamentally flawed. … [They] argue that* **development must be sustainable**, *i.e. it must be 'a development that meets the needs of present generations without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs'. This suggests that developed countries are over-developed. If we wish to save the eco-systems of the planet, we must embrace not just a zero-growth economy but* **de-development**, *a process that leads to less production and less consumption. This is a way of thinking that is alien to the modernization model of development.*
> (Ashe & McCarthy, 2008a; p 122; emphasis in original)

> *The notion that '* **west is best** *' exists in many regions of the South. However, our models of development have severe shortcomings, as we have seen. The idea that one model of development fits all countries is questionable. An amalgam of various viewpoints is required.*
> (Ashe & McCarthy, 2008a; p. 130, emphasis in original)

> *We must critically examine Eurocentric thinking and images relating to the South. [Europeans] began to regard Europe as the cultural and developmental centre of the world. Some adopted hostile and blatantly racist attitudes towards colonized peoples. Other came to believe that it was the 'white man's burden' to 'civilise' colonised people by encouraging them to adopt the languages and cultures of their European conquerors.*
> (Brunt, O'Dwyer & Hayes, 2007, p. 417)

This text, which covers the elective unit on economic activities, encourages students to contemplate whether they themselves are 'Eurocentric thinkers' by asking them if they typically associate farming with men and business with 'smart suits and briefcases in office buildings.' Students are informed that 'the majority of farmers in the world are women' and that there are 'millions of business people without suits… who make up the informal business sector but whose income is not counted as part of a country's GDP, yet who are 'as much a part of capitalism as any European in a pinstripe suit' (Brunt et al., 2007, p. 418). This text also employs a commonly used technique to literally convey 'different world views' to students, namely the dramatic contrast between Peters projection map and the Mercator map which 'exaggerates the importance of Europe by placing it at the centre of the world' (Brunt et al., 2007, p. 417).

A similar focus on Eurocentrism is evident in *ECO* (Quinn, 2007), one of the texts that covers core material for the senior cycle syllabus, where readers are asked to 'note how Europe is placed at the centre of our atlas maps' and are informed that a '**eurocentric** view of the world [has] prevailed as it was widely assumed that the European experience of industrialization and social change would be repeated in the rest of the world.' (Quinn, 2007, p. 373; emphasis in original)

'Kicking back' against dominant understandings of development

Some of the Leaving Certificate texts we examined actively problematize the lexicon of development and the dichotomous world view reinforced earlier in some of the Junior Certificate texts. *Dynamic Economic Geography*, for example, directly criticizes the First/Third World model as 'a product of Eurocentric or Western thinking' and highlights a number of weaknesses associated with this way of dividing or thinking about the world, such as the fact that Australia and New Zealand 'lie deep within the Southern Hemisphere' and the fact that 'the term "South" puts together many countries that contrast greatly' (Brunt, O'Dwyer & Hayes, 2007, p. 415).

The problem with geographical models is…[that] they categorise the countries of the world in a way that is logical and fairly easily understood. But they present generalized pictures of large areas of the world without recognizing that every country (and sometimes every region within a country) is unique in its own level and type of development.
(Brunt, O'Dwyer & Hayes, 2007, p. 416)

Textbooks corresponding to the global interdependence elective are especially critical of the policies and practices of international development institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF. *Planet and People* (Honan & Mulholland, 2007) outlines the 'harmful' conditions associated with structural adjustment policies imposed by the World Bank and IMF, using Cameroon as a case study.

Cameroon has had to wait a very long time for debt cancellation and has had to agree to some difficult economic conditions along the way. These included privatization of the state airline and telecommunications company… These kinds of conditions (often attached to HIPC debt cancellation) undermine countries' sovereignty and can be very harmful.
(Honan & Mulholland, 2007, p. 46)

The same text, however, offers a contradictory analysis of the World Bank, a few pages previously having framed it as an institution that seeks to '*reduc[e] global poverty and improve[e] living standards.*' While acknowledging that loans from the Bank can have a negative impact on developing countries, it nevertheless maintains that:

The World Bank is an important source of financial assistance to developing countries…It plays a role in reducing global poverty and improving living standards. It provides low-interest loans, interest-free credit and grants to developing countries for education, health, infrastructure and communications.
(Honan & Mulholland, 2007, p. 44)

This highly ambivalent framing of the World Bank is arguably confusing for students, as it then proceeds to offer an explanation and critique of World Bank policy:

Indebted countries who cannot make their repayments have been forced by the World Bank to 'restructure' their loans in order to pay them back. In reality, this has diverted money from vital education and health care programmes into loan repayments.
(ibid p. 44)

While there are different schools of thought as to the underlying motive of World Bank policies, these debates need to be articulated in a clearer way in Geography

texts if they are to illuminate the negative impact of structural adjustment programmes so that students are not confronted with mixed messages about the detrimental effects of macroeconomic policies and their associated conditions on people's lives.

Visual representations of development in Geography texts

While much of the foregoing textbook analysis has concentrated on the language and discourse utilized in textbooks to construct and confer understandings of development, this section will focus on how textbook images are used to 'illustrate' development issues and/or the developing world.[10]

Textbook design has changed considerably in recent years with Geography and other textbooks now filled with a range of visual images – including photographs, diagrams, maps, line drawings, cartoons and computer-generated designs. Illustrations in textbooks are generally intended to increase student comprehension and awareness (Greaney, 2006) but can also be used to heighten the observers' emotions and to stimulate expressions of feelings (Pingel, 2010). The images contained in textbooks lend an associative legitimacy and authority to the accompanying textual narratives. Yet, as Clawson (2002) points out, 'the perceived neutrality of images, particularly photographic images, belies the complicated ways images reflect socially constructed versions of the world' (p. 353). This section aims to critically investigate the implicit and explicit messages conveyed by a range of junior and senior cycle Geography textbooks.

We elected to focus on Geography textbooks as an illustrative case study of visual representations of development within the formal curriculum because they provide a rich source of development imagery and because the Geography curriculum itself seeks to enable students to actively challenge stereotypical portrayals of the world as conveyed through the media and so on. Seven senior cycle and six junior cycle Geography textbooks were selected for systematic analysis which yielded approximately 350 images with clear connections to development themes. The images were catalogued and coded for content and emerging themes and patterns were identified.

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10 When writing this section, we were forced to contend with the dilemma of reproducing extreme images that we felt constituted a form of 'development pornography' and perpetuated negative and stereotypical representations of individual localities and populations. Ultimately we felt it was necessary to include these images as part of our analysis in order to fully and accurately reflect the actual content of contemporary Geography textbooks.

To contextualize the visual data, information on surrounding text including image captions was also recorded.

Analysis of the development imagery used in both junior and senior cycle Geography textbooks suggests two implicit rationales for their inclusion within the texts. Firstly, images appear to be used to supplement the information about development relayed in the accompanying text, thereby strengthening and providing 'evidence' for the knowledge claims made in the accompanying narrative. Secondly, images are used to elicit an emotional response or to trigger classroom dialogue or debate.

Key findings from the analysis of visual imagery

Photographs and other illustrations can be useful learning tools for students and teachers in that they can provide a good starting point for a critical interrogation of implicit messages and unspoken subtext (Jeffers, 2008). At worst, they can reinforce the bleakest stereotypical thinking, fostering bias through the persistent portrayal of groups, countries and entire continents as inferior, passive and needy (Bunting, 1996). The 'collage' that emerged from our analysis of textbook depictions of the developing world had, to some extent, a foot in both camps – at times actively promoting alternative and positive images of countries in the Global South; at others, constructing powerfully neo-colonial portrayals of the developing world as poor, helpless and in crisis. As a number of distinct groupings emerged from the analysis, the findings are presented thematically beginning with some of the more problematic representations.

Development pornography

'Development pornography' is the term given to the use of graphic images of poverty, famine, death and suffering that are often deployed by both aid agencies and Western media to shock viewers into a compassionate (and usually financially generous) response. Although criticized for exposing something as intimate and deeply personal as human grief, misery and suffering with 'all the indiscretion that a telescopic lens will allow' (Lisner, 1981, cited in Cohen, 2001, p. 178), some aid agencies have argued that 'starving baby pictures tug heartstrings and bring in cash' (Gidley, 2005, cited in Manzo, 2006, p. 10). While development NGOs' reliance on shocking images is, arguably, understandable (although not necessarily justifiable), given their need to generate income, their function in Geography textbooks is less clear-cut.

Most Geography textbooks contained dramatic images of severe deprivation, ill-health, bereavement, suffering and distress. Photographs of child soldiers carrying weapons were common, as were photographs of small children working in sweatshops.

Mothers with large families in front of housing often labelled 'slum' accompanied texts on overpopulation 'problems'. At times, emaciated children were used to 'illustrate' a range of geographical themes such as economic measurement, infant mortality, migration, desertification, ethnocentrism, pollution, geoecology and the impact of multinational companies. The following image of an emaciated child being cradled by a malnourished woman (presumably the infant's mother) is one of many such 'extreme' examples of 'development pornography' contained in both junior and senior cycle Geography textbooks.

Figure 5.1 Illustration for 'Migration in Europe' chapter

The accompanying caption reads: *'Famine has struck many regions in Africa over the past forty years'.* (O'Dwyer et al., 2007, p. 313)

While the accompanying text alludes to famine as a 'push factor' which led 'many African people to migrate to Europe' (O'Dwyer et al., 2007, p. 313), the use of this photograph raises questions about the ethics of using personal tragedy to relay such information. Of equal significance is the lack of direct reference to the woman and her baby who are photographed to 'represent' famine and its relationship to migration, implying that neither the identity of the woman or her child, nor their specific plight, are relevant to the larger story. Rather, their names, their nationality and the circumstances that led to their physical condition are noticeably absent, with the effect that their suffering epitomizes all of Africa. This homogenized stereotyping was a second theme to emerge from the analysis and is dealt with in more detail in the following section.

Selective stereotyping

Analysis of textbook images revealed a widespread and purposeful selection of images to further illustrate, or provide evidence for, knowledge claims about the Global South, which were sometimes depicted in relation to, or as compared with, the Global North. Images depicting negative aspects of life in developing countries were commonplace and were often used to represent entire populations or even continents. Visual representations of India, for example, mostly comprised overcrowded cityscapes, *bustees*, open sewers, enormous rubbish dumps, child labourers, sweatshops, pollution and overcrowded, resource-poor classrooms. Similarly, visual representations of Africa mostly comprised dry, dusty landscapes, shanty towns, open sewers, enormous rubbish dumps, child soldiers, pollution and overcrowded, resource-poor classrooms. As a collective, these negative images have the effect of portraying majority world countries and their inhabitants as an undifferentiated, homogenized mass of people in crisis facing the indistinguishable effects of largely identical problems.

Figure 5.2 'Open sewers in an Ethiopian slum'

[As captioned in *New Geo*] (Ashe & McCarthy, 2009, p. 236).

Figure 5.3 'Raw sewage outside a shanty town in Brazil'

[As captioned in *Earth Matters*] (Guilmartin & Hynes, 2008, p. 166).

Pingel (2010) argues that the Geography syllabus is intended to select regions as specific examples of 'general geographical problems' and that it is, therefore, difficult to provide students with an understanding of the diverse nature of individual

countries as they are only mentioned in the context of a limited number of geographical 'problems' (p. 75). 'Problem-oriented' approaches such as those outlined above are likely to reinforce stereotypical understandings, rather than illuminate complex understandings of particular countries. Even within the confined space of a single Geography textbook, additional information and images can help to alleviate the one-dimensional impression of specific cities or countries or, indeed, continents as undifferentiated, homogenized 'trouble spots' or 'problem regions' in need of 'our' intervention and 'help'.

One junior cycle textbook – *New GEO* – does succeed in offering a more balanced and nuanced *narrative* representation of the developing world by contextualizing images of the effects of high population density in Kolkata with references to the city's large public parks, sports grounds, 'excellent and cheap underground railway line', 'widely available' internet services and the pride its inhabitants take in their city (Ashe & McCarthy, 2009, p. 232). However, a single visual image of any of the above, more positive, aspects of life in Kolkata would have gone even further in balancing the view of Kolkata as a seething mass of urban problems rather than a city struggling, (as do most cities worldwide), to cope with a large population and an uneven distribution of resources.

Most of the textbooks also attempted, to some degree, to counter overly-negative and pessimistic portrayals with positive images of development in the Global South, depicting happy and productive workers (frequently members of local co-operatives or Fairtrade initiatives), healthy babies (frequently attending local health care clinics) and smiling children (frequently pumping clean water from wells or attending school).

Figure 5.4 Positive image of 'developing' world in 'New Geo' textbook

The accompanying caption reads: '*Animals donated to farmers in Africa by Bóthar*' (Ashe & McCarthy, 2009, p. 385)
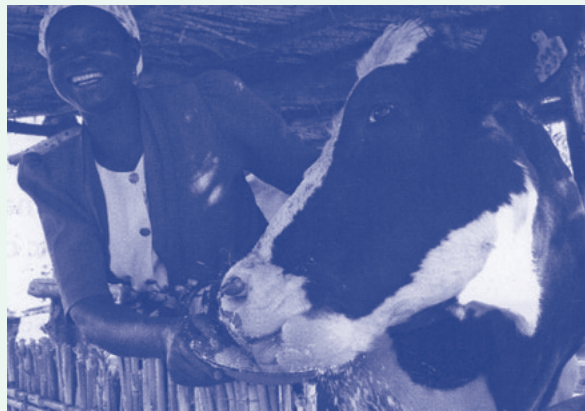
In a number of instances, positive images accompanied text on aid initiatives and/or appeared to have been sourced from NGO promotional materials (see Figure 5.4). While positive images and storylines are essential in promoting more balanced and, arguably, more realistic portrayals of local communities and their inhabitants 'over there,' there is a real danger that the frequent association of these positive images of people in the majority world with external intervention and aid continues to reinforce the perception that 'they' are in need of 'our' help.

Moreover, it is questionable whether positive images of smiling farmers are any more representative of a population or region than a photograph of a starving child or an open sewer. Disney (2004) argues that we cannot afford to simply dismantle some stereotypes and replace them with others and that 'airbrushing' out real instances of poverty and deprivation to show the other side of the coin is equally problematic. To some extent, the difficulty lies in the fact that positive and negative images of majority world regions tend to feature in entirely separate sections of most textbooks, suggesting that there are two distinct sides to developing countries rather than a diverse, heterogeneous whole. While acknowledging that textbook authors are constrained by the need to cover an extensive curriculum within a limited time, the potential bias generated by selectively stereotypical representations could be moderated by a greater effort to 're-calibrate' or rethink the positioning and kinds of imagery being chosen to represent specific development themes and issues.

'Us'/'Them' dichotomies

At a curricular level, the use of a geographical model which frames development by dividing the world into 'North' and 'South' arguably lends itself to neo-colonial suggestions that resource distribution is a matter of luck and location rather than global power arrangements. Moreover, it infers that those in the 'South' have nothing or, at the very least, nothing of value to the 'North'.

While the senior cycle syllabus engages in a critical interrogation of this dichotomous world view, the problematization of the North/South divide does not feature prominently, if at all, within the junior cycle syllabus. In fact, as outlined above, for the most part, the Junior Certificate curriculum actively reinforces and reproduces this dichotomous North/South, 'us'/'them' way of thinking about the world and its inhabitants. Consequently the North/South divide is presented in junior cycle textbooks as a geographical 'fact' accompanied by world maps with countries segregated into each region and photographs demonstrating all the things that people in the North have in comparison to all the things that people in the South lack. These problematic representations were not always confined to Junior

Certificate texts, however, despite the Leaving Certificate curriculum's stated objective of challenging these very kinds of understandings.

One Leaving Certificate textbook which sought to illustrate the divide between 'developed' countries and 'underdeveloped' countries focused on material possessions and consumption (see Figure 5.5). An accompanying activity asks students to 'study the photographs and use the images to explain' the meaning of economic development and quality of life, suggesting that both are directly related to each other and to patterns of consumption.

Figure 5.5 'The domestic possessions of the Yadev family in India compared to the domestic possessions of the Calvin family in the USA'

[As captioned in *Dynamic Economic Geography*]
(Brunt et al., 2007, p. 278)

It is understandable that Geography textbooks need to convey the enormous imbalance that exists in resource distribution and how that imbalance can simultaneously create comfortable lifestyles for the minority world and huge hardship in the majority world. However, there is a need to be sensitive to any unintended consequences which may arise if the idea of development is communicated as a 'seeable, material culture' and a view of the 'South' as 'a series of absences' (Smith 2004, p. 76).

Dignity

The same criteria should be used for the people of the North and of the South. For example if we do not publish a picture of Finnish car accident victim neither should we publish a picture of an Indian tsunami victim.
(McGee, 2005, p. 1)

One of the more striking aspects of the analysis of visual imagery in Geography texts was the banality and frequency with which photographs of black and Asian people experiencing various forms of hardship, distress and suffering appeared. In contrast, photographs of white peoples' pain were far less common, if not absent, in most of the texts we examined.

On rare occasions, homeless people, European or 'white' immigrants and sex workers featured as illustrations of social disadvantage in the Global North. However, these representations differed markedly to the kinds of images used to illustrate suffering in developing countries. In the case of white citizens of Northern or European countries, faces were often intentionally obscured or blurred to conceal their identities, granting anonymity and privacy to the homeless person in Ireland (Brunt et al., 2007, p. 364); to the sex worker from Amsterdam (Brunt et al., 2007, p. 453; Hayes, 2004, p. 75); and to the white, 'illegal' migrants climbing out of a cargo container as European immigration officers await (O'Dwyer et al., 2007. p. 316). In contrast, AIDs victims, homeless families, starving children and mothers holding dying babies are afforded no such luxury once they reside in the developing world. Clearly identifiable, they are not granted the same right to privacy and viewers are afforded a bird's eye view of their personal trauma.

Somewhat ironically, Geography textbooks at senior cycle level all contain a section on media representations of the developing world, designed to promote a critical interrogation of how dominant media images depict poverty and suffering in the majority world.[11] For example, one senior cycle textbook asks students to reflect on the 'inadequate and distorted views of people and events in Third World countries' that are sometimes presented in the media and draws attention to media reports where 'local people are often inaccurately stereotyped as inactive, helpless victims who are dependent on Westerners for survival' (Brunt et al., 2007, p. 419).

A few pages later, however, the same textbook depicts what is, arguably, *the* most chilling example of how 'local people' can be portrayed as 'inactive, helpless victims'

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[11] Media literacy fulfils one of the learning objectives of an elective module – *Unit 6 Global Interdependence* – in the higher level senior cycle Geography syllabus (DES, 2004, p. 4).

(see Figure 5.6). The image in question depicts a Pakistani mother and her infant twins, one of whom is severely emaciated and clearly dying. The image is accompanied by a narrative outlining the 'social and health impacts' associated with the 'export of baby formula to Third World Countries' where sanitary and economic 'situations' render it dangerous to use (Brunt et al., 2007, p. 425).

This harrowing image is used to illuminate the otherwise commendable 'local-global' narrative about the complex effects of multinational corporations. Focusing on Wyeth Nutritionals who make baby formula and whose products are produced in Limerick, students are encouraged to understand the dynamic relationship between local and global issues, such as job creation and economic growth 'at home' on the one hand and the ways in which these very products 'can hinder development' elsewhere, on the other.

As the narrative explains: 'it must be remembered that in a world of globalized manufacturing, **the prosperity of one producing area can mean the depression of another**' (Brunt et al., 2007, p. 424; emphasis in original). In other words, illustrations of this nature are effective as a means of capturing the complex and contradictory nature of global interdependency precisely because they are about 'us' and how 'we', 'our' economy, etc., are directly implicated in other people's misery 'over there.' Examples of this nature serve as a powerful counter-narrative to 'softer' development storylines by actively working against the view that global issues are remote and have nothing to do with 'us.'

Figure 5.6 Illustration of 'some impacts of multinational corporations'

The accompanying caption reads:
'The infants are twins. The baby girl was bottle-fed and died the day after this photograph was taken but her breastfed brother thrived. This young Pakistani mother was told that she might not have enough breast milk to feed both babies, so she bottle-fed the girl. Why might the mother have chosen to breastfeed the boy? Why do you think the baby girl did not survive?'
(Dynamic Economic Geography, Brunt et al., 2007, p. 425)

However, this critical and commendable narrative, which 'hits home' precisely because it demonstrates the role that a local or national 'we' play in 'their' oppression, is arguably overshadowed by the dramatic image of a mother and her young twins and its accompanying caption which informs readers that the female infant died the day after the photograph was taken. A number of things are notable about this image and its accompanying narrative, not least of which is the simplistic treatment of bottle-feeding as the 'cause' of the infant girl's systematic starvation and a concomitant failure to locate the mother's 'choice' within a broader context of global and regional power arrangements which perpetuate systems of patriarchal privilege, poverty, gender inequality and unequal resource distribution (including access to clean water) in the first place. Moreover, the Pakistani mother's own passivity and complicity are privileged – albeit implied – in the explanation and line of questioning around why she *chose* to feed her baby son while her baby daughter wasted away.

It is difficult to determine the impact that such a photograph might have on students or, indeed, on a teacher who is forced to grapple with such a partial, de-contextualized explanation for such a tragic story. There is, however, a distinct possibility that reactions could include revulsion and disapproval *of the mother*, although the broader narrative suggests that multinational corporations selling baby formula to vulnerable populations are at fault. The point here is that, even when acknowledgments are made around the exploitative actions of some multinational corporations, the viewer is likely to be left wondering how a mother could passively watch her baby girl slowly die from starvation while her baby son thrived on her breast milk.

When textbooks display such 'inexplicable' and pornographic imagery and frame the actions that led to the female baby's death as a 'choice', there is a danger that, rather than the anticipated critical interrogation of the complex and contradictory effects of global interdependency, such images could have the *unintended* effect of deepening, not challenging, neo-colonial attitudes. While a skilled educator is likely to be able to *steer* the dialogue towards a more nuanced and contextualized storyline about the complex political-economic factors which shape such impossible gender-based decisions about which of one's children to breastfeed or send to school, for example, those who are less skilled could revert to a more individualized or cultural analysis which suggests that 'they' are dangerously ignorant and in need of 'saving' within such deeply patriarchal societies.

Critical engagement

As the foregoing textual analysis of Geography textbooks indicates, some aspects of the current curriculum, particularly at senior cycle, do offer substantial opportunities

for a critical examination of development issues, global citizenship and social justice.

One of the primary tools used to facilitate critical engagement with development by those who design and write Geography texts was the inclusion of satirical cartoons to broach some of the more 'thorny' dimensions of development, particularly those chosen to demonstrate 'our' complicity in the exploitation of poorer countries and the perpetuation of unequal power arrangements which privilege wealthier populations. Frequently, these cartoons contained potentially powerful messages about the consequences of European or Northern greed, as illustrated in Figure 5.7.

Figure 5.7 Cartoon featuring 'greedy' Global North and exploited Global South

The accompanying text asks: *'Who of the two people shown in this cartoon represents the North and who represents the South? What does the cartoon 'explain' about free trade?'* (New Complete Geography, Hayes, 2003, p. 351)

Advocates of cartoon use as a Development Education tool argue they are a valuable means of expressing divergent views on complex global themes, making links and/or providing a stimulus to stop, think, or look 'sideways' at a particular issue (Regan, Sinclair & Turner, 1994). Certainly, cartoons can be a refreshing and appealing approach to introducing 'heavy' issues and/or uncomfortable messages in a 'humorous' way that might otherwise be off-putting or seem overly complex. However, there is an associated risk that the over-reliance of some textbooks on cartoons as a means of engaging students with difficult or controversial images overlooks two important issues. Firstly, if difficult messages are frequently or primarily communicated through cartoon drawings, there is a possibility that the meaning becomes trivialized or could be misinterpreted as not being that 'serious'– essentially, lacking the gravitas of the written word (Werner, 2004). Secondly, cartoons with satirical content often demand a sophisticated understanding of the issues in the first place and assume the 'reader' is capable of drawing upon a 'narrow, cultural memory', that is, a store of relevant background knowledge (ibid).

Given that the intended viewers of textbook cartoons are quite young, there is a possibility that the satirical messages communicated in cartoons (such as the one above) may not be intuitively obvious to the audience, or that the interpretative skills needed to dissect the image are not yet fully developed (Werner, 2004). In other words, while cartoons may well have a strategic role in promoting critical engagement, there is a possibility that young people may not be sufficiently equipped to tease out complicated messages without explicit pointers and rich explanations of how to critically 'read' cartoons. Once again, this speaks to the need to ensure that teachers and students are equipped with critical visual literacy skills if they are to take full advantage of these more critical representations of development in Geography texts.

Discussion

The foregoing analysis of both narrative text and development imagery suggests that a highly complex pattern of representation is evident within the Geography curriculum. Our findings suggest that although Geography is the subject that engages most substantively and critically with development in the post-primary curriculum, it is also the subject where the 'contradictory faces of development' are most evident (Smith, 2004, p. 742). In other words, our analysis suggests that the discourse of development within a single Geography text, relayed through narrative and/or visual means, can be highly inconsistent and contradictory, as evidenced most dramatically, perhaps, in the case of the Wyeth Nutritionals/breast-feeding example.

That numerous contradictory discourses can be at work within the same text or set of texts is not necessarily or inherently problematic, although further research would be required to ascertain how, and in what ways, students actually reconcile or make sense of these competing narratives. With the help of a skilled facilitator, students could be encouraged to reflect critically on the origins, explanations and implications of these competing discourses and to develop counter-narratives, or to use the more critical forms of knowledge to develop 'oppositional discourses' to their more traditional, 'softer' forms. On the other hand, one can argue that these 'mixed-messages' could be confusing for students and that, in the context of this confusion, they may be more inclined to *steer* towards more traditional, familiar narratives that are reinforced in so many other dimensions of the formal and informal curriculum (see Chapters 3, 4 and 8).

At their best, Geography texts offer nuanced and contextualized understandings of the underlying causes and complexities of global poverty and 'underdevelopment' and introduce students to a range of concepts and themes that are highly consistent

with a critical approach to Development Education. Unlike CSPE texts, which generally fail to tackle or, at best, tend to adopt a lightweight approach to historical and ongoing relations of domination, Geography texts address a whole range of critical development themes which actively challenge the moral supremacy and universality of Western ways of interpreting and knowing the world. Geography texts – and in particular those Leaving Certificate texts corresponding to elective or optional modules on economic activities and global interdependence – are not afraid to address and take on 'thorny' issues such as the inequities of world trade and its institutions such as the World Trade Organizations (WTO), the unethical practices of Transnational Corporations (TNCs), the detrimental impact of World Bank and IMF policies, the arms trade, the advantages and disadvantages of official development assistance (ODA) etc. Some texts are even critical of Ireland's 'poor record in the level of official development assistance that it provides' (Ashe & McCarthy, 2008a, p. 150). Collectively, these critical narratives provide clear evidence of how complex development issues *can*, in fact, be relayed in an accessible way to young people.

Another feature of the discourse in at least some Geography texts is that they have a tendency to portray a particularly negative representation of different majority world countries, or to promote dichotomous understandings of citizens of the majority world as either always happy *or* as eking out a miserable existence, eclipsing a more multidimensional representation that would capture the diversity of experience that characterizes people's lives *everywhere* in the world. In the absence of alternative storylines about the experiences and accomplishments of people in majority world countries, narrative and pictorial representations of people in poverty or smiling because they have received aid or charity from 'us,' ensure that they will be almost exclusively associated with poverty and dependency in the minds of those lacking another frame of reference.

While not meaning to deny that such problems as war and conflict, famine, water scarcity, poverty, overcrowding and so on exist, and that these conditions *can* and *do* have a profound effect on people's quality of life in the Global South, all too often these issues 'become choices for defining whole continents' and 'tend to ignore other critical realities that explain how a majority of [people in majority world countries] go about their daily business' outside the limelight of humanitarian disasters and other media worthy events (Soyinka-Airewele & Edozie, 2010, p. 19). In other words, 'we' in the West are rarely exposed to the vast disparities found across the African continent or sub-continent of India, for example, and therefore generalize these experiences to the 'African condition' or 'Indian condition.'

At their worst, Geography textbooks, to the extent that they often rely on 'development pornography' to 'explain' or reinforce certain geographical phenomena or development themes, promote 'emotion without understanding' and 'charity without structural change' (Manzo, 2006, p. 11). Manzo highlights how negative stereotyping 'cuts both ways' affecting not only 'our' view of the majority world but also how 'they' see themselves. Research has shown that students from countries in the majority world attending Irish schools can be upset and offended by textbooks representations of their culture and nationality (Bryan & Bracken, 2011). Of equal concern is the persistence of selective and stereotypical representations both of developing countries and developed countries which essentialize 'the South as a series of absences' (Smith, 2004, p. 76).

Geography texts, like their CSPE counterparts, often feature images produced and promoted by development NGOs. While many aid agencies are highly sensitive to the long-term implications of representing entire countries as needy and in crisis, development NGOs' educative work is often mediated by a range of competing priorities, including awareness-raising, fundraising, marketing, promotional campaigns and influencing policy (Smith, 2004). Of all these objectives, the formal curriculum arguably shares just one – awareness-raising. This raises questions about the appropriateness of adopting NGO images to tell the 'story' of international development in school textbooks. This dilemma is addressed to some extent within some of the elective and optional modules for the Leaving Certificate curriculum which encourage students to critically interrogate implicit and explicit messages emanating from 'popular' representations of global poverty. Regrettably, as optional electives, not all students receive the opportunity to critically reflect on the problematic way the majority world is presented in the media and or in educative texts. Moreover, while textbooks use this section to implicate aid agencies and mainstream public media in the problematic representation of the 'developing' world, their own complicity in presenting contradictory and equally problematic images is ignored.

Issues of informed consent and ethics are also relevant here. While it would be unthinkable to place photographs of Irish schoolchildren in a textbook without written permission from their guardians or parents, the same rules do not seem to apply to the numerous images of poor children from African and Asian countries which are reproduced with regularity in Geography textbooks. In essence, there is a real need for textbook authors and publishers to select images that afford the right to privacy and dignity to *all* of the people represented in photographs and not just those with white faces or European passports. There is also a need to encourage textbook authors and publishers to think about the ethical implications of selecting

images with particularly emotive themes, for example, sick or dying children. While Geography textbooks arguably need to accompany text about child mortality, global poverty and urbanization problems with appropriate imagery, the casual use of stark and negative images in generic contexts is deeply problematic.

A small number of textbook authors did appear to make a conscious effort to avoid overly negative or stereotypical images. At senior cycle level, one textbook – *ECO* – relies upon maps and graphs to illustrate the text (Quinn, 2007). Where photographs are used – to illustrate a case study of Uganda as a 'developing economy', for example – emotive images of overcrowded classrooms, starving children and child soldiers which populate other textbook treatments of 'developing' countries are notable by their absence in this text (ibid, p. 336).

Another senior cycle textbook – *People and Planet* (Honan & Mulholland, 2007) – which deals exclusively with the elective module on *Global Interdependence*, is liberally illustrated with photographs but appears conscious of the need to integrate positive images into the textbook and, again, avoids using emotive images or photographs. These authors explicitly acknowledge the *Dóchas Code of Conduct on Images and Messages* for development NGOs to ensure images relating to the majority world are chosen with 'full respect for human dignity' and that 'stereotypical or sensational images' are avoided (cited in Honan & Mulholland, 2007, p. 9).

Agencies and organizations who adopt the code are urged to 'look beyond the sound bite or the single image' and instead:

❯ Choose images and related messages based on values of respect, equality, solidarity and justice;
❯ Truthfully represent any image or depicted situation both in its immediate and in its wider context so as to improve public understanding of the realities and complexities of development;
❯ Avoid images and messages that potentially stereotype, sensationalise or discriminate against people, situations or places; and
❯ Use images, messages and case studies with the full understanding, partici-pation and permission of the subjects (or subjects' parents/guardian). (Dóchas, 2006, p. 3–4)

A similar commitment on the part of other textbook authors and publishers would be enormously beneficial in counteracting the formation of a visual world view that reflects the predominantly negative and stereotypical picture of the developing world currently featured in most Geography textbooks.

Chapter 6

Pre-Service Teachers' Implementation and Self-Evaluation of Development Education Lesson Plans

Introduction

This chapter seeks to facilitate a greater awareness of how Development Education is understood and communicated by pre-service (student) teachers who have been exposed to Development Education content and teaching methods as part of their initial teacher education. It is based on a critical analysis of Development Education lesson plans created, implemented and subsequently evaluated by pre-service teachers as part of their teaching practice in post-primary schools.[12] While existing studies shed light on pre-service teachers' attitudes towards development (e.g., Bryan et al., 2009; McCormack & O'Flaherty, 2007), this research offers unique insights into how student teachers actually 'do' Development Education in real world classroom settings and how their pre-service training in Development Education gets translated into classroom practice.

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[12] All of the lesson plans analyzed for this study were gathered from a cohort of students enrolled in a Postgraduate Diploma in Education (PGDE) programme at one academic institution in the Republic of Ireland during the 2008/2009 academic year. The PGDE is a one-year, full-time course designed to prepare students for entry to the teaching profession at post-primary level. The programme of study is divided between teaching placements in schools and attendance at lectures, tutorials and on-campus workshops.

Analysis of pre-service teachers' Development Education lessons

All students who were enrolled in a Postgraduate Diploma in Education (PGDE) programme during the 2008/2009 academic year were required to take part in a series of Development Education lectures and workshops. These interventions were designed to facilitate critical reflection amongst student teachers on their own perceptions and understandings of development issues and to enable them to integrate Development Education content and active learning methods into their teaching practice across a range of subject areas. For assessment purposes, students were required to self-evaluate the Development Education lesson they delivered and to submit these critical reflections, along with the lesson plan itself, as part of their teaching practice portfolio. Written permission was sought from all PGDE students to access and analyse the content of the Development Education lesson plans. In total, 75 students agreed to make their teaching portfolios available for the purposes of this study.

Analysis of the lesson plans revealed a wide and diverse range of themes, topics, teaching methodologies and learning objectives. In what follows, we examine how student teachers approached the teaching of development themes and topics, their perceptions and understandings of the role and scope for Development Education in the curriculum, the perceived relevance of social justice education to one's own subject area(s) and the extent to which they attempted to engage critically with global themes and issues in their classrooms. In addition, we explore the kinds of educational outputs sought by student teachers as evidence of successful learning. We also examine student teachers' impressions and reflections on their Development Education lessons, including how they felt their own students responded to and engaged with the subject matter and the challenges and successes they experienced with regard to the effective delivery of Development Education in the classroom.

Overview of Development Education lesson plans

The lesson plans related to a wide range of subjects in the post-primary curriculum. Table 6.1 provides a breakdown of the lesson plans categorized by subject area. Subjects with strong curricular links to Development Education issues – such as Geography and CSPE – were more heavily represented, while those subjects with less obvious development connections (with the exception of RE) were in the minority.[13]

Table 6.1 Breakdown of pre-service teachers' Development Education lesson plans by subject

Subject	Number of plans
Geography	14
English	13
CSPE	11
History	10
Science	7
Languages	5
Religious Education	4
Business Studies	4
Maths	3
Music	2
Information Technology	1
Classical Studies	1
Total	**75**

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[13] It is likely that the over-representation of 'Development Education friendly' subjects in the sample of lesson plans is due to the fact that student teachers who taught subjects where the connections to Development Education were not as obvious were less comfortable offering up their lessons for outside scrutiny for the purposes of the research. However, the figures also reflect, to some degree, the relative popularity of subject choices in the PGDE programme itself.

Pre-service teachers selected a broad range of themes which served as the basis of their Development Education lessons. These are summarized in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2 Themes selected for Development Education lesson plans	
Theme	**Number of plans**
Trade inequality/fair trade	15
Human rights/civil rights/rights and responsibilities	12
Poverty	11
Environment	9
Famine/food distribution	7
Interdependence	6
Diversity/multiculturalism	5
Population	4
Conflict/war/child soldiers	4
Prejudice/racism	3
Resource distribution	3
Immigration	3
Needs/wants	2
Gender	2
Education	2
Health/health care	1

Student teachers drew on a number of different resource materials in preparing their Development Education lessons. In many cases, a significant amount of time and effort was employed in selecting or creating resources that were appropriate for the age and ability of the pupils, suitable for the time period available and relevant to the chosen Development Education theme. One student teacher reported spending the 'whole weekend creating the resources needed to do the lesson' (Male, Geography Lesson Plan No. 32). The teaching tools used most frequently were broken down into four main categories:

1) resources created by the teacher,
2) textbooks,
3) materials and resources from development NGOs and
4) resources and materials from government agencies as Irish Aid.

A pie chart displaying how frequently each source was utilized by pre-service teachers is displayed in Figure 6.1.

Figure 6.1 Materials used in Development Education lesson plans

Materials used by pre-service teachers for Development Education lesson plans

- 4 Unknown
- 22 Textbook
- 4 Government agencies
- 21 Media
- 38 Teacher's own
- 31 NGO resources
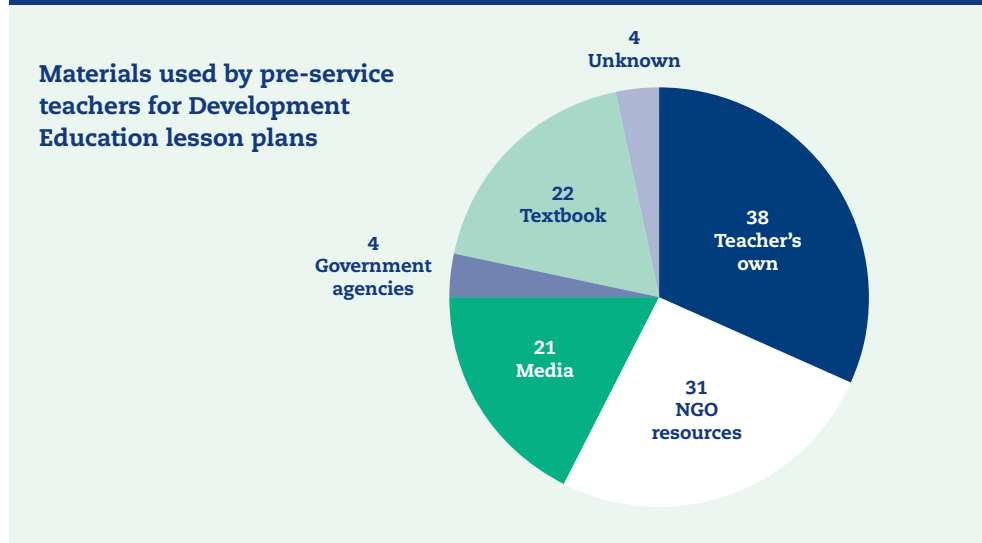
As shown, many of the participants drew on multiple sources of material when preparing and implementing their lessons. For example, one lesson plan incorporated material from a Business Studies textbook, self-produced handouts, a role-playing exercise and a PowerPoint presentation sourced from the *Oxfam* website. For this reason, it was difficult to ascertain the primary teaching aid used by student teachers for Development Education purposes. However, teachers' own resources, created or adapted from a wide variety of sources, were the most popular teaching tool, utilized in 38 of the 75 lesson plans. Development NGOs, such as Trócaire, Oxfam and Concern, were also a major source of materials, used in 30 lesson plans. Media and popular culture also featured heavily with 21 student participants gaining inspiration from or using information derived from newspapers, films, TV programmes and internet websites.

Textbooks were the third most popular teaching tool, featuring in over a quarter of lesson plans. Many participants reported using textbooks as 'jumping off' points to introduce development issues before bringing in other resources. For example, a Chemistry teacher introduced the topic of trade inequality by first using textbook definitions of carbon to explore the properties of diamonds before showing a DVD film clip about 'blood diamonds' and facilitating an open discussion about the

diamond trade in Africa and the exploitation of people and resources through existing global trade practices.

Many student teachers also drew directly on the Development Education activities they were exposed to as part of the Development Education workshops they undertook as part of the PGDE programme, such as the popular simulation exercise *The Trading Game*.[14] Adaptations of the *Trading Game* proved to be the most popular activity-based teaching exercise, featuring in 10 lesson plans. A large number of lesson plans also drew on other sources listed in a Development Education workshop resource pack which all students received during their PGDE training. This suggests that participants subsequently enacted many of the 'hands-on' experiential learning opportunities modelled in the Development Education workshops in their own classrooms and that the workshops directly informed the kinds of lessons that student teachers developed and executed in real world classrooms.

Student teachers' attitudes towards integrating Development Education into their lessons

A small number of student teachers reported a natural affinity with Development Education issues and placed a high priority on integrating social and global justice issues into their lessons.

> *I enjoy integrating world issues into my lesson plans and I have done so on more than one occasion. I think it is vitally important that students are aware of the world around them in order to become global citizens.*
> (Female, Maths Lesson Plan, No. 30)

Many participants appeared enthusiastic about their Development Education lessons and reported that they found this class 'enjoyable' to teach, indicating a broadly positive orientation towards Development Education amongst student teachers. This finding is consistent with other studies which suggest that students in third level express high levels of support, enthusiasm and commitment to learning and teaching about social justice and development issues (Bryan et al., 2009; Clarke & Drudy, 2006; Connolly, Doyle & Dwyer, 2008; Holden & Hicks, 2007).

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[14] A simulation game is a game that is designed to reflect and, to some extent, replicate real-life situations (Walford, 2007). Students who participate in a simulation game play roles '*which assist them to develop an understanding of, and a feeling for, the reality being presented*' (Fien 1990, p. 114, italics in original). For details about the Trading Game, see http://learn.christianaid.org.uk/YouthLeaderResources/trading_game.aspx

A minority of student teachers were less positive about incorporating development themes and issues into their lessons and were somewhat resistant to the notion that Development Education could 'fit in' to their subject area.

> I feel that certain subjects lend themselves better to exploring different issues. I felt it was a bit random to include it in an IT class.
> (Male, Information Technology Lesson Plan, No. 17)

This participant also felt that those who taught subjects with less obvious links to development issues had not been adequately supported during the Development Education workshop as part of the PGDE course.

> At the [Development Education] workshop students who studied subjects such as English, History or CSPE were given good advice or ideas as to how to include a Development Education lesson plan, but when it came to the subjects of Music or ICT, everyone seemed a bit lost.
> (Male, Information Technology Lesson Plan, No. 17)

Another factor influencing those student teachers who expressed reluctance towards delivering Development Education was a perceived lack of confidence regarding their ability to teach effectively in this area.

> Personally I believe all pupils should be educated in Development Education. However, I am not sure if the music class is the most suitable. I do not have the necessary expertise in the subject to discuss the issues as in-depth as I would like.
> (Male, Music Lesson Plan, No. 67).

Those who expressed reluctance or resistance were in the minority, however; most participants appeared enthusiastic about their Development Education lesson and were not averse to its inclusion in the curriculum.

Teaching methodologies favoured by student teachers

While traditional pedagogical approaches in formal education centred around didactic 'chalk and talk' methods, active learning methodologies are increasingly regarded, both in policy and curricular guidelines, as valuable teaching strategies (McMorrow, 2006). Active learning methods are central to the underlying philosophy and practice of Development Education. However, McCormack & O'Flaherty (2007) suggest that there is a 'a paucity of evidence' around their use in Irish classrooms and that student teachers in particular encounter difficulties when

implementing these methods, in part because they are nervous about being perceived as ineffective or unable to impose discipline (p. 3).

It was encouraging, therefore, that a majority of student teachers who participated in this study were willing to introduce active learning methodologies as part of their Development Education lesson plans. In 30 cases, pre-service teachers relied solely on active and participative methods such as group work, role-playing, brainstorming, open discussion, creative art and/or creative drama to introduce and explore Development Education issues. A further 24 participants used a combination of didactic methods and active learning methods, often beginning and/or ending the lesson with teacher input and structured questions and answer sessions. The challenges associated with using more participative methods were noted by a few student teachers.

> *Today was one of the most difficult to organize and to keep on track…it was very difficult to keep the class calm and to keep noise levels down…*
> (Female, History Lesson Plan, No. 4)

> *My head is busting after all that. At times there was so much noise. I found myself going around the class telling them to be quiet rather than helping them out with the games…The class was a massive balancing act and it was very strange feeling having the students walk freely around the class. I should probably have arranged the desks better.*
> (Male, Geography Lesson Plan, No. 32)

Despite the challenges encountered, all of the student teachers who implemented active and participatory learning methods, in part or in full, reported high levels of engagement and interest amongst students. A large number of student teachers also mentioned how 'successful' they felt the lesson had been and how much the students enjoyed doing something 'different':

> *…a very interesting lesson but very different to other lessons… Unlike most discussions this was not led by me, it was more led by students in the class. This did not mean it was chaotic but the class were really into it and very interested in giving their opinion.*
> (Female, Chemistry Lesson Plan, No. 8)

> *Possibly the most successful lesson I've had with this class.*
> (Female, French Lesson Plan, No. 70)

Also evident in cases where student teachers were willing to engage in more partic20-ipative modalities was an acknowledgement of learning on the teacher's part. In one case it precipitated a marked change in how the student teacher viewed her class and introduced a more holistic view of teaching.

> *I [have] spent the majority of my time battling with this [class] in an effort to get them to do any form of homework or complete their action projects… Following today's lesson however, I saw a different side to the class. They actually seemed human to me! …They could present their views and opinions without the worry of misspelling etc. They showed participation in a way that I didn't realize they were capable of… The Development Education lesson illustrated to me that teaching goes beyond examinations.*
> (Female, CSPE Lesson Plan, No. 34)

Several other teachers remarked on the effectiveness of active teaching and learning methods in engaging students, particularly those who were academically 'weaker' or typically less likely to participate.

> *It was great to see the weaker students really enjoying and engaging with the topic.*
> (Female, Geography Lesson Plan, No. 46)

> *The conversation was great. It was great to hear 'S' who has a speech impediment speak passionately about a topic.*
> (Female, English Lesson Plan, No. 59)

This level of student engagement was not as evident when more traditional teaching methods were employed. Almost one-third of the student teachers did not try to incorporate any active learning methodologies or experiential learning into their Development Education lesson plan, choosing instead to rely on more instructive and regulative approaches. This finding is somewhat disappointing in view of the fact that the importance of participatory learning in Development Education had been emphasized in the PGDE workshops. In some instances, this appeared to relate to a reluctance to deviate too far from the curriculum.

One Maths teacher, for example, combined his Development Education learning objective – that students 'will be made aware of the poverty of children worldwide' – with a teaching exercise on the calculation of pie chart angles using statistics on global poverty. His adherence to the curriculum appeared to stem from apprehensions

about student behaviour: 'given the attitude of some students I was reluctant to go completely away from the class.' While the teacher intended to spend time discussing students' feelings about the statistics, the complexity of the mathematical concepts seems to have overshadowed the more interactive element of the class.

> *I made a teaching error in including the pie charts as the numbers were very big and calculating pie chart angles was above the level of the class … If I was to do this class again I would keep the Maths content out of it and have a more activity-based class.*
> (Male, Maths Lesson Plan, No. 40)

Although the majority of student teachers implemented active learning methods to some degree, the effectiveness of those approaches was somewhat weakened by time restrictions and/or space limitations. Only five out of 75 student teachers used more than one 40-minute classroom period for the Development Education lesson and only two student teachers brought their class to a larger space. One teacher reported a highly successful and interactive Development Education class after she had negotiated extra class time with a colleague. The same student teacher negotiated access to the school stage. In her evaluation of the lesson, she noted:

> *I'm delighted with the amount of effort the students put into this lesson. The majority of this class are usually reluctant to participate… but today everyone participated really well… Much of the success of this lesson was down to the fact that I was able to use 3 lesson periods (thanks to the flexibility with my co-operating teacher)… Having the stage as a classroom was also hugely beneficial.*
> (Female, CSPE Lesson Plan, No. 22)

Many of the student teachers who tried to incorporate active learning methodologies, for example simulation exercises like the *Trading Game*, reported being 'rushed' and lacking sufficient time to debrief or discuss the learning that had taken place. This was also true for those teachers who devoted a large chunk of class time to 'teacher input' and who were subsequently unable to spend much time allowing students to reflect upon and discuss their opinions and viewpoints on Development Education issues. Existing research points to the limitation of time in an overcrowded curriculum as a major factor impacting on the effective delivery of Development Education content (Bryan et al., 2009; Reynolds et al., 2004). In Reynolds et al.'s study of pre-service teachers, a perceived 'lack of time' was the most significant

concern for post-primary teachers, with 88% of those surveyed identifying it as a challenge to their ability to incorporate Development Education issues into the curriculum. The analysis of lesson plans in this study highlights how time pressure weakens the delivery of Development Education content in two key respects: firstly, it discourages or deters student teachers from using appropriate active learning methodologies; secondly, it shuts down or limits opportunities for students and teachers to engage in open dialogue and critical reflection.

While the majority of student teachers reported successful Development Education classes, a number were also disappointed and/or unhappy that they did not have adequate time to fully and properly implement their lesson plan:

> *It would have been nice if there was more time to spend on it… I did over-run… and had less time to discuss at the end which I was disappointed with. Overall, though, it was a good class.*
> (Female, Economics Lesson Plan, No. 66)

> *All in all a good class although I feel that more than one class should have been used to explore the topic.*
> (Male, Geography Lesson Plan, No. 44)

> *I would have preferably done this activity in a double class or over two classes. However, I do not have double classes available to me nor did I have the time available to spread it over two classes. As a result this limited the activity …*
> (Male, CSPE Lesson Plan, No. 15)

> *I was crushed as the lesson developed as I was conscious time was sliding away on me … The closure was very rushed as a result of such slow developments and this meant that there was no final transition or application of knowledge …*
> (Female, English Lesson Plan, No. 13)

While effective time management can be a difficult skill to master in the initial stages of one's teaching career, many participants overlooked the importance of allocating sufficient time for their students to reflect and dialogue about the activites they had engaged in. For example, one lesson plan timetable showed a planned allocation of just four minutes to a class discussion on sweatshops and conscientious consumption, while another allocated five minutes to the debriefing and reflective element of an experiential group exercise on trade inequality.

Smith (2004) argues that time pressure in schools, alongside an increasing emphasis on measurable, educational outputs leaves little space for the kinds of critical and open-ended dialogue and reflection necessary to facilitate political consciousness and action. In the lesson plan mentioned above on trade inequality, the student teacher attempted to incorporate an adapted version of the *Trading Game*, which focuses on the unjust nature of global trade, but only allocated five minutes to the debrief. Allocating such brief time periods to discuss the range of complex issues and emotions raised by activities of this nature closes down opportunities for students to work their way through this murky and complex terrain with the support and guidance of an experienced adult. Indeed, it is possible that introducing 'critical' versions of Development Education in environments where there is little space for open dialogue and shared reflection may lead to the exacerbation of internal conflict and intensified feelings of helplessness and paralysis.

As discussed in more detail in Chapters 7 and 8, more seasoned and experienced educators also experience similar difficulties when trying to foster critical engagement within the 'confined spaces' of the post-primary curriculum, raising questions about the extent to which more radical versions of Development Education can be enacted within the current organizational structure and culture of schools.

Pre-service teachers' understandings of development

In order to explore how Development Education is mediated and produced in schools, it is important to understand how student teachers themselves construct and interpret development. By exploring the aims and objectives set out by student teachers in their lesson plans, alongside their comments and reflections on the implementation of the lesson, it was possible to gain insights into how student teachers in this study understood development and how those understandings mediated and shaped the communication of Development Education issues in the classroom.

Given that the effective implementation of Development Education depends largely on the understanding, ability and motivation of teachers to facilitate young people to 'make global connections' (Holden & Hicks, 2007), it is notable that 13 out of the 75 lesson plans analyzed revealed limited or problematic understandings of Development Education on the student teacher's part.

In some cases, the activities chosen to explore complex Development Education themes and issues were somewhat superficial and arguably had a trivializing effect. In one case, a student teacher's attempt to introduce 'a greater understanding of concepts such as freedom, equality, happiness, family love, etc'. was somewhat undermined by her decision to hold a 'mock auction' where groups of students

representing different countries could 'place bids on the various qualities on offer'. After doling out a budget of '500 euro' to each country, the teacher's activity or role is described as follows:

> *The teacher commences the auction starting with the first word on the list, for example 'equality'. Teacher takes the bids from the various groups. The group with the highest bid gains 'equality' for their country.*
> (Female, History Lesson Plan, No. 4)

Although the premise was adapted from resources provided in the PGDE Development Education workshop, activities of this nature imply that important principles and values are sellable commodities which rich countries can afford and that the upholding of these is dependent on the wealth of individual nations. Moreover, it suggests that Euros are the valid currency for the sale and purchase of 'equality' and other such qualities. While the learning objectives in the above lesson are commendable, it is less clear how the activity itself illuminates the underlying causes of injustice in the world.

Similar issues arose in a number of other Development Education lessons where relevant issues were selected but presented in such a way as to deny any global dimension or contemporary context. For example, one English teacher explored the issues of racism and human rights through a novel set in World War II, thus positioning the denial of human rights and anti-Semitism as a historical event perpetuated by a single country. No attempt was made to connect the persecution of the Jewish family in the novel with current events or to explore how the human rights of religious minorities continue to be denied at both local and global levels.

In other cases, lesson plans did focus on contemporary issues but, once again, critical dimensions remained absent and student teachers' understandings of development were limited. A French teacher addressed the issue of colonialism in her Development Education lesson plan by giving her class information about countries that had been previously colonized by France. However, an uncritical, Eurocentric view of French colonialism was provided with countries across the African and American continents homogenized as 'French-speaking' or as part of the 'Francophone world'. In her assessment of pupil learning the teacher commented:

> *I think the pupils learned a lot today. They learned about French colonies around the world where French is spoken. Hopefully they will remember this for a long time and it will encourage them to improve their French.*
> (Female, French Lesson Plan, No. 70)

A small number of participants completely misinterpreted the purpose and/or aims of Development Education and focussed instead on individual notions of development; for example, one student teacher explored 'life in Ancient Palestine' with his class by reading through textbook material on Jewish life in 'Bible times' (Male, Religion Lesson Plan, No. 2). Another teacher discussed the reasons and consequences of the Trojan War and whether it was for a 'just cause'. While an attempt was made to forge links between the subject matter and development issues of war and conflict, the rhetoric was not matched by reality and the lesson plan and activities were based solely on Greek mythology (Female, Classical Studies Lesson Plan, No. 39).

While it is discouraging that this proportion of lesson plans failed to address even the softest or most uncomplicated objectives of Development Education, it should be noted that a greater number of lesson plans occupied the other end of the scale, with evidence of firm commitment to more 'critical' versions of Development Education. Twenty student teachers in all attempted to incorporate active and participative learning methodologies aimed at facilitating the critical examination of development at local and global levels and at encouraging the social action needed to create a more just and equitable world. An examination of lesson aims and objectives in those cases revealed that student teachers were willing to challenge existing beliefs and to empower students to interrogate their own role in the creation and maintenance of global injustice.

General aim of the lesson: The pupils will be able to re-evaluate their opinions and beliefs in relation to refugees.
(Male, CSPE Lesson Plan, No. 63)

Lesson Objectives: That the students will grasp the ideas of global equality by looking at the past, present and future [and] that they will work in groups to come up with solutions to global poverty.
(Male, History Lesson Plan, No. 33)

My objective [for the Development Education lesson] had been, as we discussed in our lectures, to enable students to think about, reflect on and therefore feel a responsibility towards other people.
(Female, English Lesson Plan, No. 31)

In spite of the challenges of introducing such complex subject matter with such large groups and in such a restricted time period, many of the student teachers who were willing to take risks achieved a range of successful learning outcomes.

> *The students understood the advantages and disadvantages of development and were able to engage in meaningful discussion and give good answers.*
> (Female, CSPE Lesson Plan, No. 51)

> *Assessment of Pupil Learning: Brilliant! I was shocked and amazed by how many of them already refuse to wear Nike and [are] aware of the abuses by companies such as Nestlé …The conversation was great.*
> (Female, English Lesson Plan, No. 59)

> *The group work may have created a lot of noise but the points they raised were excellent and well-presented …*
> (Male, Business Studies Lesson Plan, No. 60)

> *The activity, although it was loud and busy, really got the students thinking and it brought about great discussions. One student was really disgusted how much Europe got in comparison to Africa and I had to calm him down a bit.*
> (Female, Geography Lesson Plan, No. 18)

One student teacher of History introduced the issue of child labour in her Development Education lesson and highlighted the Eurocentric viewpoint contained in the textbook. She was gratified to see how readily pupils 'took hold of it' and interpreted it as a signal that pupils were able to 'see outside their own cultural viewpoint' (Female, History Lesson Plan, No. 14). Another student teacher explored media and NGO representations of developing countries and asked pupils to analyze their reactions to different types of famine appeals (Female, English Lesson Plan, No. 6).

These participants appeared to have much higher expectations of their pupils and believed they were capable of processing more intricate understandings of Development Education. However, it was clear that this group was in the minority, with most student teachers opting for 'softer' and less challenging interventions, as shown in Figure 6.2.

Figure 6.2 'Soft' versus 'critical' versions of Development Education

'Soft' versus 'critical' versions of Development Education in pre-service teachers' lesson plans
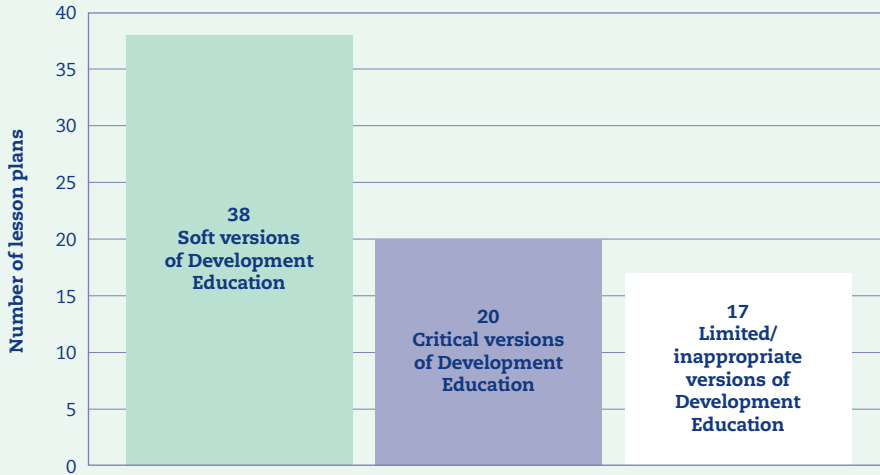
For the majority of pre-service teachers who favoured less critical approaches to Development Education, general awareness-raising was prioritized over analytical exploration whereby pupils would 'learn about' development with limited opportunities to discuss or reflect upon it.

My understanding is that a development lesson plan aims to develop the students'
awareness of issues in the world.
(Female, Science Lesson Plan, No. 29)

As this was a 'Development Studies' class the pupils learned about a different
culture and a different way of living.
(Male, English Lesson Plan, No. 59)

Learning Objectives:
1. Students will learn about child labour.
2. Students will learn about fair trade.
3. Students will show learning by answering oral questions.
(Male, Geography Lesson Plan, No. 3)

While awareness-raising is a fundamental step in any educative process, in many of the lesson plans it appeared that student teachers were reluctant or unable to implement critical pedagogical processes whereby pupils could raise their own and each others' awareness through discussion, dialogue, reflection and reflexivity. Thus, the radical agenda attached to many Development Education initiatives, while not entirely absent, was effectively backgrounded. Instead, a majority of student teachers perceived their role, in Freirean terms, as 'bankers' – pre-defining the development 'knowledge' that pupils lack and 'lodging' it to them in a range of one-dimensional, top-down methods (Freire, 1973). Unpacking the learning objectives and aims of many of those lesson plans highlighted some contradictory notions of development which are explored in greater detail in the next section.

'Us'/'Them' narratives

A key component of Development Education in schools is to promote an understanding of the world beyond Ireland and Europe. To achieve this learning objective, many student teachers relied on the concept of 'us' and 'them' narratives to encourage a greater awareness of other world views and experiences. Thus, the starting point for a relatively large number of Development Education classes was an exploration of the *differences* between pupils in Irish schools and their peers in poorer countries, with the expectation that this would engender a clearer understanding of what it is like to be sick or hungry or poor or uneducated.

> *Lesson Objective: Students will listen and respond to a story about an internally displaced person: they will reflect on the difficulties that the person faces and compare them with their own lives.*
> (Female, CSPE Lesson Plan, No. 12)

> *I will read out some statistics in relation to Third World poverty. These show the inequality of wealth between many people in Africa and their rulers. They also show how much more we have in comparison.*
> (Male, History Lesson Plan, No. 54)

> *Teacher Activity: Teacher gives students a background on the difference between developing countries and First World countries …Teacher reminds students the advantages they have living in a developed country.*
> (Male, English Lesson Plan, No. 61)

Underpinning this approach was the belief that pupils needed to understand first how 'lucky' or 'fortunate' they are before they could truly appreciate the 'misfortune' of others.

> *Lesson Objective: Students will be able to compare and contrast their own experiences [of being sick] to someone less fortunate than themselves and demonstrate this by contrasting how a girl in Zambia is treated when she is ill and how they are treated themselves.*
> (Female, English Lesson Plan, No. 27)

> *I think this was a successful Development Education lesson – the students made some great points about life in the developing world and many mentioned how lucky they are and how much we take for granted in the developed world – I was delighted when this was mentioned.*
> (Female, CSPE Lesson Plan, No.22)

> *Hopefully the lesson showed just how awful the conditions for [child workers] were and gave [the pupils] a certain insight into the privileged position they occupy in the grand historical scheme.*
> (Male, History Lesson Plan, No. 47)

Communicating development in the classroom in this way draws on a strongly modernizationist discourse which emphasizes difference and 'explains' poverty in terms of what 'developed' countries are perceived to possess and poorer countries are perceived to be deficient in (Andreotti, 2006).

Student teacher reliance on 'us'/'them' approaches is not at all surprising given that many textbooks and NGO materials promote these as effective tools for the delivery of Development Education aims and objectives. In fact, most of the life stories used by the student teachers in this study were taken from teaching resources which actively encouraged pupils to make direct comparisons between their lives and the lives of young people in poorer countries, such as the following example which was taken by one student teacher from the *Global Campaign for Education* website and used in her Development Education lesson.

My name is Adiatou Issaka and I am 12 years old. I live with my family in Niger. I don't go to the local school even though it's only a short distance away. I have never been taught to read or write. My younger brother enrolled in school two years ago. He's the first in our family to go. In the morning when my brother walks to school, I am already hard at work. I spend most of my day, about 6 hours a day, pounding millet which is a kind of grain. Sometimes the work is very hard because I often don't have water. Pounding millet is very hard. You need a lot of strength.

That's not my only task. I sweep the mud hut and compound where we live, go to the well for water, fetch firewood and collect gandafoye leaves which are used to make the sauce we eat with our meals. Sometimes I sell kopto leaves (a kind of cabbage) that my older brother collects. I can make up to 300 francs a day (about €0.40).

I feel sad when my brother goes to school in the morning. He has taught me a few words of French. Sometimes he asks me to go to school with him, but I have to say no. My brother wants to be a teacher so he can share knowledge with everyone. I want to learn to read and write. I think my mother and father would allow me to go to school if there was space there. But who would pound the millet? (National Youth Council of Ireland [NYCI], 2004, p.14)

Pupils who were presented with Adiatou's story as the 'reality' of life for African girls were encouraged to explore the 'differences' between 'a day in their life' and Adiatou's day. While attempts to engage pupils at a personal and emotional level with development issues are beneficial and should be commended, it should also be noted that such efforts are weakened when they rely upon stereotypical notions of developed countries (as those who have) and developing countries (as those who have not).

Although well-intentioned, this crudely dichotomized approach to development issues can act as a barrier to the very kind of interconnectedness that many student teachers were striving to achieve. In this case, by focusing solely on negative representations of Adiatou's life (that is, what she lacks and the hardships she endures each day), it is only possible for the pupils to feel their lives are different and undeniably superior. The student teacher's lesson review notes that 'some pupils said they would like to swap for a day with Adiatou as it would make them appreciate what they have more', a reflection the student teacher felt was 'very mature' (Female, English Lesson Plan, No. 31). However, it could also be argued that using Adiatou's life to make Irish pupils feel better about their own lives reinforces constructions of

'Others' in terms of negative differences and constructions of 'Self' in terms of positive privilege (Smith, 1999, 2004).

Bryan (2008) suggests that comparative analyses of this nature run the risk of 'depoliticizing poverty' when they are not accompanied by a critical examination of why such differences exist in the first place (p. 68). The accompanying resource notes to Adiatou's narrative offer a number of reasons why children like her 'do not have the opportunity to go to school'. Presented in a 'factbox' format, they assume an authoritative stance in outlining a series of decontextualized 'reasons' for 'missing out' on schooling.

> *Children and young people living in poverty*
> *Girls and young women*
> *Children and young people living in conflict situations*
> *Children and young people with disability or other minority needs*
> *Children and young people affected or infected by HIV and AIDS*
> *Child labourers and young people in exploitative work*

Source: National Youth Council of Ireland [NYCI] (2004, p.14)

It is notable that the 'reasons' cited are not explanations *per se*, but a profile of children and young people who are most vulnerable to poverty and disadvantage. Explaining Adiatou's lack of education as a result of her poverty or gender effectively obfuscates debate around possible causes of global poverty and/or inequality and shuts down opportunities to critically examine the structures and systems that create and perpetuate such symptoms of global injustice. Such approaches result in partial and decontextualized understandings of development which are incompatible with the more critical elements of Development Education (Bryan, 2008; Smith, 1999, 2004; Smith & Yanacopulos, 2004). Certainly, constructing Adiatou only in terms of disadvantage, poverty and need — while constructing Irish young people only in terms of privilege — militates against more complex understandings of the legacies and processes of global cultures and contexts (Andreotti, 2006).

Other lesson plans revealed further evidence of modernizationist frameworks which invoke crude dichotomies that essentialize developing countries as 'a series of absences' and developed countries as 'places of plenty' (Smith, 1999, p. 492). As outlined in Chapter 3, modernization theories are based on linear assumptions of development and maintain that 'developed' countries, that is the richer countries of the Northern Hemisphere, are 'further along the path of modern development' and

that developing countries have some way to go before they catch up. From this perspective, it is also believed that 'history progresses along a single path and that all societies can be located somewhere along this historical trail' (Greig, Hulme & Turner, 2007, p. 57). Many of the lesson plans analyzed here were built on a modern-izationist development discourse, wedded to the twin ideas of progress and linearity. In a small number of cases, student teachers interpreted this approach quite literally.

> *I will ask the pupils to make comparisons with the peasants of the [medieval] feudal system and the poorest of the poor in Africa … [In a review of the lesson]: The effectiveness of the class lay in the realization that medieval peasants are not necessarily a thing of the past. That millions of people live in a very basic and impoverished system in the Third World.*
> (Male, History Lesson Plan, No. 54)

> *Intended Learning Outcomes: That the students will see the correlations between [Medieval towns] and the towns/cities of Third World countries …That students will be able to grasp the idea of development and how it takes time for things to change.*
> (Female, History Lesson Plan, No. 73)

This 'us'/'them' dichotomy, coupled with the notion that 'it takes time for things to change', offers a number of insights into the development framework adopted by this, and other, student teachers. Firstly, this approach downplays the role of richer countries in the creation and maintenance of global poverty, suggesting that developing countries are simply backward and slow. Secondly, it reinforces the idea that Western-style development is a natural progression and the ultimate goal of underdeveloped countries; thirdly, it positions developed countries at the apex of progress, no longer hindered by poverty or injustice.

One student teacher's lesson plan focussed on gender inequality in developing countries, a component of which asked pupils to 'research a time when gender inequality was evident in Ireland and discuss how equality was established' (Science Teacher, Female, No. 65). This uncritical positioning of Ireland as a site of fully established equality ignores many legitimate concerns articulated by women's rights groups in Ireland, including political under-representation, gender pay gaps and issues over access to health and reproductive care (National Women's Council of Ireland [NWCI], 2008). Consequently, it promotes an ethnocentric view of development and a false widening of the gap between 'Us'/'Developed' and 'Them'/'Developing'.

In fact, only two out of the 75 lesson plans which were analyzed engaged critically with Eurocentric and ethnocentric views of development, or with the ways in which the wealth and privilege that exists in the West, is in many ways, contingent on the lack of privilege afforded to people in other parts of the world. In the vast majority of cases, poverty, injustice, inequality, racism, corruption, conflict and human rights abuses were characterized as 'developing world' problems, while Irish pupils were repeatedly reminded of their 'luck' in living in such a 'developed' (read: privileged and wealthy) nation.

Educational outputs of Development Education

Neo-liberal educational policies, which have intensified at both local and global levels over the last decade, emphasize the 'need' for tangible educational outputs in formal education. Smith (2004) argues that pressure to attain quantifiable measures of achievement encourages constructions of development in 'absolute and undifferentiated ways' and acts as a constraint on teachers and schools in 'engendering reflexivity and a critical engagement with the 'global' or development' (p. 77). It is encouraging to note that the majority of lesson plans reviewed here, particularly those that dealt with more complex understandings of Development Education, did not appear to place undue importance on measuring progress or recording results. Thus, in most instances, active engagement and healthy dialogue were regarded as adequate evidence of learning and good indicators of effective delivery of development issues.

However, some lesson plans did reflect a strong performance-related orientation, and included a number of assessment techniques. One student teacher initiated a 'pop quiz' at the end of the Development Education lesson to check for learning, while others requested pupils to fill out worksheets at the end of their inputs. Where this was the case, student teachers were more likely to approach Development Education as a knowledge-building exercise, using statistical 'facts' to build pupils' awareness of the 'reality' of global poverty. Communicating development in this way often ignores the ethnocentric 'truth' of many global statistics as they seek to build 'realities' on modernist or dependency frameworks (Smith, 1999). For example, one worksheet required pupils to use the internet to 'search facts about poverty in Africa' (Female, I.T. Lesson Plan, No. 17). No attempt was made to interrogate the search results (provided overwhelmingly by development NGOs engaged in fundraising for development projects) or to critique the 'reality' established by such facts.

In other cases, educational outputs were measured in more abstract terms, with some student teachers seeking evidence that the information presented had an emotional impact:

> *Content and Teacher Activity: Use the textbook for the basic information supplemented by some shocking details retrieved from the internet … List countries in the world in which people … live today in these kinds of conditions. Have all this information verified and be prepared for disbelieving looks and comments.*
> (Female, History Lesson Plan, No. 73)

> *I think the pupils really took something from this class. It woke them up to the injustice that still exists in our world today and the terrible poverty in the Third World … I think I did a good job on the handout, it remained effective even in black and white and it provoked the required reaction.*
> (Male, History Lesson Plan, No. 54)

There was also evidence that student teachers had taken on board the action-oriented aspect of Development Education. Definitions of Development Education communicated in Development Education workshops in pre-service teacher education emphasize the need for Development Education participants to act upon their learning to ensure a more just and equitable world (Irish Aid, 2006b). In some instances, this was re-interpreted by student teachers as a need for pupils to gain a heightened awareness of their responsibility '*to help*'.

> *Lesson Review: By the end of this class I was confident that the students understood the poverty that exists in the world and what we can do to help.*
> (Male, History Lesson Plan, No. 33)

> *Teacher Activity: Teacher reminds students the advantages they have living in a developed country and that they are responsible to do what they can to help those less fortunate than themselves.*
> (Male, English Lesson Plan, No. 61)

> *Content and Teacher Activity: With pupils, brainstorming possible ways that we can help: e.g. Fairtrade, Charity, etc.*
> (Male, Music Lesson Plan, No. 67)

Thus, commitments to 'act' were framed by an understanding of development as a 'charitable impulse' (Smith, 2004, p. 75), a response that was encouraged by most student teachers and, as highlighted in Chapter 8, a similarly popular response amongst more experienced educators.

However, the whole-hearted endorsement given by one teacher to a school-linking and sponsorship programme highlights the problematic and singularly motivated nature of 'development-as-charity' constructions. In this instance, the student teacher was heavily involved in Development Education programmes in the school and acted as the co-ordinator of the linking programme between her school and a school in a country in sub-Saharan Africa. Providing background information to the context of the Development Education lesson, the student teacher presented her understanding of Development Education as 'an active learning process that deepens students' understanding of today's world by provoking critical thinking' (Female, English Lesson Plan, No. 11). Seeking to give her pupils 'different perspectives on development ... from **within** the developing country' (emphasis in original), the student teacher asked the Southern school to '*write letters to our school*'. Photographs of the students attached to the letters were used to '*compile a moving-image montage with background music.*' Using the letters and photographs as primary resources the student teacher aimed to '*make it real*':

> *The point was to make it **real** for the students [emphasis in original]. I didn't want to deliver a lesson on Development Education from a theoretical viewpoint which would end up 'discussing' issues with the class. I wanted them to engage with real people in real situations. Much better that they could discover for themselves the problematic issues faced by people in developing countries, which they were able to do by reading through the letters from the students (which were quite matter-of-fact and informative about the challenges in these young peoples' lives).*
> (Female, English Lesson Plan, No. 11)

While the approach taken was innovative and sought to bring the lived experiences of young African people to the forefront, the charity motif embedded in the sponsorship programme structured the lesson in such a way as to ensure that the African pupils could only be viewed as needy and aid-dependent.

In the first instance, the lesson theme was entitled 'Through their Eyes: Seeing Life as the Students See it in the [town name] Slum' immediately framing the African community as a place of deprivation and the letter writers – the African pupils – as needy of aid. In addition, the letters were addressed 'Dear Sponsor,' immediately

positioning the recipients of the letters – the Irish pupils – as suppliers of financial assistance. While this alone would not have been sufficient evidence of a development-as-charity framework, the letters themselves revealed that a narrow purpose-built reality was communicated to the pupils in the Irish classroom.

All of the letters followed a similar template indicating some level of 'coaching' had taken place. The letters began by setting out the hardships the African youth encountered in their living conditions and their difficulties in managing school fees, before ending with almost identical appeals for financial assistance and promises of hard work in return. While not in any way disputing the deeply difficult conditions of life in many parts of sub-Saharan Africa, the point here is that the *'reality'* which this student teacher sought so hard to portray is a reality shaped and influenced by existing charitable practices.

The letters, essentially begging letters, constructed the African students as passive victims of their circumstances, dependent on aid and financial assistance from their Irish benefactors. If the student teacher had been willing to acknowledge the power relations embedded in these letters, then the true knottiness of 'real life' in an African community and its connections to global processes and practices may have been unravelled for a more honest exploration. Instead, the concept of interdependence in this instance is premised on encouraging a moral obligation to respond in a charitable fashion, obligations which, arguably, can be transitory in nature and end up increasing the vulnerability of the recipient (Dobson, 2006, cited in Andreotti, 2006).

Discussion

The lesson plans analyzed for the purposes of this study offer an interesting snapshot of Development Education lessons in a wide selection of schools and classes and across a broad range of subjects. The information provided in each lesson plan helped to build insights into the kinds of topics student teachers select to communicate Development Education issues, the methodologies and resources used and the learning objectives and aims sought. In addition, they provided real and honest accounts of pupil and teacher learning after Development Education lessons had been delivered. This chapter sought to analyze and interpret these findings to facilitate a greater awareness of how Development Education is understood and communicated by student teachers following interventions in pre-service teacher education.

On a positive note, the majority of student teachers appeared open to, and supportive of, integrating Development Education into their teaching practice and made a considerable effort to create interesting and detailed lesson plans drawing on a wide variety of resources and implementing a range of active and participative method-

ologies. In a substantial number of cases, student teachers took on board the more radical goals of Development Education and attempted to engage pupils in a critical interrogation of social justice and global citizenship issues, although their capacity to do so was limited by the pervasiveness of a modernizationist discourse on development and an emphasis on 'helping' and 'us'/'them' narratives. Lesson plan evaluations written post-implementation revealed most student teachers enjoyed implementing the lesson and felt rewarded by pupils' high levels of interest and engagement.

However, difficulties did emerge around some student teachers' willingness or capacity to deviate from standard curricular content, to implement more active and participatory methodologies, or to forego tangible educational outcomes in favour of more abstract shifts in thinking processes – all of which are necessary to successfully integrate Development Education into classroom practice. While to some extent these issues can be directly linked to inexperience and an associated lack of confidence, the fact that similar problems emerged from the analysis of in-career teachers' experiences of 'doing' Development Education speaks to more structural and overarching constraints (see Chapter 8).

Also problematic was the 'development-as-charity' motif which permeated many of the lesson plans, reflecting the prominent and pervasive endorsement of charity acts as accessible and 'doable' forms of development activism for students, dealt with in more detail in Chapters 4, 5, and 8. Andreotti (2006) argues that such practices are problematic as they are grounded in ethnocentric notions of cultural superiority and are not far removed from the 'civilizing missions' of the colonial eras. As Phelan (2001, p. 584) notes, teacher education programmes encourage prospective teachers to 'assimilate and accommodate existing ways of thinking and doing'. Research carried out by McCormack & O'Flaherty (2007) amongst pre-service teachers in Ireland highlighted more important priorities than Development Education, such as 'trying to fit into the organization' and 'not rocking the boat', in the early stages of their teaching career. As charitable endeavours tend to be highly respected within the school community, it is, perhaps, unsurprising that not one of the 75 student teachers sought to critique the 'development-as-charity' framework.

While not trying to overstate the difficulties and dilemmas experienced by some but not all of the student teachers in implementing their first Development Education lesson, it is important to note that the 'problems' which emerged from this analysis are echoed in the chapters exploring extensively experienced teachers' accounts of 'doing' Development Education, and in the chapters exploring the discourse of development in curricular materials. Overall, student teachers' evaluations of their own Development Education lesson plans serve to highlight the complexity of the

task of facilitating effective engagement in complex development issues within a limited timeframe and overcrowded curriculum and with curricular resources and a school environment that tends to emphasize a 'development-as-charity' framework. These issues are taken up again in more detail in subsequent chapters which examine Development Education from the perspective of in-career teachers.

In-Career Teachers' Views on the Status of Development Education within Post-Primary Schools

This chapter explores teachers' impressions of the status of Development Education within their schools and within the formal curriculum. The data are derived from the in-depth interviews with practising teachers. The first section highlights the extent of variation across different schools, focusing primarily on extra-curricular activities as a locus for the communication of development in post-primary schools. Building on the textual analysis of how development is communicated in curriculum materials presented in earlier chapters, we then examine teachers' perceptions of the status of Development Education within the formal curriculum. This chapter serves as a contextual backdrop for a deeper consideration of teachers' understandings of Development Education, their experiences and perceptions of teaching global issues at the 'chalkface,' and the nature of development activism in schools.

The profile of Development Education in schools

Given the purposive approach to sampling employed in the research, participants were drawn from schools with differing levels of emphasis and approaches to Development Education.[15] For analytic purposes, we divided the teacher sample according to whether the profile or 'visibility' of Development Education within the

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15   As a small-scale, qualitative exploration of post-primary teachers' experiences of incorporating development themes and issues in their teaching, this aspect of the research does not claim to be representative of the broader national landscape of Development Education in post-primary schools in the Republic of Ireland. (continued)

schools where they taught was low, medium or high. As explored in more detail below, those schools which were classified as having a high Development Education profile were typically engaged in a range of extra-curricular activities or initiatives with a strong social justice dimension and tended to have a management structure which was highly supportive of teachers' individual efforts to promote various forms of Development Education and activism within schools. Many of these schools had also established links with 'partner' schools in the Global South, through school-linking programmes, which are discussed in detail in Chapter 9, and/or offered Transition Year (TY) modules with an emphasis on social justice and development issues.

High-profile Development Education appeared more likely to occur in schools with any or all of the following factors: a private, fee-paying structure; a large student body from relatively privileged backgrounds; strong links with religious missionary orders; and staff member(s) with a passion and commitment for Development Education. In some cases, support for Development Education initiatives was assisted by an awareness of the status-enhancing and publicity-generating effects of pupil involvement with social justice endeavours. However, altruistic motives were more common and teachers reported high-profile schools as having a genuine belief in the importance of instilling a social justice and global citizen ethic in students.

Conversely, those schools where the status of Development Education was low tended to be more focused on examination performance, progression to third level and, in some cases, school retention. While these factors were also important in schools with 'high-profile' Development Education, there was often a 'taken-for-grantedness' about their students' ability to perform well academically which gave these schools room to implement a more holistic approach. In contrast, schools with a lower Development Education profile tended to be less advantaged and appeared not to have the 'luxury' of diverting time, money, effort and resources away from the absolute 'basics'. Schools with a low Development Education profile also appeared to lack individual staff members who were willing or able to drive support for development issues within the school. However, as described in more detail below, some low-profile schools actively resisted teachers' attempts to make Development

15 (continued) See Gleeson et al. (2007) for a nationally representative study of development knowledge, attitudes and activism in Irish post-primary schools. Rather, in this chapter and the next, we seek to provide a range of insights into teachers' experiences, understandings and viewpoints on Global Citizenship Education as an educational process and how this relates to the form and shape that Development Education takes in schools.

Education a more central feature of their schools, indicating that the success of individual staff members in promoting Development Education may be contingent on whole-school support in the first instance. The next section examines in more detail the profile of Development Education within schools, with a particular emphasis on Development Education activities that take place outside of formal lessons.

'High Visibility' Development Education

Development Education had a high profile in about a third of the schools where participants taught. In these instances, a commitment to social justice was often, although not always, a central pillar of the school's ethos or mission statement and some of these schools had strong historical links with missionaries overseas.

> *In this school there is…we've a mission statement that talks about [working] for others in pursuit of a just world. So [students] have an interest in social justice-related activities and ideas and enterprises.*
> (Male, 38 years' experience, St Angela's Secondary School)

> *It is a religious [Convent] school. So because of that, justice would be high on the agenda of the school so it was easy enough to bring [development] in to these issues. And as well as that, there would be people coming home from the missions and telling them all what went on and you know, so, in that sense …*
> (Female, 20 years' experience, St Therese's Secondary School)

> *… We are a school which was formerly run by a religious order who still have schools in Africa so we would do some Development Education based around their work in Africa and we would do fundraising.*
> (Male, 30 years' experience, Blessed Sacrament Secondary School)

> *… And you know I think also, you see our background is Catholic, right, and even though that may come with a number of shackles and a bad reputation at the moment, there is a very strong spirit of giving and helping in service, very strong background of that, within our school, because of the history and the culture, and I think just because of the personal ethics of the people running the school.*
> (Female, 3 years' experience, St Elizabeth's Secondary School)

In a couple of instances where the profile of Development Education within the school was high, both students and staff had specific responsibilities for the promotion of development-related activities within the school. One school even had a designated 'ethos prefect' – a senior student whose role is 'to promote social

justice in the school' – as well as a committee of students who worked in collaboration with a designated teacher with similar responsibilities on various development-related events and activities. In some of those schools where the promotion of social justice was a central feature of the school's identity, social action was framed either implicitly or explicitly in terms of a moral obligation to 'help those less fortunate than themselves.' One participant, who was heavily involved in facilitating a range of charitable activities to enable her students to 'help those less fortunate than oneself' described her school's efforts to cultivate 'social activators' or 'stewards' motivated by a 'moral obligation to reach out to others.' The implications of framing social action in terms of a moral obligation to 'help others' are addressed in more detail in Chapters 8 and 9 in terms of a consideration of the forms of development activism that are most prevalent in Irish schools.

A number of participants from schools where development activities featured prominently alluded to the fact that global/social justice issues featured regularly as agenda items at staff meetings, school assemblies, intercom announcements etc., or that development themes had a visual presence in posters placed throughout the school.

> *Every staff meeting we go up and say something [about the various Development Education projects being undertaken] at staff meetings, that's probably important. We do about half an hour at each staff meeting.*
> (Female, 12 years' experience, Riverstown Community College)

> *This year now [Development Education] has [a fairly high profile]. Through our project, group project. Held in very high esteem. So much so that, you know, because, over the [intercom] announcements everybody would hear [Development Education project group] meet at four o clock this Tuesday. So the whole school hears that. The whole school knows that there's something going on. And it's mentioned, or has been at every staff meeting we've had. So there's been a report from either [another teacher] or myself about how the [Development Education project] is going.*
> (Female 29 years' experience, Johnstown Community School)

The high profile of Development Education within schools was often partly attributable to the school's involvement in regional or national-level events and competitions with a Development Education remit, such as the Young Social Innovators Programme (YSI), or collaborative projects with development NGOs. One participant, for example, explained how the profile of Development Education within her school had been greatly enhanced in recent years due to a number of

collaborative initiatives with development NGOs and with the establishment of a formal school link with a school in Africa.

> *And there was a big publicity. Everybody in our school knew that we were linking with a school in [majority world country]. Everybody knew about the Millennium Development Goals. There was a competition for a day in the life of [Johnstown Community School]. So the girls, this was a day in the life of [Johnstown], you create some package and the teachers will take the best ones out to [majority world country]. There were huge big posters around the school based on the Millennium Development Goals, on developing countries.*
> (Female, 29 years' experience, Johnstown Community School)

In those schools where the profile of development was high, participants often spoke about the need for schools to produce well-rounded, socially conscious individuals and viewed Development Education as having an important role to play in this process.

> *And again I think it comes back to the overall ethos of the school, that, you know, getting 600 points in your Leaving Cert is, we aim for every child, every student to do their very best and reach their full potential. But that would not be seen as the overriding ambition or as an excellent education, we would look at the spiritual education, the human rights education, the physical, the social, all of those elements are equally important in the school.*
> (Female, 20 years' experience, Woodlands Comprehensive School)

Those schools where global justice issues featured prominently were characterized by a management structure that was highly supportive of Development Education initiatives and were staffed by a number of individuals with a strong personal interest and investment in Development Education.

> *So, I suppose, in the day-to-day running of the school in a practical way what happens is I have an idea that I want to do something as a CSPE teacher or the RE teacher comes to me, or the Art teacher comes to me, and we will formulate a plan and go to management. So it's not management driven in that sense, but it is always management supported. You know, you would never hear 'No' in this school to a project on development or human rights issues.*
> (Female, 20 years' experience, Woodlands Comprehensive School)

The Principal is a very, very busy man and so is the Vice Principal but we are very, very surprised at the amount of support that we get [for Development Education initiatives]. I would say that Development Education somehow has managed to get a status second to hurling, which is big. That's very big. Somehow, I don't know how but we managed to get it.
(Female, 12 years' experience, Riverstown Community College)

I think that the management of the school very strongly encourage students actively helping, and we get a lot of support for our social justice programme. Our Principal is a CSPE teacher, which helps enormously, and she still teaches it.
(Female, 3 years' experience, St Elizabeth's Secondary School)

So I feel the school is huge really in terms of Development Education. I mean we're just very lucky, we have a large school… and in that you're going to get a large staff and each of those staff members bring certain skills and gifts and therefore we have such diversity in that we have I would say six or eight people who are very involved in some form of Development Education.
(Male, 26 years' experience, Greenwood Community College)

Development Education as reputation-enhancing

In a number of schools, development issues had only recently become a focus of attention, or the status of Development Education had been elevated within the school in recent years. Some teachers attributed the growing profile of Development Education within their schools to a perception that schools' involvement in Development Education initiatives enhanced the overall reputation of the school and enabled them to demonstrate that they were offering a 'well-rounded education' to their students. Extra-curricular activities and events with a social justice or development dimension that teachers and students participated in thus comprised a 'badge of honour' for those involved, often attracting positive publicity for the school. In this sense it can be argued that Development Education serves an intrinsic as well as a reputation-enhancing function for schools, enabling them to demonstrate to parents, members of the public and the DES their ability to produce altruistic, well-rounded citizens who are aware of their 'responsibility to humanity.'

Yeah, you know headmaster, headmistress maybe, first of all given that they would strongly support [Development Education] in its own right, they think it's a good thing in its own right but also it does no harm when it comes to school inspection, to be able to show that they have a very rounded approach to the education of children.
(Male, 35 years' experience, St Julia's Secondary School)

This participant went on to describe how his school's more recent embrace of a whole-school approach to Development Education had enabled it to better position itself in relation to, or 'take on', its competitor schools, particularly those peer institutions well known for their social justice activities.

> *So I would definitely see that as becoming more important, growing importance and taking on places with highly established charity events like [St. Angela's] and [their] overnight [fundraiser] at Christmas and all the rest. I think our school has taken on board a whole lot of different projects, so yes [Development Education is of] increasing importance.*
> (Male, 35 years' experience, St Julia's Secondary School)

In some schools where development issues featured prominently in the extra-curriculum, or were perceived to be of growing importance, social justice pursuits were deemed to be of local or national media or political interest and thus served a direct reputation-enhancing function for the school.

> *They're sending out invitations, they're contacting the press, they're getting the [Government Minister] or whoever to come along and launch [the Development Education project] for us.*
> (Female, 29 years' experience, Johnstown Community School)

> *There's like the PR person in the school is like always saying 'have you got anything [related to Development Education work with students], have you got anything?*
> (Female, 12 years' experience, Riverstown Community College)

Specific development projects were usually undertaken by a core group or an individual teacher with a particular personal investment in development and justice issues. Such projects often involved considerable investment of teachers' own personal time over and above their official school responsibilities. In fact, participants were unanimous in their perception that the overall status of Development Education within a school – and, indeed, within the formal curriculum – was strongly determined by the level of interest and motivation of individual teachers within the school.

> *I think that [Development Education] would be very much something that individual teachers would take on, and 'cause as I say, it's not built into the Constitution of the school… I mean obviously, like, every school would, you know, stuff comes through the letter box and it's taken up and taken on board, but there's no policy on it.*
> (Male, 15 years' experience, Glenabbey Secondary School)

Within the staff things will be driven by one or two passionate members, members who are passionate about sport, members who are passionate about music, and that is very true of [Woodlands]. But we have, right across the board, a number of teachers in the RE department, in our English department, we've a huge cross-curricular approach to development.
(Female, 21 years' experience, Woodlands Comprehensive School)

Well, you need somebody to promote it, do you know what I mean? And because the timetable is so strict and so tight … some teachers can't see beyond their own little subject.
(Female, 20 years' experience, St Therese's Secondary School)

This last participant worked tirelessly in her school to encourage her colleagues to incorporate Development Education themes in their respective subjects and to convince them of the 'value of doing Development Education.'

My one aim …was to get [development] on the curriculum. To get it … and ah, to get other teachers involved in it and see the value of doing Development Education.
(Female, 20 years' experience, St Therese's Secondary School)

A number of participants expressed that they felt 'passionate' about Development or Human Rights Education and, hence, were intrinsically motivated to take an active role in organizing development-related activities within their schools, or encouraging colleagues to incorporate development topics within their lessons. While this passion and commitment to justice issues resulted in or contributed to development having a visible presence in some schools, the reliance on individual teachers to 'champion' the cause of Development Education raises questions about the sustainability of Development Education in schools, particularly in an era of educational cutbacks where there is an expectation to 'do more with less.' Some of those teachers who were proactive in enhancing their school's Development Education profile were on temporary contracts or worked in a voluntary capacity while others were close to retirement.

One participant talked about how taking the lead on a large extra-curricular Development Education project, which had really enhanced the profile of development within the school, 'was too much [work] for two teachers' and expressed concerns about the future status of Development Education within the school due to the level of time and commitment that such work often entailed.

*[The Development Education Project] was a labour of love, and I don't think, …
although the Principal was very well intentioned at the beginning of the year, and
staff all said yes they'd be delighted to help, it still came down to [one other teacher]
and myself.*
(Female, 29 years' experience, Johnstown Community School)

'Poor Visibility' Development Education

Development Education did not have any notable presence or an evolving profile
in about a third of the schools from which the interview sample was drawn. One
participant attributed the low status of Development Education to the predominance
of a culture of competitive individualism within her school, where an emphasis on
hard work and competing for entry to the 'top universities in the country' took
precedence over all other concerns.

*I wouldn't say particularly there is a social justice ethos at all in the school. I think
you are expected, there's a sort of an individualistic approach to everything in the
school. You work hard, you get on, you go to, you get your points you go to the top
universities in the country and there's huge emphasis on points in the school and
there are, more time is taken up with considerations about how to get as many
Leaving Cert points as possible.*
(Female, 9 years' experience, Whitechurch Secondary School)

Another participant compared the lack of emphasis devoted to global justice themes
in her school to another 'high visibility' school where she had previously taught.

*I think [level of awareness or interest in development issues] is pretty low to be
honest. Like, I have never even really heard it discussed at meetings so much or, it
just doesn't, it's not a topic that comes up in conversation. […] So those elements
are missing, whereas in [the other school], there was a huge, like there's a huge
difference actually in development between the two schools. Like, it was mentioned
regularly. Like, we used to kind of be joking that if someone mentions [social justice
principles] again there's going to be mutiny in the staff because it was all the time!*
(Female, 6 years' experience, St Martha's Secondary School)

She explained that her efforts to utilize her Development Education expertise and
experience of having taught a discrete Development Education module in the
previous 'high visibility' Development Education school was not welcomed in her
new school environment.

Yeah, well I suggested that, I think it was last year, that I would do a development module. And it was kind of, the Geography teacher said 'no, it's covered in Geography in fourth year'.
(Female, 6 years' experience, St Martha's Secondary School)

Others described how development issues did not receive any attention outside the context of curriculum areas with a specific development remit in their schools, such as CSPE, with one commentator highlighting the tendency for 'local or Irish' concerns to be privileged within the context of development activism within the school.

[Development Education] is not like, yeah, it's not huge. It's not in a big way at all. They would, the kids would learn what they learn in CSPE but really most of the issues that would be run with within the school would be local or Irish, do you know like? Even in CSPE they would learn about international issues, but when it comes to doing projects or when it comes to raising money, you know doing a fundraiser or anything like that it's fairly, it's kept fairly local, do you know?
(Female, 5 years' experience, St Edward's Secondary School)

Indeed, a number of participants pointed out that, to the extent that Development Education did feature within their schools, it was largely confined to TY or to specific subject areas like CSPE.

I suppose the only place that [Development Education] would have come across would be in the likes of CSPE classes.
(Female, 30 years' experience, Abbeyfield Community School)

No, I don't think [Development Education] has a central focus. Not Development Education as such, and I think the Transition Year programme has a certain amount of it, and that maybe the students are more aware of the development issues as a result of they know that they're going to be going to [developing country as part of a school linking programme]. And they come back they're more aware of development issues. But I don't think the school necessarily promotes – outside of Transition Year – Development Education.
(Female, 7 years' experience, Glenabbey Secondary School)

The next section explores the status of development within the formal curriculum and within particular academic subjects more specifically, and looks in more detail at the perceived opportunities for engagement with global justice themes afforded by TY.

The status of Development Education in the formal curriculum

While a minority of participants felt that the existing curriculum afforded sufficient opportunities to engage with global justice themes and issues, the vast majority of participants felt that development issues occupied a very marginal position within the formal curriculum, with many identifying mere superficial treatment of development issues within their own subject areas.

One participant expressed his frustration at the lack of importance accorded to Development Education within the formal curriculum as follows:

Development Education I think is key to the development of our planet, it's absolutely key. You couldn't be doing anything more important than learning how to survive, how to help each other to survive, how to have an equal society, how to have a fair society, how to have a just world. I mean what's more important than that? How little of our curriculum actually deals with that! It's more important to learn higher calculus or to learn the poetry of Lord Byron or to look at the history that was written by men about the colonial era or something. It's [considered] more important to do that than learn about the world we live in today.
(Male, 26 years' experience, Greenwood Community College)

Participants characterized the status of development as 'bitty', 'scattered', 'segmented' or 'hit and miss', reflecting a perceived a lack of cohesion and integration where global justice themes were concerned.

But in terms of Development Education, I find that I'm not sure where it fits in. I find it very bitty, there's a bit in CSPE, there's a bit in maybe the Religious Education curriculum, if you so wish to you can touch on it a bit in English. They're my three subjects. … So I'd love something that brought all of that together for me as a teacher who is interested in Development Education.
(Female, 9 years' experience, St Angela's Secondary School)

I think it probably needs to be more cohesive. You might do it through SPHE, you might to a bit of it in CSPE, you might do a bit of it in Science, you might do a bit of it in Geography. You might do a bit of History, talk about slavery or whatever … But sometimes it's hit and miss, do you know?
(Female, 20 years' experience, St Therese's Secondary School)

But it's still is all very, what's the word, segmented, I suppose.
(Female, 20 years' experience, St Fergna's Secondary School)

Others hinted at the marginal status of Development Education within the academic curriculum more implicitly, highlighting extra-curricular activities as the *primary* locus of Development Education within their schools.

Now I address a minority of [development issues] in my own module, but only a minority of them. But I would say that there is probably more emphasis, much more emphasis on justice issues in [St Angela's] in extra-curricular activities even than in … well there's emphasis in the classroom as well, but it's in the extracurricular activities that [St Angela's] has an awful lot going on. There's a huge number of events that take place in the yearly cycle which are about justice.
(Male, 38 years' experience, St Angela's Secondary School)

Many participants commented on the superficial treatment or neglected status of development within their respective subject areas, whereas others didn't see any real scope to incorporate development into their particular subjects.

For the Economics course, for Leaving Cert in my view [development] has been a hugely neglected area, sort of being tagged on there and in terms of exam questions. For example very, very little has come up in recent years on that or any year in fact on Development Education and so it was more theoretical stuff and national economics but that was just sort of sidetracked. It was done on the course but obviously a lot of people wouldn't pay too much attention to it if it wasn't, because the points system, because it wasn't deemed to be very important. And I think it's only in latter years that you know it's become a little bit more important.
(Male, 35 years' experience, St Julia's Secondary School)

Maybe in relation to statistics and things like that that you could bring [development] in indirectly into [Maths]. I can't see any scope otherwise.
(Female, 30 years' experience Abbeyfield Community College)

Definitely in Maths, you don't do anything [on development]… like there's not much you can, there's not a huge amount you could do with the likes of Maths. But even taking surveys and stuff, everything is always based in, you know, Ireland and I suppose you do have to make it, they do need to relate to it, but Maths I would say absolutely there is nothing there [about development].
(Female, 5 years' experience, St Edward's Secondary School)

Realistically [development] really doesn't [feature in the History syllabus], and I know, I know in the HDip, say, we were, part of our portfolio was that we had to show that we'd done a Development Education class within our subjects and I liked the idea of that, and it's fine in theory, but just in reality it doesn't really come up.
(Female, 6 years' experience, St Martha's Secondary School)[16]

The status of Development Education within Religious Education

Even in those subjects that are often viewed as lending themselves most directly to a consideration of development issues, such as RE, participants argued that there was little formal attention to development issues in the RE syllabus.[17] Students' exposure to development themes was thought to be largely contingent on the willingness of individual teachers to incorporate Development Education into their RE classes themselves.

The RE, depending on which RE teacher they had, sometimes [Development Education] was covered, sometimes it wasn't covered. So [development] crept in really because I just felt it was something I wanted to do, cover with them and thought it would be worthwhile.
(Male, 35 years' experience, St Julia's Secondary School)

But from an RE point of view [development is] not on the curriculum anymore. It's up to individual teachers if they want to bring it in… so it's left up to the individual teacher really, it's not a state thing or not in the textbooks.
(Male, 30 years' experience, Blessed Sacrament Secondary School)

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16 The 'HDip' refers to the 'Higher Diploma in Education,' the post-graduate qualification undertaken by those who wish to become secondary school teachers in the Republic of Ireland. This qualification is now formally known as the Post-graduate Diploma in Education (PGDE).

17 The NCCA (2006) suggests that while Leaving Certificate RE provides opportunities for the exploration of a range of global justice issues, 'in practice…students may not be exposed to the full range of opportunities due to the range of options available for study within the syllabus' (p. 107).

In the [Junior Certificate RE] examination course [Development Education] wouldn't be massive now really. A bit on social justice on one section and I suppose maybe we could go more into it, it wouldn't be massive now, it wouldn't be massive.
(Male, 17 years' experience, Ashfield Community School)

This participant went on to describe how:

There's no set down curriculum for the senior cycle [RE programme], it's down to the skills and interest of the teachers involved really to a large extent. I would, and certainly one of my colleagues would, make a point of certainly addressing it explicitly and whether it's documentary material or video material which relate to issues and again maybe to reinforce something that may have been brought up in Transition Year just to sensitize the students, you know, it just makes the point and gets them to stop and think, you know?
(Male, 17 years' experience, Ashfield Community School)

Despite the limited attention devoted to development issues within the formal RE curriculum, a number of participants viewed RE as an important 'space' to explore development themes and issues with students when it was not being offered as an examination subject, and hence not restricted to a prescribed curriculum.[18]

And the senior [RE] programme seems more to be about the me, the individual, and forming my own opinions, and you know moral ideas. But there is a certain amount of [Development Education] in the Junior Cert programme again, and a certain amount of space there I suppose where you can broaden it out, and obviously it was an area that I really enjoyed covering with the students as well. But the curriculum, now I didn't teach it as an exam subject, it's not an exam subject here, and I think you could get a very different answer from somebody who is teaching it as an exam subject, because you certainly wouldn't have the freedom to spend any excess time on development, and the course is very, very broad, and there is a huge amount of learning in it.
(Female, 20 years' experience, St Fergna's Secondary School)

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[18] There is an optional framework for senior cycle RE which is designed to offer teachers who are not preparing students for the Leaving Certificate examination in Religious education a structure within which to plan a programme of Religious Education for senior cycle. This framework is much shorter and comprises a far less detailed specification than the Leaving Cert examination course, and 'offers more choice and scope for creativity for teachers and schools' (NCCA, 2006, p. 107).

> *There's a certain freedom given to us because [RE's] not an exam subject at the end of the day. We can introduce it, I can show my slides of [majority world region] and talk about my experiences there and [students] ask me a million questions about my experience out there, which was very, very good as you can imagine. And I find that's something they remember years and years on. Like I'm 30 years here but its 20 years since I was out there but I regularly meet past pupils from 10 or 15 years ago who ask me about my experiences in [majority world region] because they remember the way I portrayed it and the way I talked about it.*
> (Male, 30 years' experience, Blessed Sacrament Secondary School)

This participant described a somewhat 'unique approach' to the study of RE within his school, comprising a modular structure for senior cycle students whereby students are introduced to different development issues through a combination of small group workshops, visits to development NGOs and visiting speakers.

> *But in fifth and sixth year the teachers, we do a modular approach so every 10 weeks the teacher would move to a different group three or four times a year with fifth year and then in sixth year we have a most unique Religion programme which involves a lot of Development Education stuff in it. And it's based on people sharing their personal experience in small groups usually around a cup of coffee with the senior students.*
> (Male, 30 years' experience, Blessed Sacrament Secondary School)

The status of Development Education in Geography

As outlined in Chapter 5, our analysis of textbooks found that Geography was the academic subject which engaged most substantively and critically with development issues. In-depth interviews with Geography teachers revealed that, whereas Geography was seen to present *some* opportunities for engagement with development themes and issues at Junior Certificate level, participants saw fewer formal opportunities for direct engagement with development themes in the senior cycle syllabus.

> *I mean in Geography we do development, we do First and Third World, we do underdevelopment. We do poverty in Third World countries, we do life expectancy, we do Fairtrade.*
> (Female, 29 years' experience, Johnstown Community School)

[In Junior Certificate Geography] they go through economic inequality, why countries haven't developed and about colonization and all that stuff. And it's basically what comes up [on the exam]. It's a fairly serious section. It will come up on the paper.
(Male, 30 years' experience, Blessed Sacrament Secondary School)

Interviewer: Do you think [development] kind of features prominently within Geography?

Respondent: Yeah, as a section, but you know I wouldn't say prominently. No, Geography is very, very broad. And a definite section within it, but you know really a fifth of an area of study, that you can give over to it, but there's another four-fifths that can't be excluded either.
(Female, 20 years' experience, St Fergna's Secondary School)

And in Geography [in Junior Certificate] there's one section on global inequalities. But, I don't think it ties in throughout the whole course in Geography. It's really kind of a unique section that I do with them in third year and they're really open to it and really enthusiastic about it. And then, in Leaving Cert [Geography] there are no formal opportunities to cover any Development Education and there's no CSPE obviously in fifth and sixth year so …
(Female, 7 years' experience, Glenabbey Secondary School)

Despite the perceived lack of formal opportunities to directly address development within the Leaving Certificate Geography syllabus, this participant still felt that there were *some* opportunities to bring development issues in, albeit more indirectly, as part of an option within the core unit on 'regional Geography' which all higher and ordinary level students are required to take.[19]

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19 As part of the unit on regional Geography (Core unit 2), Leaving Certificate Geography students must study one continental or sub-continental region other than Europe, which presents opportunities for engaging with development issues as they affect the sub-continent of India, or the continents of Africa or South America, for example. The most recent Chief Examiner's Report for Leaving Cert Geography for which data are available suggest that India and the Southwest of the USA were the regions chosen most commonly by students in the Geography exam that year (State Examinations Commission, 2007).

But I suppose there are, say on my Geography course for Leaving Cert, although there are no formal areas where I can include it in the curriculum, it comes out, say, when we study a sub-continental country and we always choose India … Then, as a result, challenges that arise in the country are discussed, although they may not actually be tested on the Leaving Cert. It comes up in a discussion-based area anyway.
(Female, 7 years' experience, Glenabbey Secondary School)

Another Geography teacher characterized development as an 'underdeveloped part of the Geography curriculum'. He pointed to a perceived lack of available or effective instructional resources on continents like Africa, which may have the effect of steering teachers and/or students away from 'developing world' regions and towards regions about which information is perceived to be more plentiful.

I would think [development] is an undeveloped part of the [Geography] curriculum. I mean we seem to have no problem accessing information or details or documents on, say, Scandinavian countries and European countries but for whatever reason with Africa there isn't a huge amount out there. And what we get, like, is limited. So I suppose there's not much there, not much data.
(Male, 30 years' experience, Blessed Sacrament Secondary School)

While the textbook analysis revealed that development themes are explicitly addressed, often in a critical manner, within the Leaving Certificate Geography curriculum, much of this takes place within the context of the elective or optional units, which may account for the perceived under-representation of global issues amongst Geography teachers.[20] As one participant explained, the option where

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[20] Ordinary level Geography students are required to study either elective Unit 4 'patterns and processes in economic activities' or elective unit 5 'patterns and processes in the human environment'. Higher level students are required to take one of these electives as well as one optional unit from among Global interdependence (optional unit 6), geoecology (optional unit 7), culture and identity (optional unit 8) and the atmosphere – ocean environment (optional unit 9). The 'optional units' on 'global interdependence' and 'cultural identity' and an 'elective unit' on 'patterns and processes in economic activities' addresses a wide range of development themes and issues. Analysis of questions chosen and performance in Leaving Certificate Geography papers reveals that Global Interdependence is the second most commonly attempted option in the Leaving Cert higher paper, after geoecology, but that the identity and culture optional module is one of the 'less popular options' (State Examinations Commission, 2007).

economic development issues were addressed was sometimes viewed as a far less attractive option by her Geography colleagues because it was perceived to be too time-consuming relative to its competitor elective which was more fieldwork based.

Development Education is quite broad on the [Leaving Certificate] Geography programme. Some of the teachers would be very interested in [development issues in] Geography, but they say 'it would take us the whole year to do it' so therefore they don't do it. They do it indirectly but they wouldn't do that section [of the syllabus]. They put it into the Leaving Cert Geography curriculum but opposite a part that everybody goes for. They enjoy the fieldwork, they're off for the day, they know, they nearly know their marks before they go into the exams, so who'd be doing Development Education?
(Female, 20 years' experience, St Therese's Secondary School)

CSPE: a 'Cinderella subject'

The low status of Development Education within the formal curriculum is compounded by the limited time devoted to CSPE within the academic timetable relative to other subjects (one 40-minute period per week), and by the fact that many of those who teach the subject lack a formal qualification in it. One participant characterized CSPE as a 'Cinderella subject', reflecting well-documented negative views about its marginal status within schools (e.g., Murphy, 2009; Niens & McIllrath, 2010; Sugrue et al., 2007).

CSPE is a Cinderella subject… No one takes it that seriously!
(Male, 30 years' experience, Blessed Sacrament Secondary School)

And you know people really, people feel like 'ah God that CSPE thing.' They all feel like it's a vague subject, a mishmash of various other things, and they don't have time.
(Female, 3 years' experience, St Elizabeth's Secondary School)

This participant, like other CSPE teachers in the sample, described the considerable stress and pressure associated with trying to complete the CSPE syllabus and assessment requirements within the limited amount of time made available within the timetable.

And suddenly, now I don't feel this way, but suddenly, and I can totally appreciate my colleagues' perspective, you've got a new subject, you have to learn the whole curriculum, and it's one class a week, not one hour. So you have to do an enormous

amount of work for one class a week, for an exam, and you still have to do everything else. And there is a project associated with it, which is a huge amount of work… And it's not like Civics or Religion, because they have to do an exam, and people resent this because it's another worry for them, because you are, whether or not you like it, judged on your students' results.
(Female, 3 years' experience, St Elizabeth's Secondary School)

The only thing with CSPE, it's one period a week, there's an awful lot to cover, and the stress of worrying about not covering that curriculum in one period a week, it's big, you know. I know a lot of teachers would worry about that. And then you've got, you've got the [action project] to do as well.
(Female, 29 years' experience, Johnstown Community School)

Well the problem with CSPE is that you only have it once a week. One class. So you're very limited there really.
(Female, 20 years' experience, Forest Hill Community College)

Most of those who taught CSPE indicated that they did not have any of formal training on how to teach the subject and, in a majority of cases, were 'conscripted' into it (Murphy, 2009).

No it was just one of those, they had one [CSPE] class to spare, so they shoved it my way last year… Yeah they kind of just threw it at me but I kind of enjoy that kind of thing you know because of… my background.
(Female, 12 years' experience, Hazelwood Community College)

[CSPE], well, no formal training in it. Was sent on, I suppose when it was first being introduced, it's been ten years now or something, more than that probably, an in-service day and my subject combination, I was told 'you'd be good at that' and so would you mind teaching it? 'No I wouldn't,' and when I looked over it, sure it's practically what I'd be doing in Geography anyway.
(Female, 29 years' experience, Johnstown Community School)

So, I picked [CSPE] up as a subject because a teacher, we had to let a teacher go because we didn't have the hours to keep her on, so her timetable had to be re-distributed among the staff, so I picked up a CSPE class out of it, and the Religion class out of it.
(Female, 5 years' experience, St Edward's Secondary School)

There were three or four teachers who were given CSPE at Junior Cert level which shouldn't happen. I never had CSPE before until this year and then three of us got CSPE on the timetable.
(Female, 12 years' experience, Riverstown Community College)

While the CSPE teachers in this study were, by and large, enthusiastic about the subject, they often did not feel especially confident teaching it, an issue which is addressed in more detail in Chapter 8. Others expressed concern about the quality and content of the action projects associated with CSPE.

And we do genuine [action] projects, but I have colleagues that don't. I have one colleague that … had an ice cream van brought into the playground, they sold ice creams to the students, I don't know what charity it was for, I don't know what concept it was for, but it was a CSPE project, an action project. It took one day. I don't know, they might have made a few phone calls to invite the ice cream man around, they put up a few posters to tell people "there is an ice cream van coming around". I thought that was more of a, you know, those business projects they do?
(Female, 3 years' experience, St Elizabeth's Secondary School)

Those who taught CSPE were generally very much in favour of the proposed new Leaving Certificate subject in Politics and Society as a follow on from CSPE at junior cycle. Participants expressed frustration at their inability to present anything other than development 'snapshots' or to substantively engage 'on an academic level' within the current curricular structure.

I would like to see more [of an emphasis on development issues in the curriculum] and we do strive here, within CSPE I suppose it's quite tricky. I, I welcome the introduction of Politics and Society and I hope that major development issues will be, that we will look at the global society and that major development issues will be addressed there. You're a little bit limited in CSPE because the students only take it from 12 to 15, and there's only so much that they can engage with on an academic level about the world financial system and the world trading system. So you have to simplify it down.
(Female, 21 years' experience, Woodlands Comprehensive School)

I think [senior cycle CSPE] is badly needed, because the CSPE touches upon many, many issues over the three-year period, but in a very, I suppose, general sense, and I think that senior cycle students certainly need to have, I suppose, a continued awareness of their own society for a start, and then of societies in general. So I think it would be a great subject area. And obviously it would tie into Development Education as well, and many of the issues would come into it, and it would be a great forum for introducing more also.
(Female, 20 years' experience, St Fergna's Secondary School)

I don't expect them to tell the whole story about everything, and I know education time is limited to 40-minute classes, but that's why it needs to be a senior cycle subject, so you can explore the why, not just look at little snapshots.
(Male, 26 years' experience, Greenwood Community College)

This participant's frustrations were compounded by his belief that the lack of formal curricular opportunities to study global and social justice themes at senior cycle was out of sync with young people's keen sense of justice and interest in global issues.

But I would feel a little bit frustrated that there's not more [Development Education] at senior cycle, and that we're not recognizing the young people who have a huge sense of justice and have a huge sense of equality in a sense, yet they're not being given a voice for that through mainstream education. They have to join clubs or organizations or after school groups, or lunch time groups or whatever else.
(Male, 26 years' experience, Greenwood Community College)

We return to the issue of students' levels of engagement in Development Education in the next chapter which focuses on teachers' experiences of actually 'doing' Development Education in schools. The remainder of this chapter looks at specific development 'spaces' within schools, including teachers' efforts to engage flexibly with the existing curriculum to 'bring development in' as well as constraining factors that impede the mainstreaming of Development Education in schools.

The role of the individual teacher in creating spaces for Development Education in the curriculum

Teachers with a particular commitment to, or passion for, Development Education were perceived as being influential in both raising the overall profile of Development Education within schools and influencing the extent to which spaces were created for development themes within the curriculum.

*… you see the curriculum doesn't really allow for Development Education, it's not,
unless you're talking about Geography maybe, but no, as a teacher, it would be
really how motivated you are [to bring development in].*
(Female, 3 years experience, St Elizabeth's Secondary School)

*Interviewer: And do you feel that the second level curriculum offers sufficient
scope or opportunity to address development themes?*

*Respondent: I think it depends on the strength of the CSPE department, and like
it largely falls, like it is on their curriculum, you know, it is on that sense of it does
belong there. Yet I think it's a topic that should be across the board, but from a
curriculum point of view, yeah it should be there, it is there, and it depends on how
pro Development Education that particular person is, because there's just so many
other parts of CSPE besides just the wider world parts.*
(Female, 11 years' experience, Thornton Community School)

*It doesn't really, I suppose from the Biology and Physics perspective, they are leaving
it out but it is open for the teacher to delve into it if they want but they won't get
marks for it in the exam if you know what I mean.*
(Female, 12 years' experience, Hazelwood Community College)

Others spoke of their efforts to encourage other teachers within the school to
incorporate development into subject areas, sometimes in vain.

*Now, I used to be always trying to get the Economics teacher to get involved,
because, like, the markets and the injustice in the markets [sighs], the economy and
all the rest of it but he found it difficult too. He was very much a great teacher, and
the kids got on very well, but he found it hard to integrate it.*
(Female, 20 years' experience, St Therese's Secondary School)

Being creative and making connections: 'bringing development in'

A number of teachers stressed the need to be subversive and/or creative in order to
ensure that development issues featured in the formal school curriculum, given its
lowly formal status within the curriculum.

*Interviewer: … in terms of the educational syllabus, do you think that lends itself
to Development Education?*

Respondent: No, of course not. I mean, it has to be snuck in. Both the Junior Cert and the Leaving Cert terminate in an exam and they're very focused on the material that is within the exams.
(Male, 15 years' experience, Good Shepherd Secondary School)

If you only teach exactly what's on the syllabus within Science you'll come across very little references probably to Development Education. You probably need to be a bit creative in getting it in there.
(Male, 38 years' experience, St Angela's Secondary School)

Despite the constraints imposed by the curriculum, this participant was, nevertheless, able to teach the formal syllabus requirements flexibly so that he could still to incorporate development themes and issues.

A teacher who wants to do so can be as crafty as he or she wishes in bringing in Dev Ed links to a subject like Science.
(Male, 38 years' experience, St Angela's Secondary School)

He described a range of strategies for incorporating development into the Science curriculum through a process of making 'connections' between formal curricular content and relevant global injustices.

So suppose you're teaching a second year class, some sort of Junior Cert class, you might be doing a chapter about water, well you can, just of your own accord, you can say 'well as well as being H_2O and being able to split it up with electricity into hydrogen and gas, oxygen and gas and make a big bang and all of that, it's also a very precious commodity in the world' and you can touch on that… I would probably say something like 'and it's a 'f-ing' disgrace that Coca Cola in India, for example, have pumped water out of the ground and lowered the water tables so poor farmers can't get water.' So because the chapter is on water, I might use it as an excuse to introduce other things about water.
(Male, 38 years' experience, St Angela's Secondary School)

Honan (2005) distinguishes between 'open ended' syllabi – where the teacher can exercise considerable choice in the selection of texts and themes to be explored in class (such as Music, Art, or languages) – and 'tightly framed' syllabi (such as Geography, History, and the Sciences), where there is less capacity for personalizing

or tailoring the syllabus in this way. Indeed, some participants acknowledged that making development connections was easier for those whose subject areas had less prescriptive syllabi.

> I think that a lot people will argue that [the examination structure] can be very limiting, because you're constrained by the curriculum and the syllabus and you've got to get through x, y and z, and 'neh neh neh' you know, to do the exam. I've been able to twist it because of the type of syllabus that we have, the syllabi for (foreign languages). There is a huge area for literally Development Education and it's on, on the social themes and you know, the problems.
> (Female, 15 years' experience, Star of the Sea Secondary School)

> And yet there are, you know, more and more often I have found different ways of bringing it in, you know even the Religion programme like you have October is Missions Month, and great resources come in for that… So there are more and more, you know, art competitions where it can be used as well. I suppose if you have an eye out for it, there are many ways you can bring it in.
> (Female, 20 years' experience, St Fergna's Secondary School)

While some participants (as the Science teacher above) were able to transgress the boundaries of their 'tightly framed' syllabi, or to maximize the development potential of more open-ended curricula, others were uncomfortable with the idea of trying to incorporate development into subjects which did not have a specific or obvious development remit. One participant felt that it was a 'disservice' to students to stray too far away from the prescribed curriculum in subjects such as History, where formal opportunities to engage with development themes were perceived to be limited.

> I know you're not supposed to be teaching to test, but unfortunately I kind of, you kind of do the kids a bit of disservice I think a little bit if you start going on a total tangent away from what's really important, because at the end of the day they want to do as best they can. And I'd be worried, in History you simply don't have time, unless [development] comes into the curriculum… So unless it sort of came in somewhere that was appropriate I wouldn't be varying too much away. It's a pity I know, but it's just, that's just the way it is.
> (Female, 6 years' experience, St Martha's Secondary School)

Even some of those who succeeded in creatively incorporating development into their teaching nevertheless identified that the time pressure associated with completing their syllabus responsibilities made this difficult.

While I would have felt that I would have always been able to creatively use a lot of the material that we've been given from various development or organizations, the experience I would have had in my classroom teaching [is that] I felt that with the curriculum that's there and what has to be covered in the time that you're given, it's not always that easy.
(Male, 26 years' experience, Greenwood Community College)

Another participant described how students themselves would sometimes resist teachers' attempts to deviate from the set syllabus, further highlighting the challenges posed by the existing curriculum where the inclusion of additional content is concerned.

Because it is, sometimes, you know, more academic students can actually say 'is this on the curriculum?' If you try to move away and do something a bit different, or open something up a bit further as well, so there are limitations to the curriculum that we have.
(Female, 20 years' experience, St Fergna's Secondary School)

The examination system as an obstacle to meaningful engagement with development themes

Despite these opportunities and scope to 'bring development in,' the vast majority of teachers perceived the exam-driven focus of the curriculum and of the education system more broadly as a major obstacle to the meaningful inclusion of development issues in their teaching or to meaningful or in-depth exploration of global justice themes.

Yeah, I guess the restriction of a curriculum, and an exam at the end of it all, that's the overarching purpose of my job, you know, in some ways. So yeah that would be a restriction, I mean I'd go off on tangents all over the place I think if I didn't have a curriculum to stick to. So, yeah, the timing, and the urgency to still get through the curriculum, you know, and some of them are quite long, so …
(Female, 11 years' experience, Thornton Community School)

Well curriculum is very important. It's all geared towards points for the Leaving Cert to get into college. Where do you allow room for Development Education within that kind of structure?
(Male, 30 years' experience, Blessed Sacrament Secondary School)

One participant pointed out that there would need to be a radical change in the way subjects are taught in order for development to feature more prominently in the curriculum.

> *Well I don't think the curriculum, I suppose, at the moment encourages sort of enquiry-based learning really, does it? It's more to do with getting the course covered and doing exams really. That's how I see it. So, the kind of situation that you describe I think would come about through more, eh, through a radical change in the way subjects are taught. And we are, I think, in our school, I'm trying to pilot it in fourth years, kind of change the methodology and the means of, eh, working with children. You know, trying to get them, if you do that then education, development issues can become a central theme, you know.*
> (Male, 15 years' experience, Glenabbey Secondary School)

The pressure to cover the syllabus for examination purposes and the absence of development themes and topics within these syllabi were recurring themes in terms of the obstacles that teachers perceived where Development Education was concerned.

> *Interviewer: Do you feel the second level curriculum offers enough scope or opportunity to address… you're shaking your head there!*
>
> *Respondent: (Emphatic) No, no way! Unfortunately. And do you know what, it's such a pity. But I think, you know, there is way too much emphasis on the 'de de de,' and you have a Junior Cert in three years, and a Leaving Cert in two years, and the curriculum is… I know I teach History, and it's insane the amount of work you have to do in two years, and we have to do a project as well, just insane, and unfortunately, I'd love to do way more stuff with my sixth years and unfortunately we don't have time because there's so much, and it's a pity. You end up bringing a little bit in. … For example my History class this year, as much as I'd love to do a big project with them I just realistically don't have the time, just the curriculum is just too full.*
> (Female, 4 years' experience, Star of the Sea Secondary School)
>
> *I think it's the… unfortunately it goes back to the 'Oh I've got a whole curriculum to cover here' and 'I have such an exam class', and you don't have time if you are doing these type of things.*
> (Female, 5 years' experience, St Edward's Secondary School)

Transition year as a Development Education space[21]

Due to the restrictions imposed by the formal curriculum, many teachers identified non-examination years and/or subjects as some of the few places where opportunities, or the 'freedom' to meaningfully engage students with development issues in some depth, can occur. This finding is consistent with existing research which suggests that TY 'possibly presents the richest opportunity for incorporating Development Education at senior cycle' (Honan, 2005, p. 24).

Of the 22 schools included in the sample, 18 schools ran a TY for post-junior certificate students and student participation in the programme was optional in over half of those schools which offered it. Student uptake of TY, or the opportunity to participate in the programme, varied considerably from school to school, with some schools having only a limited number of places available and students having to compete for a place on the TY programme, while others, usually better resourced schools, having greater availability of places and much higher levels of participation.

Honan (2005) identifies a range of options for including Development Education within TY including a whole school approach whereby the entire TY programme is built around a commitment to increasing social awareness; a cross-curricular approach whereby teachers team up to deliver a cross-curricular TY module on particular themes such as human rights, trade or gender; work towards the integration of a global/justice perspective into particular subject areas, such as Geography, History or RE; or work on the development of stand-alone Development Education modules. Nine of the schools which offered a TY programme ran discrete or 'stand-alone' Development Education modules or 'units,' designed specifically for TY, which sometimes served as a basis for preparing for and/or reflecting on a visit to a majority world country as part of a school linking or immersion scheme, discussed in more

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21 Transition Year (TY) is a one-year programme that is taken in the year after the Junior Certificate exam which aims to promote a range of competencies and skills not usually emphasized within other aspects of the traditional academic curriculum. In other words, it focuses on enabling young people to develop their personal and social skills and providing them with experience of adult and working life (Smyth, Byrne & Hannan, 2004). TY was first introduced on a pilot basis in the early 1970s but was formalized in 1994 as part of the revised senior cycle structure. There are currently over 600 second-level schools in the ROI who offer a TY programme. Schools differ in the kinds of subjects students can study during TY and the kinds of assessment used, with some schools assessing, primarily, in terms of project-work with others opting for more formal exams (ibid).

detail in Chapter 9. In some cases, these modules were directly linked to other academic disciplines, such as Economics or Geography. The length of the modules varied, with one or two schools offering year-long modules which provided ample opportunities to investigate a number of key development themes in detail; in other cases, the duration of the courses was shorter, usually ranging from about six weeks to three months in duration.

While not all schools offered stand-alone or 'named' Development Education modules, most, if not all, TY programmes provided students with a range of experiences centred around local community participation, such as community care placements. In a number of schools, a major focus of the TY programme was on preparing students to participate in national awards schemes such as Young Social Innovators (YSI) or the President's (Gaisce) award, which have a strong community care or social justice focus.[22]

Participants were generally very enthusiastic about TY and the flexibility and freedom it afforded them to explore issues that were of interest to students, or to themselves, or to engage more deeply with the learning process at the heart of Development Education.

I suppose Transition Year is an absolute gift because it's the one place where you do have time, you can develop your own curriculum, you can go with the desires and, and whatever floats the boat of the students in your classroom, you can go with that, and it gives you great flexibility.
(Female, 21 years' experience, Woodlands Comprehensive School)

I suppose we're fortunate we do have the scope through the Transition Year to formalize [Development Education] and there's scope through the senior Religious [Education] classes which we're ideologically committed to through our patrons.
(Male, 15 years' experience, Good Shepherd Secondary School)

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[22] The President's or Gaisce Award scheme is an individual award programme based around setting and accomplishing personal goals or challenges in each of the following areas: community involvement, personal skill, physical recreation and adventure journey. The award programme is open to young people between the ages of 15 and 25 and there are different levels – bronze, silver and gold. The minimum time commitment is 26 weeks to receive a bronze award.

Yeah, so I think, like, maybe Transition Year and RE and different things you know, the end result is not the most important thing. You know, maybe in those classes there's more opportunity to grasp and grapple with some of the difficult tricky things where you know there will be no resolution and you walk away going 'okay. I don't have the answers but that's okay because that's the way the world is'. We don't have answers and all we can do is think about it and, you know, come up with whatever we can.
(Female, 8 years' experience, Woodlands Comprehensive School)

In some cases, the introduction of TY was identified as the catalyst for the evolution of a Development Education 'presence' within the school.

Yeah well, particularly with the introduction of Transition Year I suppose, in connection with this, that would be the biggest change from the Development Education perspective, you know, that gave a chance for something like Development Education to start in the school, our school anyway. It didn't start immediately but after a while it did.
(Male, 35 years' experience, St Julia's Secondary School)

Despite the obvious advantages of TY in terms of creating genuine scope for students to engage directly with a range of development themes and issues and to come to a deeper understanding of development through experiential learning opportunities, TY should not be relied upon as a means of ensuring that post-primary students are exposed to Development Education content and methods in schools. The likelihood of Development Education featuring on the TY programme is dependent on the expertise, availability and willingness of individual teachers to 'take on' Development Education with TY students.

Yeah, the Transition Year programme varies from year to year. It's tweaked as we go along. Also it's highly dependent on the staff that are available to teach issues.
(Female, 21 years' experience, Woodlands Comprehensive School)

In addition, Development Education initiatives within TY must compete with a range of other interests. Availability of resources is also a factor in schools' ability to offer substantial or quality TY programmes. One of the participating schools was forced to cancel its TY programme following the abolition of the Transition Year

grant for schools in the 2009 Budget. Of the four schools which did not offer TY to students in the present study, two of these were DEIS schools; similarly, in those schools which served students from primarily working class backgrounds, there was typically only a limited number of TY places available, suggesting that there may be unequal access to opportunities for engaging with development across different school types. On the other hand, private fee-paying schools were more likely to have compulsory TY programmes, in some instances with high-cost activities built in.

> *If you join Transition Year you join into the [school linking] thing. Like, I have a meeting next week where I'm meeting the third years and I'm saying to them now, it's not an option. It used to be, 'do you want to go?' It used to be a question. Now I say 'no, it's there now, if you want to go you got to raise a thousand quid,' each kid who comes and [each] adult.*
> (Male, 15 years' experience, Glenabbey Secondary School)

Cross-curricular integration of Development Education

To counteract the fragmented and minimalistic approach to Development Education within the formal curriculum, a number of participants stressed the need for greater cross-curricular integration of Development Education and/or for it to be offered as a curriculum subject in its own right.

> *Yes, I do think [Development Education] should be a subject of its own as well. I just think it's so broad, you know there's so much involved that there is plenty of scope for that also.*
> (Female, 20 years' experience, St Fergna's Secondary School)

> *Personally I would like to see development issues integrated more into other subjects. So that it is not seen as, well that's development or human rights and that's for CSPE. You know, it should be part of the fabric of our lives. I feel justice issues and development, at home and abroad, should be part of the core of education, because in the heel of the hunt a life without justice and without your potential to develop, you know, isn't living to your full potential.*
> (Female, 21 years' experience, Woodlands Comprehensive School)

Once again, the busy nature of teachers' lives highlights how lack of time to sit down and discuss one's own discipline or teaching with colleagues can serve as a barrier to effective the cross-curricular integration of Development Education.

And one of the problems is that [Development Education is] not integrated really, you know? That's just one of the things that really should be worked at and I'm at fault here as much as anybody else probably, that we're so busy in the school … I just find I'm just so busy and our teachers are so busy, that to actually get the time, to get the luxury of actually getting people to sit down… and then share ideas and say 'well I'm doing this and you're doing that. Could we overlap here?' We don't get a chance really to do that.
(Male, 35 years' experience, St Julia's Secondary School)

Others, while theoretically in favour of a cross-curricular approach to Development Education, stressed the need for greater incentives for the incorporation of development across different subjects.

Like [Development Education] kind of runs through so many different subjects, it should really be cross-curricular. But I suppose what might stand in the way is kind of defining where is it going to be and what are you going to get out of it, as in what is the student going to get out of it? Which is a terrible way of thinking of it but the reality is with timetabling and, you know, points driven society and everything, if it was set into a particular area and your input gave a certain output and there was a … there was some sort of incentive I suppose maybe that could be something. It shouldn't be like that of course but I suppose the reality is you know, you need to find a place maybe to slot it in.
(Female, 12 years' experience, Hazelwood Community College)

Discussion

Schools vary considerably in terms of the extent to which social or global justice issues constitute part of their identity and image and in terms of the extent to which this image is translated into practice. Given the limited amount of space allocated to Development Education within the formal curriculum, the Development Education profile of individual schools is largely determined by the nature and level of staff and student involvement in extra-curricular activities with a local or global justice dimension, the details of which are explored in more depth in the next chapter.

Those schools where global justice issues featured prominently were characterized by a management structure that was highly supportive of Development Education initiatives and often had strong historical connections to majority world countries, typically through religious missionary orders, and/or were staffed by a number of individuals with a strong personal interest and investment in Development Education. The pursuit of Development Education principles and activities was

perceived to be of intrinsic, as well as status value, for schools, enabling them to demonstrate to parents, members of the public and the DES their ability to produce altruistic, well-rounded citizens who are aware of their 'responsibility to humanity.'

Conversely, those schools where the status of Development Education was low tended to be characterized by a reluctance to divert time, money, resources and energy away from more academic concerns. In those cases, a more holistic approach to students' education appeared to be a luxury they could not afford, given that their students' ability to perform well academically or to access third level education did not have the same level of 'taken-for-grantedness' displayed in some of the more privileged schools.

A 2002 report on the status of the Development Education sector in Ireland highlighted Development Education's 'tenuous link with mainstream education,' and argued that there was little evidence to suggest that Development Education is recognized as an integral part of students' formal educational experiences (Kenny & O'Malley, 2002, p. 38). A second publication, published only three years later, offers a far more optimistic analysis of Development Education's place within formal education in an Irish context. This more hopeful reading argued that Development Education had 'come in from the cold' and had overcome its former status as a 'marginal tag-on' to the curriculum mainly promoted by returned development workers and non-governmental development organizations' (Honan, 2005, p. 20).

Findings from the present study suggest that Development Education's integration within the formal curriculum is by a matter of degree only. While development activists and educators may no longer have to 'knock at the door of formal education' quite as much as before, (Kenny & O'Malley, 2002, p. 38), those at today's 'chalkface' paint a picture of Development Education as a patchy, fragmented, marginalized feature of the formal curriculum. Consequently, the presence of Development Education within the classroom appears largely dependent upon the willingness or capacity of individual teachers to 'bring development in' and on the willingness or capacity of the whole school to support them in doing so. Even within the context of those subject areas that might be seen to lend themselves readily to a consideration of justice and global themes – such as Geography and RE – participants tended to see Development Education as an underdeveloped or under-exploited dimension of the curriculum and ultimately 'up to' individual teachers whether they chose to integrate development themes or not. A number of partic-ipants commented that the scope for engagement with development and justice issues was especially limited at senior cycle level and stressed the need for deeper engagement with Global Citizenship Education among senior cycle students.

CSPE, the subject area most often associated with development issues, continues to be widely perceived as a 'Cinderella subject'; its relegation to a single forty-minute period per week sends a clear, albeit implicit message, that development and global justice themes are simply not as important as Mathematics or Irish, for example. Despite the obvious advantages of TY in terms of creating genuine scope for students to engage directly with a range of development themes and issues and to come to a deeper understanding of development through experiential learning opportunities, TY cannot be relied upon as a means of ensuring that post-primary students will be exposed to Development Education content and methods in schools.

Currently, only two-thirds of Irish post-primary schools offer TY programmes, mostly for a limited number of students, while designated disadvantaged (DEIS) schools are significantly less likely to offer the programme (Smyth & McCoy, 2009). In addition, the abolition of the TY grant in the 2009 Budget has put the continuation of the programme at risk in a number of schools (ibid). Meanwhile, the likelihood of Development Education featuring in existing TY programme is largely dependent on the expertise, availability and willingness of individual teachers to 'take on' Development Education with TY students.

Whereas a recent audit of academic subjects shows that theoretically there are 'ample opportunities for incorporating a global perspective without straying from the curriculum' (Honan, 2005, p. 25), a majority of teachers who took part in the present study felt that this was often difficult to achieve in practice. They tended to view the existing curricular structure and its focus on examinations as a major obstacle to meaningful engagement with development issues. Some teachers were, indeed, able to go beyond the confines of the existing curriculum and make important connections to development issues within subjects where there was little formal recognition of development within the syllabus and evidence of innovative strategies in this regard emerged. Others were quite reluctant to do so, seeing it as a disservice to students preparing for high-stakes examinations, or were simply unconvinced of the scope to make such connections within their subjects. Moreover, those participants who saw opportunities to 'creatively' or 'craftly' 'bring development in' to their subjects, even if there were few formal spaces to do so, tended to be highly experienced educators and to feel very knowledgeable and confident in their understanding of development issues. Those who were less experienced, and/or less confident, were far less likely to 'deviate' from the set syllabus, due to fear of resistance from students or of negatively impacting their students' exam performance.

Overall, findings from the present study substantiate Honan's (2005) view that:

> *The role of the individual teacher is probably the most significant factor in determining whether students will experience the kinds of issues and teaching approaches central to Development Education. Teachers who are sensitive to issues of justice and human rights, are aware of and open to exploring the wider world and have a sense of responsibility and commitment to creating a better world, will find opportunities to link Development Education within the subjects they teach.*
> (Honan, 2005, p. 28)

The implication of this finding is that the responsibility for the incorporation of Development Education into the formal curriculum falls squarely upon the shoulders of individual teachers. Indeed, as the present study suggests, the profile of development in schools is largely a function of the passion, commitment and expertise of individual teachers who often give generously their own personal time, over and above their official school responsibilities. The reliance on individual teachers to 'champion' the cause of Development Education within schools raises serious questions about its sustainability and the likelihood of it becoming 'mainstream'.

In other words, the relative lack of emphasis devoted to development issues within the existing curricular structure and the failure to grant subjects like CSPE parity of esteem with other academic subjects, lends itself to an 'add-development-and-stir' approach to global citizenship, whereby individual teachers are relied upon to creatively incorporate or 'tag on' relevant development anecdotes or issues, or where students are exposed to mere development 'snapshots' within the context of a forty-minute lesson once a week.

Furthermore, placing the onus on individual teachers to 'bring in' Development Education glosses over the structural constraints experienced by some of our respondents whose passion and motivation for the cause was met with resistance from school authorities and colleagues whose priorities lay elsewhere.

While individual teachers' efforts to expose students to development knowledge within the confined spaces of the formal curriculum are laudable, the lack of any 'ring-fenced' space to engage with global justice issues in a sustained and critical way remains a persistent obstacle to the mainstreaming of Development Education in schools. Chapter 8 takes up these challenges in more detail, within the context of a consideration of teachers' own understandings and actual experiences of 'doing' Development Education in schools.

Chapter 8

In-Career Teachers' Experiences of Educating Young People for Global Citizenship

This chapter draws on the in-depth interviews with practising teachers to illuminate their subjective experiences of engaging young people with development issues across a range of subject areas and extra-curricular development-related projects and activities. Its purpose is to provide an in-depth exploration of teachers' understandings and experiences of teaching global citizenship in Irish post-primary schools and to present a detailed overview of the shape that Development Education actually takes in schools.

Teachers' understandings of Development Education

In this section, we look at the meanings that teachers ascribe to the term 'Development Education' as well as the kinds of skills and dispositions they wish their students to develop as global citizens. Despite the fact that education for global citizenship is a complex and contested concept (Shultz, 2007), the findings presented here suggest that teachers' understandings of Development Education are overwhelmingly consistent with the underlying principles, aims and objectives of Development Education as articulated by official development agencies and development NGOs with a Development Education remit. As such, participants tend to associate the term Development Education with a range of aims, values and dispositions including: a commitment to social justice and equality; value and respect for diversity; empathy; a belief that people can make a difference; and concern for the environment and commitment to sustainable development.

A sense of justice, fairness and equity

Unsurprisingly, study participants identified principles such as justice, equality and fairness as central to their understandings of Development Education.

> *Well look, I think the only way you can, the goal for me of Development Education is simply a more just world, and that's what I hope to achieve or be part of achieving.*
> (Female, 21 years' experience, Woodlands Comprehensive School)

> *… What I should be doing or trying to teach any kind of development issue or Development Education, … students would kind of at the end be saying 'well that's not fair.' So if you could get them to a point where they're saying 'that's not fair, that's not fair. What are we going to do about that? That's not fair,' then at least you've achieved something from it.*
> (Female, 6 years' experience, St Martha's Secondary School)

> *I think it's the whole justice issue and that our humanity, that the rights I have just because I'm a white person are no different to another person just because they have a different skin colour to me. And everybody needs to have food, education, clothing, freedom and that.*
> (Female, 20 years' experience, St Therese's Secondary School)

The local-global dialectic?

Despite the overall consistency in understandings of Development Education, participants did differ in terms of the extent to which they understood Development Education as pertaining to social justice 'at home' as well as in the 'developing world.' While many understood development as pertaining to inequality and justice-related concerns at multiple levels including local, national and international concerns, others were more inclined to associate the term with factors impacting the development of those in 'developing countries' and tended to focus primarily on the experiences of those in the Global South in their teaching. The following are typical of those who understood Development Education as pertaining primarily, if not exclusively, to the 'developing world'.

> *When I think of Development Education, I think of ways that we can understand and appreciate the developing world. That's my understanding of it. I think, an appreciation of the background to developing countries, why the world developed as it has and then an understanding of how developing countries can become more*

developed or how progress can be made. But I think it's really important that I go back to that word 'appreciation' because it's important that it isn't a looking down on, rather it's an understanding of the similarities and the differences and the reasons behind.
(Female, 9 years' experience, St Angela's Secondary School)

Right, well I would say [Development Education] means, I suppose learning more about the core issues that face people in developing countries and particularly issues that would restrict or obstruct them in development in a whole range of things, in terms of the education or human rights or access to basic resources or to fair trade.
(Male, 17 years' experience, Ashfield Community School)

… my understanding of development, and in some ways it's probably narrow – and I constantly have to challenge myself on what my understanding of development is in a CSPE classroom – is, I think, primarily, I think Africa, because that's where my background is.
(Female, 3 years' experience, St Elizabeth's Secondary School)

Although the last participant's thinking defaulted to Africa – 'I think Africa' – when asked about her understanding of development, she was conscious of the need to broaden her definition to include a consideration of 'us' as well as 'people less privileged than us'.

I think of people less privileged than us. But I'm starting also to think about development as in … the concept I'm thinking about is stewardship. So stewardship obviously is looking after our planet, so that people who come after us have a planet, and that would not be possible were it not for development because we've done so much damage, which is kind of irreversible, that we now have to look for other solutions.
(Female, 3 years' experience, St Elizabeth's Secondary School)

Similarly, the following explanations of Development Education were offered by those who identified Development Education with social justice issues both 'at home and abroad.'

Development is not just for developing world countries, it's for, obviously, ourselves, how are we developing, how are we developing our communities as sustainable. It's a broad term.
(Male, 26 years' experience, Greenwood Community College)

So the notion of social justice at home and abroad would be obviously a theme that's running right through the whole course.
(Male, 35 years' experience, St Julia's Secondary School)

And it's very difficult, and I think it's wrong, to talk about development issues in the developing world and to ignore the fact that some of our own children come to school hungry, don't have equal opportunity, feel diminished by the government's cut-backs in education.
(Female, 21 years' experience, Woodlands Community College)

Interconnectedness

A number of teachers explicitly mentioned the theme of 'interconnectedness' when asked to describe what the term Development Education meant to them personally.

So Development Education to me is trying to build up that sense of awareness of the fact we are all family. […] Now you can get heavy after that and go into the stuff like economic development and poverty and racism and ex-colonial situations and blah, blah, but you start, I think, with education; you have to start with an understanding that we are all connected, that's where you start and you move from that into the heavier stuff.
(Male, 30 years' experience, Blessed Sacrament Secondary School)

It's more about I suppose equality and that trying to teach students that everybody has strengths; everybody has weaknesses and we're all somehow interlinked and I suppose that everything we do really has an effect on other people, and everything we say. It's not okay to say, you know, what you want, whenever you want. It's going to hurt other people. So I suppose it's just an awareness that we are interlinked and that, you know, what we do is important because sometimes they see themselves as being separate, very separate.
(Female, 20 years' experience, Forest Hill Community College)

[It's] the interconnection between us. The world is a small place and we have a responsibility to the whole universe. I'm not isolated; if I was, I wouldn't have anything to eat. Every single thing I do, I depend on somebody else. I might not like to admit it but … [laughs]
(Female, 20 years' experience, St Therese's Secondary School)

Some, albeit a minority of participants, made explicit the connection between the global consequences of local actions or focused on the material (global) consequences of individuals' (local) everyday choices and behaviours which are central to more critical approaches to Development Education.

> And I love the connection [development NGO] makes through climate change, getting people to come here talking about drought caused by our way of living in Ireland and the Western world which causes a lot of global warming which adversely affects the developing nations of the world, how they make those connections. It's our lifestyle that's causing this and that everything is interconnected. That's the lump of Development Education, getting back to, like, the Native American thing, we're all connected, we're all part of the web of life, that kind of thing.
> (Male, 26 years' experience, Greenwood Community College)

> And that, there is something very wrong to me that … You're here starving and I'm getting that money because you're starving and I get free work from you. I get the raw materials from these countries, and therefore I can sell the goods here in Ireland at a very low rate… [Development Education is about] the part that we play in it.
> (Female, 20 years' experience, St Therese's Secondary School)

> So I still think we have a very Western view that somehow the real problem here is that the government is corrupt or incapable and perhaps the, the black people haven't got the education and they couldn't really run the companies, and couldn't really run big farms, and we don't look behind that to see well, actually is it because Gap is in there exploiting or whatever, and what's our role in that?
> (Female, 21 years' experience, Woodlands Comprehensive School)

Understandings of interconnectedness – that we as individuals and as members of society are implicated in international relations of environmental harm, violence and inequality – are crucial to the realization of critical versions of Development Education in schools. Critical Development Education, therefore, largely hinges on teachers' capacity to make explicit these local-global linkages and to encourage their students to critically reflect on their own 'active complicity' or 'causal responsibility' in relations of 'transnational harm' (Dobson, 2006, cited in Andreotti, 2006, p. 42). That only a handful of in-depth interview participants articulated critical understandings of Development Education has implications for the nature of the professional development and training opportunities for teachers 'doing' Development Education in schools. These implications are addressed in more detail in Chapters 10 and 11.

Living in a bubble

A number of teachers perceived young people to be living 'in a bubble' and of having minimal understanding and/or experience of the world outside their own lives or immediate environment. In fact, most teachers characterized their students' awareness of development issues as being very limited before being exposed to development themes and topics in school, with one participant likening his students to 'a blank development canvas' when they enter post-primary school (Male, 17 years' experience, Ashfield Community School).

> I find that an awful lot of students, because I was saying we have such a mix in this school, an awful lot of students never read the news, never pick up a newspaper. They haven't a clue, they really haven't a clue what's going on in the world outside.
> (Female, 4 years' experience, Star of the Sea Secondary School)

> I think in this particular school, our students are so privileged and they will admit that to you. I think sometimes what can happen is that they live in a bubble and they don't realize that just ten miles down the road there is families who don't have food on the table for tonight.
> (Female, 7 years experience, Prince of Peace Secondary School)

Many participants characterized their students' awareness or knowledge of the world beyond the immediacy of their own lives or surroundings as 'limited' or 'narrow' and viewed Development Education as having an important role in widening their perspective and understanding of the world.

> The only thing is you'll also find maybe that the students, their world view, if you want to call it that, is sometimes quite narrow. It's not that they're not concerned, it's not that they can't empathize, although teenagers sometimes can be accused of that. It's just as I say we've a very long day in our school, by the time they've finished their homework the notion of actually listening to what's happening on the radio or looking at something that's a serious discussion on television, it doesn't often happen. There are students who do do that but they'd be in a minority. So their ability to throw around ideas is limited probably by their ability to explore ideas either during term time and the holidays. News versus Simpsons, Simpsons wins every time! (laughs).
> (Male, 35 years' experience, St Julia's Secondary School)

Sometimes we can limit ourselves and sometimes they [students] can limit themselves; their world can sometimes be very narrow. So a broadening of their world really. We would have an issue sometimes of students going into the city, crossing the river, they would feel 'no, we can't cross the river.' So their worlds can be very small, and they can actually make them small themselves. So even if you kind of show them there is a bigger world out there and they're part of that, you know?
(Female, 20 years' experience, Forest Hill Community College)

Well I suppose [the main aim of Development Education] is to get students to think outside of their own country. I mean, I'm teaching in [Hazelwood Community College] ten years and I know that there is lots of students who think that you would nearly need a passport to go to [a nearby town].[23] Like, I mean they really are so involved in their own little town and their own little world and there are lots of them, who I'll know that I'll teach that will probably never work anywhere else, they will go on their Santa Ponsa holiday or whatever and that will be about as broad as it's going to get. And it's no fault of their own; there is a certain culture that exists sometimes, where people don't think outside of what is going on in front of them. So [Development Education aims to] bring some of that into the classroom.
(Female, 12 years' experience, Hazelwood Community College)

Because, actually, I'm kind of surprised some of [my students] are quite narrow-minded, I'm often surprised at some of the things they say.
(Female, 6 years' experience, St Martha's Secondary School)

The 'bigger picture'

In view of the fact that most participants perceived students' knowledge of 'the outside world' to be very limited, Development Education was viewed as a means of exposing students to a deeper set of understandings and experiences of the world and as a way of enabling them to see 'the bigger picture 'or to 'think outside the box'.

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[23] The names of the real towns used in the narrative have been altered to protect the identity of the school. Both towns to which the teacher is referring in this quote are in the same county.

You're helping people to form their own opinions, and to think, I suppose, to think outside the box. But it still makes sense, think of the bigger picture, that you're not just thinking of yourself and your own world, that you take time to look at other people's point of view. And I think that, in character development, and in, you know, forming the whole person, which is what we're supposed to be doing and trying to achieve as well, that in that sense it is one of the best subjects.
(Female, 20 years' experience, St Fergna's College)

One participant used the concepts of 'realistic knowledge' and 'real awareness' of the world to capture his understanding of what Development Education is fundamentally about.

I just think that the whole thing about a realistic knowledge about the world is so important and to go through our ordinary daily routine in Dublin, in Ireland, having been born into either the second half of the twentieth century or, in their case, very recently, just to realize, the awareness of the fact that the reality of life on this planet is so different from the tiny little sliver of it that we experience directly. So, what qualities? So I think I'd like them to have a real awareness, something, a real awareness of the world followed by a just, a desire to respond in some way.
(Male, 38 years' experience, St Angela's Secondary School)

Thinking critically

A majority of participants identified the importance of cultivating a questioning disposition or fostering critical thinking skills as central to Development Education.

Yeah, well skills, just inquiry, just constantly questioning and wondering why and how and, indeed, what can I do to contribute to the body of knowledge out there? And then also a better awareness of what's going on and then also to change in some way, shape or form. I think we can learn a lot from developing countries if we are given the – and the kids can learn a lot from developing countries – if they're given the avenues to do so.
(Female, 9 years' experience, St Angela's Secondary School)

It's about thinking critically, critical analysis of media and of issues that might be around not just to, first of all not to just accept what you are given in terms of that's what the newspapers or the telly says then it must be right. But also I suppose critical analysis, a sensitivity and an appreciation that … not to block loads of people all

together and say 'all Africans are like this, they are all, you know.' There's a sense of, a sensitivity towards the different cultures and countries. And there is a difference but also, em… to, yeah, to be critical, the critical faculties, so when they read about stuff or hear about things they interrogate what they hear rather than just accepting it I guess. That's very important.
(Male, 17 years' experience, Ashfield Community School)

Interviewer: What kind of knowledge or skills do you want your students to develop through learning about development themes and issues?

Respondent: Definitely to think critically, to question. I really want them to want to know more. If a student, and I remember, I've had students who do this, if we talk about something in class and the next day they come in and they go 'oh I looked that up.' If you have caused them to be inquisitive and interested in the world around them, then you've started off, and I know that there are education philosophers who've talked about this, and really that you have created in them a spark, because teach, school, classroom, is the very beginning of our education. So if it is, you know, light that spark of curiosity, then that to me is very, very important.
(Female, 3 years' experience, St Elizabeth's Secondary School)

Empathetic understanding

A number of participants, particularly those who taught CSPE, explicitly mentioned empathy – or the ability to feel what another's suffering must be like – as one of the primary qualities they sought to cultivate within their students when teaching Development Education.

I think CSPE in particular strives very much to create empathy, that we would have a feeling of empathy between ourselves and people, whether they're at home or abroad, who suffer lack of potential development or have an obstacle to development in their lives. And I mean, I think we all strive for everybody to reach their full potential.
(Female, 21 years' experience, Woodlands Comprehensive School)

An empathy I suppose with other people, I suppose, other cultures and awareness of other lives you know?
(Female, 29 years' experience, Johnstown Community School)

So to bring some of that into the classroom and to see the kind of empathy that the students have and lack of awareness and then getting a sudden awareness is, you know, it is interesting to see the reaction to it.
(Female, 12 years' experience, Hazelwood Community College)

So anything that [students] can relate to. It's back to experiential learning, it's back to that they can identify with, that they can see, imagine if I was in that situation how would I be affected?
(Female, 7 years' experience, Prince of Peace Secondary School)

Some participants described specific activities they used to enable their students to better understand the experiences and suffering of 'Others' and to have emotions related to that experience. A number of participants described their use of popular simulation games in Development Education, such as the *Trading Game*, which is specifically designed to enhance awareness of the unfair terms of world trade and to foster empathetic understanding (Christian Aid, 2010) (See also Chapter 6).

The following activity from a recently produced post-primary teacher resource is typical of the kinds of activities that participants described they used to enable their students to develop their capacities for empathetic understanding.

Encourage students to imagine they are Domitille, Triphonie's daughter [a young girl who is experiencing hunger]. Ask them to write a personal account of what it is like for their family to live on less than €1.07/ 93p per day. What did they eat? What happens if you are sick? How did they feel? The account doesn't have to be completely accurate but will encourage the students to look at the issue from another perspective.
(Trócaire, 2010, 'Face up to Hunger')

In the foregoing example, students are encouraged to imagine that they are Domitille and to occupy an emotional space that enables them to *feel* her experience (Boler, 1997). Similarly, one of the participants described an experiential learning/ fundraising activity whereby students came to identify with others who experience hunger in Dublin by foregoing their regular lunch routine and having to queue up instead for a 'simple lunch' comprising bread and water.

First years, during the Lenten period, [the students] made a sacrifice. Working with [development NGO], the deal was they had a simple lunch. So it involves first year students bringing in €2. We explained the money was going to [the development

NGO]. They all queued up and the idea was to give them a sense of what some people in Dublin are experiencing, they queue up for their food in certain centres around Dublin. And they had bread and water. It's basically linking in with Lent, the idea of making a sacrifice and also making the students aware of how much they have. And the staff also got involved. What we decided to do was, the bread for example, all the staff brought in bread. So all the money's going directly to [the development NGO].
(Female, 7 years' experience, Prince of Peace Secondary School)

A number of participants felt that young people were well disposed to developing empathy with others by virtue of their own positionality and personal experiences of injustice.

I think young people have a great sense of if a wrong has taken place it should be righted. And I think this comes from their own experience of just life in general. So when they hear about an injustice in the world I think they can empathize with it in some small way because they're often unjustly treated themselves, for whatever reason it is, or they often feel unjustly treated.
(Female, 9 years' experience, St Angela's Secondary School)

Some of those who taught in schools whose students were from disadvantaged backgrounds felt that these students had a particular capacity for empathetic understanding, given their own experiences of marginalization and support from different community or voluntary organizations.

I think they have a strong social conscience here in this school, because many of them benefit hugely from social organizations, and a lot of them experience real need, and therefore they can identify with other people's different, but real needs.
(Female, 11 years' experience, Thornton Community School)

While many teachers viewed empathy as a necessary or desirable outcome of Development Education and viewed young people as capable of empathy due to their 'keen sense of justice', others questioned their students' ability to *really* experience empathetic understanding.

And one of the problems I do find with our particular students, because they are advantaged, most of them, they've never had hard times, so for them to identify with people who have can be very difficult. Now I'm not saying that's the case for all of them, and they do fundraise, but for them to really understand, it's very difficult. They're not often doing it because they really understand. We want them to, and we hope that eventually they will, but they don't.
(Female, 3 years' experience, St Elizabeth's Secondary School)

Beyond the difficulty of cultivating genuine empathetic understanding which some teachers experienced, the extent to which empathetic understanding is compatible with Development Education's socially transformative agenda is questionable. While some perceive empathy as a prerequisite to social justice (West, 1994, cited in Boler, 1997), others have challenged the efficacy of empathy as a means of fostering social justice. Critiquing benevolent or benign forms of multicultural education, Megan Boler argues that empathy plays an 'illusory role in social justice' (Boler, 1997, p. 9) and rarely results in sustained reflection or action regarding one's own complicit responsibility in historical and contemporary social conditions. This critique raises similar questions about the appropriateness of the empathetic framework as a basis for fulfilling Development Education's socially transformative agenda.

Empathy-engendering versions of Development Education privilege an understanding that global injustices can be reduced through a deeper understanding of the plight of 'Others' and/or through charitable acts to alleviate their suffering. While it may have the capacity to inspire action in an immediate context (for example, to give money), it rarely eradicates the Other's suffering in any sustainable way. It also fails to challenge the empathizer's pre-existing assumptions, or heighten their awareness of their own complicity in oppressive social forces (Boler, 1997). Rather, the empathizing approach to Development Education draws a veil over contemporary and historical privileges and precisely how they impact negatively on the very people we are empathizing with.

Teachers' understandings of development activism

Empowering students to make a difference

Consistent with dominant understandings of Development Education articulated by official development agencies and NGOs, the overwhelming majority of participants understood their role as development educators not merely in terms of informing or teaching their students about global injustices, but also in terms of encouraging young

people to become 'active' or 'engaged' in their world and 'empowering them to make a difference.' Participants tended to see these goals as inextricably linked.

> *That we are outward looking and that there's a sense that the world is bigger than just our own school or our own city and we have a responsibility and a duty to make the world a better place and if that means addressing how the world works economically, that's part of it.*
> (Male, 30 years' experience, Blessed Sacrament Secondary School)

> *I think what you're trying to do basically is make students aware of all different social environments around the world and social issues and encourage them to be activators. … We want a living, it goes back to ethos, a living faith in God. It's not just learning from the textbooks, it's actually putting it into action.*
> (Female, 7 years' experience, Prince of Peace Secondary School)

> *So a lot of Development Education and human rights education can be very academic, but you must create an awareness, because without that awareness there is no necessity for the students to become engaged.*
> (Female, 21 years' experience, Woodlands Comprehensive School)

A number of participants explicitly evoked the discourse of 'making a difference' in their narratives and implicitly or explicitly highlighted the importance of producing 'active citizens' in society or 'empowering' students by giving them the opportunity to 'practise development.'

> *The aim [of Development Education] is to inspire young people to make a difference and you know they can do that in Ireland now through the way they treat people and then maybe in the future it will involve them going overseas or supporting charities and that kind of thing.*
> (Female, 9 years' experience, Woodlands Comprehensive School)

> *I would definitely encourage students [to be active] … I think you have to encourage the students to believe that they can make a difference. … I think even, even something as simple as letter writing though, you know, it's quite a small thing, I do think you're helping them to feel empowered.*
> (Female, 11 years' experience, Thornton Community School)

We have to create awareness and give facts and information, but with that we must not only empower the students to take action, but give them experience of taking action. And this sense of having made a difference, 'cause I think that is ultimately what will drive them on to further action.
(Female, 21 years' experiences, Woodlands Comprehensive School)

This participant expressed concern about what she perceived as the potentially disempowering effects of a particular 'academic' approach to Development Education, wherein the magnitude of development problems is addressed without accompanying ideas about how one might go about altering the existing system or ameliorating these problems.

And it dumps an awful lot onto the students if you're telling them so many people are dying in the Third World of AIDS, or so many people are dying of poverty, or children can't get education, and then you walk out of the classroom and you don't leave them with any empowerment to make, to change that system.
(Female, 21 years' experience, Woodlands Comprehensive School)

These narratives demonstrate a sophisticated awareness on the part of educators of the potential counter-productivity of certain kinds of development knowledge, whereby the greater magnitude of the problem, the greater the likelihood that students will feel that nothing can be done about it (Cohen, 2001). Indeed, those participants who adopted a more 'academic', non-solution focused approach to development issues often spoke of the disconsolation they themselves experienced as a consequence of not being able to provide solutions to the very problems or issues they sought to raise awareness about.

Sometimes when I'm teaching I feel a bit despondent in relation to Development Education throughout the world. And teaching them and making them aware of inequality, but I don't know the way forward, and I'm not able to give them any answers. And you know, am I just making them aware of what's wrong but not letting them know how we can solve the problem?
(Female, 15 years' experience, Glenabbey Secondary School)

While not meaning to minimize the legitimacy of teachers' felt need to provide answers and to assure students that they can effect change, the potential dangers associated with 'doable' forms of development activism are addressed in the next section which focuses on the specific types of development activism practised in schools.

Forms of development activism in schools

The action dimension of Development Education seeks to enable individuals to view themselves as agents of change who will work with others to ameliorate inequality and injustice in society. While almost all participants acknowledged the importance of the action dimension of Development Education, there were considerable differences in terms of how they actually understood this dimension of Development Education. As highlighted in previous chapters, development activism can range from individualized forms of action, such as donating to a charity or making ethical consumer choices, to more collective forms of direct civic action such as participating in demonstrations, marches, or sit-ins, engaging in civil disobedience and other forms of non-cooperation or protest.

Consistent with the dominant ways in which particular forms of activism were privileged in state-sanctioned texts, a number of teachers tended to equate development activism with individualized forms of action, such as fasting, fundraising, or other forms of charitable giving. In some instances, participants implicitly or explicitly defined the action dimension of global citizenship in terms of how young people can 'help less fortunate others' through charitable actions or forms of self-sacrifice such as fasting which are typically linked to fundraising initiatives on behalf of development NGOs.

Each year we have a particular goal, and our goal this year is social awareness which compels to action. So we would try in the school to promote extra-curricular activities that involve students maybe fasting, making a sacrifice, you know visiting places, anything that involves justice awareness in the school.
(Female, 7 years' experience, Prince of Peace Secondary School)

[There's a] programme they started more recently in [a country in Africa] where they've been financing and helping out a number of schools out there, specific schools out there. And some of the kids themselves had their own projects going on in [a country in Africa]. One group for example… had visited [majority world country] and gone out there over the summers to help again with kids out there. And yeah, the kids do things on their own as well, you know, they run charity events and then also people are brought in, there's speakers brought in to talk to them…
(Male, 35 years' experience, St Julia's Secondary School)

Well, you see, I would find our kids are already active in a sense, you know, they do the Concern fasts, they do the Trócaire fasts, they do street collections, they visit older people. At Christmas they do hampers for St Vincent de Paul. That's a big thing, that's the big Christmas thing in our school. Our kids are already active in a sense. It's, they don't know, they don't make the link between the St Vincent de Paul, bringing a Christmas pudding in for the hamper collection at Christmas to, you know, that dependence or the development issues that, you know, they are connected to. So I think they are active.
(Female, 29 years' experience, Johnstown Community School)

The pervasiveness of fundraising as a form of development activism in schools

We get flooded with posters and information from the NGOs wanting us to support them financially which I don't because we have our [own fundraising project].
(Female, 7 years' experience, Glenabbey Secondary School)

As previously highlighted, the development-as-charity framework (including images of 'vulnerable children' which are deliberately chosen to inspire pity and encourage donations) is officially endorsed and portrayed in state-sanctioned educational resources and assessments, enhancing its 'legitimacy' as a meaningful form of development activism in schools.[24] Consistent with wider ideas about how to engage with global inequality and the familiarity and manageability that fundraising processes can afford, almost all teachers interviewed attested to the existence of charitable activities in their schools as a locus for the communication of development in schools (Smith, 2004). The findings of the present study are consistent with Gleeson et al.'s nationally representative study of knowledge, attitudes and activism among young people in post-primary schools in Ireland which suggests that donating money is the most popular form of development activism in Irish schools (Gleeson et al., 2007).

The following vignettes illustrate some of the charitable activities which were most common in schools.

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[24] The 2009 CSPE exam, for example, asked candidates to name a fundraising activity that their school could undertake to help fund a teacher travelling to South Africa with the Niall Mellon Township Trust.

At Christmas we did the shoe box campaign in aid of [Charity]. So the girls for example, we'd explain, they'd have to go to assemblies and they'd have to promote it, they'd have to go and explain, say, why they're doing it and we're reaching out to others and we bring in old gifts and we prepare a box for a boy living in [Eastern Europe] or for other parts of the world. And the students, it's very much student led and teacher directed. … Like the Lenten fast, for example, over €13,000 was raised.
(Female, 7 years' experience, Prince of Peace Secondary School)

We have a… teacher who works with [a small development NGO]. She would have done a lot of fundraising for trips out to [majority world country] with them and so her CSPE classes would do their CSPE project on maybe a cake sale or something to raise funds for [NGO].
(Female, 29 years' experience, Johnstown Community School)

And you know in fairness to the students, a lot of students don't have anything but they will get involved in raising money for charity and things like that you know.
(Female, 12 years' experience, Hazelwood Community College)

Today I have a gang of students out bag packing now for past pupils who are working in an orphanage out in [majority world country] so, you know you've some who are so interested they really want to get involved, and they get involved and they organize fundraisers and everything about the things that you've been talking about…
(Female, 8 years' experience, Woodlands Comprehensive School)

In addition, emergency appeals were significant motivators for schools to engage in a fundraising drive and a number of teachers spoke about their schools' efforts in the aftermath of the 2010 earthquake in Haiti which coincided with the field work period of this study.

I'd say they are more aware now because, say, this year we had a huge fundraiser for Haiti, they raised over €22,000 in the school. And that was just a first year group that wanted to do something when they heard about it. Like they would have no idea where Haiti was before that. And they decided to go on a 24-hour fast. Now it was the first major fundraiser in the school.
(Female, 30 years' experience, Abbeyfield Community School)

We raised money for Haiti, yes we had a 'fun day' for that and everybody brought in their €2 and we were very happy with the outcome.
(Female, 9 years' experience, Whitechurch Secondary School)

For instance the Haiti thing … like when the Haiti earthquake took place loads of teachers here were suddenly awakened to do something. And the students themselves, even the student council here who are quite active they suggested doing a fundraising thing for Haiti. So for Haiti alone we raised €1,000 in the space of, I think, one week or something.
(Male, 30 years' experience, Blessed Sacrament Secondary School)

Participants spoke of the immediacy and 'doability' of fundraising as a form of development activity, reflecting widely held societal beliefs about how to engage with global inequality (Smith, 2004).

So that's where [students] fundraise, but that's probably the most immediate way for students in school because they can't go off to the Third World with their back pack on their back to change things but they can fundraise and they do it well here. And in lots of schools I know they do that. So there is that, I'd imagine most schools have a sense of that.
(Male, 30 years' experience, Blessed Sacrament Secondary School)

The popularly of fundraising as a form of development activism within schools can be understood in terms of the familiarity and manageability that fundraising can afford (Smith, 2004). In an Irish context, the pervasiveness of development as charity as a form of development activism needs to be located within the context of the historical and ongoing links that some of the major development NGOs have with Irish schools – links which are instrumental to their fundraising efforts. For example, Trócaire's annual six-week Lenten appeal is the agency's largest and most important fundraising and public awareness campaign (Dillon, 2009).[25] The familiar 'Trócaire box,' which the agency describes as 'an iconic fundraising tool' is distributed to over

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[25] Trócaire is the official overseas development agency of the Catholic Church in Ireland. It was set up by the Irish Catholic Bishops in 1973 'to express the concern of the Irish Church for the suffering of the world's poorest and most oppressed people' (Trócaire, 2009, p. 7). The strong links between Trócaire and schools can also be understood as part of a broader symbiotic relationship between Church and State in an Irish context which was institutionalized in the post-independence era of the 1920s. Educationally speaking, this meant that schools were organized along denominational lines, with a majority being managed and owned by Catholic Religious orders, while the state paid the bulk of the costs. (For a more detailed analysis of the implications of the 'special relationship' between Church and State, see Nic Ghiolla Phádraig, 1995).

a million homes annually through schools and parishes. According to the agency, Trócaire runs a 'fully integrated' public relations, advertising and marketing campaign, producing a range of materials that are designed around a similar theme and then adapted by the communications, education and campaigning/advocacy teams to communicate with their respective audiences.[26] Furthermore, the Trócaire box 'forms the basis of' the agency's Development Education programme which runs throughout primary and secondary schools in Ireland (ibid). The Development Education materials produced by the agency often comprise case studies and photo packs of the individuals (typically children) depicted on the Trócaire box, suggesting a direct link between the agency's fundraising initiatives and its educative work.[27] In other words, there is a close correspondence between the imagery that appears on the Trócaire box and the educational resource materials that are distributed to schools as part of the Lenten campaign, such that Trócaire's fundraising efforts are directly linked to their Development Education efforts in schools.

Critics of fundraising as a form of development activism argue that it frustrates the learning goals of Development Education by reinforcing, rather than challenging, learners' stereotypes about 'their' dependency on 'us' and perpetuates a particular understanding of development as being primarily about charity from the North to the Global South (Smith, 2004). In other words, the fundraising agenda leaves dominant beliefs and values about the Global South intact and insulates learners from having to re-think dominant understandings by shielding them with comforting assurances that they are helping to 'make a difference'.

Furthermore, as suggested in Chapter 3, fundraising constitutes a symptomatic response to global poverty focusing on the symptoms – not the root causes – of poverty. The symptomatic framing of Development Education – evident in a number of textbooks and mirrored in forms of development activism dominant in schools – portrays inhabitants of majority world countries as 'victims' in need of 'our' help and encourages students to respond to global poverty through volunteerism or charitable initiatives without illuminating or transforming their understanding of the problem or challenging the assumptions which underlie these responses.

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[26] See http://www.prca.ie/files/IntegratedCampaigns_Trócaire.pdf

[27] Trócaire's 2009 Lenten Campaign featured a young boy from Somalia called Khalid whose face was chosen to appear on the Trócaire box to represent the theme of forced displacement due to conflict. The Development Education resources on this theme included case studies about Khalid and photo packs which included images of Khalid and his family.

While many teachers regarded fundraising as a meaningful form of development activism and spoke proudly of their schools and students' efforts to raise large sums of money for specific charities, schools or hospitals in majority world contexts, or as a direct response to specific humanitarian crises, a minority of teachers were uncomfortable with the predominance of the charity framework as a locus for development activism in their schools.

Anybody can fundraise; anybody can wave a box in someone's face!
(Female, 3 years' experience, St Elizabeth's Secondary School)

I don't really like the fundraising side of this either. I don't like asking people for money and I kind of always think there's some kind of, and I suppose I know there's more to social activism than just fundraising. But often you see when you want them to, when they wanted to raise awareness, you know sometimes in class that would come up, how do you raise awareness, and it was always like raise money, or something and I just used to be a bit reluctant to do that because there's just so much going on for people and it's not really what I like and what I feel comfortable with.
(Female, 6 years' experience, St Martha's Secondary School)

One participant was highly critical of the materials that were distributed to schools by some of the larger development NGOs to raise awareness and funds to alleviate global poverty.

Respondent: Oftentimes you would get posters from [development NGOs] or whoever. Unbelievable! Like, I couldn't put them up.

Interviewer: Ok, and what would be in them, like? Can I ask you to describe what would be in a poster?

Respondent: Well, it was a dying child. I used to always say to the students, 'well, if it was your child that was dying you wouldn't put it up for everyone to look at it.' Like, you're at your most vulnerable at these times so it's very important that whatever comes out of these agencies that they're very aware that they're going up on a wall in a school where there are children from these countries.
(Female, 20 years' experience, St Therese's Secondary School)

Some participants spoke of school-based efforts to alleviate the symptomatic development-as-charity approach to Global Citizenship Education with a more diagnostic approach, which sought to educate students about why money was needed in the first instance.

But as well as fundraising, they're learning about the problems of [majority world country], the socio-economic problems and what leads to where you have a massive hospital which is totally underfunded in a country and things like that. They don't just, like, fundraise blindly for organizations… They look behind the fundraising to see why are so many funds needed for a particular group, why do the government not fund these organizations that bit better, you know. Why does it take so many volunteers trying to create awareness around issues, why can't it just be recognized in mainstream society?
(Male, 26 years' experience, Greenwood Community College)

Well, for example we do a little thing in first year, related to [majority world country] and related to the kind of HIV/Aids difficulties and, so this is something that we do every year with first years, and it's something they get really interested in. And about four years ago they said let's do something about it and they did a 12-hour sponsored fast, only a small little thing. So every year we do a 12-hour sponsored fast and the students raise money and send it out to a township in [country in Africa].
(Female, 9 years' experience, St Angela's Secondary School)

Another participant expressed concern about the underlying message that schools were relaying to students by endorsing or promoting fundraising initiatives, even when they were accompanied by a broader educative and diagnostic approach. Despite her efforts to 'build Development Education around each issue', she nevertheless felt that 'in the heel of the hunt' fundraising became the priority, thereby overshadowing the broader educative agenda.

A lot of it comes down to, we need fresh water, so we fundraise for it. But what we always try to do is to create a module of learning around the importance of water in development and how the lack of fresh water impacts on the education of children and the development of a community and the health of the population. So we try to build Development Education around each issue. But in the heel of the hunt, a lot of the time it comes down to, we need to raise money for x, y or z. And that is one of the issues that worries me about Development Education in that an awful lot of it is, um, I don't want students to come away with the idea that you can throw money at something and that makes it right.
(Female, 21 years' experience, Woodlands Comprehensive School)

As previously mentioned, the privileging of fundraising may be linked, in part at least, to the immediacy and familiarity that fundraising affords and to the felt need to provide students with an 'empowering assurance' (Cohen, 2001, p. 219) that they can do something to 'make a difference' in the world. Despite her misgivings about fundraising as a form of development activism, the above participant also spoke about the 'sense of achievement' that forms of development activism like fundraising and ethical consumerism can offer students, lending further credence to the view that fundraising's popularity is partly attributable to the immediacy of the 'feel good' factor and reassuring framework it affords.

> *Whether it's just fundraising for an orphanage, buying a fair trade bar of chocolate, going on a human rights demonstration – that sense of achievement at the end of that, that you've made a difference, I think that's the catalyst for real change in purchasing behaviour, in voting behaviour, and in agitating for a fairer world.*
> (Female, 21 years' experience, Woodlands Comprehensive School)

Another participant – also cognisant of the problems associated with the development as fundraising model – spoke about how the manageability that fundraising affords makes it an attractive option for time-poor teachers who are 'swamped with work'.

> *So I think that's always going to be an issue there because you know yourself, as a teacher, you're swamped with work and you have this action project to do and you're just going to look for the easy, 'let's raise funds for the local animal shelter.' You know, you do it, you write it up, the end!*
> (Female, 8 years' experience, Woodlands Comprehensive School)

The point here is not to deny the importance of fostering a sense of agency and efficacy in students or to negate the capacity for fundraising initiatives to meet immediate needs. Indeed, as Davies (2006) points out, a sense of efficacy is crucial to active global citizenship. However, the perceived need to produce tangible development outcomes and to provide meaningful reassurances to students that they can indeed 'make a difference' may, paradoxically, mean that a more symptomatic approach will win out over other less tangible educative efforts to promote radical, long-term societal change. This speaks to a fundamental tension between the action and educative dimensions of Development Education, when the active dimension alleviates the symptoms but does little to transform the situation that produces the conditions of poverty and human suffering in the first instance.

Young people, political activism and schools

Whereas the overwhelming majority of participants identified fundraising and other individualized forms of action as the most popular form of development activism in their schools, far fewer identified development activism in terms of more politically or collectively oriented forms of social action. This is not to suggest that more politically-oriented forms of development activism were absent within schools. In fact, a number of participants created spaces within their lessons whereby students would sign petitions against contemporary forms of slavery, child labour etc., or write letters on behalf of 'prisoners of conscience'. Although less common, some participants were instrumental in enabling their students to become involved in campaigns against the global arms trade, to stage group demonstrations to highlight injustices related genocide or HIV/AIDs, or enabling them by accompanying them on human rights demonstrations or protests about issues affecting their local area. The following comments are indicative of the positive orientation that some participants had towards encouraging young people to be engaged in political activism in general.

> *I certainly would encourage [students to be politically active] and be active in pursuing that. My politics, you know, would be radical I suppose, not very radical. But I mean I would be in the radical end of the socialist ideal and that, but I'm not, not in terms of joining a political party. I'm not a member of any movement. But I'd certainly be encouraging students, I mean, I teach History and that's one of the main thrusts that I go through in History.*
> (Male, 15 years' experience, Glenabbey Secondary School)

> *I think anything that wakes them up out of their political apathy is good, you know, because I think a large majority of the young people in Ireland, they are really apathetic towards any sort of political discussion, so I think if it, again handled in the correct way and in this school we'd be fairly careful, our teachers who are inviting the students to get involved in some campaign are very careful about the way they do it, in terms of if parental consent is needed or issues around that.*
> (Female, 9 years' experience, St Angela's Secondary School)

One or two participants expressed disappointment that 'only a few' of their students had become involved in campaigning during their time in school.

In terms of inspiring young people to take action beyond projects we've done in Transition Year, only a few students that I'm aware of would have got actively involved in campaigning after they finished Transition Year, for example, or maybe when they have gone to college, or summer schools. So for some people it's just come and gone which has been disappointing for me. … But so I would encourage it, I often think I'm missing something myself because you would have people involved when they finish Transition Year but I can't seem to manage it really. If they do it themselves at home I don't know but I sometimes wonder really whether it stops a bit with Transition Year. I don't know if it carries on in university or in the work place. I don't know.
(Male, 17 years' experience, Ashfield Community School)

While few, if any, participants expressed opposition to the notion of their students becoming involved in more collective or political forms of development activism, it was more common for teachers to hope that their students would become politicized themselves through being exposed to development content knowledge, rather than through any direct effort on the teacher's part to politicize students.

But I would hope that by them hearing people who have come in to share their story that that would inspire them to be a bit more political themselves. Or be more aware of the bigger picture, but not directly.
(Male, 30 years' experience, Blessed Sacrament Secondary School)

I think one has to be careful of mobilizing students who are children rather than adults. I would be reluctant to do it but I would be more comfortable trying to expose them to experiences where some form of political activism or a subsequent politicization was a natural response to what they have experienced and what they have learnt.
(Male, 15 years' experience, Good Shepherd Secondary School)

So yeah, I think just hopefully later on [Development Education] will lead to some form of action. So basically inform, change views, maybe change some values in a very subtle way maybe, and maybe later on lead to some sort of action and maybe later on lead to some … maybe at university level, possibly get a little bit more involved maybe with reading up on something. Or an awful lot of them travel and finding out a bit more what's actually happening and saying 'oh yeah I remember doing that and I understand a bit more about that' when they go into a country.
(Male, 35 years' experience, St Julia's Secondary School)

One participant admitted to deliberately shying away from encouraging or permitting her students to engage in more explicitly political forms of development activism, due to fears about 'a backlash from parents', while another expressed a reluctance to 'inflict' her own opinions on her students.

> *Well, it's funny because we have to do this action project in CSPE and I kind of leave it open to them, and we narrow it down and take a vote. They nearly always suggest every year: 'can we march on the Dáil about whatever issue?' and I, I should be honest, I always try and steer them away from it, just from the point of view of I'm afraid there will be backlash from the parents, you know? Am I trying to instil some of my own political beliefs? I'd be afraid that might be something that would be questioned, and I think as well, I don't know if maybe getting them involved in something like that is it actually making them think or are they just jumping on the bandwagon because they think it's something cool to be rebelling against the Government as opposed to really having thought the issue through.*
> (Female, 7 years' experience, Glenabbey Secondary School)

> *Our media here in Ireland certainly, I mean, they glamorize Aid, they glamorize the stars who promote or fight for Aid, they don't really look at the deep issues. But then it's not just the media, it's also some NGOs here in Ireland do the same. And they've changed their marketing campaigns because Irish people respond to the, Irish people respond phenomenally to the emergencies, but we respond better to the picture of the dying children, than Mary who has been a successful businesswoman because of an intervention from a particular agency. But that would be my own personal opinion, I don't necessarily inflict that on the children, that's not my job here. My job would be to get the kids to question the headlines and say 'well what does that mean, and why?' I wouldn't be forceful in my own ranting against the media, that's personal.*
> (Female, 11years' experience, Thornton Community School)

Existing research carried out in other geographical contexts suggests that teachers are often taught to avoid 'political' issues that differ from the conventionally accepted beliefs embedded in the formal curriculum and that they learn to teach defensively to reduce controversy, student resistance, parental objections or administrative sanctions (McNeil, 2000). As the following example demonstrates, schools can also be sanctioned for supporting young people in exercising their democratic right to engage in peaceful protest and demonstration.

Young people were very concerned about [planning and property development in the local area]… And they started doing protests. And they started finding out more and going to the county council or whatever else and, even though I only had them in class once a week for CSPE, they were doing a lot of the research themselves and they were very driven by this issue. And they organized protests here or whatever else, here in [local area]. And… I said look, they're organizing these protests so [the principal] said you know what we'll do, we'll walk along with them because I don't want hundreds of young people being in the streets and not being supervised… And they ran it themselves, they were peaceful, they walked down to the village and made their speeches and they all dispersed, that was the end of it. They made sure there was no litter, you name it, and they made a point.

Well within weeks we were getting letters from the county council from all kinds of people that we were subverting the planning process, the whole lot. We were saying 'well, if young people are concerned about their area maybe we should be looking at it'. They didn't want to hear about it and what struck me about it was that this great capacity for the sustainable development of the country even, for young people to have a voice and learn about these issues, the whys, and why these things happen. But we were nearly sanctioned as a school for doing that, for even allowing the thing to, like, we were supposed to have stopped them doing that, caring about their own area.

(Male, 26 years' experience, Greenwood Community College)

This experience led this participant to conclude that the goal of state-sanctioned versions of Citizenship Education was to cultivate 'active citizens with a small 'a'.

Oh yeah, active citizens and all that? Yeah, they want active citizens with a small 'a'. You know what I mean, they want them learning about citizenship and maybe joining a political party in the future.

(Male, 26 years' experience, Greenwood Community College)

Teachers' use of textbooks to communicate development knowledge

Existing research carried out in an Irish context suggests that textbooks are used very often to communicate Development Education content, despite a perception that they were not an especially effective means of relaying this knowledge (Gleeson et al., 2007). Our research findings suggest that the extent to which teachers used textbooks to teach development issues was largely dependent on whether they were

teaching about development themes and issues as part of an examination subject. Those who taught Development Education as a TY unit or module, for example, generally had more freedom to develop their own syllabi and were far more likely to draw primarily on NGO resources and a range of other materials instead of textbooks.

> *I don't use textbooks at all [when teaching a Transition Year module on development issues]. I haven't found any that are particularly helpful and I suppose because the charities do produce good packs that I suppose are much more hands on, maybe if I was teaching it at Junior Certificate level where there was a whole class or whatever, maybe I would, but in [Transition Year] where it's more, you know, they don't tend to have text books anyway. It's more, you know, doing things and discussion and group work, and so on, so I haven't used textsbooks. But I do, I have a stack of [NGO] packs from the last few years and I pull them out to use them for different things so …*
> (Female, 21 years' experience, Woodlands Comprehensive School)

> *So I source material from my own experience, but I haven't got a textbook. You know, I'd be interested to know if there was one.*
> (Male, 15 years' experience, Glenabbey Secondary School)

On the other hand, textbooks tended to feature far more prominently for those who taught development issues as part of an examination subject. Some participants commented that textbooks helped to provide a structure or that they were necessary for 'weaker students'.

> *I find [textbooks], well I suppose because the exam is there, it is very handy. I wouldn't say I'd be lost without it but it makes it a lot easier.*
> (Male, 17 years' experience, Ashfield Community School)

> *But maybe it's the nature of the classroom or nature of teaching, people like to have, you know, a curriculum in front of them, or some kind of a template to work from.*
> (Female, 20 years' experience, St Fergna's College)

> *Well you have to [use textbooks] for at least the Leaving Certificate, especially for the weaker students; they have a have a textbook or they'd be lost without it otherwise. So you would base it on the textbook but then, you know, sure, DVDs separately, all your resources separately.*
> (Female, 4 years' experience, Star of the Sea Secondary School)

Generally, participants who taught development themes as part of an examinable subject felt somewhat restricted in terms of the extent they could use instructional materials other than the assigned textbook, as they were conscious of 'the looming exam'.

In History [textbooks] feature quite a lot, because really as much as you'd like to be doing stuff, different things every day, the [students] actually have to read it, there's kind of no way to avoid it. So … the book features a lot in History.
(Female, 6 years' experience, St Martha's Secondary School)

[The textbook] would be fairly central to my teaching of Development Education in my third year [Geography] group, I use it in my third year class. Now I would supplement with resources actually from CSPE, but I suppose I feel much more tied to the curriculum for Geography and I'm much more aware of the looming exam, more so than in CSPE. So I feel in CSPE I have more room to explore, whereas in Geography I'm nearly ticking off the elements that need to be covered, albeit trying to get, to open up the room to discussion but I'm also trying to get through the course. So yeah I'd use the textbook a lot…
(Female, 7 years' experience, Glenabbey Secondary School)

Others indicated that although they did not 'teach with a textbook' per se, they nevertheless drew on content that was contained within the text or accompanying teachers' resources in their lessons.

Well I rarely teach with a textbook these days. In my school we have the whole course in electronic form, as presentations or something and we took a year, we said we'd do that, a couple of teachers, we created resources, PowerPoints whatever, so everything is covered. So I generally would teach with a PowerPoint, everything with the PowerPoint is in the book, so it allows for more time for talking for discussion so they still would go home and read the book as part of their homework.
(Female, 29 years' experience, Johnstown Community School)

Others described how they used a combination of textbooks when teaching development related subjects or themes due to the perceived limitations of any one text, or that they used textbooks in combination with a range of other resources and materials.

I use them. I like having a textbook there because it gives a structure, an organization, a coherence to what I'm doing. So I definitely, now we have… particularly, for Religious Education there's a text book for the Junior cycle, for English there's a lot of different books and textbooks. And then that [NGO resource] that I keep referring to, it's a big weighty book, I think it's in a ring kind of binder. And I think it's just, it's there, I'm not getting bits from here and bits from there. I think it's better to have one big text that we can use.
(Female, 9 years' experience, St Angela's Secondary School)

Well the students have one particular book, and so I find, you know, any of the CSPE books are quite limited really. And so I would dip into, I would have a copy of all the other texts that are available from different companies, and I would use those. And then I would bring in any other resources that I have as well. But I would find them, in themselves, seriously limited. Especially the CSPE books I think. I mean you can give a little synopsis of maybe one aid agency, and that's it. And I like to explain to the students, you know the differences between Irish Aid and the NGOs, and give practical examples as well, and bring that into the classroom.
(Female, 20 years' experience, St Fergna's College)

Teachers' views on textbooks' engagement with development issues

Consistent with the general impression that global justice themes were not central to the formal curriculum was the perception that that textbooks did not engage substantively with development issues. A number of participants commented that even those textbooks where development featured explicitly were characterized by a failure to do justice to the topic, or characterized its treatment as tokenistic or overly general.

Well again it's just, it's a chapter in there [in the Leaving Certificate Economics text] which looks at developing countries and what it does, it does well. But its only one chapter and looking at, you know, what you mean by development and developing countries, giving lists of them and what are the features and all this sort of stuff… So it's not the fault of the textbook, it's just given so much space and what you put into that space is fine. But obviously it doesn't do the area any sort of justice whatsoever.
(Male, 35 years' experience, St Julia's Secondary School)

I think it's very limited, very, almost token referral to, you know, the work that is done overseas, say by NGOs, or by Irish Aid. And a little synopsis, a small little case study maybe given of, you know, what [a development NGO] does in Mozambique, you know. But it's very, very general.
(Female, 20 years' experience, St Fergna's College)

'Sailing away from the wind'

We'll talk about the people and their poverty but we won't talk about why they're poor and decisions we make. You see, we're talking about the facts in [textbooks], but we're not talking about the why. And I think that's what needs to change, and that's my frustration with textbooks.
(Male, 26 years' experience, Greenwood Community College)

Participants' perceptions of the coverage and treatment of development issues in textbooks corroborated the analysis outlined in previous chapters, highlighting the tendency for textbooks to 'flatten out' and over-simplify the complexity of development problems and to present sanitized and depoliticized understandings of global injustices.

I find the textbooks, I don't know if it's an attempt to be politically correct or not to rock the boat or, you know, 'God we can't be saying that' or whatever else.
(Male, 26 years' experience, Greenwood Community College)

I don't know, they [History textbooks] kind of don't really get into the nitty gritty of it, they're trying to be politically correct in a way, you know.
(Female, 4 years' experience, Star of the Sea Secondary School).

Interviewer: Have you ever had any difficulties with the way things were presented in the textbooks?

Respondent: I did, I did … in the sense of it was like the pictures, the images, that it was always from, I felt, it was always from our side of it. What we were doing for these awful situations… I think that if they're going to write about it there has to be an alternative. Like, why are there people like that? Or why is the situation like that? There must be some reason because I wouldn't be in that situation if I could get out of it.
(Female, 20 years' experience, St Therese's Secondary School)

I would love, I mean personally, I would love to see the causes of lack of development feature more on the curriculum, and the investigation of that. And I think that will take a huge amount of support for teachers because we don't have it ourselves. We, you know, we don't have the understanding, I think, of a lot of the causes and the complexities so I think a lot of support is needed for teachers to take the issues deeper in the classroom.
(Female, 21 years' experience, Woodlands Comprehensive School)

CSPE teachers in particular critiqued the failure of CSPE textbooks to address the underlying reasons for particular global problems, crises or trends.

We do put in sections about Development Education and what's happening in Africa. We'll talk about the poverty, we'll talk about the devastation, we'll talk about the adversity that the people, whether it's South America or Indonesia, what they're up against, but we won't talk about why […]²⁸

What appears in textbooks is you know, maybe… a safe story about people fighting against a dump in their local area and here's what they had to do or things like that. They don't really, they sail well away from the wind in textbooks and I don't think that's fair because you don't want to create a whole load of activists but what you do want to do is you want to make sure that young people understand exactly what's at stake in some of these development issues.
(Male, 26 years' experience, Greenwood Community School)

So from a CSPE perspective, I think we don't question enough. When we read a piece about a developing community and the fact that they do not have health care, they do not have a good education system, that they must pay for their education, that they have child labour, often I think we don't really analyze why that is. And we do come from a certain perception that somehow they're not able to get their education system going, it must be a corrupt or incapable government. We don't look at the real obstacles to development within the country created by colonialism, by the political system, by globalization, by the exploitation of workers, and those are huge issues.
(Female, 21 years' experience, Woodlands Comprehensive School)

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²⁸ […] denotes text missing

Teachers' confidence levels teaching Global Citizenship Education

As one might expect, there was considerable variation in teachers' confidence levels in their ability to effectively teach Development Education, variously rooted in the level of teaching experience, exposure to development experiences, 'background' knowledge, and an awareness that the broadness and complexity of the topic of development is an ongoing challenge in becoming an 'expert'.

Yeah, for me personally it's both, it's a bit of a challenge because it's so broad a topic that, you know, if I was to write a course on it, I don't think I'm ready to do that because I'm still exploring what it is.
(Male, 26 years' experience, Glenabbey Secondary School)

Not that confident. Like some [topics] I feel a bit more confident than others and like I used to make sure I had a huge amount of material going into classes with me. So, and I used to have stacks of stuff in case you just got a class who just wouldn't discuss anything and you'd just have to keep reading things. But some classes, I'd have about 10 handouts and we'd read the first one, because an awful lot of stuff would happen. I wouldn't be that confident, and I'm definitely not an expert, and I think a lot of people who teach it do have a background in Geography and stuff, and I definitely don't.
(Female, 6 years' experience, St Martha's Secondary School)

In general, those who had direct experience of having worked or spent time in a majority world county and/or who were very experienced educators were more likely to express that they felt confident teaching about development and global issues.

Very. Very confident. That's because of my own personal experience out there in [majority world country].
(Male, 30 years' experience, Blessed Sacrament Secondary School)

Well, I would be confident teaching [development issues]. Again I have a lot of support, from [large development NGO], I'm always going on in-services. I guess I'm passionate about it… I have three different experiences of engaging and I think students as well feel that I can show them photographs, I've been there. So it's different from just reading it from a textbook or just showing them slides.
(Female, 7 years' experience, Prince of Peace Secondary School)

I am pretty confident … I mean obviously, I've grown in confidence as well and my own experiences going overseas has helped also.
(Female, 20 years' experience, St Fergna's College)

Another highly experienced educator attributed his confidence to the enjoyment he derived from discussing, with others, things that were meaningful to him, despite having no direct experience of having lived or worked in a majority world country himself.

In a cheeky way I do [feel confident teaching development issues], because even though I have no qualification in Development Education and I have no qualification to teach Religion either, and I get away with blue murder just by chatting with people about stuff that I think is important. … So I suppose I'm confident in the way that I like communication, I like figuring out ways of explaining things to people which are clear.
(Male, 38 years' experience, St Angela's Secondary School)

Even some of the more experienced educators admitted that they did not feel especially confident when 'doing' Development Education, or when exploring particular aspects of it. One participant was fearful about portraying development issues from a Western perspective.

You know as a teacher of CSPE I feel very … I suppose, primarily maybe because CSPE is a passion. Human Rights Education, Development Education have always been a passion for me. But at the same time I feel under-qualified in a way. I don't have particular texts and I'm not sure sometimes about the way I am portraying issues or whatever. I try to be balanced and I try put a… sometimes I'm sure I give a very Western view because I haven't worked in a Third World country or in a developing country, so that would be my greatest concern.
(Female, 21 years' experience, Woodlands Comprehensive School)

Specific challenges associated with educating for global citizenship

The perceived need for more effective instructional resources

Directly linked to a lack of confidence that some participants experienced was the perception that Development Education was an incredibly complex topic to teach in such a way that was accessible for young people. Teachers' lack of confidence was

often compounded by a perceived lack of adequate resources or effective texts that would enable them to grapple with the complexity of development problems while still enabling young people to grasp it.

> *I personally don't feel I have perhaps the skills and the really accurate information and resources to delve into that and explore it, in a way that is accessible for young students. And it becomes, I mean, it is an incredibly difficult issue if you look at globalization and the exploitation of developing communities, and the power of the TNCs.*
> (Female, 21 years' experience, Woodlands Comprehensive School)

This participant felt that there was a need for resources specifically designed for teachers that would help them to 'engage with [development] issues on a more intellectual level' so that they would be better placed to engage students with the complexities of the issues.

> *So I would love to have resources where [development] issues that are dealt with perhaps in a simpler way in the CSPE textbook, but that there will be a marrying resource for the teacher where the issue will be, um, a little more complex and studied too in greater depth, to give us the background to this issue and to be able to engage with it on a more intellectual level, to have ourselves the ability to engage with the students and get them to see the complexities of it.*
> (Female, 21 years' experience, Woodlands Comprehensive School)

Others felt that while there were a lot of Development Education teaching resources currently available from different organizations, that it was easy for these to 'get lost in the busyness of every day teaching.'

> *I think sometimes there's so many things out there that it can get lost in the busyness of everyday teaching, you know? Teachers like when things are put in front of them and it's really clearly and explicitly laid out, you know, this relates to this and aims and objectives and so on. I think that's important. I'd love, like, the ultimate Development Education folder, where you can then, okay after two, three, four years you can take out bits that are no longer relevant or as relevant, and add in other things, you know?*
> (Female, 9 years' experience, St Angela's Secondary School)

I would love to see something particular for Development Education, I think there is an interest out there, a lot of schools maybe dabbling in it. But maybe it's the nature of the classroom or nature of teaching, people like to have, you know, a curriculum in front of them, or some kind of a template to work from.
(Female, 20 years' experience, St Fergna's College)

Critical engagement vs. superficial understandings

As suggested above, participants spoke eloquently about the moral complexities and pedagogical challenges they experienced when educating students for global citizenship. The personal struggle that teachers experienced as a consequence of the dual responsibility of making students aware of the magnitude and intractability of global problems without making them feel powerless to intervene as individuals was a recurring theme. Participants felt torn between engaging students with some of the more challenging and intractable dimensions of Development Education and presenting a more sanitized version of reality. One participant explained how she felt conflicted between presenting an 'over-simplified' understanding of development issues and distressing her students with 'the ugly truth'.

And I think that's the thing with aid, it's so complicated. Like, it's so, I think it's such a complex issue, so complex, so how on earth do you simplify it so teenagers can understand it … but still be true? So I think I always end up with either choice. I always either over-simplify it and then walk away thinking I didn't tell them the truth at all, or else I tell them the truth and walk away thinking I've completely depressed them and I don't think any of them will get involved in charity because I told them the ugly truth. So I don't know what the balance is, I haven't figured out how to try and tell them the truth but in a way that doesn't depress or discourage them.
(Female, 8 years' experience, Woodlands Comprehensive School)

Comments of this nature speak directly to the complexity of the task of facilitating effective engagement in an educational process like Development Education, which has at its heart an explicitly radical and socially transformative agenda, within the confines of the post-primary syllabus. We revisit this important challenge in Chapter 10 when we examine the factors that constrain critical engagement with development in schools.

Fears about addressing multiculturalism, racism and discrimination in the classroom

The interrelated themes of racism, discrimination and multiculturalism arose consistently as topics which participants did not feel especially well equipped to address in their classes. These anxieties were heightened when there were ethnic minority students present in the class.

> *And I even get a little bit uncomfortable when we're talking about the race issue, because there's only one black girl in the class, right, and I find it uncomfortable. I do it, when it's necessary, of course, but I feel sorry for that girl that she is one black person in the classroom of white people.*
> (Female, 3 years' experience, St Elizabeth's Secondary School)

> *We did stuff on racism and looked at the issue of development in Ireland. But I used to have a bit of difficulty with this because I didn't fully grasp it myself. But we'd be looking at, say, issues like trying to argue against the arguments that people would say, like for example, 'look at them all over coming here taking our jobs.'*
> (Female, 6 years' experience, St Martha's Secondary School)

> *Multiculturalism would be fairly new to me, I wouldn't even, I wouldn't know exactly how to go about tackling it, I'd have to give some thought to that. And I'd also have to give quite a lot of space, it's not something I would be willing to just sort of gloss over fairly quickly. You'd be talking about, I would imagine, a reasonable portion of a term at least spent on doing something like that. So it's partially, to summarize really, my own lack of training, not necessarily lack of willingness at all, and just time, I just spend the time on other things basically.*
> (Male, 35 years' experience, St Julia's Secondary School)

One participant explained that she was fearful that drawing attention to the very existence of racism and institutionally racist systems such as apartheid could promote 'race thinking' by 'planting ideas' about differences between black and white in her students heads.

> *I have found [first year students] completely blind to aspects like racism and even things like discrimination against … even just general discrimination, things like, you know, that there can be gender discrimination in the workplace, and they are only 12 so you would expect them to be oblivious to that kind of thing. But I was*

very surprised that they were quite oblivious to the idea that racism existed to such a degree in the past and then I have a fear of if you teach them too much about what happened before are you going to be planting ideas in their head … I'm always afraid of it, if they never noticed a difference between black and white before, why put it into their heads?
(Female, 20 years' experience, St Fergna's College)

A number of participants specifically mentioned the Travelling community as a theme that they found especially difficult to address in the classroom, or felt conflicted about themselves, with one CSPE teacher admitting her inclination to 'skip over' this topic because of the tensions and 'slagging' that existed in class when it was raised.

Respondent: The Travelling community would be one [topic] that would, I would find it difficult enough to deal with. I suppose because a lot of the children in classes, you would have a member of the Travelling community and they would be very sensitive, you know? So, I mean you talk, you're trying to give a kind of a, you know, an idea that they have their own, obviously, culture and that we have to appreciate this culture and accept this culture, but I suppose maybe some of them, some of the kids would have had negative experiences with the Travelling community, and they would be sensitive enough issues, one kind of, that you might you know, kind of skip over really I suppose because you don't want to be, you know, fussed up in the class, you know?

Interviewer: And has that ever happened?

Respondent: There would be slagging, that slagging would be there like.
(Female, 20 years' experience, Forest Hill Community School)

Yeah, I actually do feel a bit uncomfortable when we do talk about the Traveller idea, because I can understand when some of the students are bringing up certain issues, and this idea of, I suppose, I'm quite aware of this idea it's 'not in my own backyard,' type idea. But I can see their point and yet I'm still trying to promote, you know, equality and acceptance of others. But I know all the comments they're making, em, about choice, sometimes I feel a conflict in my own head about it.
(Female, 7 years' experience, Glenabbey Secondary School)

These findings are consistent with existing research which suggests consistently high levels of teacher anxiety and uncertainty when teaching in culturally diverse settings (e.g., Bryan, 2009; Devine, 2005; Rousseau, 2006). If teachers feel ill-prepared in such contexts, they may be reluctant to tackle, or may avoid, discussion about racism altogether, or may engage in teaching practices that are damaging for minority students (Picower, 2009).

One participant, who was working in a school with a high proportion of ethnic minority students, stressed the urgent need for intercultural training for teachers within the context of initial teacher education,

> I think the first thing, the first thing they should do is bring in some sort of component into the Higher Diploma of Education for training teachers, because I'm just a recently qualified teacher myself who did the Higher Diploma in Education and that was very good when I did that in [University-Teacher Education Programme] because it did have a component on Travellers, but absolutely nothing about the new [multi-ethnic] situation we are now in. I think that should be made a part of it so that when new teachers come into the school that they know, or they expect to be met with this.
> (Female, 9 years' experience, Whitechurch Secondary School)

In fact, only a very small minority of in-career participants had undertaken any in-service training in Development Education, resulting in few formal 'displacement spaces' wherein teachers could engage with their own underlying assumptions, values and beliefs which affect teaching and learning in Development Education (Martin, 2007).

> I haven't done any formal courses [in Development Education]. I read up a lot but courses have been provided by [development NGO], that has happened over the last few years but I just never went to them because I've been too busy.
> (Male, Blessed Sacrament Secondary School)

> In terms of Development Education, I don't think I have ever received any or have had any in-service training, or any training at all in Development Education.
> (Female, 9 years' experience, St Angela's Secondary School)

> Interviewer: Have you done any particular in-service specifically about Development Education?

> Respondent: No, and I don't ever remember being offered it.
> (Female, 3 years' experience, St Elizabeth's Secondary School)

In the following instance, an opportunity for 'focused' in-service training arose only when the teacher became involved in a development NGO-led initiative.

> *The only in-service I've done would be I went on a teachers' study trip to [country in Africa] a couple of years ago with [NGO]. That would be the main, the most focused. I mean I've attended study days for students and we've had inputs and things like that, but in terms of something purely for teachers with the intention of informing us and to go back to school and equip us better to deal with the issues then the teachers' trip [to majority world country] that I took part in a couple of years ago would be the one.*
> (Male, 17 years' experience, Ashfield Community School)

'Shock and awe' Development Education in the classroom

Positive images of the majority world, including images of self-reliant, self-determined citizens are rarely available in Northern media. Rather, as illustrated in Chapter 5, in Ireland, as in other Western contexts, the ubiquitous image of the helpless, starving child has become firmly entrenched in the minds of the general public and is used widely to engender pity and, hence, donation and for 'educative' purposes in school textbooks. One of the effects of this tendency to use extreme or shocking imagery to portray inhabitants of the Global South is that viewers will acquire a decontextualized, distorted and inaccurate impression of people's lives in majority world contexts as characterized exclusively or primarily by pain, death, illness and suffering and of these regions as sites of famine, poverty, disease and war.

In their classroom practice, some, albeit a small minority of interview participants, described their use of materials in class which focused on shocking or dramatic stories about people's experiences in majority world contexts. One teacher who showed a documentary on organ trafficking in India explained that her students were astonished and 'just couldn't believe' what they had learned.

> *And I did a bit about kidneys, people in India selling their kidneys and kidney trafficking and things like that and the kids were shocked. So I just got an [Internet] video and showed them a little about it. 'Kidney mafia' or something it was called. And they just couldn't believe it, they went to this local farm, the video, the documentary and they could see all these people with stitches where the kidneys were and how much they sold them for and how much they were told they were going to get and how much they actually got for it, like, they just couldn't believe it. And then, I suppose, hopefully that could reinforce how lucky they are to be born where they are, you know, hopefully some penny dropped there, you know?*
> (Female, 12 years' experience, Hazelwood Community College)

While not seeking to deny that organ trafficking is a social reality across the globe, the reality of international trafficking is poorly understood; the available evidence suggests that organ trafficking is a global phenomenon that occurs in the US and Western Europe as well as in 'developing' countries such as India, Brazil, Peru, and the Philippines (Lawless, 2004; Scheper-Hughes, 2003). There is also some evidence to suggest that the media may have sensationalized and exaggerated the extent of the problem due to its inherent shock value (e.g. Seale et al., 2006).

Nor do we mean to suggest that students should necessarily be 'shielded' from difficult stories that have the potential to illuminate global disparities. Rather, what we seek to highlight here is the difficulty of placing such 'shocking' practices in a larger context within the confines of a curriculum that, at best, allows for 'brief excursions into "other" people's non-Euro-American lived cultures' (Roman, 2003, p. 272). In other words, within the 'intellectual tourism' or 'add-development and stir' approach to Global Citizenship Education (Mohanty, 2003; Roman, 2003), there is little, if any room, to explore the 'everyday lives and contexts of the [people] for making sense of their worlds in a larger set of geopolitical relationships in which the West and neo-colonialism are implicated' (Roman, 2003, p. 274).

Furthermore, it is important to consider the implications of using shocking stories about people's lives in the Global South to enable Irish students to develop a sense of themselves as fortunate and of their lives as superior to those of non-Western 'Others'. In the previous example, the participant hoped that by exposing her students to knowledge about the international organ trade, they would come to realize 'how lucky they are to be born where they are.' Similar intentions were echoed by a number of other participants, particularly in terms of their understandings of the perceived benefits of school-linking and immersion schemes, the focus of Chapter 9.

> I suppose when I was coming back to [the school after a school-linking visit] you'd hear teachers complaining about x y z and, I don't know, it changes your whole, you know, way of thinking. Just like they don't realize how good the conditions are here compared to the conditions of a school over there. I don't know … and coming back then say as a teacher you'd share your experiences with the students and the teachers as well. And they do realize how lucky they are, you know?
> (Female, 30 years' experience, Abbeyfield Community School)

> **Interviewer**: What are your views on those school-linking programmes?

> *Respondent: I think it's a lovely idea because it would be a case of reality bites. I think people would realize how well off they are in Ireland compared to in other countries, do you know what I mean? I remember sending my communion dress off to Africa. After it I was devastated and my mother was like, 'cop on, they've nothing, you've had to make your communion,' do you know what I mean? I think, oh yeah, I think it would be a great idea.*
> (Female, 4 years' experience, Star of the Sea Secondary School)

To the extent that Development Education pedagogical encounters are understood by teachers as a means of demonstrating to students just how good they have it, these experiences are likely to reaffirm, rather than contest, a sense of racialized and nationalistic privilege and to reinforce a sense of cultural (and geographical) difference between the 'local,' defined as the Western self, and the 'global', constructed as the non-Western global 'other' (Roman, 2003). The likely effect of the 'shock and awe' approach to global citizenship is that students will primarily experience relief for living at such a safe distance from such disturbing practices or distressing experiences, thereby reproducing a dichotomous 'us'/'them' world wherein 'we' derive a certain satisfaction from 'their' distress because it is not ours. Additionally, the horror and disbelief that 'we' experience enables 'us' to feel concerned for 'them,' which detracts 'us' from seeing our own implicatedness in the very systems that perpetuate the poverty and greed that fuel such shocking practices in the first instance.

Another participant described an incident where two Nigerian students in her class objected to her showing a video about witch doctors in Nigeria on the grounds that these practices were largely confined to small villages.

> *One theme I was hoping to do last year was, there was a very good documentary on Channel 4. It was about witch doctors in Nigeria, and I thought this would be really interesting. Now there were two girls from Nigeria in the class and the minute I mentioned it they just weren't impressed. I just knew by… I thought it was interesting and they were a little bit embarrassed about it. They said 'oh miss that only happens in the little villages and things' so we just kind of went 'Oh fine, grand,' and just kind of moved on, just took a different angle. But I think you just need to be aware of who is your audience, who is in front of you. Just be a bit sensitive that way.*
> (Female, 4 years' experience, Star of the Sea Secondary School)

While this teacher quickly acknowledged the need for greater sensitivity and the importance of 'knowing one's audience' in a classroom context, as this example suggests, incidents of this nature risk offending and embarrassing students whose cultures are being represented for 'educative' purposes. Once again, the point is not to deny that witch doctors exist, although, as the two Nigerian students themselves pointed out, these beliefs and practices tend to be far more influential in rural communities than in large urban centres. To the extent that a focus on witchcraft has the potential to reinforce Western exoticized perceptions of the lives of non-Western peoples, its utility as a Development Education theme is compromised.

Examples of this nature highlight the need for effective intercultural and Development Education training for post-primary teachers, at both pre and in-service levels, so that they will feel equipped to handle complex conversations on race, racism and global inequality and so that they can reflect critically upon the implications of particular kinds of development knowledge and approaches to Development Education in their classrooms.

Discussion

This chapter has highlighted a range of issues pertaining to teachers' understandings of global citizenship as well as their experiences of practising Development Education in schools. The findings suggest that teachers' understandings of Development Education are, in the main, highly consistent with those of development agencies and NGOs, but that only a minority of teachers explicitly articulate critical understandings which privilege 'our' role and complicity in relations of transnational harm. In the absence of these more critical framings of development issues, it becomes all too easy to dismiss development crises as 'theirs' and not 'ours,' thereby severely limiting the possibility that meaningful solutions to global problems and trends can be achieved. Relatedly, many teachers adopt an empathetic understanding approach to Global Citizenship Education, one of the main difficulties of which is that it constructs the Other as an object of 'our' benevolence (Jefferess, 2008) and ensures that one's awareness is focused on Others' experiences of inequality and not on the related experiences of one's own privilege.

The research findings also point to the persistent popularity of fundraising and related symptomatic forms of development activism in schools. It is argued that symptomatic responses to global poverty actually work against the stated aims of Development Education as articulated by government agencies like Irish Aid, namely to promote deeper 'understanding of the underlying causes of poverty and underde-velopment in the world, and to empower people to take action for a more equal world'

(Irish Aid & Trócaire, 2006, p. 6). In other words, we suggest that fundraising as a form of development activism cannot make a more equal world because it is a symptomatic response which does not transform the conditions of poverty and human suffering nor challenge the political-economic systems that create them in the first place.

While many schools and development NGOs may try to resolve these contradictions by marrying symptomatic and diagnostic approaches to Development Education, the limited formal curricular opportunities that exist for critical, open-ended dialogue and reflection increases the likelihood of fundraising becoming the primary focus of the Development Education intervention. Additionally, as discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, to the extent that fundraising helps donors to feel that they have achieved or accomplished something, they are arguably less compelled to look at the multitude of ways in which they themselves are implicated in perpetuating global injustices through their 'ordinary actions' (Lawson, 2005).

Relatedly, the sense of achievement that is derived from fundraising activities arguably closes off the possibility of young people thinking further about, and acting to disrupt, the actual structural and material circumstances that bring about and sustain poverty in the first place, by giving them the impression that they have already 'made a difference'. Meanwhile, schools' endorsement of fundraising as a legitimate response to global poverty reinforces stereotypical ideas about the dependency and vulnerability of recipients who are in need of 'our' help and does little to promote a more substantively equal relationship between the Global North and Global South. These ideas are taken up again in Chapter 10 in the context of a consideration of the structural factors which facilitate or, indeed, hinder the realization of critical versions of Development Education in schools and in the context of school-linking and immersion schemes, which is the focus of the next chapter.

Dominant models of Citizenship Education in formal education settings tend to operate according to the presumption that schools will teach about citizenship rather than promote more radical forms of engagement or 'citizenship in practice' (Bieta & Lawy, 2006, p. 72; cited in Taylor & Robinson, 2009). Yet, active civic participation requires the development and practice of a range of skills if it is to extend beyond superficial activities such as fundraising for global causes that dominate the current development activism landscape in Irish schools.

Some teachers feared the risk of 'indoctrination' and were reluctant to express their own perspective on particular development issues in the classroom. Some did involve or support their students in more direct forms of political action, whereas others, while not opposed to their students' participation in political activism, hoped that this was

something that would evolve organically and independently among students by virtue of their exposure to development knowledge. Yet as Anyon (2009) suggests, dialogue and information provision alone are insufficient to encourage young people to participate in transgressive politics and in order for them to develop a sense of themselves as change agents, youth also need opportunities to engage in protest activity of some kind (Anyon, 2009, p. 390). That some teachers are reluctant to engage their students in more overtly political forms of political activism, as well as the sanctions that can be imposed on those who do, raises questions about the extent to which Development Education's radical agenda is actually compatible with dominant forms of Citizenship Education that are valued, feasible or allowable in schools.

The textual analysis corroborates what many teachers themselves feel about the state-sanctioned resources that are currently available to teach about development themes and topics, namely that their treatment of development is often limited, cursory, sanitized or apolitical. Their failure to engage with the actual factors which cause and shape global poverty and inequality is part of the low priority given to explicitly political and critical education as part of schooling and learning (Smith, 2004).

Finally, the findings highlight the need for substantive investment in professional development and initial teacher education opportunities if high levels of development and intercultural educational competencies and confidence are to be cultivated amongst teachers. If teachers feel ill-equipped to address complex and controversial topics in their classes, they may be reluctant to tackle, or may avoid discussion, about important topics altogether. Another possibility is that teachers may apply a 'shock and awe' approach to Development Education which is more likely to reaffirm, rather than contest, a sense of racialized and nationalistic privilege.

Chapter 9

In-Career Teachers' Experiences of School-Linking and Immersion Schemes

Introduction

School linking and immersion schemes, also known as North-South partnerships between schools in the Global North and the Global South, are an increasingly popular way for Irish students and their teachers to engage experientially with development issues and to connect with citizens in majority world countries. While these terms are often used interchangeably, immersion schemes, also known as study visits or exchange visits, generally involve students 'immersing' themselves in the school or community life of their partner schools. Linking schemes typically involve teacher or student visits to 'linked schools' and local communities and ongoing contact between schools through the exchange of materials (for example, letters or newsletters) or through the internet, using software applications such as SKYPE, instant messaging and/or video conferencing. These partnerships are intended to establish cross-cultural connections with the aim of mutual learning and understanding (O'Keefe, Irish Development Education Association, 2006, 2007).

This chapter draws on the in-depth interviews with in-career post-primary teachers to illuminate their perceptions and experiences of taking part in school linking programmes. Given that school partnerships were explored as part of a broader critical interrogation of Development Education in Irish schools, the findings presented here are not intended to provide an exhaustive account of linking and immersion schemes in an Irish context. Rather, we focus here on the various ways teachers experience and think about North-South school partnerships, with a particular focus on the rationale, process and perceived outcomes of such schemes.

Context and history of school linking and immersion schemes in Ireland

In an Irish educational context, school linking and immersion schemes involve a process of connection, communication and relationship-building between an Irish school and a school or community in the South. While the earliest examples of these global partnerships can be traced back to the 1970s, the past 10 years has seen an extensive growth in North-South linking at school level (O'Keefe, 2006). Although conclusive figures are not available, O'Keefe suggests that, at a minimum, over one hundred Irish schools have some kind of linking/immersion scheme in place (2006, p. 24).

Various pathways exist for Irish schools to enter into North-South partnerships. Many Irish schools have historical links with religious missionary orders operating in the Global South. In those cases, schools have access to pre-established links with Southern schools and/or communities and the connection between the school and a Southern partner is facilitated by the religious order. The Christian Brothers, for example, have assisted approximately 50 schools to participate in their 'Developing World Immersion Programme' which focuses on 'providing students and teachers in the Edmund Rice Schools Network with the opportunity to visit a developing world setting in the spirit of "being with" people' (Christian Brothers, 2009). Other schools receive support and guidance from a wide range of NGOs, including Trócaire, Self Help Africa, Aidlink, or Schools Across Borders.

At a statutory level, WorldWise is a Development Education programme, funded by Irish Aid and managed by Léargas, which supports learning partnerships between post-primary schools in Ireland and their partner schools in developing countries. Support from WorldWise takes a number of forms, including: grants for partnership project work and reciprocal teacher visits; professional development for teachers and forums for students and teachers to share ideas, learning, advice and good practice in linking.

Other schools 'go-it-alone', developing and funding their own link with a school or community in the South. These initiatives are often spearheaded by teaching staff with previous experience of volunteer or development work abroad and/or with a strong interest in Development Education work. As linking and immersion schemes are usually tailored to individual school needs, there were marked differences in the types of activities that took place and how the partnership was initiated, managed and sustained in those schools who participated in the present study which were involved with a school linking scheme. Table 9.1 gives a brief overview of the kinds of linking activities that took place and how the initiative was funded.[29]

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[29] These activities/dimensions of school-linking schemes are not static but merely provide a snapshot of the features of the schemes at the time that the interviews were taking place.

Table 9.1 Features of North-South school partnership in each sample school which operated a school-linking scheme

School name	Teacher visit to South	Teacher visit to Ireland	Student visit to South	Student visit to Ireland	Other student contact	Volunteer building work	Other volunteer work	Fundraising	Grant-funded
Good Shepherd Secondary School	•		•				•	•	•
Thornton Community School	•	•	•		•				•
St Elizabeth's Secondary School	•					•	•		•
Glenabbey Secondary School	•		•			•	•	•	
Johnstown Community School	•				•			•	•
St Angela's Secondary School	•		•			•	•	•	
Riverstown Community School	•	•			•				•
Greenwood Community School	•							•	
Abbeyfield Secondary School	•					•	•	•	•
St Edward's Secondary School	•				•			•	
St Fergna's Secondary School	•	•			•				•
St Julia's Secondary School	•		•					•	
Prince of Peace Secondary School	•		•				•	•	
Woodlands Comprehensive School	•							•	

Irish teachers' visits abroad were the only common characteristic, occurring in all 14 partnership schemes although, in some cases, teacher visits were personal undertakings and took place outside the school's official involvement. Six schools had organized study visits or immersion trips for their students. Fundraising for the Southern schools was an important component of the partnership project in seven

schools, while seven schools carried out voluntary work during their immersion visit, usually providing teaching assistance in the Southern school or helping to run a 'summer camp' for local children.

In four cases, voluntary work also included helping in 'building projects' whereby schools, libraries or other buildings are constructed in the Southern community. Seven schools received statutory funding from WorldWise for a range of activities including teacher visits, student visits, collaborative project work and Development Education activities. The remainder were self-funded and had established Southern links independently or through pre-existing missionary connections or through NGO organizations. The next section draws on teachers' perceptions and experiences of linking and/or immersion schemes to give an overall sense of how Irish schools 'do' North-South school partnerships, focusing on the general approach taken and how the link impacts those involved.

Rationale for school partnerships

Proponents of North–South partnerships argue that school linking and immersion schemes can be effective tools for Development Education because they offer 'the potential to develop in children a greater sympathetic and caring attitude to other peoples and ways of life' and 'helps to counteract prejudice' (Weldon, 1994, p. 16). Oxfam argue that successful school partnerships have a range of internal and external benefits which enable children to develop:

- self-awareness
- respect for others
- skills of enquiry and critical thinking and the ability to apply these to local and global issues
- the ability to communicate in different ways and settings
- an appreciation of diversity
- a sense of injustice and a commitment to tackling it
- an understanding of how local and global are interconnected and of the impact that actions have at both levels
  (Oxfam, 2007, p. 2)

However, there is widespread acknowledgement that outcomes are largely dependent on approach and delivery and that linking and immersion schemes are also capable of reinforcing negative stereotypes, cultivating paternalistic or neo-colonialist attitudes and promoting pity instead of empathy (Disney, 2004; Flood, 2010; Martin, 2007;

O'Keefe, 2006; Oxfam, 2007; Regan, 2007). Regan (2007) argues that study visits – a key component of immersion style schemes – are 'routinely ill-conceived, poorly structured and inadequately supported' and are, thus, capable of doing 'irreparable damage' (p. 10). Irish Aid's school linking and immersion scheme – WorldWise – has compiled guidelines on good practice in partnerships between schools in Ireland and the Global South which urge Irish schools to underpin their actions with the following principles: equality; mutuality; reciprocity; honesty; humility; critical thinking; and reflection (O'Keefe, 2006, p. 8). They also caution schools not to underestimate the time and work required to develop and sustain a link.

Personal connections: 'making development real'

Interviews with Irish teachers in this study revealed most teachers perceived school links as positive and beneficial for their students. One of the most cited reasons for supporting North-South partnerships was the belief that a personal connection with the 'developing' world was the most effective, if not the only way, to ensure Irish students 'believed' and/or engaged with global issues.

> *[Following a teacher visit to a partner school in the Global South] … You know we have now the personal experience so, you know, when I'm talking about poverty in the Third World I can show them [Mary, another teacher's] photographs. So there's a teacher they know and on screen, sort of, so, we have projectors and internet connection in every classroom. And I'm talking about someone that they know or even my own personal, any experiences that I can share with them. So it's like you're telling them a story. If you can personalize it they will believe.*
> (Female, 29 years' experience, Johnstown Community School)

> *If you bang on about the poor starving children in Africa, oh, sometimes they can be so bored, right? But if you bring in a film, or if you talk about a real person in a real country, living a real life… So I made a documentary about two years ago, last year, based in the school I worked in, and we followed two students for a day, for a week, sorry, and their lives. My students got that they're real people, living, breathing, and as we sit here in our classroom, they're in their classroom. That's real, you know. A lot of those ads on the TV unfortunately, you know, of a child holding their big distended belly, just isn't real to them. It's an ad, they're anaesthetized, so it's very important that, you know, to bring it into the classroom that we make it real.*
> (Female, 3 years' experience, St Elizabeth's Secondary School)

I think [the school linking scheme] enables me to give real examples, of real people, with names and places, and sometimes even their photograph, which makes it real for the kids.
(Female, 11 years' experience, Thornton Community School)

Changing attitudes

In some cases, teachers felt changes in attitudes and behaviour around global issues of justice and poverty would be enhanced through students' participation in a school-linking scheme.

The value of the trip really is that they will come back definitely affected by the trip, that's quite clear, definitely feeling a greater sense of involvement. And quite honestly I suppose a visit over there would probably do more good than any amount of classroom work in terms of changing their views. They may not know very much about the issues behind the scenes but their willingness to help out for the future certainly would be there, so in that context it does quite a lot of good.
(Male, 35 years' experience, St Julia's Secondary School)

When I see the effect it has on the student, the individual student that goes, and what he does when he returns, and in the five and 10 years after he returns, I think actually there is a value, there is an inherent value in these programmes.
(Male, 38 years' experience, St Angela's Secondary School)

Those who went had a fantastic time and really enjoyed it, really got a lot out of it. It challenged their, I suppose, their idea of what being poor is and the different levels of needs.
(Female, 11 years' experience, Thornton Community School)

There is ongoing debate around the idea that students' attitudes and behaviour will change following Development Education initiatives that involve direct contact between the Global North and the Global South. Quantitative research carried out by van Eerdewijk, Westeneng, de Hoop & Ruhen (2009) on Dutch school children involved in a 'Going Global' exchange programme found that such initiatives have a significant positive impact on knowledge, attitude and behaviour in respect of international cooperation and tolerance regarding ethnic minorities. On the other hand, research carried out by Gaine (1995) and Disney (2004) in the UK found that cultural exposure did not always reduce stereotypical thinking. Relatedly, beliefs that

direct experience is the only way of producing 'real' or 'true' understanding suggests that we can only teach about places we have been to and people we know (Martin, 2007). While not discounting teachers' perceptions that students become actively more engaged in 'real-life' situations, there should be some caution around assumptions that direct experience through school linking and immersion schemes will automatically challenge stereotypes or motivate students to become active and engaged global citizens.

Three elements of good practice partnerships

At the core of good practice in North-South school partnerships are three interdependent elements: equality; mutuality; and reciprocity (IDEA, 2007; O'Keefe, 2006). O'Keefe (2006) acknowledges the contextual differences which make this 'difficult to achieve' and advises that it is 'reasonable to expect that contributions and gains, although reciprocal and mutual, may be different' (p. 3). From teachers' perspectives, attempts to establish equality and reciprocity were undermined when visits only took place 'over there' but not 'over here'. Of the 14 partnerships analysed for the purposes of the present study, only three teacher visits to Ireland had taken place and no student trips to Ireland had occurred. Many teachers were aware of the importance of reciprocal visits, but cited a number of obstacles which prevented students from Southern schools coming to Ireland.

> *I'm hoping that [student visits] will happen next year. The offer was made back in 2004. For the [Southern partner school] it's a bigger challenge than for us at all sorts of levels. We said to them the finances wouldn't be an issue, we would help them with that, but there's all sorts of other issues for them around selection and other issues. Obviously there's an issue around visas but we think that's resolvable.*
> (Male, 15 years' experience, Good Shepherd Secondary School)

> *There's no funding available from Irish Aid [to bring students to Ireland]. They have a bit of a policy issue with students being funded to come over here.*
> (Female, 11 years' experience, Thornton Community School)

> *What we hoped was that if the students from this school were to go over, students from their school would come back, which would be a nightmare because of passports and getting visas and getting out of the country.*
> (Female, 12 years' experience, Riverstown Community School)

Irish students' and teachers' freedom to travel – in direct contrast to their Southern partners – highlights the difficulties in establishing truly 'equal' relationships between groups with imbalanced access to rights and ownership of resources. One teacher spoke of how his Irish students were actively challenged about their privileged position during their immersion visit.

> *The students [from majority world country] would be very strong on the history of the slave coast and so on, and you know, they would see Europe as having conducted massive crimes against their part of the world and would be keen that the Irish students would be aware. And a touchstone, one that keeps coming up for the [majority world] students again and again is 'you can visit us and we can't visit you. And you can get a visa for our country and we can't get a visa for yours.'* (Male, 15 years' experience, Good Shepherd Secondary School)

While undoubtedly uncomfortable for Irish students, these types of interchanges can present important opportunities for Irish students to explore their own position within contemporary political global arrangements, such as the fact that they have far greater freedom to travel than the vast majority of the world's population by virtue of their relative economic privilege and their Irish and European citizenship. Where imbalances of power and privilege are acknowledged and contextualized, rather than glossed over or ignored, opportunities for deeper and more critical learning emerge. On the other hand, unless these exchanges are recognized as 'teachable moments' and worked through with students to reflect the imbalance and inequities inherent in the partnership, they run the risk of merely reinforcing Irish students' position as privileged and powerful in comparison to the immobility of their Southern 'partners.'

Other types of contact which took place involved the exchange of materials, correspondence and shared projects. For example, one school swapped specially produced newsletters to share information about their school and their students' lives. Direct, personalized correspondence between students was less common and appeared to take place in just a small number of schools. This finding was surprising given that the objective of many schemes centred on building relationships and that technological advances have enhanced opportunities for this kind of global communication. Where direct correspondence did take place, the teachers spoke of the value of establishing personal connections.

The kids are now writing to each other. It's people now. It's not 'we're linked with a country in Africa.' It's a particular school, people can now say the school, people can, like, they're 'skyping' them every week, it's a fascinating use of technology.
(Female, 11 years' experience, Thornton Community School)

I think they've really enjoyed it, and I think all the talking that we've done in the classroom preparing for it, it's when the letters actually arrived and you know they became very personal then, you know it's their name on it, and they reply to somebody specific as well, so that made it all the more real.
(Female, 20 years' experience, St Fergna's Secondary School)

'Helping' versus 'mutual learning' approaches

Although each North-South partnership was unique and tailored to fit specific needs and resources, two broad approaches were identified: the helping approach and the mutual learning approach. While schools did not always fall neatly into one or other category, the general orientation to linking did have a strong influence on the form that the partnership ultimately took, as well as the nature of activities that took place during visits to Southern partner schools and communities.

The 'helping' approach

Mirroring some of the 'softer' understandings of Development Education highlighted previously, school-linking schemes were sometimes viewed primarily as a vehicle to 'help' or 'do something.'

You know, [the students] want to be more practical, they want to be able to help. Maybe that means taking them off on trips to Africa or something or other like that. They wanted to feel as if they made a difference. They've learned about Development Education, they know, they're aware of poverty, they're aware of justice issues. They want to do something about it now.
(Female, 29 years' experience, Johnstown Community School)

Heron (2007) argues that this 'helping imperative' – which is often motivated by a conscious or unconscious desire to construct a moral sense of self – relies on an understanding of 'Third World Others' as passive and oppressed victims on the one hand, and of 'white Westerners' as independent, liberated holders of valuable knowledge and expertise on the other (Cook, 2008, p. 21). In the vignette presented above, school linking is not viewed as an educative process; rather students are

presented as *already* fully knowledgeable 'about Development Education' and, thus, unquestionably capable of doing something about global 'poverty' and 'justice issues.' There seems little scope – or even perceived need – for Irish students to learn from their 'trips to Africa' as these visits are narrowly construed as opportunities for Irish students to 'help.'

In contrast, the following participant highlights some of the dangers associated with models of school linking undergirded by the 'helping imperative' ideological framework. Although initially interested in taking part in a building programme in the Southern community, the Irish school were strongly discouraged by the school's patrons from taking this kind of approach.

> *They [the religious order] saw it as wrong on a number of levels. They saw it as wrong in an economically dangerous way in that you could be putting local craftsmen out of work and messing in the local economy in that sense. But more, like their strongest objection was the imagery of it, the imagery, the idea that a group of Irish teenagers would arrive for a short period of time and would build something and then would go away. And they just saw that as all wrong in terms of development and in terms of education and in terms of intercultural links. They said that the message we'd send to the locals was they can't build and the message you'd send to the Irish kids was that the locals can't build and we have to go and do it for them.*
> (Male, 15 years' experience, Good Shepherd Secondary School)

The following participant, who was coordinator of his school's linking programme, outlined how his own approach to North-South partnership was premised on a combined emphasis on helping (realized through a school building project that both Northern and Southern partners participated in) and on building human relationships.

> *This [link] is not just about building schools, it's about building real human links now between our schools. That's exciting for me, because I've been thinking for a long time … it's a real, you know, Paddy thing to go out into Africa and build a school for a week and come home. And Irish people love doing that, you know? But I think it's a particularly Irish thing to do, isn't it really? So, it's real, you're following that kind of, what do you say, tradition.*
> (Male, 15 years experience, Glenabbey Community School)

While the emphasis here is on the importance of forging more long-lasting relationships with partners as opposed to simply '*go[ing] out into Africa and build[ing] a school for a week and com[ing] home*', the central tenets of the 'helping' approach remain intact. At another point in the conversation, the participant characterizes Ireland's historic role in international development as 'one proud tradition that Ireland has through the missionary field' which he feels 'is something that I think we can be justly proud of.' This particular framing of development positions Irish people as 'global good guys' on the international development stage and privileges a development-as-benevolence discourse that does little, if anything, to counter stereotypical assumptions about 'their' dependency on 'us' or 'our' understanding of ourselves as altruistic and compassionate providers (Heron, 2007). While not seeking to deny that school linking schemes have the potential to forge lasting 'human links', the mutuality of these relationships and opportunities for critical engagement with development are compromised by the ideological underpinnings of the school building project itself, which is premised on the notion of an altruistic national self who upholds a long tradition which 'we' should feel justifiably proud of.

This participant also talked about a student who 'profoundly disagreed' with the school linking scheme he had been involved in.

> *One student gave a presentation and he's very intellectual and he had all the statistics and he got them on a lovely PowerPoint and then he started challenging the class and that, and he had an angle … He basically profoundly disagreed with what we did and he's a student you know? But he came [on the immersion visit] and he observed and he still obviously thinks that we're mis-spending our money.*
> (Male, 15 years' experience, Glenabbey Community School)

The teacher, however, dismissed this critique, choosing instead to focus on the extent to which 'we're better people' because of the scheme.

> *'But that's all a very intellectual thing […]. It's not a sin, like, that we save the money and raise the money and we spend the money and parents' money to go out there and burn up all these air miles. A big issue [for the student], like 'you're burning air miles.' I said 'Look, because you come back and we come back and we're better people because we are touched by a culture and a civilization.*
> (Male, 15 years' experience, Glenabbey Secondary School)

When linking schemes are positioned as opportunities for self-enhancement and enrichment ('we're better people' because of it), there is a danger that they will function primarily as a resource for the self, positioning others, their 'cultures' and 'civilizations' as 'objects' which serve 'our' need for personal growth development and self-fulfilment.

In other cases, there was clear evidence to suggest that teachers' understanding of the role of the Northern school in the linking programme was primarily that of donor.

> *The teacher that was over there, he brought back photographs, and he would talk about different people in the community and the money, how they lived and why they needed money and if they got money what they were going to do with it.*
> (Female, 3 years' experience, St Edward's Secondary School)

As noted previously, the danger of presenting global issues as resolvable through fundraising surreptitiously transmits the message that we are the 'global good guys' while simultaneously closing down exploration of what else needs to happen at a local and global level. In most cases, this did not appear to be consciously done, but there is some evidence to suggest that some linking schemes were undergirded by paternalistic and ethnocentric perspectives.

> *We work with them, show them how to do it and then when we go the work continues on, which is great. We are involved in the building of classrooms as well. So you'd be there to help out. And they would see that both the male and females of our group would be working, which is good for them as well so it's a whole, like say, the issues over there in relation to male/female, the different jobs that they'd have we'd show that it doesn't matter who's doing it as long as people are doing it.*
> (Female, 30 years' experience, Abbeyfield Community School)

Notable here is the participant's construction of the local people she aims to 'help' – they are knowledge-less, waiting for Irish people to 'show them how to do it'; they are tied into oppressive gender roles which they cannot break free from until Irish people demonstrate that 'it doesn't matter' and they are inactive and motiveless until Irish people inspire them to 'continue' their work. Narratives such as these indicate that some schools require support and guidance to help challenge 'ethnocentric helping agendas' and to shift the focus away from 'civilizing missions' to towards a process of self-reflective learning (Andreotti, 2007; Cook, 2008; Martin, 2007). Irish schools and/or teachers that were willing to acknowledge the complexity

and uncertainty of achieving equal and mutually beneficial North-South partnerships were more likely to adopt an alternative model of linking and immersion which emphasized *mutual learning*.

The 'mutual learning' approach

Martin (2007) defines mutual learning as 'learning from and alongside each other in ways that are of benefit to both, but not necessarily the same' (p. 64). Underpinned by three core elements of discussion, reflection and negotiation, mutual learning enables participants to recognize and acknowledge the social, cultural and historical frames that have influenced their world view (ibid). Schools that adopted a mutual learning approach were much more likely to view linking and immersion schemes as a vehicle for learning for the students and were often resistant to, or critical of, donor/recipient-type arrangements.

> *I think we made it very clear at the outset, when we met the senior management in that school and the local bishop who gave us permission to do this, that this was not a fundraising exercise. It was about mutual learning and, you know, getting an understanding of each other and respect for each other. And I think that's very important.*
> (Female, 20 years' experience, St Fergna's Secondary School)

> *I think we can learn a lot from developing countries and the kids can learn a lot from developing countries if they're given the avenues to do so.*
> (Female, 9 years' experience, St Angela's Secondary School)

Another feature of the mutual learning approach was a willingness to acknowledge that school partnerships were not always intrinsically good. Teachers who were not caught up in a 'helping' mindset were more likely to question the value of linking and immersion schemes and their effectiveness in delivering positive outcomes.

> *They just kind of think they can do good in three weeks and I'm not belittling them, but there is bugger all you can do in three weeks. You'd be better off staying at home and if you really believe in this charity, go and raise some money for them.*
> (Female, 3 years' experience, St Elizabeth's Secondary School)

> *How much insight they get into it? I would have to question it myself because I'm not sure about the value of some of the trips to be quite honest.*
> (Male, 35 years' experience, St Julia's Secondary School)

[Immersion schemes can be] driven by the idea, everybody is entitled to have ideas, but the idea of one person, one teacher in the school who's into Concern or into Aid or into Trócaire or into something and they had one very good experience with them, so they want to give their students the same experience. But the students get to go but maybe aren't prepared well enough and aren't into Development Education well enough, aren't able to understand what they see and come back with worse stereotypes.
(Female, 12 years' experience, Riverstown Community School)

Schools that openly acknowledged the possibility of doing harm through linking or immersion schemes were also more likely to move cautiously and reflect on the impact of the partnership.

I think you really need to know why, and the benefits, and the downfalls of it as well, like it's not all good, there's a lot of negative impact of it as well, which is sometimes, you know, undermined.
(Female, 11 years' experience, Thornton Community School)

I would say [we need to] work very slowly, tread very carefully. Make sure that there isn't a sense that, you know, the students or the people who go to the particular country are there on a sightseeing tour or that they're actually there to do something. And that they're not, you know, causing disturbance while they're there and if they're working with kids, that they treat the kids in the correct fashion and the correct manner. That the kids should never be upset when the students are leaving, you know, two weeks later. There's a whole plethora of things that they really need to be taking into consideration.
(Female, 9 years' experience, St Angela's Secondary School)

Arguably, teachers who resist providing Irish students with comforting reassurances that they are 'making a difference' will ultimately enable their students to engage in a much deeper and more critical examination of global issues. Undeniably, this is a difficult thing for teachers to do, as evidenced in earlier when teachers spoke of their unease around confronting students with the 'ugly truth'. On the other hand, when teachers feel a need to protect students from the sheer scale and complexity of global issues, there is a danger that students will be left with falsely positive understandings of their capacity to make a difference. In the following vignette, a CSPE teacher voices her doubts about the value of volunteering abroad.

The reality is that people who come out and think that they're helping, they're not helping. They're not doing any harm, hopefully, but my God, it's so different; you spend your time adjusting. Like, imagine you had a work experience person now, for the next three weeks, and they had to follow you everywhere and you had to give them stuff to do. You'd spend more time finding stuff for them to do than you would doing your own job.
(Female, 3 years' experience, St Elizabeth's Secondary School)

In spite of her misgivings, however, this teacher did not feel that Irish students should be confronted with these kinds of messages. Speaking about another school's immersion visit that she would be travelling with, she described how she will collude in a staged 'voluntary' event designed to make Irish students feel 'useful' and 'good about themselves'.

I have agreed to bring out a group of students on a very specific itinerary, and to make them feel good about themselves they'll get a day in a library to organize books, and to put stickers on books and stamp them, right, and that's to make them feel useful, but the reality is, is that they will be the ones learning.
(Female, 3 years' experience, St Elizabeth's Secondary School)

The point here is not that fundraising initiatives and volunteer projects exist only for the gratification of Northern schools. Urgent, local needs are often addressed successfully through aid-based initiatives and many Southern schools benefit directly from such actions. What is being argued here is that when helping becomes the defining feature of a school partnership, there is a danger that participants become locked into arrangements that perpetuate unequal power arrangements – Northern partners 'help' and 'teach' and Southern partners are 'helped' and 'learn'. When mutual learning is emphasized, the roles of teacher and learner, helper and helped, become interchangeable, thus leading to greater opportunities for solidarity and critical reflection on one's own global position and responsibility.

Linking, I think it's a great idea, I think it makes it very real, and adds authenticity to what's been talked about as well, and a huge amount of learning from parties on both sides, you know, building of relationships and friendships, and it gives a great chance to form those friendships, and I think it can have a very long lasting effect.
(Female, 20 years' experience, St Fergna's Secondary School)

In view of the complex and contested nature of North-South partnerships, it is important to look closely at the support structures that are relied upon for initiating and maintaining school links. The next section looks at teachers' perceptions of other actors involved in supporting and funding linking and immersion schemes.

Supports for school linking schemes

The majority of teachers reported that WorldWise had played or continues to play a role in providing training, support and/or funding for school partnerships. In some cases, teachers were appreciative of the resources available.

I think the stuff I've been getting from Irish Aid, the WorldWise scheme and that, I've found the most beneficial for me. And so I'm glad I've got engaged in that.
(Male, 15 years' experience, Glenabbey Secondary School)

One of the most challenging and most informative and best, kind of, evenings that I did in all of the in-services was the Irish Aid one, linked to the Links programme. You know, they challenged. I thought one of the best things about it, it didn't give resources, it wasn't geared towards giving resources for the classroom, but it challenged our own beliefs about development and, you know, our impressions that most of development, most of the people in the developing world are rural small farmers living in poverty, as opposed to the growing slums in cities. So I find it really interesting as a teacher to have that kind of challenge.
(Female, 21 years' experience, Woodlands Comprehensive)

In other instances, opportunities to network with other schools with linking experience were perceived as beneficial.

We went to their in-service, or the teacher days WorldWise gave for their linking projects and we were a very young project and there were schools there that had been doing it for many years, and we learned from them. And it was good to know that we weren't the only school experiencing some of the problems, like lack of communication, or trying to communicate with the school.
(Female, 29 years' experience, Johnstown Community School)

However, a number of teachers expressed dissatisfaction with the amount of administrative work involved in the application and evaluation process, perceiving it as bureaucratic and time-consuming.

I have to fill out this form next week, it's going to take me hours, I'll stay up all night doing it. So there's an awful lot of … because you're involved with a government agency, I suppose, there's a lot of form-filling, bureaucracy, which is very tiresome.
(Male, 15 years' experience, Glenabbey Secondary School)

… basically every teacher is still on their own, within the classroom or in their school, and the amount of form-filling and admin that has to be gone through, and repeated year on year as well, I think is just ridiculous. So, I'd have a huge issue with that.
(Female, 20 years' experience, St Fergna's Secondary School)

In one case, a school felt that inflexibility and a lack of understanding around the difficulties inherent in partnering with a remote school created a stressful situation which prompted them to 'go it alone' with the help on an NGO.

WorldWise insisted on a written agreement, and we tried all summer to get back in contact and we got emails back saying 'yes yes, we're going to', but it wasn't enough for WorldWise … we were being made jump through hoops. And I think you can hear from what goes on through our school, it certainly wasn't a lack of commitment on our side, and if WorldWise had said 'well okay, we can let this pass until the teachers come over and then we'll get them to sign something or other' but it just didn't. So, in actual fact, the decision was taken, we said look we're already doing this, we're very happy to be working with [NGO] and we feel that you know, it was great to have the extra money, but we thought, well we can do it on our own and we have been doing it so.
(Female, 29 years' experience, Johnstown Community School)

The difficulty in getting written confirmation from the Southern school prompted teachers in Johnstown Community School to question the pragmatism of linking with such a remote school.

We didn't need the hassle that WorldWise were giving us and maybe if we had have linked with a more progressive school or something or other it might have been much easier. I mean we bent over backwards to get them some proof, something in writing from the principal, but the email wasn't even enough.
(Female, 29 years' experience, Johnstown Community School)

For the above-mentioned school, meeting legitimate demands for accountability was a complicated and frustrating process and it would be unfortunate if such tensions led to other Northern schools avoiding links with Southern schools in remote areas. Of broader concern was the issue of *why* the Southern school was reluctant or unable to confirm their involvement in writing. While funding allocations obviously require regulation, questions may need to be asked about the appropriateness of asking Southern partners to make a commitment, months in advance, in order to tick Northern boxes and meet Northern deadlines.

Furthermore, it should be noted that the work WorldWise is carrying out in terms of establishing good practice and encouraging schools to shift away from fundraising and aid-driven initiatives may be undermined by overly-burdensome administrative demands. In the following extract, the administrative cost of applying for funding was considered too high, particularly when raising money privately was perceived as a much easier alternative.

> *We talked to [WorldWise] and found out we had to fill out a 22-page evaluation for two grands' [€2,000] worth of funding and we just said 'look, for 22 pages of evaluation we can run a table quiz or we can send the kids out bag-packing or whatever and it just ain't worth it'. And the need that they have for accountability and evaluation, like we have no problem, obviously all the accounts are audited properly and signed off on, but not 22 pages of an evaluation folks!*
> (Male, 15 years' experience, Good Shepherd Secondary School)

While some teachers were highly critical of the 'form-filling' aspect, they did see a definite need for an overarching support structure to facilitate North-South school partnerships. In particular, they expressed a need for a support system that could help distil good practice out of existing practice, promote networking opportunities for school personnel and carry out research into the long-term effects of school partnerships to enable them to see 'the bigger picture'.

> *I would love the support of that time from organizations such as Irish Aid and, and to be able to engage during our summer holidays, to give us an ability to look at the bigger picture and to get involved in link programmes and so on.*
> (Female, 20 years experience, Woodlands Comprehensive School)

There are a lot of different models on the go in the schools and I would love to see best practices coming out of those. You know, some schools are going off to build and some schools are going off to work in clinics and some schools are going off to do the stuff we're doing … I think [WorldWise] are the only ones who can act as some form of a co-ordinating forum for best practice.
(Male, 15 years' experience, Good Shepherd Secondary School)

I have high hopes for them to be more supportive in the role of Development Education country-wide, and in promoting it.
(Female, 20 years' experience, St Fergna's Secondary School)

Discussion

North-South school partnerships are increasingly popular forms of development activism in Irish schools. They are perceived as valuable in a number of diverse ways: in the profile and status they confer on participants within the school and within the wider community; the opportunity they provide for teachers and students to truly 'understand' life in developing countries; their use as a means for Irish teachers and students to engage in a substantial and tangible act of charity; the capacity they provide for students from the Global North and Global South to engage; the opportunity they afford to students to learn from one another and make lasting connections; and their role in developing Irish students as global citizens.

There were significant differences in how schools established and implemented school partnerships and in the types of activities they chose to carry out under its umbrella. There were echoes of historical links with religious missionary orders and with more recent development NGOs. At times, schools were encouraged to adopt a mutual learning approach where the donor/recipient relationship was backgrounded or even eliminated in favour of a reciprocal and mutual partnership with benefits and learning on both sides. In other schools, a 'development-as-charity' framework permeated the partnership and the linking scheme and immersion visits were vehicles for Irish students and teachers to 'help' alleviate the symptoms of global poverty for their Southern counterpart. In both approaches, there is a notable need for schools to engage in a process of dialogue, self-reflection and honest acknowlededgement of the multiple agendas which can shape North-South school partnerships.

It also needs to be acknowledged that while NGOs and religious orders often play an important role in unsettling fixed notions of 'us' and 'them' and in challenging stereotypes, they are also capable of perpetuating the same issues in a drive for funding. Martin (2007) argues that school links initiated for charitable

reasons are counterproductive to the aims of global education and global citizenship and reinforce stereotypical thinking which, in turn, can lead to feelings of intellectual and moral superiority. Schools that adopt a 'development-as-charity' framework should acknowledge and address such claims through a process of reflection and dialogue rather than blindly implementing annual immersion visits, fundraising drives and school-linking activities in the presumption or hope of doing 'good'.

Arguably, there is a need to separate school partnership projects from predominantly aid-based initiatives to ensure fundraising and volunteerism do not overshadow opportunities for mutual learning. Given the long-standing and embedded nature of charitable initiatives in Irish post-primary schools and their pervasiveness as an accessible and 'doable' form of development activism, a considerable challenge exists in steering schools and students away from helping approaches and towards a mutual learning approach to school-linking and immersion schemes.

Chapter 10

Summary and Conclusion

This chapter synthesizes some of the study's main findings by bringing together some of the key issues addressed in earlier chapters and by incorporating some additional data that are relevant to the discussion but which have not been included thus far. In so doing, it seeks to illuminate further some of the main structural barriers that impede the realization of more critical forms of Development Education in schools by drawing attention to the wider cultural, social, and political-economic contexts within which teachers' work and students' learning are located. We begin by providing a brief overview of the study itself, before summarizing some of its main findings.

The study

Previous chapters have highlighted a distinction drawn in the literature between 'softer' and more 'critical' approaches to Development or Global Citizenship Education (Andreotti, 2006). Rooted in post-colonial scholarship, critical Development Education is fundamentally concerned with the West's ongoing implicatedness in contemporary forms of global injustice and has served as an organizing and conceptual framework for the study as a whole.

Combining an analysis of curriculum materials (including 75 lesson plans and a similar number of textbooks) as well as in-depth interviews with 26 in-career teachers 'doing' Development Education in a broad and diverse cross-section of post-primary schools, the study provides a comprehensive portrait of Global Citizenship Educationin Irish schools. The analysis of multiple sources of data enabled us to

develop deeper insights than those afforded by one data source alone. Informed by a process of triangulation, we were able to interrogate our claims based on multiple data sources, adding weight to the findings and strengthening our understanding of key issued and themes that emerged.

Study strengths and limitations

Several factors should be considered in evaluating the results of this study. Firstly, the analysis of representations of development within curriculum materials was largely restricted to a systematic review of state-sanctioned school textbooks (junior and senior cycle) in seven academic subjects, with a particular emphasis on three 'focal' subjects – CSPE, RE and Geography. (A list of all the textbooks analyzed for the purposes of the study is appended).

While the analysis was further informed by a host of curricular resources over and above textbooks, including materials produced by NGOs as well as statutory bodies and agencies, space, time and financial limitations have not permitted a detailed systematic analysis of the range of non-textbook based curricular resources that are available to facilitate learning about development in post-primary schools. This is a significant limitation because our review of NGO materials suggests that there is enormous diversity within and across the sector in terms of the quality of Development Education materials being produced. Some NGOs produce excellent, thought-provoking materials that lend themselves directly to critical forms of engagement with development themes, while others tend to produce materials more compatible with the 'softer' forms of Development Education problematized in this report. Nevertheless, as many of the textbooks examined drew directly on NGO materials to illuminate particular development themes or issues, the ideological framework underpinning some of the NGOs' Development Education activities are captured, albeit indirectly, in the analysis. Moreover, because textbooks tend to be viewed as authoritative sources of knowledge, they are, arguably, less likely to be contested than other sources of development knowledge, and thus constitute an important corpus of 'state-sanctioned' data in their own right.

Furthermore, as the textual analysis was limited to a consideration of how development issues are represented in specific texts, the study cannot derive any conclusions about how teachers and young people actually construct their *own* responses to these texts. While we can draw conclusions about the general implications and effects of particular development discourses, readers can respond in multiple and often contradictory ways to the 'preferred' or intended reading of a

given text. In other words, readers do not *passively* read texts, but rather *actively* react to them based on their own experiences (Apple, 2000).

As Apple (2000) points out:

> *We cannot assume that what is 'in' the text is actually taught. Nor can we assume that what is taught is actually learned. … Teachers have a long history of mediating and transforming text material when they employ it in classrooms. Students bring their own classed, raced, religious and gendered biographies with them as well. They, too, accept, reinterpret and reject what counts as legitimate knowledge selectively. As critical ethnographies of schools have shown, … students (and teachers) are not empty vessels into which knowledge is poured. Rather than what Freire has called 'banking' education going on, students are active constructors of the meanings of the education they encounter.*
> (Apple, 2000, p. 191)

Apple (2000) differentiates three ways in which people can potentially respond to a text: dominant (where one accepts the messages at face value); negotiated (where a reader may dispute a particular claim but still accept the overall interpretation); and oppositional (where the reader rejects dominant interpretations and repositions herself in relation to the text). Further research is needed to examine which materials or development discourses post-primary pupils are most likely to accept at face value, negotiate with, or, indeed, develop oppositional readings to. Moreover, as Apple also points out, there are institutional constraints on the extent to which oppositional readings are possible, suggesting that further research is needed to explore the conditions which facilitate or constrain different readings of development texts.

Relatedly, the in-depth interview and review of lesson plans are concerned with what teachers *say* about their experiences and pedagogic practices; as such, they cannot capture what *actually* happens in classrooms and schools. The possibility of a disconnect between what some teachers *say* they do when teaching global citizenship and what *actually* happens in the classroom needs to be entertained. Moreover, in relation to the curriculum analysis, as Michael Olneck has remarked in the context of multicultural educational content: '[At] issue is not only *what* is in the curriculum, but what is *done* by teachers and students with the curriculum' (2001, p. 345, emphasis in original). For example, the lack of analysis of the underlying causes of poverty in the majority of CSPE texts could be used as a context for opening up alternative storylines that privilege the role of international economic policies in producing and sustaining global inequality in a classroom context.

While every effort was made to recruit a diverse cross section of in-career and pre-service teachers, the voluntary nature of research participation is such that those with a stronger interest and willingness to incorporate development themes in their teaching were more likely to agree to take part in the study in the first place. While the potential for a sample biased in favour of those who have particularly strong feelings about the phenomenon under investigation is by no means unique to this study, it does mean that the perspectives of those who are less enthusiastic or more ambivalent about Development Education are probably not captured adequately here. Finally, the study is limited to the perspectives, understandings and experiences of teachers; in the absence of a corresponding analysis of young people's perspectives and understandings, we are unable to provide a more definitive account of Development Education in post-primary settings. We return to these limitations again in the next and final chapter when identifying suggestions for future research.

Despite these limitations, this is the first published study of its kind in an Irish context offering combined insights into the status and practice of Development Education in schools as well as an interrogation of how development issues are represented in the formal curriculum. Its qualitative approach allows for a rich description of what Development Education looks like in an Irish context and how it is understood in post-primary schools, as well as an in-depth exploration of teachers' experiences and views about 'doing' Development Education in post-primary settings. Having assessed the strengths and limitations of the research, we now present a summary of some of the study's main findings, incorporating additional relevant data not already presented in previous chapters.

Key findings

Marginal status of Development Education within the formal curriculum

One of the study's main findings pertains to the low status accorded to Development Education within the curriculum, which contradicts more optimistic analyses of 'opportunities for Development Education in formal education' which suggest that Development Education has 'come in from the cold' (Honan, 2005, p. 20). What the present analysis suggests is that, while theoretically there are indeed numerous 'opportunities' to incorporate development themes and issues across a wide range of subject areas, there are a host of constraining factors which actively work against the likelihood of these opportunities being realized in practice. One of the study's main findings that actively works against the 'mainstreaming' of Development Education

in schools is that teachers tend to perceive the treatment of development within the curriculum as cursory, inadequate, underdeveloped or sanitized, even within those subject areas most closely aligned with the Development Education.

The continued challenges to mainstreaming Development Education are attributable in no small part to the low status of Citizenship Education as a subject within schools. Despite a growing awareness of the significance of global themes, Citizenship Education is likely to remain a 'Cinderella subject'; that is, an under-appreciated subject (albeit potentially with much to offer) if it is not allocated adequate time, resources or capacity-building measures among teachers (Sugrue et al., 2007). The failure to accord CSPE parity of esteem with other academic subjects over a decade after its initial implementation in schools is disheartening, given the sheer complexity of the issues with which the current 'generation' of development educators must grapple.

As amply demonstrated by those 'at the chalkface', one's ability to meaningfully engage young people with the complexities of development issues is severely compromised by the lack of time to adequately address and engage students in open-ended dialogue or critical reflection about issues that affect their lives, their futures and their children's futures. Indeed, some of the participants in the present study pointed out that the failure of the formal curriculum to adequately address complex development themes is to 'do a disservice to young people by preparing them inadequately for the world they will inherit as adults' (Humes, 2008, p. 49).

> Given that it has profound and truly global effects ranging from unregulated flows of capital to 'monoculturing' and deforestation on a planetary scale, globalization is a phenomenon that demands that students do more than 'study' its consequences; they also need to formulate an informed response to the impact globalization is having on their lives, the lives of others and on the planet in general. While developing this response clearly requires knowledge about globalization, it also requires a sense of agency and a disposition to act that can only emerge from an understanding that students are fully implicated in the challenges globalization presents.
> (Richardson & Abbott, 2009, p. 386).

Research consistently reveals that young people find global issues important and engaging, despite having limited understanding or awareness of them (e.g., Devlin & Tierney, 2010). Moreover, data from both pre-service and in-career teachers highlight that Development Education can be a source of student engagement for those young people who are otherwise disinterested or apathetic towards their

learning. This failure to adequately address global themes is out of sync with broader government policy on children's lives, such as the *National Children's Strategy* (2000), which is premised on the notion of giving children and young people a greater voice in their schooling and in issues affecting their lives.

'Just add development and stir'

The low status accorded to development issues within the formal curriculum means that the responsibility for ensuring that young people are exposed to Development Education falls largely upon the shoulders of 'willing and able' teachers who are personally committed or 'passionate' about social and global justice. However, as Pike (2008) points out, opportunities for teachers to pursue individual interests beyond what is prescribed in the curriculum are increasingly squeezed out in an era of standardization and accountability. It is both unfair and unrealistic to expect teachers to prioritize issues that are not recognized as important within the curriculum when the larger context within which teachers operate and upon which they, their students and their schools are judged is one of outputs, performance and points.

In those schools where Development Education had a high status, development activities were typically driven by a core group or individual teachers with particular personal commitment to, and investment in, development and justice issues, many of whom engaged their students in extra-curricular development activities in a 'voluntary' capacity. However, even those who are committed and experienced development educators can be reluctant to deviate too much from the prescribed syllabus, due to fears of compromising their students' ability to do well in exams or of heightening students' own anxieties in this regard. Teachers' reluctance to 'stray' too much from the prescribed content is a perfectly legitimate response, and must be viewed within the context of a larger system which privileges competitive individualism and within which one's life chances are largely determined by performance in state examinations.

In those schools which had the highest Development Education profile, there was usually a certain 'taken-for-grantedness' that students would do well academically and go on to third level, and teachers were generally somewhat less concerned about the potentially negative consequences for students' educational attainment by introducing additional material 'under the radar.' Conversely, those teachers who taught in schools which served children from disadvantaged backgrounds were generally reluctant to do anything which might compromise the likelihood of their students doing well in state exams by incorporating material that is not likely to be

assessed as part of that subject and which is, therefore, not seen to be of direct relevance or 'value'.

At best, the continued reliance on teachers to maximize theoretical opportunities to 'bring development in' within the context of a curriculum that doesn't otherwise address global themes, promotes an 'add-development-and-stir' model of Global Citizenship Education in schools. This means that students will receive only very limited exposure to global citizenship as part of their formal learning experiences in schools. These challenges are compounded by what is, perhaps, an even more worrying feature of the formal curriculum where critical global citizenship is concerned, namely the problematic nature of curricular content about global themes and issues themselves. While previous chapters presented a detailed analysis of curricular representations of development using case studies of three academic subjects – CSPE, RE and Geography – the research suggests that problematic portrayals are evident across a whole range of subject areas, from Home Economics to Business Studies to English.

Representations of development in the formal curriculum

The analysis of textbooks reveals that the discourse of development within state-sanctioned curriculum materials is not completely uniform, coherent, or consistent, either within or across texts, and that exceptions, inconsistencies and contradictions are evident, even within the same texts (Jackson, 2008). Leaving Certificate Geography texts in particular present substantial opportunities for critical engagement with a host of development themes and issues. However, as the analysis of development pornography within Geography texts suggests, these critical narratives are often contradicted by competing images of development which perpetuate symptomatic responses and stereotypical ideas about hapless victims in the Global South who are in need of 'our' help, as well as corresponding frameworks imbued with discourses of Northern and Irish benevolence and innocence in global inequalities. In other words, although critical discourses of development do clearly exist within an across curricula, this criticality is often compromised by a reversion to more 'traditional' development frameworks (Smith, 2004).

One of the Leaving Certificate Economics textbooks, for example, engages critically with development themes using a graphic illustration of global military expenditure to illustrate the concept of 'opportunity costs and trade-offs' and 'the opportunity cost of war' more specifically (Spencer & McCarthy, 2004, p. 25). Materials of this nature are useful springboards for discussion about what fuels and sustains an international system that privileges weaponry over efforts to eradicate

world hunger, to realise universal primary education or to combat HIV/AIDS. One of the more notable aspects of this more critical framing of development is how it is forced to compete with a pessimistic reading of the inevitability of world poverty and hunger due to a perceived global 'scarcity of goods'. The following statement about the global distribution of resources appears earlier in the very same chapter.

> *Even if the resources in the world were more evenly distributed, there would not be enough goods available to feed, clothe and house the more than* **6,000 million people** *in the world. The supply of goods in the world is limited and scarce.*
> (Spencer & McCarthy, 2004, p. 11; emphasis in original)

This account is accompanied by a black and white photographic image of an emaciated black child seated on dusty ground, underneath which is the caption: 'many people in underdeveloped countries do not even have the basic necessities of life i.e. food, clothing and shelter' (p. 11).[30] The following page offers an equally fatalistic reading of the world, naturalizing the conditions which fuel exploitation and oppression as an inevitable feature of human nature, rather than a feature of specific types of political-economic systems and societies based on consumer capitalism.

> *The perpetual dissatisfaction with the material wealth which we possess and our desire to accumulate more is an essential characteristic of human nature.*
> (Spencer & McCarthy, 2004, p. 12)

The attribution of the appetite for material wealth to human nature implies that nothing can be done to reverse the ideologies and practices that are so intimately tied to the exploitation and suffering of those in the Global South, because that's 'just the way it is.' The danger with this logic is that it implies that there is absolutely no action that can be taken that would actually alter the current system so that more equitable systems might exist. This is not to deny that the acquisition of consumer commodities is a central feature of both children's and adults' lives in consumer capitalist societies.

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[30] While Chapter 5 demonstrated the prevalence of development pornography within Geography texts, our analysis also revealed evidence of development pornography within RE and Economics textbooks.

Research suggests that children's desire for consumer commodities is part of a deeply held, felt need to belong or to 'fit in' and that these feelings and practices need to be understood within a broader context of children's embeddedness within market relations (Cook, 2004; Pugh, 2009). Much is at stake, therefore – psychologically as well as reputationally – if people fail to conform to the broader social norms associated with consumer capitalism. However, research also suggests that children and young people's obsessive concern with the latest consumer goods is a direct response to the power structure within which they live, as opposed to some 'essential characteristic of human nature' (Milner, 2004). While these structures may not be easily altered, they are, nevertheless, products of human making and are, therefore, amenable to intervention and change. Throwing our hands up in the air and saying that 'nothing can be done' because 'that's just the way it is' is neither a helpful nor accurate representation of the social world and raises important questions about the legitimacy of the knowledge claims being made in state-sanctioned curricular materials.

The enduring popularity of modernization theory in the curriculum

One of the other main findings from the curricular analysis pertains to the popularity of modernizationist understandings of development. Modernizationist perspectives favour endogenous explanations for global inequality and offer limited scope for interrogating how 'global citizens' are implicated in the global economic processes and relations that generate and perpetuate global inequality (Andreotti, 2006; Heron, 2007, Jefferess, 2008). A number of the textbooks examined suggest a failure to theorize development along any other lines besides modernization. Whereas CSPE texts evoke modernization theory more implicitly, all of the available Leaving Certificate Economics textbooks address development exclusively from the perspective of Rostow's influential, yet heavily critiqued, *stages of economic growth* framework. Each of the textbooks examined addressed this economic version of modernization theory in a similar fashion, outlining the stages of economic development (from the traditional society to the age of high mass consumption), followed by a number of criticisms of the theory. While some of the major shortcomings of this approach are identified, no alternative models are proposed in its place, leaving the basic tenets of this tool for understanding underdevelopment intact. One of the economic textbooks, *Understanding Economics*, further endorses this neo-classical economic worldview by applying a social-psychological variant of modernization theory which attributes economic development to people's 'drive and enthusiasm' and their 'entrepreneurial spirit' (Delaney, 2008, p. 257).

> *The first and most essential requirement for any country to achieve economic development is to create this desire among its citizens. This may arise from a demonstration effect from other countries or from political leadership. In particular, it may require a change in cultural, religious and social practices.*
> (Delaney, 2008 p. 257)

The emphasis on the need for changed (read: Western) cultural values and social practices which are more conducive to economic development is directly informed by the ideological underpinnings of social-psychological modernization theory. Moreover, the implication that a lack of desire for development can account for why some countries are not as developed as others completely ignores the fact that many popular struggles in the South are actually about access to development – such as higher product prices, education and healthcare (Schuurman, 2000; cited in Storey, 2000).

Similarly, within Leaving Certificate Home Economics textbooks, poverty is explained using a widely discredited and empirically unsubstantiated cultural deprivation framework which attributes poverty to the lesser value that poorer families place on education.

> *Children from lower socio-economic families do not get the same opportunities, and place less importance on education than children of the better off in society. They end up unemployed or in low paid jobs and have their own children who are born into the perpetual cycle of poverty.*
> (Enright & Flynn, 2005, p. 431)

> *Children brought up in poverty are more likely to repeat the cycle [of poverty]. The attitudes and the behaviour of poor people keep them in the poverty cycle for longer and often into the next generation.*
> (Jones, 2007, p. 351)

In the foregoing examples, discursive strategies of psychologising are employed to provide 'explanations' for poverty and underdevelopment, individualizing problems that are actually a consequence of social, political and economic systems (Torres Santomé, 2009). In other words, poverty and underdevelopment are reduced to problems of cultural and family inadequacies rather than economic problems of structural inequality.

To sum up, the potential for critical Development Education in the post-primary sector is compromised by curriculum materials whose content does not enable students to fully appreciate the extent to which their own lives are intimately bound up with broader systems of social and global inequality. It is further hindered by a system that marginalizes global themes, privileges recall and outputs over learning and provides little time or space for self-reflective interrogation. In addition to the low status accorded to development within the formal curriculum, those aspects of the curriculum which *do* explicitly address global themes are often problematic and would require substantial modification in order for them to be compatible with the radical aims and understandings of Development Education articulated by official agencies like Irish Aid. As highlighted in Chapter 5, despite widespread criticism of stereotypical images which strip inhabitants of the majority world of their dignity and agency, these continue to be used in state-sanctioned textbooks designed for use in schools throughout the Republic of Ireland, the educative value of which is highly questionable.

Collectively, the textual analysis suggests that there is a clear need for textbooks to engage more systematically with the structures of global inequality and to be underpinned by alternative theoretical frameworks which would enable students to critically interrogate how they think about development and the Global South. Moreover, textbook materials need to present a much more nuanced portrayal of people's lives in the Global South, so that majority world countries and their inhabitants are conveyed in all of their 'variegated realities' (Soyinka-Airewele, 2010, p. 6).

While the need for major textbook revision is evident, as Apple (2000) points out: 'in essence, little is usually dropped from textbooks; major ideological frameworks do not get markedly changed' (p. 187). Moreover, experience suggests that while textbook publishers can sometimes be persuaded to incorporate additional, more progressive content, it is typically not addressed in any depth, such that 'dominance is partly maintained…through compromise and the process of "mentioning"' (Apple, 2000, p. 187). The findings from the present study raise questions about the extent to which Development Education's radical agenda can realistically be achieved through the formal educational system alone. The dominance of particular development frameworks, within and between different academic subjects, is important, not least in terms of the kinds of development action – or inaction – that becomes thinkable in response. In the next section, we summarize the findings in relation to the dominant forms of development activism that are promoted in schools.

The nature of development activism in schools

The three Fs: fundraising, fasting and fun

Another major finding from the study is the pervasiveness of a 'three Fs' approach to Development Education – comprising *Fundraising, Fasting* and *having Fun* in aid of specific development causes – in both the formal and informal or extra-curriculum. Both the discursive analysis of textbooks (most notably CSPE and RE texts) as well as the in-depth interviews with practising teachers reveal that Global Citizenship Education in schools frequently promotes 'soft' forms of development activism. These uncritical understandings of development endorse individualistic, charitable acts and simplistic 'quick-fix' solutions as legitimate responses to complex and intractable development problems. The pervasiveness of the 'development-as-charity' motif was evident across the board in schools, including: extra-curricular activities and fun-days focused on fundraising for specific charities or humanitarian crises; action projects completed as part of the CSPE programme and endorsed in state-sanctioned curriculum materials; school-linking schemes involving the building of schools in the Global South; and the distribution of 'iconic fundraising tools' alongside NGO educational resource packs.

This is not to deny that involvement in charitable activities may lead to a longer-term commitment to development, nor to critique individual forms of social action *per se*. As Tully (2009) points out, 'change in a small place can be a gesture towards larger transformation' and there is much to be said for the Ghandian philosophy of being the change one wants to see in the world. However, the point we are trying to make is that the implicit or explicit endorsement of 'quick fix,' individualized, charitable solutions to global poverty has the effect of positioning inhabitants of majority world countries as 'victims' in need of 'our' help. Thus, little is done to illuminate or transform young people's understandings of the problem or to challenge the assumptions which underlie these symptomatic responses. In other words, although small, individualized acts may serve as a catalyst for more collective, politically and ethically oriented forms of action in the future, students may need to be offered a range of alternative frameworks for development activism while they are still in school, which will give them a foundation for pursuing these kinds of activities as adults (Anyon, 2009).

The action dimension of development represents something of a double-edged sword for those charged with the complex task of illuminating the magnitude and complexity of development problems while simultaneously encouraging young people to see themselves as change agents who can work towards a more equitable and

socially just world order. When not grounded in opportunities for critical self-interrogation of the motivations for, and implications of, one's actions, development activism can become steeped in a 'helping imperative' which constructs the self as a 'global good guy' while eliding consideration of one's own complicity in relations of transnational harm (Dobson, 2006; Heron, 2007).

Within some of the more popular and enduring framings of Development Education, which are premised on one's individual capacity to 'make a difference,' the empowerment of the privileged Northern self, as opposed to those who are *most* disempowered within contemporary global arrangements, seems to take precedence. The aim, it seems, is to enable 'us' to overcome our own feelings of passivity and helplessness by giving 'us' a sense of our power to act, despite the fact that our sense of disempowerment pales in significance to the actual powerlessness which many ordinary people in the developing world are forced to experience on a daily basis.

Factors that constrain critical engagement with development in schools

The foregoing analysis is not to suggest that teachers are necessarily naïve about the development enterprise or do not see problems with more mainstream symptomatic approaches to development activism. As Smith (2004) suggests, teachers are often very aware of the contradictions that characterize their work and it is important, therefore, not only to identify these contradictions, but also to engage with their implications. As the following vignettes suggest, some, albeit a minority of participants in our study, were cognisant of the need to challenge development perspectives undergirded by a 'helping imperative' steeped in neo-colonial ideologies about the need to 'civilize the natives' (Heron, 2007) and of the need to encourage students to reflect on their own motivations for engaging in, as well as the assumption behind, particular forms of development activism.

> So the ability to reflect on experience would be my answer there and again that's a characteristic of [the] education [the students receive in St Angela's]. It's not enough to just do something; you need to ask yourself what's the context of this? Context is another characteristic really, why am I doing it, and reflecting on it is a huge part of it. So reflection on experience is just a key ingredient of development education and it applies even more to [extra-curricular initiatives] if you like than it does to academic studies.
> (Male, 38 years experience, St Angela's Secondary School)

Another participant was explicit in her critique of the development enterprise.

> *When you really explore the depths of development and the reasoning behind it, there's a lot of bad rationale for what we do.*

When probed further, this participant implied the need to adopt a questioning, self-reflexive approach to development and to interrogate one's reasons for becoming involved in the development enterprise in the first place.

> *Interviewer: You mentioned other negative things, like what other kind of negative aspects [of development were you referring to]?*
>
> *Respondent: I suppose the rationale behind it, whether, you know, people do this because they believe it's missionary, because they believe it's the right thing to do, because they believe in the Millennium Development Goals or the Declaration of Human Rights. Like what's people's rationale behind it? Do we still have this idea that we're giving to the 'black babies,' you know? Is that the image that we still have in our brains, and we feel compelled because we are more fortunate, to do something about it? Or are we really doing it because we believe everybody is entitled to the same rights we have? Or do we still have this missionary hang up?*
> (Female, 11 years' experience, Thornton Community School)

Nevertheless, despite her own critical reading of development, this participant admitted that these kinds of conversations did not actually happen in her school, acknowledging that a 'lot of people don't feel they need to have a rationale, you know? They give because they give, and that's that.'

> *It's not high on our priority list to sit and, you know, tease out the bigger issues. We know it goes on, and we believe in what we're doing through the link, but I don't know that we would ever like, you know, it's not a topic of in-service for the school, or it's not a topic, kind of, high on our priority list. It happens, and we believe in it, and that's it. Like, we've never had a sit-down, 'yeah, ok, why do we do this?' you know? It's been more sort of a select group of the committee, or on the staff, have come together and done the link, and everyone agrees with it.*
> (Female, 11 years' experience, Thornton Community School)

Teaching to the text and teaching to the test

While some, albeit a minority of teachers, expressed critical understandings of development, the wider context within which teachers perform their work may constrain their more ambitious aspirations to foster more critical forms of engagement (Smith, 2004). The vast majority of in-career teacher participants in the study perceived the exam-driven focus of the curriculum as a major obstacle to the meaningful inclusion of development issues in their teaching or to meaningful or in-depth exploration of global justice themes. One participant, for example, described how the felt need to produce 'safe' and acceptable answers in the context of the competitive national examination system worked directly against more critical engagement with the complexity of development issues. Her comments speak directly to the 'powerful influence of external examinations in motivating students to "reproduce" learning rather than develop their own thinking' (MacBeath & Weir, 1991, cited in Rudduck & Fielding, 2006, p. 224).

> There is the fact that [CSPE is] examined for the Junior Cert, so I think students and teachers are naturally going to want to get their 'A.' So they're going to want something clear cut with a very clear beginning middle and end which is resolved and easy to write up and will look good on paper, you know, to get their 'A.' So I think that as long as that's examined, you know then the result is going to become slightly more important than the learning process. And for it to become about the learning process it has to be non-examined really.
> (Female, 8 years' experience, Woodlands Comprehensive School)

Moreover, the data suggest that, despite some teachers' sophisticated understandings of the complex nature of development problems, simplistic, 'softer' prescriptions offer a far more manageable, 'knowable world' and, therefore, constitute a more seductive and reassuring alternative within a system that privileges and rewards people on the basis of tangible, measurable outputs and definitive results (Torrence, 1997, cited in Smith, 2004). Elaborating on her previous comments, the participant cited directly above puts it like this:

> I think it's easy to teach it in a very clear cut simple matter, like, this is what happens, like, nice happy ending. We all help the poor people and now they're all happy and the orphans have a really nice orphanage now or whatever and then you go and the reality is so different and there's so many other things at play.
> (Female, 8 years' experience, Woodlands Comprehensive School)

Narratives of this nature demonstrate that, while some teachers clearly possess critical understandings of global citizenship and may wish to engage their students in more critical and reflexive approaches to development, this can be hard to achieve within the broader constraints under which teachers operate (Smith, 2004). These important insights speak directly to a tension within Development Education between the simplicity of the message that is related to students (often perceived as necessary to overcome apathy or powerlessness) and the complexity of development problems. While more critical forms of engagement with global citizenship demand that educators resist the impulse to offer 'closure' in the form of clear-cut resolutions to highly complex, interrelated and often intractable problems, the very structure of schooling, with its emphasis on outputs and measurable results (Smith, 2004), may work directly against Development Education's aims of promoting education for radical long-term change (Cohen, 2001, p. 178).

Moreover, the sidelining of subjects like CSPE leaves little room for much needed dialogical spaces to tease apart the complexities of development and to engage with questions such as whether it is, in fact, possible to live an egalitarian lifestyle in a society which is structurally unequal, or whether ecological sustainability can be achieved within the existing political-economic order (Obach, 2009; Reay, 2008). Moreover, as Smith (2004) points out, challenging the 'traditional face of development', rooted as it is in comforting ideologies about concern for others and the power of individuals to 'make a difference', is disruptive and unsettling, irrespective of broader structural constraints.

Inadequate opportunities for Development Education training and information sharing

School-level challenges associated with mainstreaming are compounded by the fact that Development Education continues to occupy a marginal status within the post-primary teacher education curriculum, often taking the form of 'add-development and stir' introductory lectures and/or 'Development Education weeks' thereby rendering critical, sustained engagement with Development Education hard to achieve (Bryan et al., 2009). Consequently, many student teachers often have only limited exposure to development themes and methods before being expected to translate them into classroom practice. While limited interventions may be preferential to no Development Education interventions at all, teachers new to Development Education need pedagogical spaces where they can engage more deeply with the complexities of global injustice or critically reflect on their own assumptions about development (Andreotti, 2006; Bryan et al., 2009). In the absence of such

spaces, teacher educators run the risk of reinforcing, rather than challenging, unequal power relations and colonial assumptions and promoting uncritical forms of development action (ibid).

Only a very small number of the in-career teachers who participated in this study had undertaken any in-service training in Development Education, resulting in few formal 'displacement spaces' wherein teachers could engage with their own underlying assumptions, values and beliefs which affect teaching and learning in Development Education (Martin, 2007). The interrelated themes of racism, discrimination and multiculturalism arose consistently as topics which participants did not feel especially well equipped to address in their classes. These anxieties were heightened when there were ethnic minority students present in the class. These findings are consistent with existing research which suggests consistently high levels of teacher anxiety and uncertainly when teaching in culturally diverse settings (e.g., Bryan, 2009; Devine, 2005; Rousseau, 2006). If teachers feel ill-prepared in such contexts, they may be reluctant to tackle, or may avoid discussion about racism altogether, or may engage in teaching practices that are damaging for minority students (Picower, 2009).

Teachers frequently mentioned the need for opportunities where they could come together, to learn more and exchange information and knowledge about their experiences of 'doing' Development Education in schools.

> I think if I was to suggest something, it'd be good to have, be able to have a symposium or, you know, a conference or something like that. Some place where people could meet. And it could be, like, we have History teachers' conferences, and they're terrific things because, just for a weekend, we can just meet for a Saturday and Sunday or something, and I think that would be some way that, get teachers together meeting, talking and get people who are working in the field would be good.
> (Male, 15 years' experience, Glenabbey Secondary School)

> I would like some more support, I'd like to feel that I could talk to other teachers sometimes about what they're doing.
> (Male, 35 years' experience, St Julia's Secondary School)

Having synthesized and discussed some of the study's key findings, the next and last chapter offers a series of recommendations on how to respond to some of the key issues raised in the research.

Chapter 11

Recommendations

This chapter offers a series of recommendations on how to respond to some of the key issues raised in the research. Specific recommendations are targeted at government departments and statutory agencies, academic institutions (including both post-primary schools and third level institutions), educational support services and the development NGO sector.

Department of Education and Skills/National Council for Curriculum and Assessment

The following recommendations are aimed at addressing the current marginal status of Global Citizenship Education within the formal curriculum and are, therefore, targeted primarily at the Department of Education and Skills and the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment.

› At Junior Certificate level, **CSPE should be afforded parity of esteem** with other academic subjects and there needs to be follow through at senior cycle level through the proposed new subject *Politics and Society*. The practice of conscripting teachers who lack formal training in Citizenship Education to teach the subject should end and teachers need to be supported in the teaching of Citizenship Education so that they feel confident and well-equipped to address complex and controversial issues in the classroom. As such, *all* Citizenship Education teachers should be offered regular in-service training

focused on enabling them to critically reflect on their understandings of development and to enhance their Development Education knowledge and pedagogical skills.

❯ The report presents evidence to suggest that Citizenship Education teachers feel particularly anxious and ill-equipped when addressing racism and discrimination in their classrooms. All teachers – especially those charged with addressing racism and discrimination as part of their subject specialisms – should be provided with high-quality **intercultural educational training** so that they are equipped with the knowledge, vocabulary and confidence to effectively teach about and against multiple forms of racial discrimination in their classes. In the absence of such training, teachers are likely to avoid discussions of racism altogether, or may engage in teaching practices that are damaging for ethnic minority students.

❯ The **action project** within the existing CSPE assessment structure needs to be radically revised. The educative value of projects centred on fundraising initiatives, which account for about a quarter of all action projects (Wilson, 2003), is questionable and these kinds of projects should no longer be permissible as action projects.

❯ The fact that the NCCA is engaged in ongoing work where curriculum review and planning are concerned offers significant potential for more critical and accurate representations of international development within the formal curriculum. Although it is recognized that the NCCA has no formal role in determining or vetting the content of textbooks, it is critically important for the **NCCA to liaise with commercial textbook publishers** regarding the content of textbooks, particularly around the need to remove all forms of 'development pornography' from textbooks, the presence and value of which within educative materials is deeply questionable and undermines the very goals of Development Education.

❯ All calls to obedient activism within the curriculum, (particularly CSPE), wherein students are told to take specific courses of action vis-à-vis specific development issues or problems, should be removed from educational materials. Rather, the curriculum should enable students to critically evaluate the ideological underpinnings of different forms of development intervention and to appreciate the strengths and weaknesses of multiple courses of development action.

Teacher education programmes

❯ Teacher educators need to ensure that there are **opportunities for sustained and critical engagement with Development Education** within initial and in-career teacher education programmes. Critical global citizenship cannot be meaningfully implemented through isolated, one-off, 'add-and-stir' type lectures or seminars on development issues. In the absence of pedagogical spaces where student teachers can engage more deeply with the complexities of global injustice, or critically reflect on their assumptions about development, teacher educators run the risk of reinforcing rather than challenging unequal power relations and colonial assumptions and promoting uncritical forms of development action (Andreotti, 2006).

❯ Both pre and in-service teacher education programmes should enable student and in-career teachers to develop **critical literacy skills** that teachers can, in turn, cultivate in their own students.

❯ Education schools and departments in universities and Colleges of Education should employ highly skilled **lecturers with a dedicated Development or Citizenship Education brief**, similar to the Development and Intercultural Education or DICE lecturer model at primary level.

Schools

❯ Teachers should promote **critical literacy in their classrooms** that will enable students to decode and develop 'oppositional readings' to dominant development narratives in the formal curriculum and to critically self-reflect on their own assumptions about development and the Global South.

❯ Schools should not endorse Development Education programmes that are coupled with **fundraising initiatives** which have the ironic effect of undermining the long-term objectives of these educational initiatives. Similarly, schools should not continually endorse symptomatic responses to development problems which do little to illuminate or transform young people's understandings of the problem or to challenge the assumptions which underlie these symptomatic responses. Rather, there needs to be more emphasis on offering young people a range of alternative frameworks for, and concrete experiences of, development activism action while they are still in school, which will give them a foundation for pursuing these kinds of activities as adults (Anyon, 2009).

Irish Aid

› Irish Aid should ensure that all of the Development Education initiatives receiving financial support from the agency allow for **critical and substantive engagement with development themes and issues,** rather than initiatives premised on an 'add-development and stir' approach.

› The sheer volume of 'one-off,' pamphlet-style materials or short booklets on specific development themes and topics produced by development NGOs and government agencies can be overwhelming and hard for teachers to keep track of. Moreover, many of the existing resources that do examine development issues in greater depth are seen as inaccessible for post-primary students. Irish Aid should therefore support the development of a substantive **curricular resource for teachers which has a corresponding resource for students** which contains similar knowledge, albeit written in a more accessible style. This resource should be interactive and easily updatable.

› Irish Aid, in collaboration with other relevant bodies, should facilitate regular, structured **networking and capacity-building opportunities** for teachers, where they can come together to share knowledge, information and experiences of teaching global citizenship as part of their continuing professional development.

› Irish Aid, through WorldWise, should continue to facilitate networking opportunities for school personnel involved in school-linking and immersion schemes. **Programmes premised on a donor-recipient relationship or 'helping' model should not be supported by the agency** as they help perpetuate unequal power arrangements. Efforts to ensure mutuality and reciprocity, including opportunities for Southern participants to visit Irish schools and communities, should be encouraged and supported.

› The agency should institute a **less time-consuming and less complex reporting mechanism for schools in receipt of funding** and should be open to alternative ways for schools to demonstrate that formal links with link schools have been established other than the existing requirements which may be culturally specific and, hence, not appropriate in Southern contexts.

Recommendations for future research

This study provides a comprehensive overview and critique of Global Citizenship Education as it is conceived and practised in post-primary schools in the Republic of Ireland. Nevertheless, the study has limitations (See Chapter 10) and cannot hope to provide a truly exhaustive or definitive account of Development Education in formal educational settings. We have identified the following gaps in the literature that are worthy of further investigation.

❯ There is a need for ethnographic studies detailing how Development Education is *actually practised* in schools. These studies should include classroom observations of Development Education lessons and in-depth interviews with young people and teachers to examine how they interpret the curriculum materials and construct their *own* responses to these texts. More specifically, further research is needed to examine which materials or development discourses post-primary pupils are most likely to accept at face value, negotiate with or, indeed, develop oppositional readings to. These ethnographic studies can, in turn, be used to develop ethnographic **case studies of different approaches to Development Education in schools.**

❯ There is a need for ethnographic studies exploring young people's **lived experiences of development activism,** with a particular emphasis on how young people actually become engaged in more collective forms of social action.

❯ There is a need for more systematic research on those young people who choose to 'go against the societal grain' where dominant consumer practices and behaviours are concerned. We know little about the motivations of, and implications for, **young people who resist dominant social norms pertaining to consumer capitalism.**

❯ There is a need for **longitudinal, ethnographic studies of school-linking and immersion schemes**, so that we can capture not just what Northern and Southern teachers and students say about them, but also what they actually look like in practice and how students are impacted by them over time.

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Appendix

Textbooks reviewed to inform analysis of representations of development in the formal curriculum[31]

Table A: CSPE textbooks

Junior Cycle

Title	Year	Authors	Publishers
Impact! (5th Ed)	2010	Jeanne Barrett & Fiona Richardson	Gill & Macmillan
Impact! (4th Ed)	2006	Jeanne Barrett & Fiona Richardson	Gill & Macmillan
Make A Difference! (2nd Ed)	2007	Conor Harrison & Máirín Wilson	Folens
One World	2006	Deirdre Murphy & Jim Ryan	EDCO
One World (2nd Ed)	2010	Deirdre Murphy & Jim Ryan	EDCO
Stand Up, Speak Up!	2010	Hugh Holmes & Gearoidín O'Dwyer	Mentor
Taking Action Now	2009	Ray Quinn & Orla O'Flynn	CJ Fallon
Taking Action Revised	2004	Ray Quinn, Sean Misteal & Orla O'Flynn	CJ Fallon
We are the World (2nd Ed)	2004	Cormac Cassidy & Paul Kingston	Mentor

[31] The analysis of textbooks for 'focal' subjects i.e. CSPE, RE and Geography was more substantive and comprehensive than for the other texts listed here. In other words, while textbooks from each of the focal subjects were reviewed 'cover-to-cover' for development content, the analysis of other textbooks was more strategic and selective. In addition, updated editions of a small number of textbooks were published during the research phase. Where possible, these editions were included in the sample and incorporated into the analysis.

Table B: Religious Education textbooks

Junior Cycle

Title	Year	Authors	Publishers
A Question of Faith	2007	Lori Fields-Whelan & Niamh McDermott	EDCO
All About Faith	2005	Niall & Ann Boyle	Gill & Macmillan
Community of Faith	2002	Linda Quigley	Veritas
Exploring Faith	2004	Sean Goan & Tom Ryan	Celtic Press
Know the Way	2007	Orla Walsh	Veritas
Pathfinder 1	2006	Connie Duffy	Alpha Press
Pathways to God 1	2006	Kevin Mullally	Gill & Macmillan
Pathways to God 2	2006	Kevin Mullally	Gill & Macmillan
Religion for Living (2nd Ed)	2009	Connie Duffy	Alpha Press
Religious Education Year 2	2003	Cyberclass	ScholasTech Media

Senior Cycle

Title	Year	Authors	Publishers
Faith in Action	2008	Niall Boyle	Gill & Macmillan
Faith Seeking Understanding Syllabus Section B, C & D	2005	Micheál de Barra (ed)	Veritas
Into the Deep	2007	Tom Gunning	Veritas
Issues of Justice and Peace Syllabus Section F	2006	Barbara Raftery & Micheál de Barra (ed)	Veritas
Religion and Gender Syllabus Section E	2006	Aiveen Mullally & Micheál de Barra (ed)	Veritas
Religion and Science Syllabus Selection J	2006	Josephine McCann, Fachtna McCarthy & Micheál de Barra (ed)	Veritas
Religion: The Irish Experience Syllabus Selection I	2006	Tom Gunning & Micheal de Barra (ed)	Veritas
The Challenge of God (3rd Ed) Exploring Morality	2003	Anne & Niall Boyle	Gill & Macmillan
The Inner Place	2006	Tom Gunning	Veritas
The Search for Meaning and Values Section A	2004	Paula Goggin, Collette McCarthy-Dineen & Micheal de Barra (ed)	Veritas

Table C: Geography textbooks

Junior Cycle

Title	Year	Authors	Publishers
Earth Matters	2008	Eddie Guilmartin & Edwina Hynes	Folens
Groundwork: Junior Certificate Geography 1 & 2	2005	Therese King & Monica Hopkins	EDCO
Human Planet	2002	Patrick E.F. O'Dwyer	Gill & Macmillan
New Complete Geography	2003	Charles Hayes	Gill & Macmillan
New Complete Geography (4th Ed)	2009	Charles Hayes	Gill & Macmillan
New Geo	2009	Liam Ashe & Kieran McCarthy	EDCO

Senior Cycle

Title	Year	Authors	Publishers
Dynamic Economic Geography	2007	Barry Brunt, Patrick O'Dwyer & Charles Hayes	Gill & Macmillan
Dynamic Human Geography	2007	Patrick O'Dwyer, Barry Brunt & Charles Hayes	Gill & Macmillan
ECO (2nd Ed)	2007	Ray Quinn	Folens
Our Dynamic World 1 Core Book	2004	Patrick O'Dwyer & Barry Brunt	Gill & Macmillan
Our Dynamic World 2 Economic Activities	2004	Barry Brunt	Gill & Macmillan
Our Dynamic World 3 The Human Environment	2004	Patrick O'Dwyer	Gill & Macmillan
Our Dynamic World 4 Global Interdependence	2004	Charles Hayes	Gill & Macmillan
Our Dynamic World 5 Culture and Identity	2004	Patrick O'Dwyer	Gill & Macmillan
People & Planet 5: The Human Environment	2007	Sue Honan & Sue Mulholland	Mentor
People & Planet 6: Global Interdependence	2007	Sue Honan & Sue Mulholland	Mentor
People & Planet 8: Culture and Identity	2008	Sue Honan & Sue Mulholland	Mentor
Today's World Book 2	2008	Liam Ashe & Kieran McCarthy	EDCO
Today's World Book 3	2008	Liam Ashe & Kieran McCarthy	EDCO

Table D: English textbooks

Junior Cycle

Title	Year	Authors	Publishers
Chrysalis Revised	2009	Padraic Nolan	CJ Fallon
Dive In (2nd Ed)	2010	Edel O'Donovan & Fiona Kirwan	Folens
New English Experience 1	2007	Marie Dunne, Rex Sadler & Tom Hayllar	Gill & Macmillan
New Frontiers for 2nd & 3rd Year	2003	Pauline Kelly	Folens
New Frontiers for 1st Year English	2004	Pauline Kelly	Folens
Quest	2006	Edmond Behan	EDCO
Rhyme and Reason	2002	Marian Forde	EDCO
Take the Plunge (2nd Ed)	2010	Edel O'Donovan & Fiona Kirwan	Folens
Voyages	2005	Edmond Behan	EDCO
Zoom 1	2006	John Moriarty	Mentor
Zoom 2	2006	John Moriarty	Mentor
Zoom 3	2006	John Moriarty	Mentor

Senior Cycle

Title	Year	Authors	Publishers
Title	Year	Authors	Publishers
Endeavour 1	2007	Edel O'Donovan & Fiona Kirwan	Folens
Endeavour 2	2007	Edel O'Donovan & Fiona Kirwan	Folens
New Discovery	2009	Patrick Murray & Kevin McDermott	Gill & Macmillan
The Write Stuff	2001	Martin Kieran & Frances Rocks	Gill & Macmillan

Table E: Home Economics textbooks

Senior Cycle

Title	Year	Authors	Publishers
Lifelines: Leaving Certificate Home Economics	2005	Carmel Enright & Maureen Flynn	Folens
Living Life	2007	Anne Jones	EDCO
Living Today	2009	Margaret Kinsella & Marguerite O'Brien	Gill & Macmillan
Studies in Home Economics	2007	Mary McLoughlin & Sinead McGarvey	CJ Fallon

Table F: Business Studies textbooks

Senior Cycle

Title	Year	Authors	Publishers
Business Today Revised Edition	2007	Pat McLoughlin & Peter Caulwell	EDCO
Global Business	2005	John O'Connor	Folens
The Business	2008	John O'Sullivan	Gill & Macmillan
The Business World	2008	Enda Connolly	Mentor

Table G: Economics textbooks

Senior Cycle

Title	Year	Authors	Publishers
Economics	2002	Denis L. O Grady	Folens
Economics Workout	2004	Keith Spencer	Mentor
Modern Economics	2004	Keith Spencer & Daniel McCarthy	Mentor