**The Palestine Education Initiative:
A Case Study on Campaigning,
Development Education and
Activism in Ireland**

(1 Volume)

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Table of Contents

Abstract

This thesis examines the relationship between campaigning, activism and development education in Ireland using Participatory Action Research (PAR) as its research method. It examines the establishment of The Palestine Education Initiative, formerly the education sector of the Ireland Palestine Solidarity Campaign, as a case study of development education in a politicised and activist context.

My role as an activist and co-director of The Palestine Education Initiative allowed me to carry out insider research using PAR, to learn from and affect change based on my findings. The parameters of my research have changed throughout this process due to the organic nature of the project development. It was sometimes necessary to adapt my approach as a researcher and approach as an educator in line with new developments. The duality of my roles in this process was generally beneficial and is explored as a core element of this thesis. It is hoped that this thesis is a practical narrative which may be applicable or useful to anyone working in the campaigning or development sectors in Ireland.

Politicisation and de-politicisation when teaching about conflict issues is discussed in light of Freire's dialogical pedagogical approach. Funding requirements are discussed as part of a wider debate about the formative and structural impact of government engagement with development education.

It addresses the practicalities of establishing such an initiative including: programme planning, networking, professional development and pedagogical approach, curriculum design and funding, while analysing some of the theoretical issues that underpin these processes.

Acknowledgements

Chapter 1 – Introduction

Introduction

This thesis explores the process of establishing a development education programme for a social justice and human rights campaigning group, the Ireland Palestine Solidarity Campaign (IPSC). It looks at the ambiguous relationship between development education and campaigning in Ireland examining the challenges and potential benefits of collaborative efforts such as this project that aim to bridge both sectors.

The IPSC intended to facilitate individual topic presentations, tailored programmes, exhibitions and debates for a variety of audiences. All programmes and presentations were based on the core values of International Law and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This became The Palestine Education Initiative.

This thesis will map the establishment of The Palestine Education Initiative, its educational rationale, objectives and processes. It will explore how it operated and functioned within the IPSC and why and how it eventually became a separate entity and an official development education agency in its own right. This thesis will also chart the process of relationship building and networking with other NGOs.

The Irish Development Education Association's 2011 position paper on campaigning and development education sums up the history and current situation of the sector in Ireland in the paragraph below:

> "Historically development education in Ireland has always incorporated campaigning, advocacy and activism. People who were engaged in social actions

and movements or inspired by popular education approaches in the 1960s and 1970s got engaged in educational activities that we today call 'development education'. In its conception development education has retained these roots by being clearly defined by its main actors as 'education for change'. However, with the Irish state taking an increased stake and interest in development education, the question of 'what change?', 'how much change (incremental/radical)?' and, of course, 'how to achieve change?' have been constant debates over the last decades."[1]

Taking the factors above into account this thesis will document the project development and curriculum design process within the organisation and analyze the strategies employed for working with other organisations during this process. Given the complexity of the Israel-Palestine conflict, our aim was to utilise development education to stress the importance of mutual understanding and respect between diverse societies and perspectives in the belief that this work will help to develop an understanding of these issues and an appreciation of the immense impact that ordinary people can have on global poverty, equality and human rights issues, regardless of their views. We also hoped that participants would be motivated to become actively involved in human rights and global justice issues. This thesis aims to document and analyse that process and to serve as a practical resource for other campaigning groups who are interested in getting involved in development education.

The Ireland Palestine Solidarity Campaign

The IPSC was set up in late 2001 as a democratic, broad-based and multi-faceted campaign to support the rights of the Palestinian people in the Occupied Territories, in Israel and in the Diaspora. According to its website[2], it is:

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[1] 'Position Paper: Campaigning and Development Education', Irish Development Education Association (2011)

[2] 'Ireland Palestine Solidarity Campaign', http://www.ipsc.ie , last accessed 20-01-2012

"[An] independent, non-party political organisation, run by volunteers all committed to a just and sustainable peace in the Middle East.

"The IPSC is a volunteer-based coalition of individuals, human rights and political activists, academics, journalists and trade unionists all committed to a just peace in the Middle East. It is independent of all Irish and Palestinian political parties and groups and relies solely on donations and member subscriptions to fund the campaign.

"The IPSC campaigns for justice for the Palestinian people, through raising public awareness about the human rights abuses in the occupied territories, the violations of international law and the historical causes of the injustices to the Palestinians that lie at the heart of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict."[3]

However, unlike other NGOs that focus on the Israel-Palestine question, the IPSC advocates public action and protest, along with lobbying of political representatives, to assist Palestinians in achieving their full spectrum of rights – an example is the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) campaign[4]. This positions IPSC as a social movement with specific political aims and objectives that involve public mobilisations around particular issues, street protests and street theatre, letter writing campaigns, public meetings and speaking tours with Israeli and Palestinian speakers as well as Irish and international activists and Palestinian cultural events. The IPSC also regularly meets with elected representatives from local councillors to TDs, MEPs and Senators and produces briefing documents on various aspects of the conflict. In essence, the IPSC is concerned not solely with the human and civil rights of the Palestinian people, but also their political and national rights guaranteed under international law.

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[3]   'Aims of the IPSC', http://www.ipsc.ie/about/aims , last accessed 01-01-2012
[4]   *Palestinian Civil Society Call for BDS*, Palestinian Boycott National Committee, 9 July 2005

These differences in approach and outlook have in the past led to the IPSC being, informally at any rate, classified as 'far leftists', 'radicals' and 'overly political' by members of other NGOs[5]. Thus, despite the high profile work and achievements of the IPSC over the past ten years and the public support it has generated, the IPSC suffers a 'credibility gap' in the eyes of various 'mainstream' NGOs. The IPSC would argue that this perception is inaccurate, and that when it comes to a political issue, which the Palestinian question patently is, one cannot be 'overly political', indeed political pressure is the only method to achieve meaningful change. Similarly, the use of the word 'radical' to describe the approach of the IPSC is apt, if one is to apply the term in its literal sense, i.e., to seek "change at the root" rather than as a pejorative term. The IPSC argues that the Occupation of Palestine and the ideology of Zionism – i.e., *historical/political* realities - are the root causes of not just the conflict in the region, but of many of the human, civil, political and national rights abuses that exist in historic Palestine.

Taking the above factors into account, the IPSC decided that in order to attempt to bridge this perceived 'credibility gap' that it should undertake outreach projects into the NGO and education sectors. The IPSC views this outreach work as crucial to both the development of a greater understanding of the Palestinian question among the general public, and the development of the IPSC as a credible organisation in discourses around the issue.

The Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions Campaign

The IPSC is often considered radical because it openly supports and promotes the boycott. This opinion has been openly expressed in both public forums (social media, public meetings and discussion groups) and in private meetings with members of trade unions, NGOs and human rights groups over the years that I have been involved with the campaign.

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[5]   Views expressed privately to the author by members of various NGOs

In 2005 almost 200 organisations representative of a broad spectrum of Palestinian civil society – trade unions, professional bodies such as all the academic unions and associations, medical unions, and most of the major NGOs – called on the international community to endorse the call for a campaign of boycott, divestment and sanctions (BDS) against Israel, similar to that which helped to end the apartheid regime in South Africa. The IPSC took up this call because they felt that it offered an effective and non-violent tactic for progressing towards a peaceful solution to the conflict. (IPSC website)

There is opposition to the tactic of boycott as it can be seen as a negative tactic and one that necessarily isolates one side in any possible dialogue. The IPSC's active support for the BDS campaign and it's 'radical' image as have led to problems with integration in the NGO and Development Education sectors.

In an interview with Kevin Squires, the National Coordinator of the IPSC, outlined why the IPSC chose to support this position despite the arguments against it:

"There is an argument that runs along the lines of, 'we cannot isolate one side in the conflict, we need to respect both sides and encourage dialogue', and in some circles any deviation from this view is deemed "radical" or "extreme". However, for the IPSC, this argument assumes two falsities; one, that there are two equal sides when in fact there is a coloniser with one of the biggest military forces in the world and a colonised and oppressed Palestinian people; two , that Israel negotiates in good faith when history has in fact shown the opposite. For example during the so called Oslo Peace Process years the number of illegal Israeli settlements in the OPT doubled, and this under the so-called 'dovish' Israeli Labour Party. Israel can act this way because it enters negotiations from a position of power while Palestinians enter from a position of relative weakness. If one accepts that talks are necessary to provide a genuine road to a just peace,

then it is obvious there must be some degree of parity between negotiating parties."

"The IPSC believes that BDS offers international civil society, a means to help achieve this parity. BDS enables us to pressure the Israeli state to show its actions have repercussions internationally and that it is no longer acceptable for it to act as it does. On this basis we believe that BDS can have only a positive role in laying the ground work for future genuine negotiations on a more or less level playing field."[6]

The Education Initiative

When the IPSC initially decided to pursue plans for a development education programme, it consulted with its Membership Officer and Branch Representatives to assess the skill set and knowledge present within its existing membership base. Richard Irvine (now IPSC Education Officer and Co-Director of The Palestine Education Initiative) was identified as an active member of the Belfast Branch who was also a qualified teacher and had been teaching a course about Palestinian issues in Queens University since 2005.

At this stage in 2008 - 2009, members of the National Committee felt that development education was not a priority and the Education Officer's role was created as a post which dealt predominantly with producing literature that could be used for various areas of the campaign and some internally educative material. Priority campaign areas at the time were lobbying and media work in the wake of 'Operation Cast Lead'. Strengthening links with the trade union movement was also a priority and many committee members in that term were also active in their trade unions. The role of development education was not seen as important or suitable in the context of the IPSC's work by members of that committee, so

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[6]   Interview with the author

Richard's input and involvement was put on hold. Following the election of a new committee a less hierarchical, more membership-focused approach re-emerged in the organisation. Richard and other's suggestions that development education should be an integral part of our work were revisited and in spring of 2010 the decision was made to commit time, personnel and resources to establishing this programme.

Richard Irvine's Queens University course was suggested as something that could be incorporated into the programme from the outset. The IPSC had tentatively begun to address the possibility of developing an entirely new academic course with which it would then approach Trinity College Dublin. However due to the quality of the existing material and the lack of time or money available, it was decided that this would be an inefficient approach. As the Queens University course material had already been used for four consecutive years, it required some adapting. Richard explained the rationale behind the course content, the procedures he had followed in approaching Queens University and the nuances he had encountered over the years he had spent teaching it.

As the development of the project progressed the decision was made to focus less on the formal education sector and more on the development education and adult education sectors. There were two reasons for this; the process of getting courses or material included in schools, further and higher education institutes would be lengthy and arduous so it was decided that this should be left until a later stage when we had established ourselves as development educators. Secondly, Sadaka[7], another NGO who focused on Israel and Palestine were engaged in creating a transition year module on the conflict, so duplication of this kind of work seemed unnecessary. However, Richard continues to teach his 10 week course in Queens University Belfast and The Palestine Education Initiative does intend to pursue its work in the formal education sector at a later stage.

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7   'SADAKA – The Ireland Palestine Alliance', htttp://www.sadaka.ie, last accessed 21-02-2012

Rationale

Aims 6 and 8 of the IPSC are aims dependent on a solid educational background to ensure their success.

Aim 6 is 'To foster links between Palestinian and Irish institutions and organizations in the areas of health, education, sport, culture, local government, workers' rights and the promotion of human and civil rights'. For this type of twinning and networking to be successful it first and foremost requires a desire on the part of the institutions and the individuals who work within them to create such links with Palestine. From our interactions with the trade unions and the wider general public we were aware that people's perceived lack of knowledge was often the main thing that held them back when it came to actively engaging with the Israel-Palestine conflict.

The Palestine Education Initiative aims to contribute to this knowledge and learning about the Israel-Palestine conflict. It specifically draws on aim 8 which seeks 'to build the IPSC as an effective organisation to carry out such campaigning, educational, media and other activities as will serve the preceding aims'. For the year 2010-2011 the IPSC committed to the establishment of an education programme to support groups, organisations and interested individuals who wish to understand the roots and causes of the Middle-East conflict. The intention was to develop mutual understanding and respect between diverse societies and perspectives and to motivate participants to become actively aware of and involved in human rights and global justice issues. One of the reasons that we decided to take on this project at this time was because we had personnel with suitable educational skills on board at the time where previously we may not have had people with suitable skills and qualifications or those people may not have been in a position to commit the time to the project.

The project aimed to ensure that the human and other rights abuses which Israel perpetrates against the Palestinian people, and which regularly – such as during

Operation Cast Lead[8] – make media headlines, are placed in their correct historical and political context. That is, to illustrate that they do not exist in a historical/political vacuum or simply because there are 'good' and 'bad' people. The IPSC fully believes that it is possible to achieve this, by means of educating people using the scholarly historical record and reliance on international law. However, as this thesis will outline, the tensions between these political activism and educational roles came to the fore and resulted in The Palestine Education Initiative being set up as an independent organisation in order to gain recognition and funding.

The Palestine Education Initiative was set up as an independent not-for-profit development education limited company. Its values are firmly rooted in human rights and all its programmes emphasise empathy, dignity and lived human experience. Its work is rooted in a belief that only this approach enables people to gain an understanding of the realities, attitudes and human impact of the conflict. The cornerstone of The Palestine Education Initiative's programme is a ten session development education course entitled *'Promises - An Introduction to Human Rights, Media and Campaigning in the Israel-Palestine Conflict'*.

Additionally, working in collaboration with a range of organisations and utilising the skills and knowledge of expert academics, field workers and activists The Palestine Education Initiative facilitates individual topic presentations, tailored programmes, exhibitions and debates for a variety of public audiences.

Research Questions

The process of establishing this educational initiative raises key issues about the political context of this subject matter, which this thesis intends to analyze in terms of negotiating

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[8] 'Operation Cast Lead' was the official name of the 23-day-long Israeli military attack and invasion of the Gaza Strip during December 2008 and January 2009, which according to human rights groups left between 1385 (B'Tselem) and 1417 (Palestinian Center for Human Rights) Palestinians and 13 Israelis dead.

the politicisation and/or de-politicisation of context and issues when developing educational resources. This thesis will examine the difficulties faced by a campaigning group as they attempt to avoid overt politicisation, advocacy or propaganda in order to produce genuinely educative, balanced material that maintains its core principles, aims and objectives. This is the challenge of developing learning that encourages critical thinking and transformation in an empowering manner. The IDEA 'Position Paper on Campaigning and Development Education' acknowledges this challenge and the discourse surrounding it:

> "[L]earning about global injustice often leaves learners with a sense of disempowerment as the problem seems too overwhelming for them to see themselves as agents for change. By offering a set of actions, development education is able to link learning to empowerment. Furthermore by connecting skills and values based learning with opportunities for action in campaigns that foster engagement, global citizens can design or adjust actions so that they reflect their empowerment and their intrinsic and chosen values. Thus there is a sense of ownership over these actions such that when these citizens come across campaigning and advocacy in another context they are equipped and experienced to critique them in a meaningful way."[9]

It will address not only the practicalities of the programme's development and practical application, but the pedagogical elements of curriculum development. It will investigate the process of producing educational material which does not deviate into the realm of propaganda while necessarily including the full political context for the issues. This balancing of political advocacy and educational processes is a tension for development education that is at the heart of this thesis. The close link between overtly political campaigning and educational objectives in this project forced us to challenge and reflect upon our own views, knowledge and teaching styles. Giroux writes:

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[9]   *Ibid.*

"[D]econstructing the underlying principles which inform their own lives and pedagogy, educators can begin to recognise the limits underlying the partiality of their own views. Such a recognition offers the promise of allowing teachers to restructure their pedagogical relations in order to engage in open and critical dialogue questions regarding the knowledge taught, how it relates to the students' lives, how students can engage with such knowledge, and how such practices actually relate to empowering both teachers and students."[10]

This thesis draws on a theoretical perspective that is embedded in a power and structural analysis of critical theory and a transformative learning approach that focuses on empowerment. The work of critical education theorists such as Friere, Gramsci and Giroux informs the analysis throughout this thesis. This is combined with insights from development education studies, human rights and international law, social movements, public discourse and media analysis where appropriate.

The thesis will examine the processes, challenges and lessons learnt by a political group such as the IPSC when developing such an educational programme and attempting to secure recognition and credibility as an educator in the NGO and education sectors. As can be seen in the aims and objectives of the IPSC outlined earlier, the organisation is a proactive public pressure and public lobbying group that advocates a position of support for the legitimate demands of the Palestinian people under international law, such as the right to self-determination[11], the right of return for Palestinian refugees[12], and for an end to illegal colonial projects in the occupied Palestinian territories[13].

We wanted participant input to play a strong role in directing the lesson and were determined to move away from more traditional teacher-centred approaches.

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[10]   *Postmodernism, feminism, and cultural politics: redrawing educational boundaries*, p 254, Henry A. Giroux, State University of New York Press (1991)
[11]   Charter of the United Nations, Chapter 1, Article 2, 26 June 1945
[12]   *United Nations General Assembly Resolution 194*, 11 December 1948
[13]   *Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory (Advisory Opinion Summary)* International Court of Justice, 9 July 2004

Acknowledging the political nature of our subject matter and the political nature inherent to education was necessary to the integrity of our teaching.

This research aims to explore the following questions:

1.	Is non-biased teaching possible when dealing with conflict issues? i.e., could we use 'dialogue' as suggested by Freire[14]?

2.	What defines one group as 'radical' and another as moderate? Is it always their stance on certain issues or does this perception have other origins?

3.	How important is relationship building and networking to establishing legitimacy, accessing funding and gaining recognition?

4.	How can campaigning groups work in the education sector given the tensions between their political and educational roles?

As this thesis progressed these questions were reworked to more accurately reflect the research that emerged. For the purpose of consistency I will use the original questions throughout and used the re-orientated questions as the framework for the final chapter. The research questions, as they appear in the final chapter are;

1. What are the pedagogical issues raised by teaching about conflict issues? What can a 'dialogue' approach as suggested by Freire[15] offer?

14	*A pedagogy for liberation: Dialogues on transforming education*, I. Shor and P. Freire, Bergin & Garvey (1987)

15	*A pedagogy for liberation: Dialogues on transforming education*, I. Shor and P. Freire, Bergin & Garvey (1987)

2. How do campaigning groups position themselves in a development education context? What are the implications of this for education and recognition?

3. How can campaigning groups work in the education sector given the tensions between their political and educational roles?

Participatory Action Research

The research method employed in order to answer these questions and address these issues will be Participatory Action Research (PAR), from an insider perspective based on my roles as National Chairperson of the IPSC from 2010 – 2011 and co-director of The Palestine Education Initiative from 2010 to present. I have been an active member of the IPSC since 2007 and have held the role of National Events Coordinator, National Spokesperson and Media Officer on the IPSC National Committee in the past. I have also been active in both the Maynooth and Dublin Branches of the IPSC. At the time of submitting this thesis I am not an active member of the organisation. I am a qualified secondary school teacher of English, CSPE and SPHE. I have also worked as an English language teacher in the primary sector and have been actively involved in many school and inter-school intercultural projects. While teaching CSPE in the secondary sector I have always included lessons and modules on Israel and Palestine, although the conflict does not feature as an official topic on the CSPE curriculum. The Junior Certificate Civic Social and Political Education Syllabus states that:

"The content of this course has been written in the form of unit descriptions rather than as a specified list of topics to be covered. This format allows teachers and pupils enough scope and flexibility to select and deal with issues such as gender equity, racism and xenophobia, interculturalism, the environment,

development, work and unemployment, poverty and homelessness, minorities, and conflict situations such as that in Northern Ireland."[16]

Many teachers in both CSPE and Religion had asked me to address their classes regarding the conflict. As both a campaigner and a teacher I was acutely aware of the desire for knowledge and facilitated discussion space on the Israel-Palestine conflict.

I decided that PAR would be the most suitable research method for this thesis as it aims to effect social change with action gained through participation. It draws on two research areas, participatory research and action research.[17]

This research approach enabled me to draw on my experiences and practice to engage in research as we establish this educational initiative. I also hope that my research will help the development education project to progress and effect positive change by applying theory and experience to the process.

Thesis Format

Chapter 1 gives an overview of the thesis and the organisations examined therein, explaining the background to this research. The research question, rationale, methods and structure of this research thesis is outlined.

Chapter 2, Literature Review, presents a review of the literature I used to support the arguments made in the thesis, reviewing a range of literature from relevant fields of

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[16]   Junior Certificate Civic Social and Political Education Syllabus, http://www.curriculumonline.ie/en/Post-Primary_Curriculum/Junior_Cycle_Curriculum/Junior_Certificate_Subjects/Civic,_Social_and_Political_Educati on/Civic,_Social_and_Political_Education_Syllabus, last accessed28-11-2012

[17]   'Action Research', S. Kemmis in *Educational Research; Current Issues*, p.177,.Martin Hammersley (ed.), Open University, 1993 (2002)

development education, political education, adult learning, critical theory and educational pedagogy.

Chapter 3 Methodology outlines the research methods used, introducing the role of participatory action research in this research and discussing the benefits and challenges faced throughout this project.

The following chapters present the findings in a chronological sequence from the initiation and development of the Palestine Education Initiative to its current status. The presentation of findings is integrating with discussion and supported by insights from literature.

Chapter 4 deals with the pre-planning discourse and project development. It outlines our previous work in the formal education sector and awareness raising work of the IPSC. It elaborates on the rationale behind The Palestine Education Initiative and outlines the practical strategy adopted in realising the project.

Chapter 5 examines institutional constraints and issues we encountered when seeking funding and recognition. This chapter explores the nature of and relations between social movements and development education in Ireland.

Chapter 6 charts the process of curriculum design and examines the issues we encountered around politicisation and de-politicisation of conflict narratives.

Chapter 7 presents a concluding discussion of the thesis findings and implications. It examines the effectiveness of development education as education for change in the Irish context and in the context of this case study.

Chapter 2 – Literature Review

Introduction

This chapter examines the relationship between campaigning, activism and development education in Ireland, in the context of the establishment of The Palestine Education Initiative (PEI) which is the case study of development education in a politicised and activist context that the heart of this thesis. It addresses the pedagogical challenges and practicalities of establishing such an initiative including: programme planning, networking, professional development and pedagogical approach, curriculum design and funding, while also analysing some of the theoretical implications that underpin these processes. Politicisation and de-politicisation when teaching about conflict issues is discussed in light of Freire's dialogical pedagogical approach. Funding requirements are discussed as part of a wider debate about the formative and structural impact of government engagement with development education.

As Participatory Action Research (PAR) is core to the nature of this research, this chapter explores some of the texts and theorists consulted in relation to Participatory Action Research (PAR) firstly to highlight the formative influence of this methodology on this casestudy. The remainder of the literature reviewed in this chapter has been divided into a structure determined by the three core research questions of the thesis (listed in introductory and methods chapters). These sections are;

Pedagogical Approach,

Development Education, Politics and Constraints,

Politicisation and Depoliticisation in Education

The literature reviewed in this chapter will address the pedagogical elements of curriculum development. The practicalities of the programme's development and practical application are discussed with reference to the literature. It also examines the process of producing educational material which is not propagandistic, but necessarily includes the full political context for the issues raised. It examines the tension of balancing political advocacy and educational processes which is at the heart of this thesis. The close link between overtly political campaigning and educational objectives in this project forced us to challenge and

reflect upon our own views and teaching styles. In the light of these political and educational challenges, Participatory Action Research (PAR) was the research method identified as most suitable for this thesis, given the nature of the case study and the research questions posed here.

PAR Literature

Much of my research into Participatory Action Research is outlined in Chapter 3 however; I want to briefly present some of the key theorists I reference here.

Given that this thesis was written while the Palestine Education Initiative was being developed and launched PAR seemed like a useful method of research. Its capacity to gather knowledge through critical reflection and dialogue and then to use that knowledge to effect change made it an obvious choice of research method for a thesis such as this. The three core components of PAR are research, education and social action as outlined by Yeich.

> "PR is comprised of three major components; research, education and social action [...] Research is done in PR in an attempt to obtain useful knowledge about social problems that can lead to greater understanding and possible solutions [...] The principle form of education is through the dialogic method proposed by Freire [...] wherein people learn by communicating and problem solving together [....] another integral part of the education component is the development of critical awareness [....] Once knowledge has been generated through research and education PR enters the social action phase [....] Meaningful social change is a long term goal of PR. PR can be seen most accurately as an ongoing process of action and reflection." [18]

The self -reflection aspect of PAR as outlined by Hammersley (1993) was extremely important for me and I have made this part of my work by constantly adjusting my frame of reference in line with the knowledge and experience gained throughout the process of

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[18] 'Grassroots Organizing with Homeless People: A Participatory Research Approach', S. Yeich in *Journal of Social Issues,* Vol. 52 Issue 1, pp114-115 (1996)

developing the project and writing the thesis. It also involved critically examining my pedagogical approach and approach to campaigning and activism.

> "[A] form of self-reflective inquiry undertaken by participants in social (including educational) situations in order to improve the rationality and justice of (a) their own social or educational practices, (b) their understanding of these practices and (c) the situations in which these practices are carried out."[19]

The societal analysis aspect of PAR was also useful in the broader debate around funding and recognition within the development sector in Ireland. Yeich outlines this aspect of PAR;

> "Whereas action research tends to focus on individual and group level analysis, PR focuses on societal level analysis [....] A second difference concerns their theoretical foundations for creating change. Action Research operates from social consensus theory, which assumes that everyone can benefit from a proposed solution to a problem. In contrast PR operates from a social conflict theory, which assumes that societal groups have conflicting interests and that powerful groups will resist changes which threaten their interests."[20]

The newness of this type of project in the Irish context coupled with the more common nature of the difficulties we experienced in accessing funding and gaining credibility mean that as a casestudy the story of PEI contains lessons that are more generalizable.

Consultation with various bodies and individuals was carried out in order to strengthen and merge these two aspects. Thus the need for transparency and accountability in my research was evident as Smyth and Nicole Mockler outline:

> "One of the broader aims of practitioner research lies in the building of community and the sharing of knowledge and ideas. To this end practitioner research should be 'transparent' in its enactment and practitioner researchers accountable to their community for the processes and products of their research."[21]

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19 'Action Research', S. Kemmis in *Educational Research; Current Issues*, p.177,.Martin Hammersley (ed.), Open University, 1993 (2002)

20 'Grassroots Organizing with Homeless People: A Participatory Research Approach', S. Yeich in *Journal of Social Issues,* Vol. 52 Issue 1, p115 (1996)

21 'Practitioner Research in Education: Beyond Celebration', S. Groundwater-Smyth and N. Mockler, Paper

I integrated this understanding of PAR not only in the methodology of the thesis but epistemologically as well –that is, the knowledge content and direction of this thesis was influenced by the self-reflective and social action imperatives of PAR and for this reason I find it necessary to examine, in a self-critical way, the pedagogical approaches adopted and the relationship between pedagogy and politics.

Pedagogical Approach

In this section I investigate one of he central problematic of development education - namely the question of whether non-biased teaching is possible when dealing with conflict issues? i.e., could we use 'dialogue' as suggested by Freire[22]? The pedagogical approach adopted by the project is loosely based on Freire's critical pedagogy which encourages people to question their beliefs and prejudices from an experience basis in a politically informed manner. This section examines why we adopted this approach, based on the literature and the issues raised. We wanted participant input to play a strong role in directing the learning and were determined to move away from more traditional teacher-centred approaches. Acknowledging the political nature of our subject matter and the political nature inherent to education was necessary to the integrity of our teaching. Freire writes:

> "This is a great discovery, education is politics! When a teacher discovers that he or she is a politician, too, the teacher has to ask, what kind of politics am I doing in the classroom? That is, in favour of whom am I being a teacher? […] The teacher works in favour of something and against something. Because of that she or he will have another great question, How to be consistent in my teaching practice with my political choice? I cannot proclaim my liberating dream and in the next day be authoritarian in my relationship with the students"

This can be linked to Freire's theory of critical consciousness or 'conscientization'. One quality of this critical consciousness is 'power awareness'. Shor writes:

"A critically transitive thinker feels empowered to think and act on the conditions around him or her and relates those conditions to the larger contexts of power in society"[23]

He goes on to outline what 'political awareness' means within Freire's theory;

"Knowing that society and history can be made and remade by human action and by organised groups; knowing who exercises dominant power in society and for what ends and how power is currently organised and used in society."[24]

Fleming outlines his vision of adult education as linked to the concept of democracy. He sees it as participatory, critically reflexive, and open to new ideas and changing frames of reference. His vision is one of participatory discourse towards positively changing society.[25] To encourage this kind of participatory learning and active citizenship within the classroom we construct our teaching in a non-hierarchical way. This applied to everything; from the layout of the classrooms to the sharing of resources via email group between to the teaching style and methodology itself. For Giroux:

"[R]adical pedagogy requires non-authoritarian social relationships that support dialogue and communication as indispensable for questioning the meaning and nature of knowledge and peeling away the structures of reality."[26]

Again Freire's writing support our interpretation of our roles as teachers and facilitators within the course.

"The educator's role is to propose problems about the codified existential situations in order to help the learners arrive at an increasingly critical view of their reality".[27]

Pedagogical constraints

When it came to designing the course material of the IPSC's education initiative we engaged

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[23]   'Education is Politics', I. Shor in *Paulo Freire: A Critical Encounter*, p.32, Peter McLaren and Peter Leonard (eds.), Routledge (1993)

[24]   Ibid.

[25] 'The Future of Adult Education: Learning Towards a New Democracy', T. Fleming in *Radical Learning for Liberation 1*, B. Connolly, T. Fleming, D. McCormack. & A. Ryan (eds.) MACE (1996)

[26]   *Ideology, Culture and the Process of Schooling*, H.A. Giroux, p133, Falmer Press (1981)

[27]   *Cultural Action for Freedom*, P. Freire, Penguin (1972)

in a process of similar reflection and investigation. Brookfield suggests that a truly reflective teacher should increase their personal awareness of their teaching by assessing it from as many perspectives as possible. He created the notion of reflecting upon your teaching practice by engaging four different 'lenses'; the autobiographical lens (self-reflection), the student's eye, your colleagues perspectives, and the theoretical literature.[28] Employing this method involves going beyond the simple collation of feedback. It involves thorough critical reflection upon it and subsequent adjustment of teaching styles, practices, methodologies or curriculum. This method of reflection was helpful to us throughout the process of developing the initiative, but also in our broader teaching practice as it allowed us to constantly adjust and reassess our approach in line with the changing situation in the Middle East and the changing demographics of our students. Obvious examples of this include adjusting course material to suit class participants who already had extensive knowledge of Palestine and Israel because they were from the region or were active campaigners on issues relating to the region.

> "Dialogue is the sealing together of the teacher and the students in a joint act of knowing and re-knowing the object of study. Then instead of transferring the knowledge statically, as a fixed possession of the teacher, dialogue demands a dynamic approximation towards the object."[29]

We were able to avail of their knowledge and allow for peer presentations and peer led discussions. We also encountered certain class groups where more traditional 'teacher-centered' methods were expected of us rather than the more facilitative approach we had adopted. Depending on demographic we also adjusted our teaching styles when necessary.

> "Dialogue is a way to recreate knowledge as well as the way we learn. It is a mutual learning process where the teacher poses critical problems for inquiry. Dialogue rejects narrative lecturing where teacher talk silences and alienates students. In a problem-posing, participatory format, the teacher and students transform learning into a collaborative process to illuminate and act on reality. This process is situated in the thought, language, aspirations and conditions of the students. It is also shaped by the

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28 *Becoming a Critically Reflective Teacher*. S. Brookfield, Jossey-Bass (1995)

29   *A pedagogy for liberation: Dialogues on transforming education*, I. Shor and P. Freire, p100, Bergin &Garevy (1987)

subject matter and training of the teacher, who is simultaneously a classroom researcher, a politician and an artist."[30]

In this respect, educational work should be based on sound descriptive facts. It should lead people to ask questions and problematise their context and issues, rather than tell them what to think[31]. Through our methodology we would encourage people to critically reflect upon the various perspectives and narratives we would present to them. Brookfield writes:

> "As an idea critical reflection focuses on three interrelated processes; (1) the process by which adults question and then replace or reframe an assumption that up to that point has been uncritically accepted as representing commonsense wisdom, (2) the process through which adults take alternative perspective on previously taken for granted ideas, actions, forms of reasoning and ideologies, and (3) the process by which adults come to recognize the hegemonic aspects of dominant cultural values and to understand how self-evident renderings of the 'natural' state of the world actually bolster the power and self-interest of unrepresentative minorities."[32]

As such, educational work should focus upon explaining the history of the conflict, the issues involved and redressing the negative perception of Palestinians/Arabs and Muslims in general. As Matthias Fiedler of the Irish Development Education Association (IDEA) put it:

> "Development Education challenges global inequalities from many perspectives: It critically examines how our globalised world is still affected by colonial exploitations past and present. It is based on the understanding that the root cause of poverty lie in the inequality of unfair power relations between the global South and the global North and that those need to be challenged in the global North through Education. It promotes a set of values that allows us to engage in a dialogue with strangers from all over the world on equal footing and with a mind-set that values diversity and multiple perspectives over homogeneity and dominion. Development Education does not promote the one right answer but a way of engaging with different perspectives on the world we share"

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[30] 'What is the 'dialogical method' of teaching?', I. Shor and P. Freire, *Journal of Education*, Vol. 169 Issue 3 (1987)
[31] *Paulo Freire: a Critical Encounter.* P. McLaren, and P. Leonard (eds.) Routledge (1993)
[32] 'Adult Learning: An Overview" by S. Brookfield in *International Encyclopedia of Education* , A. Tuinjman (ed.), Pergamon Press (1995)

Development Education, Politics and Constraints

Beyond the specific pedagogical issues arising in the classroom, the wider context of development education in Ireland is significant, particularly with reference to issues of the wider problematic of 'teaching for change' and more macro power imbalances in the educational arena. The intersection of development education with issues that lead to the legitimising or de-legitimising of social movements and campaigning groups is core. This analysis is guided on the following research questions;

1. What defines one group as 'radical' and another as moderate? Is it always their stance on certain issues or does this perception have other origins?
2. How important is relationship building and networking to establishing legitimacy, accessing funding and gaining recognition?

Single issue campaigns have a history of playing strong roles in public awareness, campaigning and government lobbying in this country. McCloskey sums up the current landscape regarding public awareness work and development education when he writes:

"Ireland has a proud tradition of championing human rights, conflict, trade justice and equality issues in the context of the developing world through campaigns and advocacy work. Many of these campaigns are driven by single-issue groups though far from being isolated or disconnected from the wider development sector, they mostly share similar values and a social justice perspective in their concept of development. They are also effective movements for social change playing a positive role in public education and drawing the attention of important issues to a wider audience that often fall below the mainstream media's radar. Campaign groups usually commit to one issue or country for the duration of the campaign, and while long-term objectives can be difficult to achieve as they are often dependent on wider global factors, they still play an important public awareness role. Thus the main agents of public awareness through campaigns and advocacy in the development sector are single-issue campaign groups, development agencies and multi-agency coalitions operating at national and international levels to achieve policy goals and effect public pressure on state and inter-state organisations" [33]

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[33]   'Editorial', pp.1-8, S. McCloskey in *Policy & Practice: A Development Education Review,* Vol. 8 (2009)

In Ireland there were a number of direct action advocacy groups in the 1970s, 1980s and early 1990s. Within the peace movement, community development, the environmental movement, and third world solidarity movements there has been a move for some organisations away from advocacy and campaigning or direct action towards social partnership and registering as professional NGOs. In Ireland political movements often carry out internal education programmes with groups like the Workers Solidarity Movement and the Socialist Workers Party also engaging in some level of outreach based education through events such as the Anarchist Book-fair and Marxism conferences. Common perception often indicates that the SWPs attempts at outreach education are geared towards recruitment of new members. Development Education is rarely engaged with by political movements and tends to remain within the development/NGO sector.

Ni Chasaide summarises the current position of the development education sector in Ireland:

> "The development education sector in Ireland has significantly increased its capacity and focus on good practice approaches. This is partly evidenced through the formation of collective learning networks that seek to increase the quality of development education work and its reach, such as the Development Education Exchange in Europe Project (DEEEP), the Irish Development Education Association (IDEA), the Development and Intercultural Education project and the Ubuntu network. Development education practitioners also extensively engage in the mainstreaming of global justice issues in formal education, which requires a strong knowledge of the formal education system and curricula, target groups and appropriate methodologies."

However, the unlikelihood of organisations who criticise the government or propose action that strikes at the root of global justice issues to receive funding has forced some NGOs to mute their policies or, alternatively, to go without funding. During some of the course sessions we discuss the role of the Irish government and the EU in holding Israel accountable for its breaches of international law through abiding strictly to the terms of preferential trade agreements and imposing sanctions. Storey talks about, "the validity of a development education group addressing 'local' issues, especially issues relating to Irish government policy", however he also outlines how one NGO was chastised for doing this when the issue that concerned Irish government policy was not one that was supported by the

government.[34] Bryan addresses this in an article *Policy and Practice*.

> "[D]espite its mandate to illuminate the dynamic, interactive relationship between the global and local, the development education sector has sometimes surprisingly little to say about key development issues and crises as they are played out in local contexts. Even more problematic, perhaps, are the policing mechanisms through which the parameters of the dialectic are restricted, such that the very prospect of development education organisations or actors addressing 'local' issues becomes unthinkable or sanctionable" [35]

In light of our own experiences in seeking and being denied funding, which will be discussed in subsequent chapters, this thesis acknowledges how many development educators and NGOs feel forced to subdue their message and avert some of the campaigning elements of development education that should rightfully play a key role in their work. Bryan refers to this as the 'de-clawing' of development education' when she writes,

> "The question of whether development education has been 'de-clawed' or stripped of its original radical underpinnings, based on the ideas of such radical thinkers as Paulo Freire, is an uncomfortable one for those of us who identify ourselves as development educators, with our claimed commitment to ambitious goals like social transformation, global justice, and poverty eradication. The question is 'thorny', not least because it requires us to cast the gaze on ourselves, forcing us to ask—as well as respond to—difficult questions about the possible disjuncture between the professed rhetoric, values, and organising principles of development education, and the policies and practices we enact, endorse or contest through our work."[36]

She goes on to discuss the co-optation of radical projects in to the mainstream thus rendering them impotent and powerless.

> "Moreover, the co-optation of radical projects and discourses by powerful actors, and the subsequent muting of their transformative potential, is one of the hallmark

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[34]   'One World: Why Irish development educators should court controversy at home', A. Storey in *Policy & Practice: A Development Education Review*, Vol. 12, pp80-86 (2011)

[35]'Another cog in the anti-politics machine? The 'de-clawing' of development education', A. Bryan in *Policy & Practice: A Development Education Review*, Vol. 12, pp.1-14 (2011)

[36]'Another cog in the anti-politics machine? The 'de-clawing' of development education', A. Bryan in *Policy & Practice: A Development Education Review*, Vol. 12, pp.1-14 (2011)

strategies of neoliberalism. Feminist scholars have demonstrated the ways in which policy commitments to gender equality often 'evaporate' or become heavily 'diluted' as they move through development bureaucracy (Longwe, 1997), such that an essentially political project gets reduced to a technocratic activity to be measured and evaluated in terms of analytic tools, frameworks and mechanisms, thereby restricting rather than amplifying the scope for transformation."[37]

The experiences of PEI trying to establish itself in the development sector while obviously connected with a campaigning group widely deemed as 'radical' presented a difficult process of trying to maintain our core messages and values, while hoping that networking and affiliation with other respected groups would allow us to access funding and a certain level of respectability. An example of this kind of 'de-clawing' can also be taken from Saifer when he addresses some of these issues in relation to the JAMD (Jewish and Muslim Dialogue group, which operates on campuses in Canada) and critically examines the calls for balance in dealing with conflict situations.These dialogue groups in Canada were often used to stifle on-campus activism:

"Instead of addressing the structural dynamics at the root of the conflict – namely colonialism, occupation, and apartheid – JAMD attempts to naturalize these dynamics as given, in order to reframe the 'conflict' as if it were simply a global pathological hatred or misunderstanding between Jews and Arabs (or Muslims). "Dialogue" thus demands the acceptance of a process in which people identifying with different ethnic or religious groups convey their divergent 'narratives' while leaving the structural roots of the problem untouched. Not only is such a project predisposed against transformative action, it is also structurally incapable of it. If a JAMD group ever decided to challenge Israeli government policy, it would become "political" and cease to be a "dialogue" group. At this point, it would likely be denounced by the very Israel advocacy groups that helped to get it off the ground."[38]

As a campaigning group the IPSC attempts to address the roots of the Israel/Palestine conflict. The role of solidarity movements such as the IPSC is to provide practical steps and actions that international civil society and the international community can take to effect

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[37] Ibid.

[38]   'Shalom-Salaam?: Campus Israel advocacy and the politics of "dialogue"', B. Saifer in *Upping the Anti: A Journal of Theory and Action*, No. 9, pp74-90 (2009)

change. While dialogue and critical examination of divergent narratives form a large part of the PEI curriculum, it was not our intention to confine its remit to this. One of PEI's objectives is to "encourage global citizenship and advocacy through critical engagement with humanitarian and solidarity actions". In order to fulfil this objective it was necessary to engage with the structural roots of the conflict and also to address the various campaigns and humanitarian approaches adopted by groups attempting to bring about an end to the conflict or ease its conditions. The tight rope walk between avoiding 'de-clawing' and appeasing funding bodies leads to the next section which is a consideration of the issues around politicisation and de-politicisation of development education.

Politicisation and De-politicisation in Education

Issues specific to teaching about conflict situations through development education are essential to consider, including the issues of balance, marginalisation of political voices and de-politicisation of context. The research question guiding this analysis is;

> How can campaigning groups work in the education sector given the tensions between their political and educational roles?

We felt that applying objective standards and utilising the human rights discourse on the conflict would add a global dimension to the content and better encourage critical thinking and active engagement with the issues as part of our education remit rather than suggesting specific campaign-related courses of action. Material on current issues should also be linked to objective standards of international law and human rights. An Irish Aid development education paper reminds us that:

> "Development education offers Irish people the opportunity to participate in learning about, discussing and debating as well as engaging with our right to full human development as well as our responsibility to ensure the human development of others especially those who are 'at risk' or excluded".[39]

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[39]*Irish Aid and Development Education: Describing... Understanding...Challenging the Story of Human Development in Today's World*, Irish Aid (2006)

If we were to teach the course from a purely pro-Palestinian stance we would immediately isolate those not already of this view point and effectively would not be engaged in education, but rather in campaigning or, more negatively, in propaganda.

> "[I]n traditional education the educator controls the knowledge and to some extent the the perception of reality with which the student is presented. But the student already has a perception of reality so that another perception might be rejected whereas through dialogue and problematizing new knowledge and new meaning may be created."[40]

We wanted to ensure that participants arrived at their own interpretation of the conflict and that their informed and independent position would lead to greater engagement with social justice campaigns on the issues. McCloskey writes:

> "Development education on the other hand offers a sustained engagement with learners to explore the underpinning causes of poverty and inequality in the developing world through active learning methods that bring the learners' experiences into the teaching process. Development education aims to result in informed local action based on a global consciousness to bring about social justice and equality. The importance of this pedagogical approach is its capacity to engage the learner with global justice issues over the long-term rather than elicit a short-term (sometimes emotionally-driven) response that can equate development with financial aid." [41]

While we had decided to utilise the human rights discourse around the conflict we were aware of the many short comings of taking the human rights approach. Wendy Browne addresses the futility of the human rights approach and rhetoric is used to undercut liberation struggles, and present legalistic outside intervention as 'above politics' and thus depoliticize issues:

> "Just as abuse itself is never generic but always has particular social and subjective content, so the matter of how it is relieved is consequential. Yes, the abuse must be

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[40]*Twentieth Century Thinkers in Adult Education*, P. Jarvis, p 274, Routledge (1987)

[41]'Editorial', pp.1-8, S. McCloskey in *Policy & Practice: A Development Education Review,* Vol. 8 (2009)

stopped but by whom, with what techniques, with what unintended effects, and above all, unfolding what possible futures? The pragmatist, moral, and anti-political mantle of human rights discourse tends to eschew, even repel, rather than invite or address these questions."[42]

Ilana Feldman deals with how the 'humanitarianism' paradigm through which Israel and Western agencies see Gaza is dis-empowering, arguing for:

"Recognition that Palestinians have legitimate political demands and not just humanitarian needs should not be lost in the face of yet another emergency. What is the best mechanism for pressing those demands needs to be carefully debated among Palestinians. Not all forms of politics are equally effective, or indeed equally valid, but the right not just to (bare) life, but to political life, should be imperative."[43]

She goes on to state,

"It is vital to understand both that there have been self-conscious and ongoing efforts to 'ensure that the Palestinians in Gaza are seen by the world simply as a humanitarian problem', and that the most noble humanitarian efforts can unwittingly impede political resolution. As long as Palestinians are dependent on the compassion of others, they are also vulnerable to the perils of being denied that compassion. The humanitarian position is a precarious one. As soon as people express a more robust sense of themselves as social and political actors, they run the risk of losing their categorization as "exemplary" and "proper" victims and thus of falling outside the frame through which humanitarianism can understand and assist them."[44]

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the main theoretical guiding points which inform this thesis using the literature referenced. It is by no means exhaustive, but aims to give a flavour of the

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[42]   'The Most We Can Hope For...: Human Rights and the Politics of Fatalism', W. Brown in *South Atlantic Quarterly*, No. 103, pp.451-463 (2004)
[43]   'Gaza's Humanitarianism Problem', I. Feldman in *Journal of Palestine Studies*, No. 38 pp.22-37 (2009)
[44]   'Gaza's Humanitarianism Problem', I. Feldman in *Journal of Palestine Studies*, No. 38 pp.22-37 (2009)

literature referred to within the thesis. The work of educational theorists such as Friere, Gramsci and Giroux informed the analysis throughout this thesis and formed the basis of our pedagogical approach in PEI. This was combined with insights from development education studies, human rights and international law, social movements, public discourse and media analysis in both the formation of course material and the construction of this thesis.

Participant input played a strong role in our pedagogical approach and the methodologies we used. Acknowledging the political nature of our subject matter and the political nature inherent to education was necessary to the integrity of our teaching.

Many of the points made by the authors referenced here and the theoretical issues raised in this chapter are emergent in the thesis and are re-affirmed by the findings in throughout the thesis. The power awareness and political awareness encouraged through our pedagogical approach necessarily lead to a questioning of accepted political discourses by both teacher and students. Non-hierarchical teaching methods and participant led enquiry were designed to facilitate progression towards active citizenship. These are all components that are enshrined with n accepted definitions of development education; however their inevitable links to campaigning and political action on conflict issues meant that PEI was caught in the situation described by both Bryan and Storey. If we did not discuss the many means in which participants could effectively play a role in lobbying for change we felt that the 'radical underpinnings' of development education would be denied.

Much of the affective action that could be carried out by participants to challenge the impunity with which Israel continues to breach international law and deny Palestinians their human and political rights meant challenging the international community's response by challenging the Irish government's complicity in the situation. Discussing this sort of action in a manner that was too closely linked to our work as campaigners would lead to a lack of credibility and funding, while not discussing it all would inevitably reduce our remit to that of a dialogue group. Our initial reliance on using only the human rights discourse to discuss the conflict proved futile due to its limitations and the discussion needed to be broadened to incorporate the political discourse as this chapter has begun to describe.

Chapter 3 - Methodology

Introduction

The processes of development education and political campaigning is often distinct and indeed at times can appear to be completely at odds with one another. This thesis aims to act as a practitioner guide for those undertaking educational work within campaigning organisations or around issues which normally are treated with a campaigning approach. It by no means, pretends to be exhaustive in its analysis, but charts the growth of one such project within the Irish context. It uses The Palestine Education Initiative (PEI) as a case study with participatory action research (PAR) as its core methodology. PAR supports a participative and flexible research approach that encompasses the insider participant nature of this initiative and acknowledges the methodological and ethical challenges that it poses.

This chapter describes the research methods and methodology employed. It explains the rationale behind my research. It also investigates how the participatory nature of my research resulted in alterations to my research questions and methodology. It outlines the data processes used to research this thesis and addresses issues of confidentiality and ethics that arose. Finally, it explains the case study or research subject of this thesis and briefly addresses the limitations of the research.

Research Aims and Objectives

The aim of this research is to document and analyse a campaigning group's experience of trying to set up education programmes which would be genuinely educative, action directed and accepted and recognised within the development education sector.

The objectives were:

> To document the experience of a radical campaigning group attempting to achieve legitimacy within the development sector.

To document the experience of working with volunteers within a campaigning group to carry out work normally taken on by paid staff or interns within NGOs.

To document the process of designing and facilitating educational courses that deal with contentious political issues.

To monitor the impact of affiliations with various organisations within these sectors as the Ireland-Palestine Solidarity Campaign (IPSC, the PEI parent-organisation) moved into an educational role.

To analyse and make useful the knowledge gained during this process about establishing an educational initiative on a contentious political issue.

This research aims to answer the following questions:

How can campaigning groups work in the education sector given the tensions between their political and educational roles?

How important is relationship building and networking to establishing legitimacy accessing funding and gaining and recognition?

What defines one group as 'radical' and another as moderate? Is it always their stance on certain issues or does this perception have other origins?

Is non-biased teaching possible when dealing with conflict issues? i.e., could we use 'dialogue' as suggested by Freire[45]?

Taking the Participatory Action Research Approach

I decided to use Participatory Action Research (PAR) as a suitable research approach, given

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[45] *A pedagogy for liberation: Dialogues on transforming education*, I. Shor and P. Freire, Bergin & Garvey (1987)

my involvement as the National Chairperson of the IPSC from 2010 – 2011 and co-director of The Palestine Education Initiative from 2010 to present. I have been an active member of the IPSC since 2007 and have held the role of National Events Coordinator, National Spokesperson and Media Officer on the IPSC National Committee in the past. I have also been active in both the Maynooth and Dublin Branches of the IPSC. At the time of submitting this thesis I am not an active member of the organisation, but am a Co-Director of The Palestine Education Initiative.

Participatory Action Research (PAR) is a suitable research method for this thesis as it aims to affect social change with action gained through participation. It draws on two research areas, participatory research and action research. As I was already embedded in the project and the decision making processes therein participatory research seemed an obvious choice. I also hoped that my research could help the project to progress and affect positive change by applying theory, critical reflection and experience to the process.

My position throughout this research project was as an insider teacher researcher with Hammersley identifying a range of benefits in terms of self-understanding, experiential knowledge, relationships and capacity to test theoretical ideas in the field:

> "That teachers have access to their own intentions and motives, thoughts and feelings, in a way that an observer does not, and so have a deeper understanding of their own behaviour than an outsider could ever have.

> "That the teacher-researcher will usually have long-term experience of the setting being studied, and will therefore know its history first-hand, as well as other information that may be required to understand what is going on. It would take an outsider a long time to acquire such knowledge, indeed this may never be possible.

> "That the teacher already has relationships with others in the setting and can use these in order to collect further data. Once again, an outsider would need to spend a considerable time in the field building up such relationships.

> "That because teachers are key actors in the settings studied in educational research, they are in a position to test theoretical ideas in a way that a mere observer can never do."[46]

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[46]   'On the Teacher as Researcher', M. Hammersley, *Educational Action Research*, Vol. 1 Issue 3, pp425-445(1993)

As discussed during the findings chapter, these aspects contribute valuable insights from the practitioner stance throughout this research project. Hammersley goes on to point out some of the dangers of this approach such as; people can be wrong about their own intentions, some intellectual distance can be beneficial, experience can lead to tunnel vision and lack of objectivity, relationships can exclude as well as include and may place constraints on the research, good practice may conflict with theoretical research.[47] Balancing these tensions remains a constant tension for me throughout this research and one that is assisted by a critical reflective stance and the processes of Participatory Action Research (PAR).

I have been guided by Fals Borda's guidelines for Participatory Action Research which I adopted in this thesis.

> "combine your skills with the knowledge of the researched or grassroots communities, taking them as full partners and co-researchers…be receptive to counter-narratives and try to recapture them…recover local values, traits, beliefs, and arts for action by and with the research organisations…diffuse and share what you have learned together with the people, in a manner that is wholly understandable and even literary and pleasant, for science should not be necessarily a mystery nor a monopoly of experts and intellectuals."[48]

Being fully immersed in the project had both positives and challenges for my research. I had in-depth knowledge of the project, the people and organisations involved in it. However, due to my immersion in it, it often became difficult to separate myself from it and take on the role of a more objective researcher in order to avoid subjectivity or tunnel vision. The practical approach that I took to the project often seemed to conflict with the more academic approach I would need to research and theorise it.

However, PAR is the most appropriate research method for this thesis as it combines Action Research and Participatory Research and allows me to conduct my analysis at the level of the individual and the group, but also the wider societal level. The political commitment within PAR to bring about change in society allowed me to carry out research which would be analytically fruitful and theoretically productive. The difference between the two approaches is outlined by Yeich.

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[47]   Ibid.

[48]   Fals Borda, O. "Research for social justice: Some North-South convergences", *Plenary Address at the Southern Sociological Society Meeting*, Atlanta, April 8. (1995). Accessed September 2013 http://comm-org.wisc.edu/si/falsborda.htm

"Whereas action research tends to focus on individual and group level analysis, PR focuses on societal level analysis [....] A second difference concerns their theoretical foundations for creating change. Action Research operates from social consensus theory, which assumes that everyone can benefit from a proposed solution to a problem. In contrast PR operates from a social conflict theory, which assumes that societal groups have conflicting interests and that powerful groups will resist changes which threaten their interests."[49]

The three core components of PAR are research, education and social action as outlined by Yeich.

"PR is comprised of three major components; research, education and social action [...] Research is done in PR in an attempt to obtain useful knowledge about social problems that can lead to greater understanding and possible solutions [...] The principle form of education is through the dialogic method proposed by Freire [...] wherein people learn by communicating and problem solving together [....] another integral part of the education component is the development of critical awareness [....] Once knowledge has been generated through research and education PR enters the social action phase [....] Meaningful social change is a long term goal of PR. PR can be seen most accurately as an ongoing process of action and reflection." [50]

Data Used

For this thesis I used an ethnographic approach, informing all participants that I was conducting research on PEI and collecting data in the field during the course of my daily activities. Formal and informal interviews were completed with key personnel involved in developing the project and experts in the development education, campaigning and academic fields relevant to this research. I also used observation notes and participant reflections from myself and others involved in The Palestine Education Initiative and the IPSC.

Primary Data

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[49]   'Grassroots Organizing with Homeless People: A Participatory Research Approach', S. Yeich in *Journal of Social Issues,* Vol. 52 Issue 1, p115 (1996)

[50]   'Grassroots Organizing with Homeless People: A Participatory Research Approach', S. Yeich in *Journal of Social Issues,* Vol. 52 Issue 1, pp114-115 (1996)

Qualitative Interviews are completed with the following individuals as part of the research process: Richard Irvine, Co-Director of The Palestine Education Initiative and IPSC Education Officer; Dr. Matthias Fiedler, Director of Irish Development Education Association (IDEA); Kevin Squires, National Coordinator of the IPSC; Anonymous Latin America Solidarity Committee (LASC) worker. In all cases I sought and was given consent to use these interviews for this thesis.

Informal conversations with activists and co-workers are recorded in note format, while direct teaching material, learning notes and planning experiences throughout the process are collated and analysed as documentary sources. This includes lesson plans, application forms, emails, notes from brainstorming and planning sessions with the Quality Control Team, feedback sheets from course participants.

Case Study

This thesis uses a qualitative case study to investigate the process of developing a development education programme for a social justice and human rights campaigning group whichdeveloped into an independent NGO. The group of people involved in this case study is comprised predominantly of myself and Richard Irvine (Co-Director and Education Officer) which then broadens out to take in the Palestine Education Initiative's Quality Control Team, the IPSC National Committee and wider membership, course participants and individuals we liaised with from the NGO/Development Education Sector. The findings of the case study are used to create a model or practical guide for activists, campaigners and development educators working on similar projects. The case study thus contains learning for others working within similar sectors.

Using the qualitative framework allows for in depth analysis, which helps to identify key issues, obstacles, processes and impacts for the project. This approach allows the story to unfold as it happens and leaves room for different interpretations and practices to be examined.

Confidentiality and Ethics

This research project was guided by NUIM research ethical principles of respect for human

dignity, respect for vulnerable people, informed consent, the right of confidentiality and minimizing risk.[51] In 'Practitioner Research in Education: Beyond Celebration' Susan Groundwater-Smyth and Nicole Mockler set out some ethical criteria for PAR. Core amongst these is transparency:

> "That it should be transparent in its process: One of the broader aims of practitioner research lies in the building of community and the sharing of knowledge and ideas. To this end practitioner research should be 'transparent' in its enactment and practitioner researchers accountable to their community for the processes and products of their research."[52]

I sought and was granted permission for all interviews quoted. Reference to specific NGOs and NGO staff have been removed as they are potentially identifiable. While I carried out my research as an active participant in the project I did not research, analyse or write up this thesis collaboratively. Relevant sections of this thesis were shown to Richard Irvine (The Palestine Education Initiative Co-Director and IPSC Education Officer), Dr. David Landy (IPSC) and Kevin Squires (IPSC National Coordinator) for feedback throughout the thesis process.

Limitations of the Research

The methodology of PAR gives a very specific nature to this project which potentially limits its scope and framing to an insider perspective. This holds both benefits and potential tensions for the research as its evidence base is narrow and based on practice. The area of practitioner education has not been widely researched and there is very little research undertaken on the topic of political education explored in this thesis. In essence, it is akin to a narrative of our case study which documents and critically analyses the issues that arose for us as a development education and political education process. Apart from various references to LASC and their experiences in development education and campaigning, within this research the Palestine Education Initiative does not have a comparator group.

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[51] http://foi.nuim.ie/section16/V0239NT9.pdf; accessed September 2013
[52] 'Practitioner Research in Education: Beyond Celebration', S. Groundwater-Smyth and N. Mockler, Paper Presented to the Australian Association for Research in Education Focus Conference, James Cook University, Cairns (2005)

Conclusion

This research charts the process of planning and creating The Palestine Education Initiative which subsequently became a distinctive development education organisation. It aims to act as a practical guide for those developing educative resources or programmes generated from existing campaigns while trying to avoid the trappings of propaganda in order to produce genuinely educative, balanced material. It highlights and reflects on the issues that arise during this process, including pedagogical, curricular, and politicised challenges, as well as specific research and ethical challenges. The PAR methodology outlined in this chapter allows me to document this process throughout the remainder of this thesis by utilising its three core components; research, education and social change.

Chapter 4 - Pre-planning discourse and project development

Introduction

My complete immersion in the planning, design and teaching of this project has meant that my attitudes and analysis of the organisation have often changed with experience. I was involved in all decision making processes throughout the project so as an educator, activist and researcher I have tried to reflect upon how circumstance and experience have affected our practice as much as theory and professional development. To accurately portray this, this chapter will first outline some of the factors that informed our discourse in creating this education initiative and, then, the planned project development in its full rationale. In the final chapter of this thesis I will critically review the process of launching and sustaining the project in its first ten months in operation to present, reflecting on the insights and analysis emerging from the development of educational processes such as this initiative.

Previous work in the formal education sector

The meetings, conversations and planning sessions outlined in this chapter greatly informed the basis of our subsequent project development work. I interviewed Richard Irvine, IPSC Education Officer and co-director of The Palestine Education Initiative, in autumn 2010 via email about his motivations and experiences with planning and teaching 'The Battle for Palestine' course in Queen's University Belfast since 2005. Much of that interview and my own research and observation notes from working with the Palestine Education Initiative form the basis of this chapter, alongside analytical insights and discussion drawn from literature.

Richard had first taught a version of the course in Queens University Belfast during 1998, the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the Israeli state. The curriculum differed somewhat and gave a more linear narrative history of the conflict with less focus on human

rights and international law. This 1998 version of the course operated as a once-off module for the reasons outlined by Richard below:

> "At that time there was a belief that the conflict was coming to an end and so the audience didn't really exist for a re-run of the course in subsequent years."[53]

In subsequent years Richard spent time working in Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon. This gave him the motivation to extensively redesign the course and approach Queens again in 2005.

> "I felt that there was a story that needed to be told that, for whatever reason, wasn't really getting out there."[54]

In reviewing other material on the Israeli/Palestinian conflict, he determined that histories of the conflict often concentrated too heavily on the politics of the situation or alternatively were little more than emotive special pleading narratives for one side or the other. These issues were factored into the redesign process which resulted in a human rights based historical narrative of the conflict which is grounded in international law[55]. This process has been ongoing since 2005 when initially the course concentrated predominantly on the political and diplomatic history of the conflict. In order to highlight the human story at the very basis of this conflict and the effect that the conflict has on the people on the ground, the course was reworked extensively to encourage empathy with the people affected by it. This resulted in allocating almost 30% of the course teaching time to European anti-Semitism, the Holocaust and the exile of Jews from Arab countries after the events of 1948. The use of personal testimonies and participative teaching methodologies have been

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53   Interview with the author

54   Ibid.

55   'Human Rights in Israel/Palestine: The History and Politics of a Movement' L. Hajjar *Journal of Palestine Studies* Vol. 30 (4), pp. 21-38 (2001).

employed to give background context to present day Israeli and Palestinian attitudes towards each other and towards peace.

"In particular I have tried to show through personal testimonies how the horrendous suffering imposed on Jewish communities has led to the current political stance of Israel towards peace, borders, the refugees and the rest of the world in particular. I have also sought to challenge the class by questioning them on how they would view the world if they too had been through these experiences. Similarly I have balanced this with accounts of the *Nakba* [the expulsion of over 700,000 Palestinians in 1947/48[56]] and Israel's subsequent treatment of the Palestinians to ask again how students would react if they had been treated in such a way. The point is to explain that neither side acts the way it does without, in the Israeli case a great sense of insecurity, and on the Palestinian side, a great sense of historical and enduring injustice."[57]

Human rights and international law were introduced into the course as an objective standard for evaluating the conflict and the actions of its parties. This decision was made to try to create a barometer by which students could evaluate where justice lies. It was felt that ongoing atrocities on both sides had begun to obliterate the human story while violence was often explained in terms of the political objectives of the organisations that use it, rather than the human rights context that frequently motivates both the violence and the politics. While we were aware of the limitations we would impose if we were only to utilise the human rights discourse to analyse the conflict we knew that this approach was in line with the Development Education Commission of 1999 when it states;

"These difficult questions of (inequality and injustice internationally) lie at the heart of the work that is now needed...education for world democracy, for human rights

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56   *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*, I. Pappe, Oneworld (2006)

57   Interview with the author

and for sustainable human development is no longer an option. Education has a central role to play, especially if we are to build a widespread understanding and ownership of this (development) agenda...there is also an imperative to develop and describe a 'new story' of the human condition and of where we are going in the future. Education around such a new story is not simply about what we teach but also about how and whom we teach."

This thesis explores how the Palestine Education Initiative engaged in this process of what we teach – curriculum – but also how we teach – pedagogy – and the students we engage. The framework of human rights based education and international law gave use objective standards in which to situate the story of this course. The current course description on the Queens University brochure now describes a curriculum which:

"Begin[s]with the pogroms of nineteenth century Russia this course will outline the tragic history of the Palestine/Israel conflict. Topics that will be covered are the origins and development of the Zionist movement; Palestine under the British Mandate; the creation of the State of Israel; the creation of the Palestinian refugees; the Arab-Israeli wars; the development of Palestinian nationalism; the Occupation and the two uprisings; the peace process and the current situation. This course should be of interest to anyone who wishes to understand why this region is almost permanently in a state of crisis."[58]

The final course outline, and the one which is currently in use, can be viewed in Appendix 1.

Redesigning and teaching the course also assisted in the learning process of the teacher as Richard explains:

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58   Ibid.

"In part, teaching the course was also a huge learning experience for me as it motivated me to really investigate the loose ends of the historical narrative."[59]

Administrative procedure

Queens University Belfast was the first, and only formal education institution approached. Their target audience tends to be people who are interested in learning for the sake of learning rather than people seeking accreditation or vocational qualifications: "These part-time courses are open to all adults regardless of qualifications or experience and are offered during the day, evenings and the weekends. We offer 3 programmes each academic year".[60] They run an Autumn, New Year and Spring programme and courses must have at least 12 participants in order to run. There are varying fees for each course and some are subject to concession: "For many courses, a concessionary fee is also given. The concession is available for those who are in receipt of State Benefits (including pensions), or are full-time students, or are members of University staff holding a valid staff card."[61]

It was necessary to complete a course proposal form outlining its objectives, learning outcomes and curriculum, and a personal details form asking for relevant experience and qualifications of the teaching staff on the course which the university reviewed before agreeing to run the course. (See Appendix 2).

The course carries 10 Level 1 CATS points.

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59   Ibid.

60   QUB website, http://www.qub.ac.uk/schools/SchoolofEducation/OpenLearning/, last accessed 21-02-2012

61   Ibid.

"CATS stands for Credit Accumulation and Transfer Scheme. This is a national scheme which has been established to allow different types of academic courses to be compared and valued and even transferred and traded. . . The level gives an indication of the difficulty of the course or, in positive terms, the intellectual rigour of the course. Level 1 typically equates to the first year of a traditional three year primary degree. Level 0 indicates the level below the first year of a university course."[62]

Assessment is by a 2,000 word essay selected from a range of questions. A sample essay question is:

"The bride is beautiful but she is married to another man," accredited to Leo Motzkin, Zionist Delegate, 1898. Outline the difficulties the Zionist movement faced and account for its success in building up the *Yishuv* [Jewish settlement in Palestine] in the face of the opposition of the indigenous population."

The only ongoing administrative tasks associated with the programme were those of setting assignments and their accreditation. The assignments and marking is completed by the teaching staff on the programme following the university regulations. The stated learning outcomes of the course are to give students the ability to identify the key issues at the heart of the Palestine/Israel conflict, to explain the origins and history of the conflict, to identify bias and critically evaluate media reports and historical sources, and to undertake independent historical research.

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62   Queens University Belfast website, http://www.qub.ac.uk/schools/SchoolofEducation/OpenLearning/InformationononCATSpoints/, last accessed 21-02-2012

The recommended course book is *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World* by Avi Shlaim[63]. The total study time is stated as 60 hours. This gives the course a structured academic format and criteria which fits the higher education system in which it is based.

Student Feedback

Generally attendance rates have been between 70 and 80 percent which is excellent for a course which most people do for 'pleasure'. At the end of every course, feedback is collected in the form of student comment sheets. Generally this feedback has been very positive. When interviewing Richard he said:

> "The best comment I ever had and one I am very proud of came from an elder in the Presbyterian Church, he said: 'At the beginning of this course some of us wondered which side you would be on. But now at the end we realise you are no one's side, you're on the side of the human."[64]

In other cases, more nuanced evaluations have been given, reflecting students' own dispositions:

> "People with strong views on the conflict sometimes find my approach unbalanced and I have argued with both Israeli and Palestinian students after individual classes. Overall though there is no denying that if a student is predisposed to sympathy for the Palestinians they will find much more to confirm their beliefs than if they are sympathetic towards Israel - though, and I must admit this is surprising to me, some

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63   13 *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World*, A. Shlaim, W. W. Norton (2001)

64   Interview with the author

students have come through the course with their sympathies for Israel still very much in place."

"Generally however, strong supporters of Israel don't attend all the way to the end of the course - the classes on the First Lebanon War and the First Intifada are quite often too much for them. This worries me but I don't see how I can modify my approach"

"The university has never given any direct feedback, but the course is the only one in the Continuing Studies curriculum that has [continued] unchanged and with the same title for five years consecutively."[65]

This feedback plays an important role in development of the programme, highlighting key areas and learning aspects for us as educators which we will continue to reflect on during the future development of the programme. Such feedback forms key learning for the course's teaching and pedagogy. (See Appendix 3) it gives us a strong sense of the learners and how their pre-existing beliefs and perceptions influence their engagement with the programme. Student feedback is also supported by broader feedback, including the unique instance of Queen's issuing a press release advertising this course and referred BBC radio to Richard as an expert commentator on occasion. (See Appendix 4)

Surprisingly very few IPSC members in Belfast have ever taken the Queen's University course. In Belfast the regional branch has often been comprised of various republican activists and at other times has been virtually non-existent. Course participants came mainly directly from the university or from the wider general public. Some of these participants have gone on to travel to the region and even volunteer with human rights groups there, others have attended IPSC events subsequently or become involved with other NGOs campaigning on issues related to the conflict.

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65   Ibid.

The Palestine Education Initiative - Project Rationale

Irish people have long had an interest in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. However, the understanding of the complexities of the conflict is often poor and consequently efforts at advocacy tend to suffer. The IPSC's most recent project, prior to creating Palestine Education Initiative, took place in 2010. It was titled, *Mobilising Youth: A Conversation with Israel and Palestine* and was initiated in conjunction with Labour Youth, the youth wing of the Irish Labour Party. It aimed to improve understanding within Ireland of the complex issues involved in this part of the Middle East and the impact they can have on the two societies. The project brought two young women - one Israeli and one Palestinian - to Ireland to speak in schools and universities around the country about their experiences. They spoke in particular about the effects the conflict has had on their education, both formal and social, as well as the daily experiences, hopes and fears of people within their societies.

The aim of *Mobilising Youth* project was a form of public education and awareness raising that would:

> Educate people in Ireland on the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories and the effect that this has on youth in both societies.

> Motivate schools to continue education on issues such as Israel and Palestine.

> Encourage students to further inform themselves on global justice issues.

> Encourage more astute and effective advocacy on the Israeli–Palestinian conflict by discussing the many different factors involved.

The IPSC felt that it was of vital importance to engage the Irish public on the issues that arise in the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. This current education programme brings these issues to life in the classrooms and lecture halls in Ireland. This chapter illustrates how we intended to develop a more in-depth educational programme that would raise awareness and understanding of the broader inequality, human rights, economic and development issues.

Overall Aim

The PEI education and advocacy project focuses on one of the most protracted and complex global justice issues facing the world today. Our aim was to utilise development education to stress the importance of mutual understanding and respect between two diverse societies and perspectives in the belief that this work will help to develop an understanding of these issues and an appreciation of the immense impact that ordinary people can have on global poverty, equality and human rights issues, regardless of their views[66]. We also hoped that participants would be motivated to become actively involved in human rights and global justice issues.

Objectives

Provide participants with skills that will enable them to engage with development and human rights issues.

Develop participant awareness and knowledge of international human rights law and its role as a means of bringing conflict resolution.

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66   *Equality: From Theory to Action, (second edition).* J. Baker et al, Macmillan (2009)

Develop participant's critical ability to evaluate media representations of conflict and people experiencing conflict.

Develop empathy for those caught in conflict through listening to personal stories and by using case studies.

Encourage global citizenship and advocacy through critical engagement with humanitarian and solidarity actions.

Creativity

The project is creative in focusing on critical engagement with human rights, global solidarity, humanitarianism and media aspects of conflict rather than the singular political focus that typically dominates public thinking about this issue. The project is also innovative and creative for participants, as it requires them to use their own knowledge and experience; to reflect upon their own views; to undertake research activities aimed and plan suitable actions that they would deem appropriate. This will be outlined in more detail in chapter six which deals with curriculum development.

Audience

The project aims to engage a wide variety of audiences, including NGOs, trade unions, churches, and community groups. It will also be offered to IPSC members.

It will be offered to the general public as a six week evening course. This course will be entitled 'Promises' and will form the back-bone of our work in the first year. It will be offered three times a year in both Belfast and Dublin.

The project will be sensitive to the requirements of individual audiences and thus, tailor made presentations, workshops or courses can be offered.

The Irish Congress of Trade Unions and Unison have both been consulted and the project was piloted in workshop or presentation format by members from these groups.

Consultation with other groups

Comhlamh, Trocaire and the Global Education Centre have all been consulted and individual development education professionals from these organisations have joined the project's steering and quality control team, as outlined in later chapters. We were glad to discover that there was a strong focus on best practice within the sector and a support structure in place. Ni Chasaide writes;

> "The development education sector in Ireland has significantly increased its capacity and focus on good practice approaches. This is partly evidenced through the formation of collective learning networks that seek to increase the quality of development education work and its reach, such as the Development Education Exchange in Europe Project (DEEEP), the Irish Development Education Association (IDEA), the Development and Intercultural Education project and the Ubuntu network."[67]

Endorsement and Affiliation

In order to increase the profile of the project we decided to ask other organisations to publicly endorse it. They assessed the aims and objectives of the project and, if they agreed

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67   'Development education and campaigning linkages', N. Ní Chasaide, in *Policy and Practice: A Development Education Review*, No. 9 (2009)

that their organisation could support them, allowing their name and logo to be displayed on the home page of The Palestine Education Initiative website.

The process of seeking endorsement involved us emailing various organisations that we identified as carrying out similar or complimentary work to us, then following up with a phone call and face to face meeting. (In some cases a face to face meeting was not possible or necessary as the organisations were in Israel, Palestine or the UK).

We successfully secured the endorsement of the following organisations: The Amos Trust[68], The Centre for Global Education[69], ICTU's Global Solidarity Committee[70], The Holy Land Trust[71], The Ireland-Palestine Solidarity Campaign[72], The Joint Advocacy Initiative – the YMCA of Palestine[73], Naba'a[74], The Peace People[75], ICTU Trade Union Friends of Palestine and Unison trade union[76].

We also decided that affiliation of our organisation to the Irish Development Education Association (IDEA)[77], was a necessary step. Membership of IDEA is open to anyone who is committed to providing, promoting or advancing development education in Ireland and who shares IDEA's vision and mission. The procedure for membership is that an application form is completed and submitted to the National Council who have the final approval on all membership applications. This can be made at any time of the year. Membership is for the calendar year. The National Council meet every 2 months and decide the appropriate category of membership. We were informed in April 2011 that we had been granted full organisational membership once we paid our €50 membership fee. This allowed us full voting rights, access to resources, networking opportunities, access to their Database of

68   http://www.amostrust.org, last accessed 23-02-2012
69   http://www.centreforglobaleducation.com, last accessed 23-02-2012
70   http://www.ictu.ie/globalsolidarity, last accessed 23-02-2012
71   http://www.holylandtrust.org, last accessed 23-02-2012
72   http://www.ipsc.ie, last accessed 23-02-2012
73   http://www.jai-pal.org, last accessed 23-02-2012
74   http://www.nabaa-lb.org, last accessed 23-02-2012
75   http://www.peacepeople.com, last accessed 23-02-2012
76   http://www.unison.org.uk/northernireland, last accessed 23-02-2012
77   http://www.ideaonline.ie, last accessed 23-02-2012

Training where we could promote our courses, representation on our behalf to policy makers and funding organisations and, ultimately, an element of legitimacy in the Irish development education sector that we previously did not have.

Personnel

The project is led by Richard Irvine and Freda Hughes, with the support of the steering and quality control teams.

Richard is a qualified secondary school teacher and lecturer with almost 20 years' experience working in alternative education provisions in Belfast and lecturing on the Middle East at Queen's University Belfast. In this period Richard has also managed a cross community alternative education project for young people from Belfast's interface areas and in his current employment has deputised for the school principal during her absence. In addition Richard has designed and taught a course on the Israel-Palestine conflict at Queen's University Belfast since 1998. Richard has also undertaken qualifications in human rights and international law and completed a LLM in Human Rights Law this year. He has completed Dtalk's Advocacy and Policy Influencing course at Kimmage Centre for Development Studies. Richard is currently the Education Officer for the Ireland Palestine Solidarity Campaign and in this role he is responsible for the project's content, values, delivery, publicity and co-ordination.

Freda Hughes is a qualified secondary school teacher in Dublin with experience teaching citizenship and inter-cultural issues. She is currently working towards a master's degree in Education. She has completed Comhlamh's Development Education and Facilitation Skills course and DTalk's Creative Facilitation course at Kimmage Centre for Development Studies in order to up-skill to facilitate this project. She has held the positions of Events Co-ordinator, Media Officer and National Chairperson within the Ireland Palestine Solidarity Campaign. At the time of the project's launch she was National Chairperson of the IPSC.

Monitoring and Evaluation

Politicisation and propaganda are both notable risks to this project's success. The project aims to be genuinely educational and to provide a range of perspectives that will enable and empower participants to reach their own conclusions. To prevent the risk of propaganda masquerading as education, all materials and methodologies are scrutinised by a quality control team whose members include professional development education providers from Trócaire, Comhlamh and the Global Education Centre. Curriculum development and evaluation will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

Performance indicators

The primary performance indicator will come from the feedback of the participants themselves. This will be collected by means of anonymous comment, suggestion and feedback sheets. Participants from the first round of the six week evening class were also asked to take part in a voluntary evaluation session with an outside evaluator. Another essential indicator will be participant attendance and future uptake.

Evaluation

The project will be evaluated by the Global Education Centre and the findings disseminated amongst the quality control and steering group and placed on the project's website.

Sustainability

The project's impact will be sustained through firstly maintaining contact with participants via e-mail and the website. This will be in the form of information bulletins, updates and news on differing campaigns.

The project once piloted and evaluated is designed to be self-sustaining, enabling it to be run three to four times a year in both Belfast and Dublin. As it grows, training could be provided to other facilitators if necessary.

Costings

We estimated our costs to predominantly stem from printing resource material and promotional brochures and leaflets. These costs were estimated at circa €3000. Additional costs of €240 were also incurred in training and professional development when we took courses with Comhlamh and Kimmage Development Studies Centre. The official launch of the project was estimated to cost circa €500.

We hoped that once the project was in its second round we would be able to pay both facilitators a fee of €20 per hour.

Much of this was revisited due to our overall lack of funding. Our only source of income was to be provided by the IPSC which is a membership funded organisation. This meant that our disposable income was very limited. Grant applications were made to national funding agencies, however both were unsuccessful. The reasons for this will be examined further in subsequent chapters.

Chapter 5 – Operationalising

Introduction

This chapter addresses the issues we encountered while establishing ourselves within the development education sector and moving beyond the campaigning approach traditionally associated with the IPSC. It examines the critically reflective process we went through in order to establish our approach and then looks at the practical steps and strategies we adopted as well as the challenges we faced in creating the curriculum and other resources the initiative would offer. It also explores the nature of and relations between social movements and development education in Ireland. It examines the requirements that must be met by NGOs and campaigning groups in order to receive such funding and addresses their potential to receive funding. It explores the implications of the structural guidelines that development education projects must follow in order to finance their continued activities.

The IPSC as a Social Movement

There have been and, presently still are, many campaigns and advocacy groups championing human rights, conflict, trade justice and equality issues in Ireland. Many of these campaigns are driven by single-issue groups who are often linked to networks with similar values and social justice perspectives. They often play a positive role in public education by addressing issues that the media or government may ignore.

> ". . . the main agents of public awareness through campaigns and advocacy in the development sector are single-issue campaign groups, development agencies and

multi-agency coalitions operating at national and international levels to achieve policy goals and effect public pressure on state and inter-state organisations"[78]

As outlined previously, the IPSC was formed in 2001 as a volunteer-based coalition of individuals, human rights and political activists, academics, journalists and trade unionists all committed to the single-issue campaign for a just peace in the Middle East. Many of these individuals had previously been involved in the highly successful East Timor Ireland Solidarity Campaign (ETISC). The ETISC had run a successful lobbying and advocacy campaign since 1992 and had achieved a shift in Irish government policy towards supporting an end to the Indonesian occupation of East Timor. The Irish government went on to play a significant role in applying diplomatic pressure that ultimately led to the end of that occupation in 1999. The ETISC was naturally wound down after this.[79]

The IPSC was set up as a voluntary, membership-funded organisation that campaigns for justice for the Palestinian people, through raising public awareness about the human rights abuses in the occupied territories, the violations of international law and the historical causes of the injustices to the Palestinians that lie at the heart of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. It also aims to promote engagement by the Irish Government, the political institutions in the North and political parties and elected representatives north and south for a just and equitable settlement based on the full and unequivocal implementation of international law.[80]

These objectives are achieved through political influencing and lobbying, grassroots and civil society mobilisations, education work and networking and relationship building. The Boycott Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) Campaign is the central focus of all campaign work.[81]

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78   'Editorial', pp.1-8, S. McCloskey in *Policy & Practice: A Development Education Review,* Vol. 8 (2009)
79   Ibid.
80   Constitution of the Ireland Palestine Solidarity Campaign
81   'About Us', IPSC website, http://www.ipsc.ie/about, last accessed 23-02-2012

There is one paid staff member, the National Coordinator, and all other roles on the National Committee and within regional branches are filled by volunteers. The organisation does not receive any government funding nor any other regular grants or bursaries.[82]McCloskey's summation of the work of single issue campaigns above is fitting of the IPSC.

This development of the IPSC has to be set within the broader context of the diversity amongst Irish campaigning groups:

> "The structure of campaigning groups is similarly diverse with some having been 'professionalised' by the hiring of paid employees while many others remain dependent on voluntary contributions. This diversity relates in part to key differences in interpretation of how campaigning work should be carried out. Some groups maintain a very small staff or work on a voluntary basis because they do not receive government funding, either on the basis that their objectives fall outside government funding guidelines or because they choose not to seek government funding out of a belief that it compromises their work. These voluntary-based groups often engage in what meets the description as development education practice, but through forms of practice very different from the Irish Aid guidelines on development education. Public meetings, reading groups, and political discussion groups are key tools for these organisations, resulting in voluntary participants from the general public developing into highly informed, empowered and politically active citizens engaging with issues of concern."[83]

This aptly describes how the IPSC operates. It does not receive government funding, both on the basis that its objectives have been seen by awarding bodies as falling outside the

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82   IPSC National Coordinator, interview with the author; The IPSC has in the past received one-off grants from non-state donor bodies, (e.g, The Anna Lindh Foundation, www.euromedalex.org/).
83   'Development education and campaigning linkages', N. NíChasaide, in *Policy and Practice: A Development Education Review*, No. 9 (2009)

government funding guidelines, and because it values its independence from state actors.[84] Due to this, it rarely applies for any further government funding on the basis that it would necessitate compromising the IPSC stance or strategies on certain issues. Because it does not receive funding, it is often viewed as radical or less respectable than other groups that do receive funding. Economic privilege of certain political groups and parties above others is addressed by Baker when he writes – in the context of political party funding, but equally applicable to other forms of state funding:

> "Many countries, including Ireland, have limited financial contributions to political parties and candidates. But even if we had stronger rules about political finance, we could not do away with other ways in which economic privilege translates into political power. Effective participation takes time and energy as well as organisational and communicative skills, and to get your message across to your fellow citizens you need material resources like desktop publishing facilities and media training. The privileged members of Irish society are better resourced in all these ways than the unprivileged. If we are serious about political equality, we need to promote economic equality as well."[85]

Social Movements and Development Education in Ireland

Given the advantages of economic funding, Ni Chasaide outlines other approaches of organisations also involved in campaigning:

> "'Professionalised' organisations with small numbers of staff might attempt to create different projects to complement the dominant approaches to campaigns. Other organisations with a limited capacity will direct their faculty to one of the three disciplines, thus developing into a development education organisation, a

84   IPSC National Coordinator, interview with the author
85   'The Challenge of Irish Inequality', J. Baker in *Questioning Ireland: Debates in political philosophy and public policy*, J. Dunne, A. Ingram, and F. Litton (eds), Institute of Public Administration (2000)

campaigning organisation, or a think tank. Both of these approaches linked to smaller organisations have their respective deficits: the former being the danger of overloading small organisations' capacities and the latter potentially weakening the groups' integration to the wider operations of the global justice movement."[86]

We became aware that most of the funding available for global justice work in Ireland was in the development education sector. As our project design and curriculum development processes had placed a considerable amount of emphasis on adhering to accepted approaches and methodologies of development education as well as striving towards a fair and somewhat objective narrative on the conflict we decided to apply for funding to national funding agencies such as Irish Aid. Irish Aid requires organisations seeking funding to complete a checklist to determine if they are eligible before completing the funding application form. The main requirements of this checklist are that the project has a global development dimension and that it is aimed at the Irish public. They also require it to comply with their *Development Education Strategy 2007-2011* and impose parameters of €10,000 - €50,000 on applicants. As noted in Chapter 7, Irish Aid is, however, quite clear in its opposition to funding single issue campaigns:

> "[D]evelopment education projects can incorporate an element of campaigning and advocacy for change. In order to qualify for funding [...] campaigning and advocacy activities must be genuinely educational and informed by sound pedagogical practice. In practice this means providing a target group with a range of information and perspectives, as opposed to a single viewpoint. It also implies enabling target groups to reach their own conclusions, rather than providing a single solution."[87]

While this does articulate a desired link with campaigning, in reality it seems to amount to a subdued approach in which all possible options for action should be presented in an equal

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86   'Development education and campaigning linkages', N. Ní Chasaide, in *Policy and Practice: A Development Education Review*, No. 9 (2009)
87   Quoted in Ibid.

fashion. The subjective and opaque nature of defining what is 'genuinely educational and informed by sound pedagogical practice' became quite problematic for us as this chapter reveals. This is partially related to public perceptions of single issues groups as politicised and therefore not providing this 'range of information and perspectives, as opposed to a single viewpoint '[that] enable[es] target groups to reach their own conclusions'.[88] The LASC representative I interviewed discussed the implications of this for development education projects in Ireland:

"The big elephant in the room is always funders. I mean, this is beyond the fact that if you upset your funders on issues they feel are quite sensitive (abortion, for example) or strategic to their own interests (Palestine, Colombia), you can always get your funds cut. Funders also impose a certain view of what development education is, to make it a critical exposition of different views as opposed to a critical engagement with them. Alongside this, you have certain practices and even a language that is politically motivated. For instance, terms such as "civil society" as opposed to people's movement describes very different type of politics, it is not just a matter of using one word or another to describe the same thing. There is always this logic that you have to do a tip of the hat to the funders' policy and then engage with it, but in this process, the development sector has actually been quite effectively tamed. The language and the discourse of the establishment have become part of the jargon of the development sector."[89]

LASC use a thematic approach to their development education work, changing their main subject of work every three years to allow them to deal with Latin America and development related issues in a more focused way, without narrowing their scope. They produce a three year resource on the strategic issue chosen for each three year period. Their development education work has a number of different aspects. They run a FETAC course in Ballsbridge which gives an introduction to Latin America from a critical

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[88]   Quoted in Ibid.

[89]   Anonymous LASC worker, interview with the author

perspective. They also carry out workshops conferences and talks with youth groups, third level students, volunteers and other groups. Latin America Week is also run each year and this involves a conference and tour around Ireland.[90]

The Debt and Development Coalition Ireland also run education initiatives similar to IPSC and LASC that reach out to the general public.[91] All three organisations consult with committees made up of volunteers as opposed to paid staff during the planning stages of these campaigns, thereby adopting the alternative approaches outlined by Ni Chasaide above.

Issues around Development Education and the IPSC

As the IPSC has not previously operated within the education sector it has been necessary for us to assess how we are perceived by those working in NGOs and Development Education organisations as we began to move into this new educational role. This has been difficult as members of other organisations do not always want to be openly critical of a voluntary group in face to face discussions. When I interviewed Richard about his motivations for joining the IPSC and agreeing to take on the role of Education Officer, he highlighted some of the issues that were important for us to consider. In this section I will try to outline some of the problems we perceived before moving on to a discussion of our funding application process.

Richard Irvine (IPSC Education Officer), Dr. David Landy (previous IPSC National Chairperson and sociology lecturer in the Trinity College Dublin) and I met on a number of occasions during the summer of 2010 to discuss the issues we faced in developing this programme and how best we should confront them and move forward. To identify these issues we informally consulted with members of NGOs and people working in the Development

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90   Ibid.
91   Debt and Development Coalition Ireland website, http://www.debtireland.org/education/, last accessed 23-02-2012

Education sector to inform them that we were in the process of constructing this programme and collated the type of responses we initially received. We then discussed the difficulties we were likely to face and tried to transfer our experience and skills as educators in the formal education sector to our work as activists involved in developing this programme.

Numerous people we spoke to cited the political (rather than charitable) nature of our campaign work as problematic in terms of our proposed programme being accepted or acceptable in development education circles.

There is a perception that education and politics do not mix and the IPSC was seen as an overtly political organisation. The Latin American Solidarity Centre (LASC) representative highlights this, noting the impact of this for recognition and funding:

> "I do agree that the IPSC is [perceived as] not a 'respectable' organisation, and that is a good thing. I mean, for once, there is an organisation that has no duplicity whatsoever and it is not afraid of calling things by its proper name. Funding is a double edged sword that allows you to do things, but at the same time it puts very clear limits on your activity. I don't think there is a way around it and whether you learn to live with that tension or you decide to go one way or the other."[92]

This is an issue for many campaigning groups and forms a key element in the formation of public and media discourse about these groups. This feeds into establishment of a dominant hegemony or commonsense opinion-formation about these issues that is often based on narrow ideological frames as Herman and Chomsky explore.[93] This tension remains an on-going issue for development education as the quotation above reveals.

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92   Anonymous LASC worker, interview with the author
93 *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*, E. Herman. and N. Chomsky, Pantheon (1988)

There was a need for objective standards that most pro-Palestinian groups did not maintain, which can led to propaganda rather than education. This is linked to the framing effect of media and public discourse that Herman and Chomsky outline and the broader political meta-narratives that tend to surround political conflict. This builds a narrow understanding that is based on political conflict and disguises the underlying cultural and structural complexity of the situation.

> "In the IPSC, and not being a natural activist I looked at the type of materials the Belfast IPSC Branch was putting out and found them deeply unconvincing - designed only to appeal at an emotional, and quite frankly immature level - pictures of the torn bodies of children and comparisons of Zionism to Nazism don't do it for me. I also looked at some of the stuff the [Scottish] PSC were putting out and it was enough to make me despair. Just as frequently the issue of Palestine in Ireland has been linked to Republicanism, in Scotland it was linked with socialism and anti-Imperialism. Personally I don't find these linkages, or indeed any political meta-narratives, either appealing or convincing and I would suggest that the large measure of public sympathy that Palestine now enjoys is as often in spite of these linkages, rather than because of them. Bearing all this in mind I felt that there was a need for a type of education that would appeal to a non-political audience and which used objective standards that a mainstream audience could relate to."[94]

We felt that educational work should be pedagogical sounds and pursued in an objective manner – it need not be propaganda and indeed should not be propaganda. The human rights and social justice aspects of the story of Palestinian dispossession and ongoing occupation is clear and does not need to be overtly politicised – it offers educational potential and encourages action towards justice.

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94 Ibid.

As such, educational work should focus upon explaining the history of the conflict, the issues involved and redressing the negative perception of Palestinians/Arabs and Muslims in general. We wanted to challenge perceptions of the conflict from many perspectives and examine the power relations at play within it. Thus we would not de-politicise our teaching either, but adopted a critical education approach that saw education as politicized in the Freirean sense. [95] The intertwined nature of education and politics in a topic such as this is clear and points to the impossibility and undesirability of artificially separating both. However, there is a need to explicitly separate campaigning work from development education work while not contradicting the organisation's aims and objectives. This is a specific challenge that chapter 1 noted as core to radical approaches to education. It is clearly emphasised in the acknowledgement of the political nature of education by Freire, Giroux and other critical pedagogy theorists, but it is something that often remains beneath the surface of development education pedagogy. The high visibility and emotive nature of the Palestine-Israel conflict meant that it was an issue we had to address explicitly.

"Development Education does not promote the one right answer but a way of engaging with different perspectives on the world we share"[96]

In this respect, educational work should be based on sound descriptive facts. It should lead people to ask questions and problematise their context and issues, rather than tell them what to think[97]. Through our methodology we would encourage people to critically reflect upon the various perspectives and narratives we would present to them.

By making a genuine attempt to honestly and openly enter the fields of formal and community education and adhering to best practice as educators we could challenge the negative perceptions of the IPSC while also providing quality training and resources to those interested in learning about Palestine. It felt as though we had been preaching to the

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95   *Paulo Freire: a Critical Encounter.* P. McLaren, and P. Leonard (eds.) Routledge (1993)
96   'Making the Case for Development Education', M. Fiedler, IDEA (2009)
97   *Paulo Freire: a Critical Encounter.* P. McLaren, and P. Leonard (eds.) Routledge (1993)

converted for a long time with new activists only emerging during times of major crisis in the region. We needed to broaden our outreach and challenge the perception that we are purely a protest movement. One way to do this was by providing the reliable information and pedagogically sound education that so many people had told us they desired.

We, at first, felt that it would be necessary that the website have a discrete educational section in order to host these materials and information. We later decided to set up a separate website to host our Development Education programme in order to give it wider appeal and prevent negative first impressions that may arise from it being part of the IPSC's official website. Creating a separate website also allowed us to move beyond just promoting and collating our own work. It presented the opportunity to create an online resource of educative material available in Ireland on the issues surrounding the conflict from the Palestinian Education Initiative and other groups.

The IPSC's explicit connection to the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions Campaign (BDS) was identified as a challenge by all personnel involved. We felt that this constant association with a somewhat controversial campaign may negatively affect our outreach capabilities. The IPSC's commitment to the promotion of Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions seemed unlikely to gain much traction with the general public until general awareness and knowledge of the conflict and its history were improved. Without this understanding non-activists are more likely to be turned off by the promotion of BDS than attracted by it. Explicit BDS educational work is thus likely to be of only limited interest to selected organisations. However, the public can be engaged and led to BDS by education that objectively relates the history of the conflict; explains the current issues involved; and redresses the negative perceptions of Palestinians, Arabs and Muslims in general.

Funding, Applications and organisational changes

The process of seeking funding, having our applications declined and ultimately being forced to separate from the IPSC and set up The Palestine Education Initiative as a separate organisation highlights important learning for PEI as an organisation which impacted in its evolution.

Before we officially launched The Palestine Education Initiative (which was still part of IPSC) in April 2011, we applied for some national development education grants. In order to be eligible for these grants we first had to meet certain requirements: that the project has a global development dimension and that it is aimed at the Irish public. They also require it to comply with their development education strategy and impose parameters of funding, eligibility and requirements on applicants.

The IPSC's Fundraising Officer helped us with our grant applications. For both applications we outlined our aims and objectives and gave a detailed breakdown of the course curriculum, methodologies and rationale. We also gave an estimated breakdown of our likely expenditure. As The Palestine Education Initiative was still part of the IPSC at this time, the organisation applying for the grant was the IPSC, but the grant was for specific use only for our development education work. All extra documentation required such as financial reports and course brochures, etc. were submitted.

We had a number of meetings with representatives of development agencies prior to our application. Informally, some of these individuals had told us that the IPSC connection was likely to cause us problems with regard to our funding request. Reasons cited included maintaining good relations with their international partners and their own financial backers. Informally, at the end of a development event in Dublin in June 2011, I was approached by a participant who worked for one of the national development agencies who informed me that the decision had been taken out of their hands and given to more senior staff in that organisation, who then declined the grant. She was apologetic and told me that she expected we would be formally notified about this over the coming days.

We had adhered to funding guidelines for development education in both the development of the Palestine Education Initiative and in the curriculum and methodologies used for 'Promises'. Despite this, we received a letter from another agency informing us that our grant application had been denied. The main reasons for this decision included the following points:

> "[T]he Development Education component of the programme needed strengthening. Costs were also considered high [...] more details of the geographic spread of the target groups would have also helped the application."[98]

We were confused by the assertion that, "the Development Education component of the programme needed strengthening" as we had thoroughly reflected upon and evaluated all of our content and methodology and had it approved by development education professionals. The Palestine Education Initiative had become a member of IDEA, and was endorsed by a vast array of legitimate NGOs[99] that engaged in and received funding for development education.

We were also in the process of signing up to the Dóchas Code of Conduct on Images and Messages[100]. Signing up to this code meant committing ourselves to a set of principles and ensuring that we would avoid stereotypical or sensational images. The images and messages used by NGOs adhering to the code should represent the full complexity of the situations they portray and should respect human dignity. Permission should be sought for the majority of images used. The reason we were still in the process of signing up to these guidelines is that some IPSC members had serious questions regarding the implications of the code and concerns about images we already used in which the subjects may not have

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98   Letter from funding agency to Palestine Education Initiative
99   See Chapter 5.7
100   Dóchas website, http://www.dochas.ie/code/, last accessed 23-02-2012

been asked for permission to publish. There were also concerns that the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) aspect of the IPSC's campaign could be nullified by adoption of the code.[101] The Palestine Education Initiative was still part of the IPSC at this stage so it was the IPSC that would have to sign up to the code and this accounted for the delay.

Despite striving for best practice and receiving positive feedback from participants, activists and development education professionals we became acutely aware that we were unlikelyto receive government funding for our work. This seemed, in some part, to be due to our connection to a campaigning group which was seen as 'radical'. This 'radical' status may be due to the IPSC's critical stance on Irish and EU policy towards Europe and its promotion of the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions Campaign (BDS).

Public Awareness Education Issues

It seemed obvious to us that the vast majority of people will never be engaged by political work, especially political work aimed at generating action towards a problem overseas. It also seemed that education generally was not a top priority in many political campaigns. Therefore, whilst the Palestinian Day Schools and discussion groups (the main ways in which we had previously engaged with the public and our members with a specific focus on education) are an excellent method for introducing new activists to pertinent issues, they will not engage the apolitical. Traditionally, because of this, activist organisations including our own have tended to be dismissive of this group - this has been a fatal mistake, as they reflect in Gramsci's terminology, the dominant hegemonic beliefs.

> "By hegemony, Gramsci meant the permeation *throughout* society of an entire
> system of values, attitudes, beliefs and morality that has the effect of supporting the
> status quo in power relations. Hegemony in this sense might be defined as an

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101   Author recollections from internal IPSC discussions

'organising principle' that is diffused by the process of socialisation into every area of daily life."[102]

Richard Irvine, IPSC Education Officer highlights the hegemonic implications of this for the IPSC as they attempt to engage proactively in educational and cultural activities:

"The apolitical are the sea in which the activist swims, they set the public mood and consensus of opinion. The IPSC can influence this further by building upon the widespread public sympathy for Palestine by further challenging negative views of Muslims and Arabs in general by promoting non-political cultural education. By rolling out a programme of cultural education/events encompassing photography, music, theatre, film, dance, art, craft, literature, sport, food, etc. the IPSC can promote a positive image of Palestine and Palestinians and draw in a range of groups and individuals who traditionally shy away from politics. Other advantages of this method are that it will give Palestinians a voice; it will promote Palestinians as people rather than as victims; and it will be acceptable to non-political festivals, events and organisations.[103]

Gramsci's view reinforced our belief that campaigning would not appeal to every member of society and we could not generalise in our approach to either education or campaigning.

"The people themselves are not a homogeneous cultural collectivity but present numerous and variously combined cultural stratifications which, in their pure form,

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102   'Antonio Gramsci, schooling and education', B. Burke (1999, 2005), Encyclopedia of Informal Education website, http://www.infed.org/thinkers/et-gram.htm, last accessed 23-02-2012
103   Interview with the author

cannot always be identified within specific historical popular collectivities."[104]

We felt that public education was a necessity, not as a fundraising or recruitment tool as is often common amongst campaigning groups[105] , but as a method of encouraging active citizenship and personal responsibility for global issues. Lyn Tett writes:

> "A healthy democracy requires a robust civil society in which a variety of constituencies are capable of making their voices heard. Currently, however, whilst there is a great deal of rhetoric about the importance of empowering learners to be more autonomous, powerful socio-economic pressures make this increasingly difficult. One of these pressures is a pervasive pessimism that issues such as 'globalisation' are beyond our control and it is to protect ourselves and others from its effects."[106]

Ssocio-economic and political pressures such as globalisation is combined with cultural apathy for distant conflict can dis-empower people. Allen described how compassion fatigue occurs as audience become:

> "overwhelmed by the sheer volume of reports concerning human tragedies from around the globe. The cumulative effects of such reports…work to psychologically numb audience members into ceasing to care anymore, thereby undermining their capacity to get involved and lend assistance."[107]

We call for the need to celebrate Palestinian culture in its own right:

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104   *Selections From Cultural Writings*, p.195, A. Gramsci, Lawrence &Wishart (1985)
105   'Editorial', pp.1-8, S. McCloskey in *Policy & Practice: A Development Education Review,* Vol. 8 (2009)
106   'Working in and with Civil Society', L. Tett in *Radical Learning for Liberation 2*, B. Connolly, T. Fleming, D. McCormack. & A. Ryan (eds.) MACE (2007)
107   'Foreword' by S. Allen, p. vii-viii, in K. Tester in *Compassion, Morality and the Media*, Open University (2001)

> "The IPSC should create a new campaign celebrating Palestinian culture in its own right that can be reproduced in festivals throughout Ireland. I suggest it be entitled 'Positively Palestine'. If anyone doubts the efficacy of this approach they should be aware of the huge effort Israel puts into promoting itself through cultural events and sponsorship."[108]

As discussed earlier, this suggestion will eventually be followed up on, but we decided that its broad nature and focus on cultural promotion would deviate beyond the sphere of development education and thus we would focus on first establishing ourselves positively in that field by creating and developing The Palestine Education Initiative.

We decided to maintain the focus on appealing to a general audience in society and, as educators, to promote a balanced view of the situation which did not include advising our audiences on one particular course of action unless we were specifically invited to do so after a presentation.

Historical Work

We felt that the *Nakba* is key to understanding the conflict. Without an understanding of what happened in 1948 the rest of the conflict will not make sense. However, we noticed that solidarity organisations have traditionally only concentrated on the Palestinian narrative and ignored the wider context in which this occurred. The only major anomaly to this was during 2008 when many organisations commemorated the 60 year anniversary of Al Nakba with a series of events relating to it, some of which were educative. Consequently European anti-Semitism, the Holocaust and its aftermath have been ignored or diminished by Palestinian groups whilst being exploited by pro-Israeli groups. We identified this as a mistake and decided that the two could be put together in such a way as to truly show the human cost of genocide and ethnic cleansing. In particular education work in this area can

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108   Interview with the author

contrast "the redemption" of European Jews with "the catastrophe" for Palestinian Arabs. This will not only show empathy towards Holocaust survivors but will also connect the Palestinian dispossession to historical events in which there is huge public interest. J Rose writes:

> "Indeed, the dispossession of the Palestinians can be shown as the final outcome of European anti-Semitism and the Holocaust in particular, thus making both Jews and Palestinians victims of this phenomenon."[109]

Outreach areas to target

We were unsure where to place ourselves in the field of education/development education and were conscious of its diverse nature in the Irish context. Development education is similar to the field of adult and community education in the diversity and range that is encompasses in a flexible and loose format. The range and diversity of the development education field is outlined by Dr. Fiedler in his overview of development education work in Ireland today:

> "I would describe the sector is it is actually a very diverse field so just looking at IDEA membership we have 85 members and they come really from all walks of life so we have NGOs, which in Europe would be the most familiar place where we would look for development education of course ... In Ireland it's a little bit different; you have a lot of Community Sector Groups that do development education, you have activist groups that do development education, you have school networks, you have colleges that deal with development education so this is both a huge benefit to the Irish education sector but also a huge challenge in terms of our understanding of development education. If you come from an activist background your understanding of development education might slightly differ from a person working

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109   *The Question of Zion,* J. Rose, Princeton University Press (2005)

for an NGO which is mainly involved in overseas development. The definitions change according to the background and to the context which you are working in ... It is very difficult to get shape on it."[110]

Universities

As outlined in an earlier chapter, work in universities is already operational in Queens University Belfast with 'The Battle for Palestine' course and thus can be offered to those interested either there or privately if the numbers made this feasible. We also feel that work with student societies could be developed, guidance on how this can be done will be sought from the IPSC student societies at NUI Maynooth and NUI Galway. Realistically this process will not begin until 2013, with the academic year of 2013/2014 as our target for commencement of any university based projects.

However, we felt that a range of specific expertise was available within the IPSC and the Education Officer should directly contact universities offering them talks and lectures linking Palestine with their specific expertise. For example, childhood trauma in Palestine, which would be applicable to nursing and psychology departments.

I spoke to Dr. Fiedler about which universities may be worth approaching and where development education was taking place in the further education sector:

"In 2004 Irish Aid took the decision that they would prioritise integrating development education into teacher education. They didn't go to primary schools, they didn't think about practicing primary teachers. They said we are now going to prioritise initial teacher education for five or six years and then basically make sure

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110   Interview with the author

that student teachers will eventually have that focus on development education that was not previously prioritised."[111]

The strategic focus of Irish government funding on teacher education within the development education field has shaped recent developments in the field, as revealed by the development and continued support of Irish Aid funded development education programmes in St. Patrick's teacher training college and Marino Institute of Education as well as the UBUNTU Network in the University of Limerick and the development education week in NUI Maynooth's Post Graduate Diploma in Education. A full list of projects they have funded in 2011 can be found here on their website.[112]

We decided that offering courses or workshops to the teacher training colleges may be a useful course of action in the future. I asked Dr. Fiedler if there was a formalised process for NGOs to do this:

"It's tricky because really this is the territory of the Department of Education, not the Department of Foreign Affairs. Most NGOs, if they receive funding, get it from Irish Aid which is part of the Department of Foreign Affairs. There are also issues around how development issues are presented in the text books used and teachers teaching global issues still [rely] quite heavily on text books. There are huge challenges for NGOs and Education Institutes regarding how we teach about development issues."[113]

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111   Ibid.
112   Irish Aid website,
http://www.irishaid.gov.ie/Uploads/Development%20Education%20Funding%20Scheme%202011%20Website%20Final.pdf, last accessed 23-02-2012
113   Interview with the author

Education consultant Annette Honan reflects upon the outcomes of a recent study commissioned by Irish Aid entitled *Mapping the Past, Charting the Future*[114], in an article in Issue 13 of *Policy and Practice*. The report looks at the Irish government's involvement with development education and conducts an analysis of development education research in Ireland. It addresses the attitudes of pre-service and qualified teachers to development education:

> "Looking to pre-service teachers' attitudes and experience of development education provides little comfort as the report states that pre-service teachers 'seem to possess a somewhat superficial understanding of the causes of global poverty – understandings
>
> that are reflective of "soft" rather than critical versions of development education'. They noted that while 'the majority of student teachers appeared open to and supportive of integrating development education into their teaching practice and made considerable effort to create interesting and detailed lesson plans…difficulties did emerge around student teachers' willingness or capacity to deviate from standard curricular content or implement active and participatory methodologies'."[115]

At the time of writing this thesis we have not yet approached any teacher training colleges with our training courses or workshops. This is something we hope to engage during the academic year of 2013/2014.

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114   *Mapping the Past, Charting the Future,* Bracken, Bryan & Fiedler, Irish Aid (2011)
115   'Mapping the Past, Charting the Future: A Review of Development Education Research in Ireland and its Implications for the Future', pp.72-77, A. Honan in *Policy & Practice: A Development Education Review*, Vol. 13, (2011)

Schools

As discussed earlier, Sadaka[116], another pro-Palestine organisation in Ireland, were reported to be developing an education pack for transition year students so we felt working in this area would duplicate it. Schools Across Borders[117] also work with the secondary education sector in Ireland, so we decided to meet with a representative to discuss their work. We felt that there may still be further room for development in this area in the form of talks or the production of materials for publication on the website. Trocaire[118] also produce resources for both primary and secondary schools and deliver presentations on development issues in schools. Some of our members in regional branches had been asked to give, or had already given, presentations in local schools.

Dr. Fiedler stressed that:

"[A]t post primary level the main focus is transition year, transition year for [a long time] now is probably the most, I wouldn't say easiest, but best way to get development issues into schools because it doesn't have to necessarily be part of the existing curriculum. Transition year is a little bit looser, a little bit freer . . . so it's another natural way for development education to be brought into schools."[119]

Again we decided that this would be something we may follow up on in the future, so it will not form part of the discussion of this thesis.

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116   SADAKA – The Ireland Palestine Alliance, http:www.sadaka.ie, last accessed 23-02-2012
117   Schools Across Borders, http://www.schoolsacrossborders.org/, last accessed 23-02-2012
118   Trocaire, http://www.trocaire.org/, last accessed 23-02-2012
119   Interview with the author

General Public Platforms and Groups

The establishment of a Palestine Education website provided a forum to disseminate materials and learning in our educational initiative openly. It allowed us to publish a list of available speakers and their expertise as well as the 'ready to use' specific presentations which would also be made available on website. In unproblematised terms, we imagined this would be our online method of outreach to the general public and would be supplemented with promotion of the site through the various endorsing organisations. We would also promote the site through our existing networks and contacts and through international Palestine related forums and networks with whom we were affiliated.

We also committed to establishing an Education Team which would have some members working specifically on supporting individual members and supporters who wished to organise outreach meetings in their local communities, workplaces etc. We asked our Membership Officer and Branch Representatives to help form this part of the committee or, at the very least, to get involved in this area of work. The first of these meetings took place in Swords, County Dublin on October 7th 2010 during which I delivered the "Historical Overview of the Conflict" presentation. Unfortunately this committee ceased to exist soon afterwards and the 'Quality Control Team' within The Palestine Education Initiative took on the bulk of the outreach work from that point onwards. The promotion of 'Promises', the six week development education course offered by the Initiative, became our main and most logical form of engagement with the general public. At this point it is important to note the steep learning curve on which we were engaged as educators, as we became increasingly conscious of the broader political dynamics of these communication processes.

The IPSC has worked closely with Irish Congress of Trade Unions over the years and were involved in its BDS conference in April 2010. We have been in liaison with their Global Solidarity campaign since and intend to use this relationship to further disseminate our development education programme. We have good working relationships with individual unions island-wide, generally relating to us advising them on BDS related issues, and have

also made targeted approaches to some of these in order to offer our expertise on Palestine related issues. This resulted in some 'one-off' workshops with union members, but thus far, has not amounted to anything beyond that. We hope that this will become a more formalised strategic process in the future. Instead we focused on identifying scope for further development in other areas, specifically with youth and church groups.

> "[Development Education] normally works with specific sectors (teachers, youth, third level) on the basis of long-term projects or ongoing core organisational activities that facilitate a more reflective, analytical, experiential and interactive learning process."[120]

We agreed that there is scope to develop this in terms of human rights education and it may be useful for groups interested in future twinning programmes. There may also be significant funding available for this if it is properly developed and can be linked to building capacity in communities (Irish Aid funded a number of projects that deal directly with youth and schools in 2011[121]). We also want to investigate the option of offering the courses privately to youth and community groups who may be able to avail of some of their own funding to pay us a facilitation fee. We hope in the future to specifically carry out the task of identifying and contacting these groups.

Co-ordination of Educational Work – Internal to IPSC

We acknowledged that this is an ambitious programme pregnant with potential to substantially change public perceptions of Palestinians in Ireland. However, in order for its demands to be fulfilled an educational working committee would need to be established that will meet at regular intervals to plan and review progress.

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120   'Editorial', pp.1-8, S. McCloskey in *Policy & Practice: A Development Education Review,* Vol. 8 (2009)
121   Irish Aid website,
http://www.irishaid.gov.ie/Uploads/Development%20Education%20Funding%20Scheme%202011%20Website%20Final.pdf, last accessed 23-02-2012

There were immediate problems identified as soon as we tried to convene the committee. Regular meetings became difficult due to logistics (key members of this committee lived in Belfast, Cork and Dublin). Finding and keeping committed members of the committee was (and still is) very difficult. Many active, suitably skilled people within the IPSC were already employed in other areas of the campaign. As the IPSC is an organisation run by volunteers this often meant that these people also worked full time leaving them little or no energy to get involved productively in development education work without allowing other areas of the campaign to suffer. As a result the only active members of the team at the time of advancing the programme (post discussion period) were the Education Officer and the National Chairperson with some minor input on the creation of presentations from individual IPSC members. The majority of the curriculum was put together by the Education Officer and National Chairperson and the strategy was also developed by both. This is not unusual within the IPSC due to the nature and size of the organisation. Campaigns that result in international accession are often initiated by one or two IPSC members/officers. "Quality Control" and "Outreach" were identified as priority areas were further input was needed.

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the operationalisation of PEI from its origins in IPSC as a social movement to the shift to a development education programme. This raised key tensions between the politicisation of a social movement and the depoliticised perceptions of development education. It raises important pedagogical issues about recognition and the political nature of education in the Freirean and Gramscian sense of adult education. However, more tangibly in the ground for PEI, it also highlighted organisational and funding constraints which shaped its development. Engagement with public education and outreach groups was a core part of our activities which was shaped in the light of these funding, structural and recognition issues.

Chapter 6 - Curriculum Design

Introduction

This chapter will chart the process of curriculum design as we attempted to examine the issues we encountered around politicisation and de-politicisation of conflict narratives; and the challenges of maintaining a clear transformative learning process that is based in sound pedagogical practice. We were conscious of the dilemma posed by Irish Aid's approach to development education as their funding guidelines state that:

> "[D]evelopment education projects can incorporate an element of campaigning and advocacy for change. In order to qualify for funding […] campaigning and advocacy activities must be genuinely educational and informed by sound pedagogical practice. In practice this means providing a target group with a range of information and perspectives, as opposed to a single viewpoint. It also implies enabling target groups to reach their own conclusions, rather than providing a single solution"[122]

While this appears to be a positive endorsement of the marriage of campaigning and development education in practice, incorporating campaigning, advocacy and action into a development education curriculum while still providing a wide range of viewpoints and meeting Irish Aid's requirements proved challenging. It offers a narrow definition of pedagogy as non-politicised.

After much discussion and debate, the decision was made that we would initially focus our efforts on constructing a 6 week course of 2 hour interactive sessions in which participants would actively engage with the issues. We felt that two hour sessions were an appropriate length for evening classes as participants may be coming from work or university and may not have the energy for longer classes. We chose a six week format in line with courses

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[122]   Quoted in 'Development education and campaigning linkages', N. NíChasaide, in *Policy and Practice: A Development Education Review*, No. 9 (2009)

offered by LASC and Comhlamh (we decided against a ten week course as we felt six weeks of content and resources would be more manageable for us to create and evaluate when piloting the course). These sessions, although pre-planned, were designed to be input driven and flexible.

Pedagogical Approach

The teaching methods used lean strongly on development education and facilitation techniques and move away from the more formal or lecture based techniques we had initially inclined towards given our own backgrounds as educators. We wanted to use dialogue and interaction as much as possible in order to challenge prejudice and increase participants' ability to critically reflect upon the conflict. We felt that a lecture based approach would not best facilitate this type of learning due to its traditional and somewhat authoritarian connotations.[123]

In my teaching practice in the formal education sector these methods were often used, but did not necessarily form the basis of my entire teaching approach in each subject area. We committed to altering our methods considerably for this course in an attempt to liberate ourselves and course participants from the foregone conclusions that exist for each of us as individuals in our analysis of the conflict. We wanted to shift to a more active citizenship approach in our pedagogy, which would adopt a participative, open and dialogic approach to learning.[124] This transition can be accounted for a number of reasons:

Personal professional development of course designers and facilitators.

Interaction with and advice from development education professionals.

Knowledge gained from facilitating workshops and giving presentations on similar

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[123]   *Ideology, Culture and the Process of Schooling*, H.A. Giroux, p133, Falmer Press (1981)
[124]   *Education for Citizenship and Diversity*, G. Jeffers and U. O'Connor (eds) pp. 11-23. IPA (2008)

subject matter along with feedback from participants in the above.

We also felt that this would be the most realistic way of facilitating many viewpoints, perspectives and possible courses of action being incorporated into each session.

The course is primarily interactive and involves a wide range of activities that seek to draw upon existing participant knowledge and experiences. Consequently the course involves much discussion, debate and sharing of ideas in pairs and groups; use of moving debates, problem and solution trees, mind maps and individual research in addition to teacher led discussion. This marks an explicit shift to active learning methods and critical engagement that is encouraged in development education.

Subject Matter

The subject matter / issues we decided to include in the course curriculum and equally those we decided to leave out were matters for intense discussion and consultation with the quality control team and, indeed, with the IPSC National Committee. The project aims to be genuinely educational and to provide a range of perspectives that will enable and empower participants to reach their own conclusions. We decided to focus on critical engagement with human rights, global solidarity, humanitarianism, racism and media aspects of conflict rather than focusing on the political frame that dominates public discourse. This will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter. The challenge of doing this without depoliticising the conflict was, at times, difficult and was often more prevalent in certain sessions or with specific groups than with others as discussed later.

Planning Process

The format we adopted in planning was to outline our overall rationale, aims and objectives and for practical reasons also to outline a rough summary of our methodologies, resources

and equipment (this was helpful when choosing venues or when we were approached to do shorter workshops by unions and NGOs). We then went on to outline what each session would cover, its aims and objectives, methodologies, rationale and lesson plan. Resources (worksheets, articles, video clips, photos, maps etc.) were compiled by both of us, pooled and shared. Sample lesson plans which will further illustrate this process can be seen in Appendix 6.

Throughout this process, which took a number of months of fine-tuning and revising, we met with the quality control team, made up of development education professionals, at regular intervals and welcomed their feedback and advice on each session and the overall course. The area in which we both learned most in our progression towards best practice was that of methodology. This is outlined in more detail later in this chapter in a session by session breakdown. Our mutual experiences in the formal education sector and as activists meant that our facilitation skills often needed adapting. With this in mind we decided to up-skill. I registered for a Facilitation Skills course with Comlámh[125] and a Creative Facilitation course with DTalk at Kimmage Centre for Development Education.[126]

Rationale

The course is about campaigning, human rights and one of the most intractable and volatile conflicts of modern times, the Israel-Palestine Conflict.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the accompanying International Covenants are promises of justice, accountability, dignity and peace. Increasingly these promises are shaping our lives and framing our responses to local and global issues. Drawing then upon existing participant knowledge and experience and taking the Israel-Palestine conflict as its context, the course is short and interactive and introduces participants to some of these

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[125]   Comhlámh, http://www.comhlamh.org/, last accessed 23-02-2012
[126]   DTalk, http://www.dtalk.ie/, last accessed 23-02-2012

promises, encourages empathy with the victims of human rights violations, and equips them with the knowledge, skills and confidence to become local and global advocates for human rights.

> "Every person in Ireland will have access to educational opportunities to be aware of and understand their rights and responsibilities as global citizens and their potential to effect change for a more just and equal world"[127]

Overall Course Objectives

Human rights and international law would form the basis of our course perspective. We also wanted to equip participants with the reflective skills to become critical analysts and advocates for justice. Freire refers to this as 'praxis', "reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it".[128]

The role of the media was something we all agreed needed to be included in the course. In the absence of a variety of education initiatives media representations were often the only, or at least the first, contact people had with the Israeli Palestinian conflict.[129] Devereux states:

> "[T]he early 21st cetury has witnessed a variety of ideological clashes between Islamic and Western viewpoints, as well as the reappearance of fundamentalism of both Christian and Islamic varieties. Ethnic conflicts such as that between Palestine and Israel or between Christians and Muslims in Darfur, has meant a continued war of attrition between competing worldviews."[130]

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[127]   Irish government White Paper on Irish Aid, quoted in 'Editorial', pp.1-8, S. McCloskey in *Policy & Practice: A Development Education Review,* Vol. 8 (2009)
[128]   *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, P. Freire, p51, (1970, 2000)
[129]   Informal conversations with the public as an activist and advocate with the IPSC
[130]   *Understanding the Media*, E. Devereux, p.151, SAGE (2007 Edition)

He goes on to say:

"The coverage of the 'war on terror' and the images and language used to define 'the enemy' are obvious examples of where the ideological role played by the media comes into sharp focus."[131]

Both on the ground in Israeli and Palestine and here in Ireland we were aware that racism, discrimination and sectarianism played a significant role in determining people's stance on the conflict. We would frame our discussion around Atack's interpretation of various forms of violence. We would discuss direct or personal violence such as armed conflict and human rights abuses were discussed in the context of ongoing structural and cultural violence.[132] We decided that racism was an immediate priority area to address.

"In the case of racism, 'otherness' is not exclusively connected with 'native' status. Although most studies on racism have tended to identify the conflict in terms of colour, namely, white domination viz black subordination, racism, in fact, extends its over-exploitative mechanisms to all ethnic or national groups regardless of the colour of skin [....] while racism against black and other ethnic minorities is a condition for settler-colonial regimes, state-national exclusivism practiced against the indigenous population becomes the state's *existential pre-condition*." [emphasis in original][133]

In keeping with the Irish Aid guidelines we wanted to acquaint participants with a wide variety of campaigns and campaigning methods. We felt that by incorporating

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131   Ibid.
132   'Peace studies and social change: The role of ethics and human agency', I. Atack in *Policy & Practice: A Development Education Review*, Vol. 9, pp39-51 (2009),
133   'Ethnocracy: The Politics of Judaizing Israel/Palestine', O. Yiftachel in *Constellations: An international journal of critical and democratic theory*, p. 364 (2002)

methodologies and activities into the curriculum that would encourage active citizenship, critical thinking and collaborative planning we would be able to empower them with the skills necessary to begin to become activists or advocates in whatever field they desired.

Our overall course objectives were defined as the following:

To impart a knowledge of and understanding of human rights;

To provide participants with an awareness of differing perspectives on human rights;

To provide participants with an insight into the practical application of human rights;

To enable participants to critically evaluate media coverage;

To enable participants to evaluate differing means of campaigning;

To enable participants to form a human rights perspective on the Israel-Palestine Conflict;

To enable participants to form a perspective on the role racism, discrimination and sectarianism plays in perpetuating conflict;

To empower participants to become advocates for human rights.

Overall Course Aims

The rationale and format we envisaged for the course changed shape quite a bit during our pre-planning and planning processes. It was very important for us to identify what we wanted to achieve through creating and teaching the course so it became necessary to define our aims early on and let those overall aims guide us in constructing the overall course and each individual session.

Aim #1 would be - To equip participants with a basic knowledge of the issues behind the

Israel-Palestine Conflict.

We were both driven by our desire to provide authoritative, non-political background information and dialogue about the conflict and its history. This was something I personally would have been thankful for upon joining the IPSC as I felt that much of what I had read was overtly political, opinionated and, at times, so convoluted it was difficult to determine the key issues and events that led to the situation faced by Israelis and Palestinians today. It highlights the need for clear curriculum and content material which teacher education encourages.

Aim #2 would be - To introduce participants to the promises, scope and practicality of human rights.

We decided to use human rights and international law as an objective standard for evaluating the conflict and the actions of its parties. This decision was made to try to create a barometer by which students could evaluate where justice lies. When Richard put together the curriculum for 'The Battle for Palestine' course in Queen's University he felt that ongoing atrocities on both sides had begun to obliterate the human story while violence was often explained in terms of the political objectives of the organisations that use it rather than the human rights context that frequently motivates both the violence and the politics.

As campaigners who had both spent time in Israel and Palestine we were also aware of the limitations of international law and the human rights discourse in terms of resolving this conflict. We felt that a thorough investigation of human rights and international law would be useful to anyone interested in exploring the issues around this conflict.

Aim #3 would be - To empower participants with the knowledge, skills and confidence to

become effective advocates and campaigners for human rights.

We felt that, regardless of whether one was pro-Palestinian or pro-Israeli, no one could deny the gross abuse of basic human rights that takes place on a daily basis in the region. Our commitment to promoting a just and lasting peace in the region and our experience as campaigners and advocates led us to this, our third aim. This returns to the social justice intentions of education to which we were committed and the type of politicised and transformative action this requires.

Aim #4 would be - To encourage participant empathy for those caught in conflict through the use of personal narratives, stories and film; as well as encouraging reflection and dialogue about the issues and experiences facing by those living this reality.

We both felt that empathy was something that was sorely lacking in dialogue and discussion around the Israel-Palestine conflict. This was also something we had observed in our work and interaction with conflicting communities in Northern Ireland. Richard works with teenagers from Catholic and Protestant communities, while as Chairperson of the IPSC I had also taken part in some workshops and seminars in Glencree Centre for Peace and Reconciliation. The Glencree approach had its merits and certainly softened my initial unwillingness to engage to deeply with parts of the Israeli narrative that I would have seen as racist, propagandistic or false. The need to actively engage with both narratives in order to fully understand the conflict in a truly dialogic approach and appreciate its nuances and broader context led us one step further to this, our fourth aim.

Course Sessions
Below I discuss how we operationalized these objectives and critically reflect each session.

a) Session 1: Telling the Story

In the first session we prioritised introducing the history of the Israel-Palestine Conflict and identifying what are the key issues for each side – ie. security, land, refugees, citizenship, nationhood, occupation, etc. Rather than attempt to be entirely objective or balanced we decided to familiarise the participants with the differing narratives. From the beginning of the course we wanted to establish empathy for people on both sides of the historical narrative and encourage enquiry and research by participants. This session would also help us to establish the level of pre-existing participant knowledge of the conflict and help us to pitch future sessions with that group.

We would start the session with a perceptions activity based on map of Palestine/Israel and feedback followed by short talk acquainting participants with the reality that there is no agreed narrative of the conflict or even agreed definitions of territory – illustrated by use varying maps of Israel-Palestine – 1918, 1919, 1930s, 1948, 1967, present day. See Appendix 8.

Different, but overlapping timelines, photographs and paragraph blurbs, would then be distributed to the participants. We would ask them to engage in group learning, working with others to construct a timeline narrative from the photographs (Appendix 9). Each group would then talk through the timeline it has constructed and the class would discuss and comment upon the timelines they have created. As facilitators we prompted discussion and active learning with questions such as; Do they notice anything odd about their or others timelines? Is their timeline inclusive/reliable? How does the timeline present its subjects? Do the two timelines overlap, if not why not? Would it be possible to create an inclusive/true timeline?

This activity aims to make participants aware of the importance of perspective and that what is true for one side is or may be demonstrably false for another. This activity pays homage to Freire's notion of 'problematizing'.

"Problematizing is the antithesis of the technocrat's problem solving stance because within the former the person is totally involved whereas in the later the problem solver seeks to distance himself from reality in order to try to arrive at a solution."[134]

Personal testimony and video[135] by Israelis and Palestinians exploring the issues of persecution, exile, a homeland, occupation and violence would be shown and participants, in small groups, would identify the issues arising from these videos. A discussion would follow dealing with the issues that are shared or have been shared by Israelis and Palestinians to focus learning on the commonalities between both groups.

Our Reflections on session 1

The main issues arising in both the planning and execution of this session were the use of certain images and terms such as 'terrorist'. Many IPSC activists and class participants had huge problems with Palestinians being referred to as such, in favour of using the term 'freedom fighter'. This generated so much debate during the planning process that we decided to leave it as it was in order to explore the issues further and more thoroughly during the sessions with course participants. We felt that by excluding the term 'terrorist' we could be accused of bias, but also would not truly show that Israeli narrative in the debate. In order to understand both sides of a conflict it is necessary to engage with both discourses. The problem of 'preaching to the converted' was also prevalent. If we were to teach the course from a purely pro-Palestinian stance we would immediately isolate those not already of this view point and effectively would not be engaged in dialogic education, but rather in campaigning or, more negatively, in propaganda.

"[I]n traditional education the educator controls the knowledge and to some extent the perception of reality with which the student is presented. But the student

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[134] *Twentieth Century Thinkers in Adult Education*, P. Jarvis, p 272, Routledge (1987)
[135] *Avenge But One Of My Two Eyes* by A. Mograbi and *Occupation 101* by S. and A. Omeish

already has a perception of reality so that another perception might be rejected whereas through dialogue and problematizing new knowledge and new meaning may be created."[136]

b) Sessions 2 and 5: Human Rights

Our first session (Session 2) on human rights aimed to familiarise participants with the key instruments of international human rights law as they pertain to Israel and Palestine – the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Fourth Geneva Convention and also to familiarise participants with the workings of international monitoring and enforcement bodies – in particular the UN and the International Committee of the Red Cross. We wanted participants to identify issues to which international human rights law is applicable by presenting them with a number of testimonials, video clips and reports from individuals and human rights groups operating on the ground in Palestine. We wanted to present as much primary data as possible in the form of reports etc. to accompany the legal documents on human rights in order to encourage critical literacy amongst participants. This would give participants a framework to critically reflect upon the workings and effectiveness of the bodies responsible for enforcing and/or monitoring human rights.

"Freire's central message is that one can only know to the extent that one 'problematizes' the natural, cultural and historical reality in which he/she is immersed."[137]

We aimed to have participants arrive at an understanding of the values that underpin human rights and reflect upon the relevance and effectiveness of international human rights law and monitoring and enforcement bodies.

The second human rights session (Session 5) aimed to enable participants to assess the

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[136] *Twentieth Century Thinkers in Adult Education*, P. Jarvis, p 274, Routledge (1987)
[137] *Twentieth Century Thinkers in Adult Education*, P. Jarvis, p 274, Routledge (1987)

relevance of human rights and critically reflect upon the worth of human rights as a means of bringing justice and reconciliation. It would also encourage reflection upon the enforcement of human rights at state and civil society levels. We also wanted to give participants an understanding of the work of human rights organisations on the ground and enable them to reflect upon the cross over between human rights, activism and reconciliation. One activity involved the facilitator briefly outlining the International Court of Justice judgement on the illegality of the West Bank Wall and showing a video of an ICRC statement on illegality of Gaza blockade. This would be followed by a group discussion centred around the clear illegality of both, asking participants (in groups) how rights can be enforced and what options are open to individuals suffering these violations: further legal action, civil disobedience, protests; campaigning; boycotts; joint cross-community activism; violence; etc. Participants are asked to assess the pros and cons of each approach, both practically and in terms of the likely human rights implications – that is, do human rights have anything to say about the legitimacy of these approaches? This activity would be finished by reflecting on the experience of the Gaza Freedom Flotilla and the Bil'in campaign.

Lesson plans and activities can be found in Appendix 6.

In both sessions we discussed the role of the Irish government and the EU in holding Israel accountable for its breaches of international law through abiding strictly to the terms of preferential trade agreements and imposing sanctions. We did have concerns that the inclusion of these more local aspects of the human rights/international law discourse may negatively affect our funding opportunities and our attempts to move away from being viewed as too radical for development education. However, in line with our desire to encourage advocacy and campaigning and acquaint participants with the full spectrum of actions taking place at both local and global level we decided it would have to be included in the course material.

Immediately after teaching Session 2 we realised that we had tried to cover far too much in a two hour period. The futility of the human rights dialogue was brought up by participants in both Belfast and Dublin, even by those who actually worked in Human Rights organisations. The lack of consequences and accountability for those in breach of human rights came to the fore as did the accusation that human rights groups often attempt to depoliticise the conflict or naturalise the occupation.

We had not foreseen so much debate on this subject so early in the course and both felt somewhat deflated after teaching this session in our respective cities. We felt that as campaigners in a heavily politicised organisation (the IPSC) we had readjusted our frame of reference to encompass and acknowledge the human rights dialogue on the conflict, however it seemed we had gone too far and were seen as entertaining a 'soft' approach to conflict resolution.

The right to self-determination[138] was at the root of our class discussions during these sessions. This served as a conduit for a more politicised debate around human rights. Recognition of Palestinians political demands as opposed to humanitarian needs and the most effective ways to pursue and achieve these demands were discussed at length.

Upon reflection we were glad that these issues had come up so early on. The video clips we had used and the human rights reports we had quoted had illustrated certain impotence in the accepted dialogue on the Israeli/Palestinian conflict which is realistic and must be acknowledged. We focused on showing the grass-roots side of human rights in action in our next session on human rights (Session 5), as a counterbalance to this sense of

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[138]   Article 1 of both the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (ICCPR) and the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* (ICESCR) both read: "All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development."; The *UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (Article 15) "recognizes that everyone has the right to a nationality and that no one should be arbitrarily deprived of a nationality or denied the right to change nationality".

powerlessness.

Session 5 was always very successful for me despite my nervousness about human rights law and 'getting it right'. The session was well placed in the overall course curriculum and allowed for participant-led learning while supporting that learning with the information and structure necessary to engage meaningfully with the topic. One activity in this session involved distributing a human rights report (executive summary) - from Amnesty International, IPSC, Palestinian Centre for Human Rights (PCHR) or Al Haq - and asking participants in small groups to look at it critically, asking: Is it neutral? Is it political? How realistic or enforceable are its recommendations? Who compiled it and for what reason? How accessible, understandable and inclusive is it? Could it be described as elitist or Western? Whose interests does it serve – the state or victims? For example, in Palestine consider the question, 'do human rights groups challenge the occupation or merely seek to better administer it – actually reinforcing and legitimising it?' However, for Richard teaching this in Belfast was often more problematic, particularly the role play activity which involved people defending the Palestinian Right of Return[139] and the right of the Jewish people to self-determination[140], as many participants felt:

> "[T]oo strongly attached to the positions they had adopted on certain issues and parties involved in the conflict and could not move beyond this"[141].

c) Session 3: Racism, Sectarianism and Discrimination

In this session we wanted to engage with the issues of anti-Semitism and Islamophobia and enable participants to recognise the consequences of racism both at home and in the Middle East and the role discrimination plays in perpetuating conflict.

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[139]   United Nations General Assembly Resolution 194 (Article 11); 'Palestinian Refugees and the Right of Return: An International Law Analysis', G.J. Boling, *BADIL - Information & Discussion Brief*, No. 8 (2001)
[140]   United Nations General Assembly Resolution 181
[141]   Richard Irvine, interview with the author

> "The Zionist settler-colonial regime in Palestine has demonstrated features which combine both apartheid (racism) and total negation (national exclusivism)."[142]

We would also examine the attitudes that underpin racist representations. Direct or personal violence such as armed conflict and human rights abuses were discussed in the context of ongoing structural and cultural violence.[143]

We discussed the implications and interdependency of these forms of violence and how they pertain to the Israel/Palestine conflict during Session 3, using direct examples of racist representations in culture and by individuals as well as looking at racist state policy and cases of institutional racism (Appendix 10)

Our Reflections on Session 3

In teaching this session we adapted and changed its content and format frequently depending on setting, participants and participant input. It became obvious that in many cases it was necessary to allow room and space for exploration of individual's own experiences of racism and sectarianism (particularly with northern groups, but also in the south) in order to encourage them to challenge their own prejudices and preconceptions. Participant feedback often led to discussions of the role the media played in perpetuating negative prejudice and how both the Israeli and Palestinian education systems often seemed to facilitate the notion of 'otherness' and hinder empathy, which linked with the theme of the next session. As Tester describes we become:

> "so used to the spectacle of dreadful events, misery, or suffering that we stop noticing them...[we] being left exhausted and tired by those reports and ceasing to

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[142]   'Racism, Zionism and the Palestinian Working Class, 1920-1947', N. Abdo in *Studies in Political Economy: A Socialist Review*, No. 37, p364 (1992)

[143]   'Peace studies and social change: The role of ethics and human agency', I. Atack in *Policy & Practice: A Development Education Review*, Vol. 9, pp39-51 (2009),

think that anything at all can be done to help".[144]

d) Session 4: Critical Media Engagement

This session aimed to increase participants' ability to critically engage and reflect upon a range of media representations and empower them with the skills to reach informed judgements by identifying examples of bias and misrepresentation, perspective and agenda. We also hoped to enable participants to identify the causes and attitudes underlying bias and misrepresentation, and to encourage them to reflect upon the consequences of bias and misrepresentation. Dissemination of media reports to be read in pairs as well as video clips followed by paired, then whole group, discussions comparing reports allowed participants to ask questions such as: Which do people find most reliable? Why are they different? Do they have a differing audience/agenda? Do they accurately report a story, if not why not? Is there more you would like to know? Discussion and feedback on which set of stories gives most insight into the situation and whether they correlate to those that attracted attention was also used.

Our discussion was necessarily broad and did not focus solely on criticising mainstream media. Devereux writes:

> "Ideological analysis of 21st century mass media might very well be concerned with discourses about class relations, but it might also be applied to, among other things, analysis of hetrosexism, homophobia, disability, patriarchy, racism or 'terrorism'. We are not restricted to analysing hegemonic ideology. We should also examine the workings of counter hegemonic ideologies circulating, for example among oppressed groups such as ethnic minorities, sexual minorities or the colonized."[145]

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[144]   *Compassion, Morality and the Media*, K. Tester, p. 13, Open University (2001)
[145]   *Understanding the Media*, E. Devereux, p.151, SAGE (2007 Edition)

This session worked well, although time constraints were an issue. When the conclusion or follow-on activities were not included in the session, participant feedback indicated that some left feeling powerless. This session was adapted to suit one-off workshops which allowed more time for this work and also the amount of articles distributed in earlier activities was cut back to allow more time for later exercises when it took place as part of the 'Promises' course.

Story outlines, brief facts on a story and a few quotes were distributed and participants were asked to write up a story making it as dramatic and as emotional and one sided as possible and select an appropriate picture to go with it, then read back to the group. This exercise was designed to illustrate how a story's emphasis can change even if the facts do not, highlighting the framing power of media discourses and images that Devereux and other media theorists explores.

e) Session 6: Critical Review of Campaigning, Activism and Humanitarianism

The aim of this session is to acquaint participants with the range of campaigning and humanitarian activism already underway and to enable them to critically reflect upon the values and effectiveness of current actions. We also wanted to equip them with the skills needed to produce their own plan for solidarity or humanitarian action. This session also involves reflection upon the values that underpin campaigning and whether they are inclusive and compatible with human rights.

We asked participants to conduct a comparative case study between the charitable work of

Tuesday's Child[146], and The Joint Advocacy Initiative/YMCA olive tree replanting campaign.[147] Using a problem tree, participants evaluated the campaigns' effectiveness in terms of: public sympathy; public participation and inclusiveness; education; sustainability; political consequences; etc. We distributed an effectiveness check-list (Appendix 7) to help participants with their evaluation, but also encouraged them to discuss and add to the list as they saw fit. This exercise was designed to illustrate the differences between a political campaign and a humanitarian campaign and encourage critical reflection about their effectiveness. Many participants were critical of the 'humanitarianism' paradigm through which Israel and some Western agencies see Gaza and felt that it was a political problem that required political solutions.[148]

In other sessions on campaigning (Session 6 in 'Promises' or individual workshops) we often added other campaigns and humanitarian efforts to the comparative study. The attempts to sail flotillas of ships to Gaza also, at times, formed part of the discussion as did the work of the IPSC, Amnesty International and the Ireland Israel Friendship League. We also discussed 'co-existence groups' and 'dialogue groups' operating in Israel and Palestine and internationally. Again, the perceived impotence of these groups aroused much discussion amongst all groups of participants, as did the danger of them 'naturalising' the occupation. [149]

Our Reflections on Session 6

This session was really beneficial for participants, due to its critical evaluation and comparison of different campaigning and humanitarian activists' roles. In discussion and evaluation sessions with participants and advisers after the course we decided that it may be useful to include a second session on campaigning earlier in the course and invite guest speakers from a variety of campaigns to take part.

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[146]   Tuesday's Child website, http://www.tuesdayschild.ie/, last accessed 23-02-2012
[147]   'Keep Hope Alive - The Olive Tree Campaign', JAI website, http://www.jai-pal.org/content.php?page=1, last accessed 23-02-2012
[148]   'Gaza's Humanitarianism Problem', I. Feldman in *Journal of Palestine Studies*, No. 38 pp.22-37 (2009)
[149]   'Shalom-Salaam?: Campus Israel advocacy and the politics of "dialogue"', B. Saifer in *Upping the Anti: A Journal of Theory and Action*, No. 9, pp74-90 (2009)

Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the methodology, planning process and aims for the course, before outlining and discussing the key findings and participants' responses to each section. Based on the evaluation and feedback procedures outlined in Chapter 4, our own experiences and subsequent reflections upon our teaching of the course we decided to extend it to ten weeks in 2012. Rather than bring in new subject matter or themes we decided to allocate more time to the existing material and allow participants more time to explore these themes.

Participant feedback also indicated that more background information, maps, dates, facts and figures would be appreciated. After consultation with the Quality Control team, expanding the course rather than changing our pedagogical approach was decided to be the best course of action. We also intend to bring in guest speakers/facilitators for some sessions and to occasionally team-teach when possible.

Chapter 7 – Discussion of Findings

Introduction

This thesis aimed to explore the process of establishing a development education programme for a social justice and human rights campaigning group while addressing the ambiguous relationship between development education and political campaigning in Ireland today. Incorporated into these general themes were more specific questions around pedagogy and methodology, political and human rights education, funding and adaptability, specifically considering;

1. What are the pedagogical issues raised by teaching about conflict issues? What can a 'dialogue' approach as suggested by Freire[150] offer?

2. How do campaigning groups position themselves in a development education context? What are the implications of this for education and recognition?

3. How can campaigning groups work in the education sector given the tensions between their political and educational roles?

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[150] *A pedagogy for liberation: Dialogues on transforming education*, I. Shor and P. Freire, Bergin & Garvey (1987)

These questions will become the framework for this concluding chapter and have been developed from my original research questions as outlined in chapter one. The reworking of these questions came about as the research progressed and informed the thesis findings.

Using Participatory Action Research (PAR) I was able to maintain my direct involvement with establishing The Palestine Education Initiative while using the knowledge gained through my research to improve and critique our work and progress towards best practice.

While writing and researching this thesis I have also engaged in dialogue with activists and development education professionals, established the need for an education programme that deals specifically with Israel and Palestine, created such a programme including curriculum for its six/ten week course, the resources (including a textbook of curriculum material in development and yet to be published) and website, networked and entered into processes of affiliation and endorsement, sought funding, taught the course twice in Dublin and carried out a number of workshops and seminars for The Palestine Education Initiative.

This chapter explores the learning processes, educational and political implications of establishing an initiative such as PEI for education practitioners, policy-makers, the general public, students, and the development education and social movement sectors.

The Palestine Education Initiative

As described in earlier chapters, we established The Palestine Education Initiative as an entity in its own right distinct to its parent organisation IPSC. PEI would focus entirely on development education and publication of useful teaching and public awareness resources,

while the IPSC would continue its work as a campaigning organisation and lobby group as documented in Chapter 1.

While the work involved in establishing the structures and activities of PEI as an independent entity, along with the networking and affiliation reflected the learning we had achieved, the process that lead to this independence was disheartening. This echoes Ni Chasaide's[151] final sentiments regarding the lack of obvious progress towards action for global justice. It was our close links to a campaigning organisation such as IPSC that seemed to be our biggest obstacle when it came to institutional recognition and funding. We were perceived as overtly politicized and by default not educational rigorous. This thesis documented the process of recognition we attempted and explored the dilemmas posed by this perception and its consequences for development education and social movements.

When we put the proposal to the IPSC National Committee in June 2011 to separate, given that Palestine Education Initiative was now, demonstrably, unlikely to get funding while connected to IPSC, there was a willingness to have us establish ourselves as a separate organisation. We parted entirely amicably, but were now an independent entity with no funding, two unpaid volunteers and a wealth of campaigning, educational and personal experience of the issues that PEI would attempt to address through educational public courses.

The Palestine Education Initiative: educating about conflict situations

On Thursday May 5th 2011, the 'Palestine Education Initiative' was officially launched in the Irish Aid centre in Dublin. The following week 'Promises', the six week course offered to the general public, began in both Belfast and Dublin. Thus we were launched into the development sector as an independent organisation without being officially registered as a

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[151] 'Development education and campaigning linkages', N. Ní Chasaide, in *Policy and Practice: A Development Education Review*, No. 9 (2009)

company and with no disposable income flow to speak of. Both of us had high profile backgrounds as campaigners and we worried that this would continue to cause problems, while also feeling frustrated at this unspoken rule about certain campaigns and campaigning approaches being 'unacceptable' within the sector due to their political nature. Despite our enthusiasm we were both nervous about the politically contentious nature of our subject matter and I was afraid that my background as a campaigner would be used against us by the pro-Israeli lobby within Ireland to negatively impact upon our capacity to receive funding and gain credibility.

Indeed, the contentious nature of our work was made evident when several self-described 'pro-Israel' groups and individuals began a campaign aiming to have PEI banned from using the Irish aid centre. The group Irish4Israel, asked pro-Israel advocates to email Irish Aid, the Minister for Foreign Affairs Eamon Gilmore, and the Department of Foreign Affairs with a series of questions:

> 1) Has tax payers [sic] money been [sic] used to fund this event
>
> 2) Why are the speakers all IPSC or EX IPSC [sic] and why has [sic] no pro Israel speakers been invited
>
> 3) Why are government buildings being used for such events?[152]

The seemingly obvious intent behind these questions was not to find out answers to the questions posed, but to put the Irish Aid Centre under pressure for allowing PEI events to take place on the premises. Despite this, the Centre has allowed PEI events to continue to take place, although at least one event sponsored by the Israeli Embassy in Ireland has since

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[152] Irish4Israel Facebook page, https://www.facebook.com/irish4israel/posts/127248524107250, last accessed 06-01-2013

taken place there, presumably as an act of 'balance'. This highlights the tensions between education and political actions, raising questions that this thesis attempted to explore in terms of striking a balance between both and determining where the pedagogical line and interest lies.

PEI were not alone in considering the implications of politicised nature of development education as we realised when attending IDEA seminars where we were encouraged by their members' work on a position paper which dealt with tensions between campaigning and development education. The paper asserts the core principles of development education:

> "First and foremost this position is a matter of principle for those working in the development education sector. It relates to the core values and concept of development education and it is on that level that we would like to engage in a policy dialogue with other civil society organisations, campaigners and Irish Aid. For us an open and robust debate on this issue is a necessary first step as we feel that funding should follow policy and not vice versa."[153]

We felt somewhat more comfortable in the knowledge that we were not alone in our struggle to find a way to teach about conflict issues while encouraging active citizenship and empowerment. Similarities could also be identified from my experience as a CSPE teacher in the post-primary sector. Jeffers writes about the differing approaches accommodated within the broad framework for exploring issues of citizenship and diversity (Jeffers 2008) of the CSPE syllabus[154]. He notes that a minimalist approach if adopted by teachers can lead to non-transformative education and a less empowering experience for the student. While

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[153] *Position Paper: Campaigning and Development Education*, IDEA (2011)
[154] 'Some challenges for citizenship education in the Republic of Ireland' in *Education for Citizenship and Diversity in Irish Contexts*, edited by G. Jeffers and U. O'Connor. IPA: Dublin, pages 11 – 23, Jeffers, G.(2008)

teaching the subject I had encouraged my students to look at power structures within conflict situations as well as in their own community. Human rights discourse in both my development education teaching and post-primary teaching had always had always been rooted in concepts of justice and equality. At post-primary level I encouraged action projects that focused on campaigning, twinning and direct engagement with issues. This approach led to reprimand and reining-in of my practice by the CSPE department and the school management. This mismatch between stated aims and accepted practice seems to have haunted the civics/CSPE curriculum since the 1960s and was also evident in Irish Aid's funding guidelines as referenced in earlier chapters.

Progress was afoot in beginning a much needed debate around campaigning, development education, policy and funding; we decided to try to continue teaching our courses and developing new resources while attempting to keep the connection between advocacy/campaigning alive and relevant to the work of The Palestine Education Initiative. We felt that honesty was the best policy and committed to always making it clear that we came from campaigning as well as teaching backgrounds and to informing our participants of which approach was more predominant at different points in our teaching. Brookfield writes:

> "From a student's viewpoint, teachers who withhold expressions of their own opinions may be perceived as untrustworthy. Given the power relationship that pertains in a . . .classroom teachers who refuse to say what they think can be seen as engaged in a manipulative game"[155]

This is backed up by IDEA in their position paper:

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[155] *Becoming a Critically Reflective Teacher*, Brookfield, Stephen, Jossey-Bass 1995. p14

"As development educators we understand the internationally recognised distinction between a global learning agenda with its focus on the learner and the more goal-centred focus of campaigning with its emphasis on empowering global citizens to take action and to work on changing the systems and structures that perpetuate inequality. We would, however, argue that both approaches are valid concepts of every development education agenda as long as it is clearly stated what concept is used. In fact, we feel that both concepts complement each other and ensure that development education has a bigger impact on society."[156]

Despite our campaigning backgrounds, our approach was strongly grounded in education. However, in order to encourage active participation in the subject matter, and discourage a sense of hopelessness/helplessness, our pedagogical approach was facilitative and included numerous activities that allowed for participant led learning, peer discussion and active engagement with the subject matter.

Review of The Palestine Education Initiative

Feedback we received from various bodies and individuals gave an insight how learners and others in the sector responded to the issues. This feedback often took the form of constructive criticism, but at times was more subtly gleaned from our experiences as teachers/facilitators. Feedback was particularly important during the first round PEI courses as we were new to the sector and unsure as to how PEI and our work would be perceived. As time passed, this feedback led to the growth and branching out of the remit of PEI, discussed later in this section. Feedback also allowed us to constantly improve on the course content.

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[156] *Position Paper: Campaigning and Development Education*, IDEA (2011)

Feedback

Personally, I found the first round of participants in Dublin to be engaging and engaged. They all had some prior knowledge of the issues and many of them had experience in development education. A small number of participants had travelled to Israel and Palestine and one participant was Palestinian. As a facilitator I employed methodologies that encouraged discussion and interaction, using pair work, group work, debate, role play, mind mapping and interactive time lines. Our resources included photographs, video clips, articles, testimonials, maps and NGO reports (see appendices).

a. From Participants

Feedback from participants was crucial to the development of the courses offered by PEI. It helped us to understand the strengths and limitations of what we had to offer, and, importantly, the needs and inclinations of the participants.

Feedback was gained in several ways; informally on a session by session basis, through a questionnaire given out during the last session (See Appendix 5) and during the two feedback sessions conducted in Dublin and Belfast by an outside facilitator. Feedback was also taken using the same questionnaire after the second course in Dublin.

Feedback from the first round was predominantly technical, indicating that the course needed to be longer in order to fully address all of the issues and also include a little more background information. It was agreed that the themes on which we focused (historical narratives, media, racism, anti-Semitism, human rights and international law and campaigning) were deemed appropriate, however many participants would have liked to explore those themes further. This was also obvious from informal feedback during the sessions and from the fact that almost every session in both cities ran over time. Based on

this we decided that we would extend the course to 10 weeks in the future. We did run the course again in Dublin in November 2011 before adapting it to fit its new ten week model. This was due to the fact that both directors were in the process of completing their masters and time was a huge issue.

Feedback regarding fairness, honesty and our ability to portray both sides of the conflict was very positive however, as I mentioned above, our demographic on both courses was decidedly pro-Palestinian. We hoped to address this by widening our demographic in 2012 by advertising the course to a wider audience. We also discussed changing the name of The Palestine Education Initiative to something more human rights based and less country-specific.

Although the price of the course was identified as fair, some participants did suggest that a rate of €10 per session would be more appropriate so we adapted to this for the second round of classes.

More context for the articles and other reading material sent to participants by email between sessions was requested as was a list of recommended reading. This is something that will be fully incorporated into the ten week course in 2012.

Feedback from the second round of classes in November 2011 differed quite a bit from the first round by centring on more pedagogical issues. Key issues for these participants were that they wanted more background information, less development education methodologies in favour of a more lecture based approach and that they found the course too discussion based and not informative enough. This was partially due to the demographic of the participants, who came largely from the NGO and Dev-Ed sectors. Although they were

familiar with the facilitative approach to teaching/learning, most of them had come to specific increase their knowledge of the history and political background to the Israel-Palestine conflict. The discursive methods we had used before were seen as inadequate without first creating a solid foundation of knowledge through lecture based teaching. While this was difficult to address during that round of 'Promises', we agreed to incorporate more flexible teaching methods to accommodate this likely demographic and also to extend promises to ten weeks for subsequent sessions. We also agreed to organise a free monthly lecture series which would deal with specific areas of the conflict, and serve as a public lecture-based follow -on from the 'Promises' courses.

Like many of our participants I was aware that we would need to extend the course to ten weeks in order to adequately cover all of the topics included in the curriculum. I felt a little anxious teaching the second round of the Promises course as I was aware that some participants would have preferred a more lecture based or even 'expert' approach. I really believed in the discursive nature of the methodologies we employed and while I had given many lectures in the past, felt that the more relaxed approach I had adopted may have resulted in my coming across as uninformed to some participants. This highlights the tensions and expectations regarding pedagogy, with the many demands from learners requiring different pedagogical approaches and skills. The key challenge for us as educators was to respond appropriately to learners' needs whilst maintaining the core ethos, content and pedagogy required.

Due to my prior experiences, I was very comfortable teaching sessions on media, racism and prejudice, campaigning and direct action human rights work. I was less confident teaching sessions that relied heavily on human rights conventions and international law. I had no academic qualification in these areas and was acutely aware that my knowledge of international law was specific to the Israel/Palestine conflict. On subsequent courses Richard and I have acted as guest lecturers for each other with Richard taking one session

on international law and human rights and me taking a session on either media or campaigning, allowing each of us to work in our respective area of strength.

b. From the Development Education Sector

Feedback from the development education sector was important to us, as we felt the need to 'prove' PEI was a credible organisation with something new and worthwhile to offer, and we, in turn, felt we had much to learn from those who were well established in the sector.

Direct feedback to us, was largely positive and supportive, however broader structural issues such as funding and recognition remain major concerns. This is addressed in more detail in section 7.5

c. From the IPSC

Feedback from the IPSC was important to us, as we were conscious that part of our understanding of Development Education was that it would encourage participants to become active in seeking justice. Also, as the biggest and longest established rights-based civil society organisation dealing with the Israel-Palestine conflict, its views would be relevant, even if we disagreed with them somewhat.

We received some very useful feedback regarding our tendency to apologise for our campaigning backgrounds. This tendency sprang from our dilemma about the IPSC being viewed as too radical to receive funding or credibility in the development sector as documented in earlier chapters. Personally I also felt that my leadership and advocacy role as National Chairperson of that organisation was somewhat at odds with my role as an educator. When teaching the second round of classes I was able to deal with this with more

confidence. I revealed my campaigning background and experience in the first session, but did not apologise for it. I was also no longer IPSC National Chairperson and, on a personal level at least, this was useful.

The lack of attendance from IPSC members and other activists I had worked with was a little disheartening. One of the reasons we developed PEI was based on input from activists who expressed a desire for more educational opportunities to engage with the Israel/Palestine conflict. We also felt that we were providing a crucial forum for activists to reflect on their viewpoints and prejudices in order to achieve greater empathy and focus which would positively impact on their campaign work.

While the IPSC advertised the course internally to their entire list of members and supporters (which constitutes over 6000 people) the uptake from members was very low. At National Committee meetings and branch meetings the level of interest seemed surprisingly low with people more excited about the next flotilla to Gaza and, what could be seen as, the sexier side of activism. Although other activist groups and political parties we often worked with also advertised the course to their members there was virtually no representation from any of these groups on the courses or at the launch. It seemed that our determination to show that education and campaigning necessitated each other may have met with a different reality on the ground. Informally IPSC members did query the project as being "too NGO-ish" or "too liberal". Others did see it as useful, positive and necessary, but did not seek to get involved or take part.

Positively for the IPSC and the sustainability or usefulness of the course, a number of participants did get involved in campaigning through the IPSC. Some became members, others occasionally attend events and one went on to become a member of the 2011-2012 National Committee.

What are the pedagogical issues raised by teaching about conflict issues? What can a 'dialogue' approach as suggested by Freire offer?

As stated in Chapter 5 we wanted to challenge perceptions of the conflict from many perspectives and examine the power relations at play within it. Thus we would not de-politicise our teaching either. We spent a lot of time and energy reflecting on what we understood to be development education and on the approach we would choose to adopt. Bourne writes;

> "Development education should not be seen as some form of monolithic approach to education but as a pedagogy that opens minds to question, consider, reflect and above all challenge viewpoints about the wider world and to identify different ways to critique them."[157]

We wanted our students to critically reflect on all aspects of the conflict and to challenge the narratives we presented to them. Instead of viewing ourselves as teachers or lecturers we became facilitators in the adult education tradition. Instead of lecturing we favoured a more dialogical approach that presented people with descriptive facts and narratives, but allowed them to problematise and arrive at their own conclusions. In this manner our approach could be called Freirian[158]. This seemed like a fair and honest way of encouraging empowerment and active participation with the subject matter without deviating back into the realm of campaigning and activism wholeheartedly.

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[157] 'Discourses and Practices around Development Education: From Learning about Development to Critical Global Pedagogy', D. Bourne in *Policy & Practice: A Development Education Review*, Vol. 13, , pp11-29 (2011)
[158] *Paulo Freire: a Critical Encounter.* P. McLaren, and P. Leonard (eds.) Routledge (1993)

Given that our approach was largely dialogue based, our teaching methods needed to reflect this. It became increasingly difficult for us to define Development Education in terms of methodology. Thus, we used a principled approach to designing the course.

My findings suggest that we needed to be clear in our approach and be honest about our background as campaigners. We wanted to move away from the more traditional lecture based lessons we had given during advocacy sessions and use a clear, facilitative approach that would allow participants to share their views and learn from each other as much as from us.

Throughout this work, it became clear was that there is no all-encompassing working definition of development education to which all parties involved in the sector agree. Bourne addresses this in Issue 13 of *Policy and Practice,* writing:

> "Moreover there is a need to identify relevance of particular theories and approaches to educational environments. It is not about saying this is the right way or this is the wrong way. Rather, it is about recognising that these traditions and perspectives have different interpretations and goals. So for example a government funded programme on development education is very unlikely to see development education as about critical pedagogy. Also if it is focussed on influencing the public in the north it is going to be less interested in seeing human development as education in a global context. Some grassroots NGOs however, whose *raison d'etre* is about trying to change society, to question and challenge inequality in the world, are unlikely to accept an approach that is simply about learning about the Millennium Development Goals for example."[159]

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[159] 'Discourses and Practices around Development Education: From Learning about Development to Critical Global Pedagogy', D. Bourne in *Policy & Practice: A Development Education Review*, Vol. 13, , pp11-29 (2011)

Instead of viewing development education merely as education concerned with development issues of the global south, our interpretation was based on a critical pedagogical approach which is inspired by the Freirian 'dialogical' approach. We set about to challenge a number of issues relating to the Israel/Palestine conflict and how it is portrayed in the Ireland. One of these issues was the common portrait of Palestinians as 'victims' with purely humanitarian needs or demands[160]. Another was the false dichotomy of the conflict along Judaism/Islam lines as is often the case in the media[161].

Dehumanisation and demonisation of both parties in the conflict by one another was also challenged and engaged with throughout as were the attitudes and prejudices of both teacher and students. The strongest focus on issues such as these was generally during session three of the Promises course. As has already been mentioned in Chapter 6 this often led to participant led discussion and adaptation of the lesson plan. Space and time were given to allow participants to explore their own experiences of racism or sectarianism and also to challenge and investigate their own prejudice. This process applied to the issues outlined allowed participants to think personally, locally and globally. By facilitating this process rather than pushing a particular view point we felt that we would more readily promote empowerment and participant led engagement with the Israel-Palestine Conflict.

The findings of chapters 4 and 6 suggest that this was best carried out through well-developed curricular content, but also through methodologies that involved problematising and critical reflection[162]. The curriculum and methodologies were scrutinised by our quality control team made up of development education professionals. In this way participants could arrive at their own conclusions without feeling corralled into a particular way of

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[160] 'Gaza's Humanitarianism Problem', I. Feldman in *Journal of Palestine Studies*, No. 38 pp.22-37 (2009)

[161] *Understanding the Media*, E. Devereux, p.151, SAGE (2007)

[162] 'Education is Politics', I. Shor in *Paulo Freire: A Critical Encounter*, p.32, Peter McLaren and Peter Leonard (eds.), Routledge (1993)

thinking. This method appealed to us as it was both empowering and non-biased. It was also a method and approach that we arrived at through a process of critical reflection on our own practice and thus seemed to encapsulate the ethos of development education and a way of integrating politicised content as truly educational[163].

How do campaigning groups position themselves in a development education context? What are the implications of this for education and recognition?

In Chapter 5, I outlined the process of seeking funding, having our applications declined and ultimately deciding to separate from the IPSC and set up The Palestine Education Initiative as a separate organisation; to a large part prompted by the connotations of IPSC as a 'radical' organisation. The sense that radical politicized content was antithetical to education lies not only at the pedagogical level described in the previous section, but also at an organisational and structural level.

When we applied for national development education grants we first had to meet certain organisational requirements in order to be deemed eligible. These requirements were; that the project has a global development dimension, that it is aimed at the Irish public and that it to comply with their development education strategy and parameters of funding, eligibility and other requirements. While PEI would seem to fulfil these criteria, informally development professionals had told us that the IPSC connection was likely to cause us problems with regard to our funding request. Reasons cited included development and funding agencies maintaining good relations with their international partners and their own financial backers. Despite having adhered to funding guidelines for development education we received a letter from one agency informing us that our grant application had been denied. The main reasons for this decision included the following points:

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[163] 'Education is Politics', I. Shor in *Paulo Freire: A Critical Encounter*, p.32, Peter McLaren and Peter Leonard (eds.), Routledge (1993)

"[T]he Development Education component of the programme needed strengthening. Costs were also considered high […] more details of the geographic spread of the target groups would have also helped the application."

We were confused by the assertion that, "the Development Education component of the programme needed strengthening" as we had thoroughly reflected upon and evaluated all of our content and methodology and had it approved by development education professionals. The Palestine Education Initiative had become a member of IDEA, and was endorsed by a vast array of legitimate NGOs[164] that engaged in and received funding for development education. Likewise the costs were equivalent if not more cost effective than other development education providers (due to our low overheads) and a good geographical spread in the South and North of Ireland was achieved.

Our connection to the IPSC, a campaigning group which was seen as 'radical' due to its critical stance on Irish and EU policy and its promotion of the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions Campaign (BDS) seemed to be the obvious, but unofficial obstacle to PEI receiving funding.

IDEA's position paper on campaigning and development education addresses this issue in its argument that funding agencies should support organisations that are critical of our decision makers as this promotes a healthy democracy and effectively challenges government policy on global issues.

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[164] See chapter 5.7

"An active, independent and critical citizenry is an essential part of a living democracy and development education organisations contribute to ensuring that there is enough public space for civil society to thrive and develop. We feel this space should be supported by government policies. Irish Aid has always promoted the empowerment of civil society in their programme countries and we would argue that development educators are part of civil society in Ireland, ensuring that the Irish public is enabled to participate in public affairs and a living democracy. The latter means that civil society at times needs to be critical of its own political decision makers and opinion formers (both in government and opposition as well as the media). Indeed, this is part of Irish Aid's overall rationale for their funding of development education; to enable citizens to critically engage with government policies on issues such as ODA, trade, debt, education, etc."[165]

The unlikelihood of organisations who criticise the government or propose action that strikes at the root of global justice issues to receive funding has forced some NGO's to dull down their policies or, alternatively, to go without funding.

"Recent reviews for the European Union (EU) (Rajacic et al) suggests that a great deal of educational practice is related to promoting or supporting aims of the government or NGOs or an emphasis on action and campaigning, with minimal attention given to deepening learning and understanding."[166]

However, other social and economic factors have been cited as relevant to the current lack of funding in the sector:

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[165] 'Position Paper: Campaigning and Development Education', Irish Development Education Association (2011)
[166] 'Discourses and Practices around Development Education: From Learning about Development to Critical Global Pedagogy', D. Bourne in *Policy & Practice: A Development Education Review*, Vol. 13, , pp11-29 (2011)

"Economic crisis and budget cuts mean that development education has moved from an expansionary to a contractionary or survivalist mode. Existing tendencies towards managerialism have intensified, with an overwhelming emphasis on the need to demonstrate 'impact' and 'value-for-money'"[167]

We felt that our status as a voluntary based group as opposed to a professional NGO may have automatically impacted on our capability to access funding too. With voluntary groups there are issues about a perceived lack of professional standards and quality assurance such as vetting of membership. This raises issues of professional organisational structures, strategic planning and quality assurance. Ni Chasaide addresses the need to address the problems in the relationship between voluntary organisations and NGOs/ development education and campaigning when she writes,

" . . .Second, it is important that we bridge the collaborative gap between 'professionalised' and voluntary-based development education and campaigning groups, and among groups specialising in different approaches. […] Third, we need to adopt a new approach to funding. […] Fourth, we need to focus on the long term relationship between development education and campaigning."[168]

Further networking and collaboration with development NGOs is planned, but without funding it is hard to envisage how we can or should further 'professionalise' at this point in time. The separation of PEI from the IPSC may eventually impact on this point as PEI cannot

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[167] 'The Shifting Policy Landscape of Development Education', S. Khoo in *Policy & Practice: A Development Education Review*, Vol. 13, pp1-10 (2011)

[168] 'Development education and campaigning linkages', N. Ní Chasaide, in *Policy and Practice: A Development Education Review*, No. 9 (2009)

really be categorised as a voluntary group given that it is staffed solely by me and Richard who still consult with development education professionals through our Quality Control Team.

The lack of recognition of the learning impact of campaigning and the skills that can be developed and shared while involved in campaigning or activism became evident to me throughout the process of writing this thesis. Our teaching and learning sessions on these issues in the Promises course aim to bridge this gap and we also intend to address them further during workshops and skill share/networking opportunities.

Ni Chasaide argues that:

> "it is important that practitioners begin to create opportunities to share lessons, specifically on the experience of linking development education and campaigns, and document the learning derived from these processes. . . . "[169]

The work of PEI as documented and analysed in this thesis attempts to contribute to this process.

IDEA's position paper on campaigning and development education also raises another key element in the process, using this documented learning to engage in policy dialogue with a number of stakeholders in the sector with a view to improving the sector's effectiveness;

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[169] 'Development education and campaigning linkages', N. Ní Chasaide, in *Policy and Practice: A Development Education Review*, No. 9 (2009)

"In the coming months we will engage in a policy dialogue over the issues raised in this position paper with a number of stakeholders, including:

• Campaigners in NGOs and other civil society organisations with the aim to discuss the convergences between our work and how we can more effectively work together. Recent research suggest that Northern NGOs will move more and more into advocacy and we see clear links between this re-defined role of NGOs here in Ireland and a strengthening of the development education agenda.

• Groups campaigning on predominantly local or national issues on the question of how organisations working on local and global justice issues can make new connections across sectors.

• Irish Aid, in particular the Development Education Unit with the aim to debate their position on this issue by exploring the connection between advocacy/campaigning and development education with the sector to arrive at a clear theory of change as regards development education."[170]

This highlights the networks and connections between educational and advocacy aspects and the shifting local, national and global context in which they are located. As IDEA note, these relationships and connections must be set within a clear theory of change.

As we strengthen our position in the development sector we hope to engage in this process as IDEA members and constructively play a role in changing the landscape for development education in Ireland. The notion of engaging in this process which has the potential to change the landscape for development education in Ireland is exciting and empowering. It highlighted the transformation that we had undergone as educators in the sector and which we aspire to develop amongst learners;

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[170] 'Position Paper: Campaigning and Development Education', Irish Development Education Association (2011)

"A critically transitive thinker feels empowered to think and act on the conditions around him or her and relates those conditions to the larger contexts of power in society"[171]

How can campaigning groups work in the education sector given the tensions between their political and educational roles?

The diversity amongst groups engaged in development education is huge and hard to define to some extent, as Dr. Matthias Fiedler, Director of the Irish Development Education Association (IDEA) outlined:

"In Ireland you have a lot of Community Sector Groups that do development education, you have activist groups that do development education, you have school networks, and you have colleges that deal with development education so this is both a huge benefit to the Irish education sector but also a huge challenge in terms of our understanding of development education. If you come from an activist background your understanding of development education might slightly differ from a person working for an NGO which is mainly involved in overseas development. The definitions change according to the background and to the context which you are working in."[172]

One issue that we found challenging was that often our attempts at educational outreach were seen as far too moderate by IPSC members, or even, contradictory to the aims of the IPSC. The different purposes and rationales of educational and political campaigning groups is a balancing act for development education initiatives such as PEI. Within the

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[171] 'Education is Politics', I. Shor in *Paulo Freire: A Critical Encounter*, p.32, Peter McLaren and Peter Leonard (eds.), Routledge (1993)
[172] Interview with the author

organisation, particularly at National Committee level (as this was the group with whom we had the most thorough consultative process after the Quality Control Team), we occasionally had heated debates and email exchanges about the use of certain phrases such as 'terrorist' and 'freedom fighter' and our lack of direct instruction or condemnation on certain aspects of the conflict. This type of debate was actually really useful, enabling both groups to clearly articulate and refine their thinking in a dialogical context. It points to the need for a continued presence of this type of dialogical pedagogy to explore opinion and discourse formation in the development education sector. Dealing with political and social justice issues will also be complex and needs a dynamic and dialogical pedagogical approach.

Contradictory impulses such as institutional and funding structures can close down these dialogic opportunities however, of which development education needs to be remain cognisant. Funding guidelines clearly have a role to play in public communications and debate and at times it seemed as though we were corralled into watering down our message in order to communicate with prospective funders. This is a tension for other groups as the LASC representative described in terms of the tension between 'radical' activists and the required 'moderate' approach to development education stipulated by funding agencies such as Irish Aid:

> "Sure. It is an ongoing and unresolved tension. I don't think there is much of a chance to go around it, as long as there is no genuine and in depth debate within the sector of the purposes of development education. There is certainly potential there, but that means to engage critically with issues as opposed to praise Irish Aid's work and then be fair on all sides. This ongoing tension is not only reflected at a grassroots level, but also in the dynamics of work within the organisation, I mean, as staff. 'Moderation' is a pre-requisite for development education, at least from the perspective of Irish Aid."[173]

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[173] Anonymous LASC worker, interview with the author

Dr. Fiedler of IDEA also reinforced the importance of this dialogue not only with funding organisations but between diverse groups in development education:

> "It is good to have discussion, if there is a fruitful dialogue between ['radical' and 'moderate' groups]. They can actually enhance each other, because I think the radical movements stay true to the core and they very often have a strong identity which you sometimes lose a little bit when you go into discussion with the funding institutions. You know that it may take years before anything changes and all that and so sometimes you need those movements to put you back to or at least let you question 'have I lost this connection to the social justice movement that we started from?'"[174]

The sector itself needs to embody the critically reflective pedagogy it often espouses and as I mentioned earlier in this chapter, this can be located within Freire's thinking on social justice and transformation[175]:

> "What is suggested here is the need for a more critical and deeper analysis as to how development education is interpreted. It is this lack of analysis and critical reflection that can lead to comments about accommodation to dominant discourses or being too political."[176]

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[174] Interview with the author

[175] 'Education is Politics', I. Shor in *Paulo Freire: A Critical Encounter*, p.32, Peter McLaren and Peter Leonard (eds.), Routledge (1993)

[176] 'Discourses and Practices around Development Education: From Learning about Development to Critical Global Pedagogy', D. Bourne in *Policy & Practice: A Development Education Review*, Vol. 13, , pp11-29 (2011)

This debate is ongoing with many feeling that development education has lost its capability to affect change, challenge the hegemonic system and make any real difference when it comes to social justice and global inequality. Audrey Bryan addresses this in her article, 'Another cog in the anti-politics machine? The 'de-clawing' of development education'[177]. Her assertion that development education may have been "stripped of its original radical underpinnings" chimes with our own experiences and the comments of the LASC representative I interviewed. Those organisations that do receive funding and/or broad based recognition often water down their policies or make recommendations rather than take affirmative action towards social change. The Irish Congress of Trade Unions adopted a policy of boycott of Israeli goods at its biennial delegate conference in 2007, but failed to call on its members to carry out this boycott in any sort of constructive or strategic manner as well as neglecting to sever links with Histadrut, the Israeli labour federation, (which is opposed to the BDS campaign), show a lack of direct action in favour of 'recommendations' and ineffective policy documentation. This is just one example of potentially transformative projects losing their capacity for change by subduing and diluting their commitments in order to maintain a certain level of status quo thus rendering them impotent and powerless. As critical educators like Freire note, the capacity to act with a politicised consciousness is core to a transformative and empowered notion of education.

It seems that while the state may be responsible for muting the transformative potential of development education as a funded field, it is also insuring that it does not connect itself to strongly to political campaigns and campaigning organisations. This can also be seen within the trade union sector where unions often pass motions on political and social justice issues, but do not follow through with affirmative action. The earlier example of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU) motion to boycott Israeli goods and services in 2007 followed by its lack of affirmative action is a prime example of the lack of joined-up thinking between unions, development education, NGOs and campaigning groups. Learning can and should be

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[177] Another cog in the anti-politics machine? The 'de-clawing' of development education', A. Bryan in *Policy & Practice: A Development Education Review*, Vol. 12, pp.1-14 (2011)

multi-directional with potential for development education groups to learn from campaigning groups. McCloskey argues that:

"Development education, for its part, could learn from the communication strategies employed by campaigners to target their audiences. The sector remains small and needs to broaden its audiences within civil society beyond traditional sectors like schools and youth. Development education needs to build links with important sectors like business, trade unions, faith groups and minority ethnic groups that are often missing from 'dev-ed' activities and constituents."[178]

He also stresses the importance of development education to promote the sort of sustained active engagement that campaigns cannot achieve as a way of challenging the dis-empowering humanitarian paradigm that Feldman discusses [179]

"Fundraising talks or seminars tend to describe agency activities in a specific country or region, outline the need for financial support and suggest how this support could bring about change in the developing country. These events are often one-off workshops or 'talks' rather than a deeper, shared form of learning. Development education on the other hand offers a sustained engagement with learners to explore the underpinning causes of poverty and inequality in the developing world through active learning methods that bring the learners' experiences into the teaching process. Development education aims to result in informed local action based on a global consciousness to bring about social justice and equality. The importance of this pedagogical approach is its capacity to engage the learner with global justice

[178] 'Editorial', pp.1-8, S. McCloskey in *Policy & Practice: A Development Education Review,* Vol. 8 (2009)
[179] 'Gaza's Humanitarianism Problem', I. Feldman in *Journal of Palestine Studies*, No. 38 pp.22-37 (2009)

issues over the long-term rather than elicit a short-term (sometimes emotionally-driven) response that can equate development with financial aid."[180]

The sustained thinking and development work that education can achieve is vital for the development of a politicised sense of global social justice. When campaigning and activist groups engage with the public it is often explicitly for advocacy, recruitment or fundraising purposes. This does not mean that these groups cannot or are not capable of educative work. However it is important for them to acknowledge and reflect upon the type of education that they are attempting to do. It is possible and, perhaps even, necessary for these groups to carry out educative work or collaborate with those who do, but this thesis asserts that this can only be effective and worthwhile when sound educative practices are adhered to. Our experience has taught us that employment of education professionals and professional development for activists wishing to take on educative roles are key to insuring that the quality of courses and resources offered are high, methodologies and pedagogical approach suitable, and teaching and learning experiences are reflective and transformative.

Postscript - Personal Reflection

Professional development and critical reflection on my own practice were the most important things I gained from this entire process. At the beginning of this process I was uncomfortable with my dual roles as educator and campaigner and felt that I would jeopardize one by promoting the other. Freire's comments below best reflect the realisation I have arrived at:

> "[T]he critical teacher who teaches for democracy and against inequality also has a right and responsibility to put forward her or his own ideas. The problem posing teacher is not mute, value free or permissive. The democratic teacher in this

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[180] 'Gaza's Humanitarianism Problem', I. Feldman in *Journal of Palestine Studies*, No. 38 pp.22-37 (2009)

pedagogy extends the critique of domination beyond teacher-student relations and the education system into a critique of the system at the root of social conditions."[181]

The cross-section of roles I have filled in relation to this project meant that I was ideally placed to explore the interface between the politicised nature of our course content and the development education sector in Ireland. My contribution to the discussion of the issues that arise at this interface came first and foremost from experienced knowledge rather than from a theoretical background. The research and learning that I have engaged in while writing this thesis and developing PEI have lead me towards a much more nuanced and academic understanding of the sector and of educational theory itself. This thesis has mapped my route as an activist and teacher towards learning and developing what constitutes best practice while teaching about conflict in the development education sector. Research and practice have then led me to examine, analyse and critique the policies that exist around funding and recognition in the development sector and to discuss what the purpose and remit of development education is in Ireland today.

While this thesis addresses the sustainability of the project it also subtly examines my own investment in the project and the level of personal sustainability it is possible to maintain throughout the project's inception, realisation and progression.

My various roles and responsibilities in the IPSC took a huge toll on me personally and did eventually lead to a certain amount of burnout. I would attribute this burnout largely to the strain of dealing with and disentangling people's interpersonal issues within the organisation while in the role of National Chairperson. The entirely voluntary nature of the organisation meant that there were no pre-requirements for membership and very minimal support structures for dealing with negative conduct. Anti-Semitism, racism and aggression are some of the only grounds for expulsion, but more subtle internal bullying and manipulation did occur and had to be dealt with in a manner sensitive to all involved. Personalised attacks and nastiness from both the opposition and the supporter base were

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[181] Quoted in 'Education is Politics', I. Shor in *Paulo Freire: A Critical Encounter*, p.32, Peter McLaren and Peter Leonard (eds.), Routledge (1993)

also difficult to deal with at times. Lobbying, media work, campaigning and grass roots activism were always and still are a joy to engage in, but it was interpersonal struggles that had the most negative impact on me in terms of my own personal sustainability as an IPSC activist.

As co-director of The Palestine Education Initiative, burnout and frustration stemmed from a very different place. As this is a small NGO with only two people actively involved in running it interpersonal problems have never been an issue. The real problem for us in terms of sustaining the project comes from lack of funding. We have no outside funding and therefore are not constrained by such; however, neither can we afford to employ staff or even pay ourselves for our work. We do not like to charge for workshops and one off lectures or to engage in fundraising activities as they can be seen as contrary to education[182]. Travel costs, printing of resources, rental of venues etc. are all covered by our personal, and dwindling, finances. This also means that both of us have to continue to work full time and relegates PEI to evenings and weekends which does not always suit our workload or teaching engagements with trade unions and other professional organisations. In short, trying to operate in a sector that is largely populated by professional NGOs has proved very difficult on a shoe-string budget and with a limited amount of time.

Positively, we have become much more confident in our approach. Using international law and human rights as our guiding principles has led to a fair and honest approach to conflict education. The vast majority of our course participants have acknowledged that this approach allows them to more deeply explore their prejudice (often prejudice they were not even aware they possessed) and form opinions that they feel more confident about than before. Escaping the more traditional left wing or republican discourse of 'colonialism and imperial powers' meant that discussions became more accessible. Grounding our discussions in the universal principles of human rights and international law does not preclude discussion of colonialism, imperialism or any other nuanced political analysis of the situation, it merely creates a starting point from which people can reach their own conclusions based on the facts presented to them and the discussions and activities engaged in with their peer participants.

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[182] Editorial', pp.1-8, S. McCloskey in *Policy & Practice: A Development Education Review,* Vol. 8 (2009)

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Queens University Belfast website - http://www.qub.ac.uk/

Appendices

Appendix 1
The Battle For Palestine - Course Outline

1. Zionism, Ottoman Palestine, World War One, The Balfour Declaration and "A peace to end all peace."

2. The British Mandate, Jewish Settlement, the Palestinian Arab Revolt, the Haganah, the Peel Commission, the 1939 White Paper.

3. Nazism and European Anti-Semitism, World War Two and the Holocaust.

4. The legacy of the Holocaust, the end of the British Mandate, the UN and partition, the War of Independence, "al-Naqba," the Catastrophe, the Palestinian refugees.

5. The Oriental Jews, the Egyptian Revolution, "Nasserism," the Suez Crisis and the end of the Europeans, the consolidation of the new Israeli state, the emergence of the Palestinians and the PLO.

6. The Six Day War and UN Resolution 242. The War of Attrition, Black September, International Terrorism, The Yom Kippur War and Camp David.

7. The Lebanese Civil War, "Fatahland," the 1982 Lebanon War, the Sabra and Shatila Massacres, the emergence of Hezbollah and Islamic fundamentalism.

8. The Occupied Palestinian Territories, the first Intifada, the emergence of Hamas, Oslo and The Peace Process.

9. The end of Oslo, the ascendancy of Hamas, Sharon's Disengagement Plan, the Al-Aqsa Intifada and the death of Arafat.

10. The siege of Gaza, the second Lebanon War, the Fatah/Hamas split, the Gaza War, the current situation and prospects for the future.

11. Film, "Avenge But One Of My Two Eyes," (Avi Mograbi) and discussion.

QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY BELFAST

School of Education

OPEN LEARNING PROGRAMME: COURSE PROPOSAL FORM

Year:	2011/12	**Programme:**	**Spring** (10 week term starting 23 January 2012)

TUTOR DETAILS

Surname:		Title (eg: Dr, Mr, Ms):		Mr
First Names:		Date of Birth:		

Contact Details

Address line 1:

COURSE PROPOSAL

Course Title

Please supply a short title that we can use in our brochure:

The Battle For Palestine

Course Description

Please supply a description (maximum 60 words) for inclusion in our brochure. Open Learning reserves the right to edit course descriptions:

Beginning with the pogroms of nineteenth century Russia this course will outline the tragic history of the Palestine/Israel conflict. Topics that will be covered are the origins and development of the Zionist movement; Palestine under the British Mandate; the creation of the State of Israel; the creation of the Palestinian refugees; the fate of the Jews from Arab countries; the Arab-Israeli wars; the Occupation, terrorism, and the two uprisings; the peace process and the current situation. This course should be of interest to anyone who wishes to understand why this region is almost permanently in a state of crisis.

Appendix 1

The Battle For Palestine - Course Outline

1. Zionism, Ottoman Palestine, World War One, The Balfour Declaration and "A peace to end all peace."

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10. The siege of Gaza, the second Lebanon War, the Fatah/Hamas split, the Gaza War, the current situation and prospects for the future.

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Appendix 2

QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY BELFAST			
School of Education			
OPEN LEARNING PROGRAMME: COURSE PROPOSAL FORM			

Year:	2011/1 2	**Programme:**	**Spring** (10 week term starting 23 January 2012)

TUTOR DETAILS				
Surname:			Title (eg: Dr, Mr, Ms):	Mr
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Appendix 3

Feedback Request, The Battle For Palestine, QUB

Dear All,

Now that the formal part of the course is over I would very much welcome all your comments. In particular I would like your views on the following:

Fairness

Honesty

Accuracy and sources used

The materials I sent out by e-mail

My tone and manner

And anything else you feel is important.

This is very important to me and I really would appreciate it if you would take the time to reply.

Finally, in the interests of anonymity I would like you to send your comments directly to The School of Education director

Appendix 4

Queen's Open Learning Programme offers insights on Middle East Crisis

As the conflict in Gaza continues, Queen's University is offering the opportunity to learn about the origins of the conflict.

The Battle for Palestine is one of over 100 short courses on offer through the University's Open Learning Programme. Course tutor, Richard Irvine said: "Beginning with the pogroms of Russia, this ten week course outlines the tragic history of the Palestinian/Israeli conflict, helping students understand why this region is almost permanently in a state of crisis."

The ongoing crisis in the middle-east is just one of the issues facing Barack Obama as he takes his place at the White House. Another of those issues - the 'war on terror' - is the subject of *America at War.* This course aims to explain the current 'war on terror' and the conflict in Iraq in the context of America's history of war. Going right back to the War of Independence, the course explored how and why America fought the wars she did.

Dr Tess Maginess from Queen's School of Education said: "Queen's Open Learning Programme has something to suit everyone, regardless of their interests or abilities. Our courses usually take place one day or evening every week and are ideal for anyone who wants to pursue a new hobby, learn more about a topic in which they have a particular interest, or advance their personal development.

"There are dozens of courses in languages, philosophy, religion, history, law, leisure and counselling, to name a few.

"The programme offers a range of courses to help chase away the winter blues. Look forward to spring and get some great ideas for your garden with *The Story of Gardening*. If you prefer to explore nature from your armchair, try *Literary Nature Writing*.

"If you want to get away from it all, and beat the credit crunch, *Travel on the Internet* provides useful tips on finding cheap flights and bargain hotels online. The money-saving theme continues with *Inheritance Tax: A Guide to Preserving Family Wealth.*

"Music enthusiasts can discuss and play their favourite music while exploring *Defining Moments in Fifty Years of Rock, Pop and Soul,* while anyone who's ever been lied to should check out Allen Baird's one-day course on *How to Become a Human Lie Detector*. There are also lots of practical courses in areas like painting, creating film scripts and digital photography."

Queen's Open Learning classes begin week commencing 26 January 2009.

Appendix 5

Promises Feedback Form
Course Evaluation: 'Promises' – Palestine Education Course

Please take the time to record your thoughts and bring to focus meeting with Stephen McCloskey.

How would you grade the course (1-5) in terms of the following: 1 being the weakest, 5 the strongest:

Fairness

Honesty

Accuracy and sources and materials used

Materials sent out by e-mail

Presenter's tone and manner

Opportunities for participation

Please give your comments on the following:

Specifically which session did you most enjoy and why?

Which session was least useful and why?

What would you like included that was absent?

Is there any aspect you found unnecessary and why?

Was the course the right length?

Do you feel this course has made you a better advocate, and if so how?

Would you do recommend this course to others?

What do you feel would be a fair price for this course?

Any other comments

Thank you, your time is much appreciated.

Appendix 6

Promises: A Critical Introduction to Human Rights, Media and Campaigning in the Israel-Palestine Conflict

(Note: All content in Appendix 6 is © The Palestine Education Initiative, 2011)

<u>**A Development Education Course of the Palestine Education Initiative**</u>

Overall Aims and Objectives

Course Sessions:

Session 1: Telling the Story (2 hours)

Aims: To introduce the history of the Israel-Palestine Conflict;

To familiarise the participants with the differing narratives;

To identify what are the key issues for each side – security, land, refugees, citizenship, nationhood, occupation, etc.

Objectives: To consolidate and build upon already pre-existing participant knowledge;

To establish empathy for people on both sides of the historical narrative;

To encourage enquiry and research by participants.

Methodologies:

Use of visual images, timelines, personal testimony, problem trees, small group and whole group discussion.

Content:

"What would you see?" activity

Introduction: Defining the territory - Short 15 minute introduction acquainting participants with the reality that there is no agreed narrative of the conflict or even agreed definitions of

territory – illustrated by use varying maps of Israel- Palestine – 1918, 1919, 1930s, 1948, 1967, today.

Start with one picture of a child and ask, "What is hapening here?" - whole group brainstorm activity.

Activity: Creation of timelines. Split participants into groups of five and distribute each with a timeline and photographs, ask can they construct a timeline from the photographs. Ask each group to talk through the timeline it has constructed. Ask class to discuss and comment upon the timelines they have created: Do they notice anything odd about their or others timelines? Is their timeline inclusive/reliable? How does the timeline present its subjects? Do the two timelines overlap, if not why not? Would it be possible to create an inclusive/true timeline?

Finish activity by explaining pictures that participants may not have been able to identify.

At the end of this activity participants will be aware of the importance of perspective and that what is true for one side is or may be demonstrably false for another.

Development Activity: Use of personal testimony and video (Avi Mograbi – Avenge But One Of My Two Eyes, and Sufyan and Abdallah Omeish –Occupation 101) by Israelis and Palestinians exploring the issues of persecution, exile, a homeland, occupation and violence. Ask participants in small groups to identify the issues and then taking one issue – violence, refugees, etc. construct a problem tree and then present it to the whole group.

Conclusion and follow on activity

Facilitators conclude with their own as yet blank problem tree entitled Human Rights. Explain that the purpose of the next session will be to see if this tree can be filled in. Finish session by asking participants in pairs to research one of the issues they have identified and within it identify whether human rights law has anything to say about it.

This should be done individually in my opinion

Session 2: Why Human Rights? (2 hours)

Aims: To familiarise participants with the key instruments of international human rights law as they pertain to Israel and Palestine – the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Fourth Geneva Convention;

To familiarise participants with the workings of international monitoring and enforcement bodies – in particular the UN and the International Committee of the Red Cross;

To have participants identify issues to which international human rights law is applicable.

Objectives: To consolidate and build upon participant pre-existing knowledge;

To have participants arrive at an understanding of the values that underpin human rights;

To have participants reflect upon the relevance and effectiveness of international human rights law and monitoring and enforcement bodies;

To encourage enquiry and research by participants.

Introduction:

Methodologies: Brain Storming, whole group discussion, small group discussion, visual images, video and case studies.

Content:

Start with whole group discussion. "What are human rights?" Identify instances of denial or awarding of these in your own context.

Introduction: Short 15 minute introduction to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Fourth Geneva Convention: historical context, purpose and application.

Activity: Distribution of Universal Declaration and relevant sections of Fourth Geneva Convention. In small groups participants try to identify values that underpin human rights and what are its main concerns? Discussion are these values useful? Do you agree with them? Is there anything missing or too much emphasis placed on a particular aspect? (Individual rights/group rights) (Civil political rights/economic and social rights). Feedack and tutor led discussion. (30 minutes)

Include moving debate as part of this activity. Need to carefully word some key questions for this.

Also have a large image (for power point or wall hanging) of the main points of the Declaration of HR

Video from Machsom Watch on freedom of movement (Sleepless in Gaza and Jerusalem). Are rights being violated? What rights? Identify relevant articles in Geneva Convention and UDHR. (25 minutes) In groups of 3 or 4

Individual activity on issues: dissemination of range of short case studies/testimonies from human rights reports – participants identify individually and report back on rights violated. Facilitator to list rights enumerated. (30 minutes) Doing this in pairs would make people feel more confident.

Conclusion and follow on activity: Research task: participants given a NGO to research; follow up on what it does, how it operates; what is produces and how this is used. 300 words approx in learning journal

Session 3: Racism, Sectarianism and Discrimination(2 hours)

Aims: To have participants engage with the issues of anti-Semitism and Islamophobia;

To enable participants to recognise the attitudes that underpin racist representations;

To enable participants to recognise the consequences of racism both at home and in the Middle East.

Objectives: To enable participants to identify and recognise examples of racism;

To consolidate and build upon participant pre-existing knowledge and personal experience;

To have participants explore practices that could be characterised as racist and evaluate whether they can be 'justified;'

To encourage enquiry and research by participants.

Methodologies: Use of visual images, personal testimony, media reports, small group and whole group discussion, effects and causes diagram.

Content:

Start with "Find someone who. . . " activity

Introduction: Identifying and defining racism – start up activity - small group brainstorm drawing on personal experience – have any members of the group experienced racism? What happened and how did it make them feel. Is there a problem of racism in Ireland? Is sectarianism a form of racism? Follow up by feedback to whole group (30 minutes total).

Activity: Dissemination of 'racist' visual images from Israel-Palestine and UK and Ireland. Whole group discussion (walking debate) on whether representations are racist and if so what attitudes they embody and whether these attitudes are dangerous. (25 minutes).

Comparison activity – dissemination of historical and current racist statements and reports with the target of the racist abuse omitted. Participants to discuss in small groups who they feel might have made these remarks and whether they share characteristics, and what these may be. (20 minutes)

Conclusion and follow on activity: Racism as policy - using human rights reports and personal testimony disseminate examples of 'racist' law and practice from Israel and Palestine. Explanation of the concept of Justification followed by Moot Court: split participants into three groups, one judges and questioners, one defenders and one accusers. (40 minutes). Follow up activity, in groups collate a small exhibition of highlighting examples of racism either in Ireland or in the Middle East. Better to this individually in learning journal

Session 4: Critical Media Engagement (2 hours)

Aims: To increase participants' ability to critically engage and reflect upon a range of media representations;

To empower the participants with the skills to reach informed judgements.

Objectives: To enable participants to identify examples of bias and misrepresentation;

To empower participants to recognise perspective and agenda – whose media?

To enable participants to identify the causes and attitudes underlying bias and misrepresentation;

To enable participants to reflect upon the consequences of bias and misrepresentation.

Methodologies: Use of visual images, media reports, small group and whole group discussion, construction of media report.

Content:

Introduction: Dissemination of two or more media reports of the same event. Read in pairs. Whole group discussion comparing reports – which do people find most reliable? Why are they different? Do they have a differing audience/agenda? Do they accurately report a story, if not why not? Is there more you would like to know? (15 minutes)

Activity: Two short video clips explaining an issue in Palestine, one edited and one unedited, eg. John Pilger – on settlements, "Palestine Is Still The Issue," and B'Tselem –"Motivational Windows: Settlers At The Door." Small group discussion - which do people find most truthful? Why and how are they different? How useful are they to understanding the issue, what do they omit that you would like to find out more about? Grade the clips on a scale of 1-5 and feedback explaining the grades. (45 minutes)

Selecting and telling the story. Distribute a range of news stories from Israel-Palestine: political, violence, human interest, sporting, human rights, humanitarian. Small group discussion on which stories they are aware of, which attracted media attention and why. Also which stories died and why. Use of mind map to put down ideas. Discussion and feedback on which set of stories gives most insight into the situation and whether they correlate to those that attracted attention. (30 minutes)

Conclusion: Distribute story outlines, brief facts on a story and a few quotes. Individually ask participants to write up a story (200 words) making it as dramatic and as emotional and one sided as possible and select an appropriate picture to go with it, then read back to the group. This exercise should illustrate how a story's emphasis can change even if the facts do not.

Follow on activity: Follow a news story from Israel and Palestine for one week using at least two news sources. Write a brief summary of commenting on differences in tone, approach and facts.

Or pick a story from a newspaper and write a letter to the editor in response (campaigning skill)

Session 5: Critical Review of Human Rights (2 hours)

Aims: To enable participants to assess the relevance of human rights;

To enable participants to critically reflect upon the worth of human rights as a means of bringing justice and reconciliation;

To enable participants to reflect upon enforcement of human rights at state and civil society levels.

Objectives: To enable participants to identify weaknesses in the human rights discourse;

To give participants an understanding of the work of human rights organisations on the ground;

To enable participants to reflect upon the cross over between human rights, activism and reconciliation.

Methodologies: Use of video and case studies, human rights reports and small and whole group discussion and debate.

Content:

Maybe start with very basic rights and responsibilities activity or grading activity.

Introduction: Brainstorming – Four questions: using Amnesty International as an example, ask what do human rights groups do? Who is their work directed at? How do they seek to enforce human rights? And is it useful? (15 minutes)

Activity: Distribute a human rights report (executive summary). Ask participants in small groups to look at it critically: is it neutral? Is it political? Are its recommendations realistic or enforceable? Who compiled it and for what reason? Is it accessible, understandable and inclusive or is it elitist and Western? Whose interests does it serve – the state or victims? For example, in Palestine consider the question, do human rights groups challenge the occupation or merely seek to administer it better – actually reinforcing and legitimising it. (30 minutes)

Two Case Studies: The ICJ Wall judgement and Bil'in, and the Gaza Blockade. Briefly outline ICJ judgement and show video of ICRC statement on illegality of Gaza blockade. Group discussion, given clear illegality of both ask participants in groups how rights can be enforced and what options are open to individuals suffering these violations: further legal action, civil disobedience, protests; campaigning, boycott, joint cross-community activism, violence, etc. Ask participants to assess the pros and cons of each approach, both practically and in terms of the likely human rights implications – that is, do human rights have anything to say about the legitimacy of these approaches? Finish by reflecting on the experience of the Freedom Flotilla and the Bil'in campaign. (40 minutes)

Conclusion and follow on activity: Role Play - Balancing rights: the right of return and the right of the Jewish people to enjoy self-determination. One group to argue for the right of return the other against – finish with discussion question: do human rights help resolve this issue or does one right merely nullify another? Can rights be placed in a hierarchy and one used to trump the other? Is there another way to resolve this issue – "natural law"? Follow on activity: research the work of a human rights organisation in Israel-Palestine and write a brief summary on it.

Session 6: Critical Review of Campaigning, Activism and Humanitarianism (2 hours)

Aims: To acquaint participants with the range of campaigning and humanitarian activism already underway;

To enable participants to critically reflect upon the values and effectiveness of current actions;

To empower participants with the skills needed to produce their own plan for solidarity or humanitarian action.

Objectives: To enable participants to gain an insight into what campaigning groups do;

To enable participants to reflect upon the values that underpin campaigning and whether they are inclusive and compatible with human rights;

Methodologies: Case Studies, checklists, whole and small group discussion, paired work

Content:

Introduction: Brainstorm: List types of activities campaigning groups engage in – letter writing, political lobbying, fundraising, public speaking, direct action, etc. Participants then choose one type and consider its usefulness in terms of inclusiveness, likely impact, popular appeal and political outcome if any. (20 minutes)

Activity: Choosing a campaign, comparative case study: Tuesday's Child, raising funds for playgrounds in the West Bank, and The YMCA Olive Tree Campaign. Distribute effectiveness checklist: public sympathy, public participation and inclusiveness, education, sustainability, political consequences, etc. for participants to discuss in small groups and feedback on. (40 minutes) Exercise should illustrate the differences between a political campaign and a humanitarian campaign. Maybe use a problem tree or other more simple activity here depending on group and how much knowledge they already have of these campaigns.

Participants think of an issue they would like action on, and then draw up a list of activities for a campaign to affect the change they want, then exchange and explain to a partner; partner using "why" question to elicit justification of each action, followed by selected feedback to whole group. (40 minutes)

Conclusion and follow on activity: Evaluation of programme and closing questions. Revisit "What would you see?" activity, do it again and compare with first session response. Follow up activity – design an action plan for a future campaign – not sure about this, seems like a very big task

Appendix 7

Campaign Checklist

Grade campaigns 1-5. 5 being the strongest, 1 the weakest.

Clear aims

Clear positive messages / Upbeat tone and language

Cross-community inclusiveness

Ability to reach out to the mainstream

Sustainability

Public and Political impact

Opportunities for supporter activism/involvement

Opportunities for joint solidarity

Supporter education

Likely effectiveness

Two points to remember –

People do not rush towards conflict

Campaigns should try to provide opportunities for non-committed people to say yes – or at least find it difficult to say no.

That means using language, tone and messages that are inclusive; that bring people together; that start with where people are at; that are friendly, positive and upbeat.

Appendix 8

PALESTINIAN LOSS OF LAND 1946 TO 2010

Appendix 9

Israeli Photos
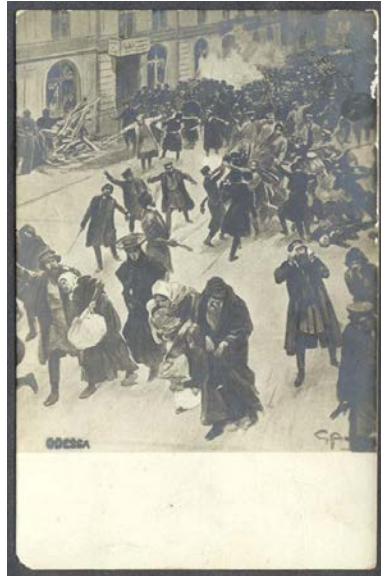
Jews have lived in exile since AD 130. Five million living in the Russian Empire endured persecution, discrimination and murderous pogroms that over two years murdered 200,000. Some Jewish thinkers began advocating that Jews must have a state of their own – a movement that became known as Zionism.

The Hebron Massacre – the arrival of Jews aroused resentment and hostility amongst the Palestinians that led to numerous attacks. The worst single incident was the massacre of 67 Jews in Hebron.

Shoah – The Extermination. The Nazi genocide showed the need for a Jewish state as a place where Jews could be free from fear and persecution – a state where Jews could be safe to be Jews.
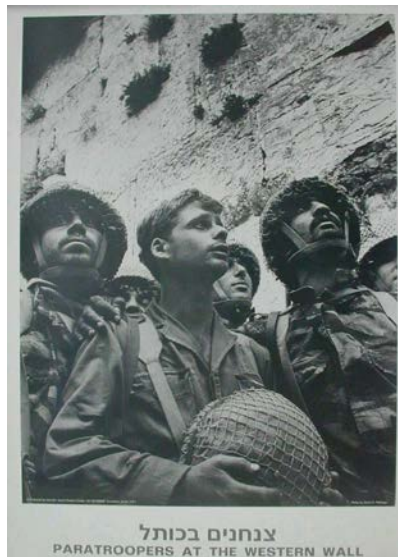
Israeli Paratroopers at the Western Wall. After Israel's establishment the Arab states continued to sponsor attacks on her. Facing annihilation Israel struck out at her enemies and in the course of the fighting 'redeemed' the whole of the Land of Israel and Old Jerusalem.

Redemption – for Holocaust survivors the new state of Israel promised redemption and a new birth after near extinction.

Woman with grenade during Israel's War of Independence. The new state of Israel was rejected by the Arab states around it and had to fight for its survival. The new Israeli army was citizens' army of men and women committed to the survival of the Jewish people.

Aftermath of a bus bombing – following rejection of a peace offer, the Palestinians waged a terror campaign against Israeli civilians.

Terrorist at the Munich Olympics. Those opposed to peace continued to launch wars and terrorist attacks upon Israeli civilians.

Yitzhak Rabin and Yasser Arafat – In order to make peace Israel began a peace process with

the PLO.

Olmert 'Land for Peace' Cartoon – Israel has made sacrifices for peace, withdrawing from Lebanon and Gaza, but is still under threat.

Aliyah Poster encouraging emigrants to come and build up the new homeland. The new arrivals were 'Pioneers' – bringing Western values and technology, their aim was to be "a light onto the nations" and "to make the desert bloom." Palestine was "a land without a people for a people without a land."

Gay Israelis – Israel is founded as a liberal Jewish state which respects democracy, equality and the rule of law.
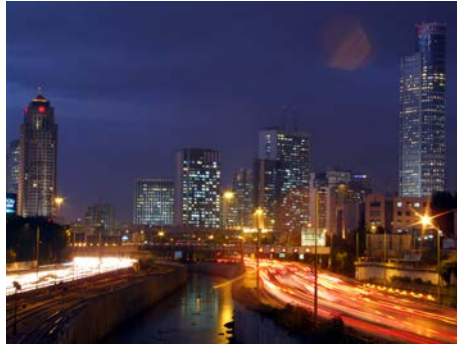
Modern Tel Aviv – Despite all the threats, and in contrast to the Arab states around it, Israel has built a modern Western economy.

Palestinian Photos

Ottoman Palestine – a rural society. The population is between 90 and 95% Muslim and Christian. There is no conflict between populations.

The British enter Jerusalem. The British Balfour Declaration sponsors the creation of a Jewish homeland in Palestine allowing for unlimited Jewish immigration and separate institutions.

Woman in Nahr al Bared, Lebanon. Denied the right to return to their homes Palestinians were placed in camps throughout the Arab world. Millions continue to live in exile or in camps.

The Arab Revolt. A three year long rebellion demanding representative government and an end to unlimited Jewish immigration. The revolt featured strikes, civil disobedience and armed resistance and was ruthlessly crushed by the British military with the help of Jewish paramilitaries.

Men await interrogation in Gaza at the beginning of Israel's military occupation.

Shatila Refugee Camp, Beirut, Lebanon. Following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, Israeli forces introduced their Christian Lebanese allies into the Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila. Under the gaze of Israeli soldiers an estimated 1,700 civilians were murdered over three days.

Air strike on Gaza. Part of a three week long assault that left 1,400 Palestinians and 13 Israelis dead.

Yasser Arafat and Yitzhak Rabin. The Oslo peace process promised an end to the conflict but its potential was never realised. An Israeli extremist murdered Rabin in 1995.

Palestinian shepherd with illegal Israeli settlement. Israel transfers its civilians to live in Israeli only colonies in the occupied Palestinian territories. The settlements fracture Palestinian territorial contiguity, steal land, confiscate water and place two hostile populations side by side. There are more than 500,000 Israeli settlers. There numbers have quadrupled since the beginning of the peace process.

Refugees leaving Jaffa. Following World War Two the British handed the problem of Palestine to the UN. The UN voted to partition the country which led to war. Around 750,000 Palestinians fled or were expelled during the war.

Tear gassing of protestors at the illegal wall in the village of Bil'in. Non-violent resistance and protest is criminalized and protestors attacked, imprisoned and sometimes killed.

The Dabke - Palestinian folk dance. Celebration of culture is used as a form of resistance.

The children of the stones - Intifada – Uprising. Palestinians have staged two uprisings against the occupation. The first was largely unarmed, the second much more violent. Both were militarily crushed.

Leila Khaled – the airplane hijacker. Ignored by the world, Palestinians opted to take matters into their own hands. Under the umbrella of the PLO, Palestinian armed groups staged many acts of violence to draw international attention to their cause.

Appendix 10

Racist Imagery
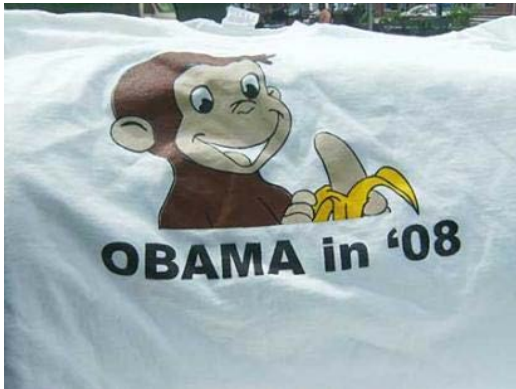
CONTRASTED FACES.

"Look on this picture, and then on that."—SHAKSPEARE.

Fig. 747. – FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.   Fig. 748.—BRIDGET McBRUISER.