2. Lessons from political education

John Huckle

'The most important thing is that they care about peace as much as I do.'

These are the words of eleven year old Australian Eamon Burke on returning from the Soviet Union. His campaign for peace features in the film *Mum, How do you spell Gorbatrof?* which won the 1986 UN media peace prize.[1] In the course of his campaign Eamon contacted many of the world's leaders, learned lessons about lobbying and fund raising and had to make difficult judgements about politicians' statements and intentions. Rebuffed by the American consul in Sydney and invited to the Soviet Union where he spent a holiday with young pioneers, Eamon has to decide whether the Soviets mean all they say about peace or whether his trip is a propaganda exercise. Perhaps a little too readily, he inclines to the former view.

While Eamon's campaign helped him to understand and participate in global society, one is left wondering how lessons in school have helped him to reflect and act on his experience. What has he learnt of Soviet society and politics? Has he learnt of Soviet interpretations of human rights, democracy and security? Is he aware of the role of the young pioneers in political socialisation? Does he begin to understand the importance of detente and disarmament to Mikhail Gorbachev's programme of reforms? . . . If Eamon has considered simple answers to such questions, there is little doubt that the educational value of his trip will have been increased.

Many of our young pupils are, like Eamon, trying to make sense of a troubled world and are beginning to look for ways of realising considered values. Their questions and interests call for elementary political education, yet this is seldom provided by the schools they attend. This chapter argues that political education is an essential part of world studies and a key ingredient in fostering democracy and global citizenship. It seeks to clarify the reader's understanding of politics and political education, relate these to *World Studies 8–13*, and counter teachers' reservations concerning political education with younger pupils.

Politics in the modern world

As David Hicks suggests in Chapter 1, we can make no sense of the modern world without some understanding of the political structures and processes through which conflicts of interests and values, within and across societies, are resolved or managed. Politics deals with the conflicts which arise when individuals, groups and societies find themselves in situations where such resources as economic goods, political power, and education are limited in supply. Such situations are widespread, occurring for example, in the home, school, women's group, trade union, political party, village, nation state and global society. Politics is therefore a defining feature of all human groups which, together with economics, determines who gets what, where, when, and at what cost to whom.

Figure 2.1 Source: *Development Forum*

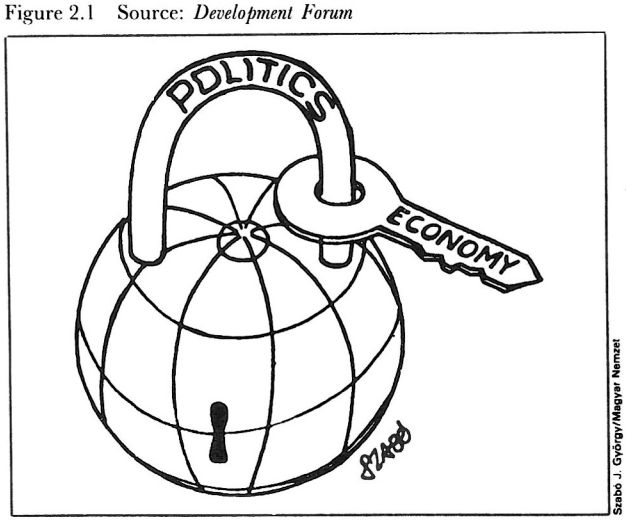


Figure 2.1 reminds us of the close links between economics and politics in the modern world. The growth of the world economy over the past 400 years has resulted in the quickening concentration of economic power in the hands of huge industrial and financial corporations and the related concentration of political power among the leaders of the most economically powerful nation states. By understanding how economic, political and cultural power has become concentrated with a minority of the world's people, we can begin to understand the origins of the four frames of reference and the causes of the global crisis and contradictions described in Chapter 1. The struggle to restore democracy or power to ordinary people unites the actor-oriented and structure-oriented perspectives which David Hicks describes, and offers the genuine prospect of a better world for young people like Eamon Burke.

If economics and politics play such an important role in shaping the modern world order, no teacher of world studies can afford to ignore them. Teaching about world society requires us to have a basic knowledge of the world economy, the role and affairs of nation states, the different forms of government at local, national and international levels, and significant trends in international affairs. We should recognise that social scientists have developed theories from a range of philosophical and political positions to help us interpret such knowledge and that their theories of society prompt widely differing political programmes and policies for social and political education. While much of the literature on contemporary world politics and political theory is undoubtedly difficult and discouraging, there are a growing number of books and magazines which try to explain politics and current affairs to 'the beginner'.[2]

Learning about politics

World studies has always been explicit about its concern with politics. It encourages teachers to educate young people about global economic, political and cultural systems and to realise the impact of these on their lives and the lives of others. As a form of social education it has components of knowledge, skills, values and action and it is useful to review these in the context of the definition and scope of politics already explored.

World studies should help young people to acquire *knowledge* about politics. It should teach them relevant facts about their world, develop concepts and assist the examination of generalisations or ideas. Our redefinition of politics has suggested that knowledge from a wide range of the social subjects will be relevant, for politics is both product and agent of the interdependent economic, social and cultural systems which make up the world order. *World Studies 8–13*'s knowledge objectives (page 26) include knowledge about such things as inequalities of wealth and power, attempts to resolve conflicts in the news and the ways in which individuals may act to influence the future. They provide some initial guidance for the teacher, but faced with a particular topic or issue she or he will need a great deal of specific knowledge and some organising ideas of the type provided by the case studies in Part 2 of this workbook and by other projects for middle and secondary school pupils.[3]

With regard to *skills*, *World Studies 8–13* promotes enquiry, communication, thinking and political skills (page 26). While political skills relate to the ability to influence decision making at local, national and international levels, Doug Harwood has produced a far more detailed list of the skills and process objectives which are involved in political education and which in his opinion, can be developed by *World Studies 8–13* (see Figure 2.2).[4] We shall return to his work and these skills and processes later in the chapter.

All social education deals in *values* or internalised sets of beliefs or principles of behaviour held by individuals or groups and expressed in the way they think and act. In listing its attitudinal objectives, *World Studies 8–13* identifies such procedural values as curiosity, empathy, the appreciation of other cultures, respect for human dignity and justice and fairness.

The orthodox position among social educators is that we should nurture and strengthen the procedural values which underpin liberal democracy while teaching *about* substantive values, or the beliefs which people hold on controversial issues. Studying controversial issues should aid values clarification, moral reasoning and moral development and should help pupils to understand the political processes, institutions and rules by which conflicts of values are resolved in different societies. Such study provides insights into the material background to the individual's values and the way

Some skills and processes involved in political education

Skills involved in understanding

1 *Recognition of conflicts.* Identifying conflicts of interest between individuals and groups over the allocation of scarce resources such as goods, space, time, roles, tasks, etc.

2 *Expressing one's own feelings about conflicts.* Expressing how they feel about conflict, either involving themselves or between others.

3 *Empathy with others.* Developing the ability to see how conflicts affect other individuals and groups; imagining how others might feel about the situation.

4 *Inferring the causes of conflicts.* Developing the ability to infer possible causes of conflict on the basis of initial observations and evidence.

5 *Hypothesis testing in relation to conflict.* Developing the ability to test these inferences about causes of conflict, by checking evidence from primary and secondary sources. Recognising the multi-causal nature of conflict.

6 *Recognising political strategies.* Developing the ability to identify methods by which people try to achieve their political objectives.

7 *Criticising political information.* Developing children's critical thinking about political arguments (i.e. in relation to evidence and logic). Developing the ability to detect bias, especially when this is deliberately intended for political manipulation or indoctrination.

8 *Identifying methods of resolving conflict.* Developing children's ability to recognise different approaches to solving disputes.

9 *Evaluating methods of resolving conflict.* Becoming skilled in assessing the relative costs involved in different methods of solving problems and making judgements between alternative methods.

Skills involved in participation

10 *Expressing political interests.* Developing the ability to express a viewpoint in political contexts.

11 *Reasoning about political interests.* Developing the ability to provide reasons to support a viewpoint, including the use of evidence.

12 *Listening skills.* Developing the ability to listen to the political viewpoints of other people, helping them to elaborate upon their views when you disagree.

13 *Questioning skills.* Developing the ability to identify and express critical questions about other people's views.

14 *Skills of representation.* Selecting individuals as representives in political contexts. Acting as a representative on behalf of others.

15 *Evaluating political issues.* Developing the ability to make a comprehensive judgement about political issues.

16 *Changing attitudes and values.* Developing the capacity to change one's mind about issues, in the light of new evidence.

17 *Decision-making about political issues.* Developing the ability to decide between alternative strategies on the basis of rational cost-benefit analysis.

Figure 2.2 Some skills and processes involved in political education (Source: Harwood, 1984[4])

these find expression in different political ideologies and programmes. Techniques of values education[5] can help pupils identify and analyse people's value positions and clarify, reflect upon and articulate their own values, but realistic social education does require us to set such activity within the type of framework provided by the Programme for Political Education which is considered below.

Eamon Burke probably realised during his stay in the Soviet Union that values such as freedom, fairness and democracy have different meanings in that society than they do in Australia. Programmes to teach procedural values can limit consideration of such alternatives and I would suggest that it is our task as teachers of world studies to help pupils make independent judgements about the social systems, processes and institutions which resolve social conflicts and so give values meaning. Our lessons should help our pupils formulate their own understanding of fairness and justice and decide in which societies and situations such values are best realised.

The last component of sound social education is that of *action*. Pupils learn best about society and politics if their education includes action in society and experience of politics. Knowledge, skills and values should be applied and tested in real situations and *World Studies 8–13* does not neglect the importance of school/community links and community action.

One curriculum project which has attempted to integrate the knowledge, skills, values and action components of political learning is the *Programme for Political Education.*

The Programme for Political Education

The *Programme for Political Education* has worked with 14–19 year olds but is relevant to *World Studies 8–13* in two respects. It helps us decide how the foundations of political literacy might best be laid in the middle school and provides teachers with a means of assesssing their own political literacy and curriculum planning with respect to the issues and topics they teach.

Developed in the 1970s, the *Programme for Political Education* seeks to sustain democracy by developing individuals who:

> will know what the main political disputes are about, what beliefs the main contestants have of them, how they are likely to affect him [sic], and he will have a predisposition to try to do something about it in a manner at once effective and respectful of the sincerity of others and what they believe.[6]

The Programme's approach is based on the belief that such political literacy can be developed by direct teaching of appropriate knowledge, skills, attitudes and values. These are outlined in its familiar curriculum framework diagram which readers are urged to consult[7] and compare with the objectives of *World Studies 8–13* already outlined.

The knowledge outlined on the Programme's curriculum framework enables pupils to understand the political dimensions of situations which affect their lives, while the skills facilitate political expression and participation in strategies for change. Attitudes and procedural values encourage commitment to rationality and tolerance and a readiness to recognise and accept the inevitability of real political conflict in everyday life. Knowledge consists of propositional knowledge (knowing that) and practical knowledge (knowing how), while skills relate to thinking, communicating and acting politically. Included in practical knowledge are such basic political concepts as conflict, power and decision making and the reader will notice other parallels between the political literacy framework and *World Studies 8–13's* curriculum rationale.

As already suggested, the framework provides teachers with a means of assessing their own political literacy with respect to such issues as those outlined in Part 2 of this workbook, which they plan to teach. While skills, attitudes and values are largely transferable from one situation to another, handling such issues requires propositional and practical knowledge of widely differing political situations. As suggested earlier in the chapter, teachers will often have to do background reading to acquire such knowledge and then use newspapers and journals to keep it up to date.

With regard to curriculum planning in world studies, the *Programme for Political Education's* framework might be used by junior and middle school teachers as a guide to what should be expected of their pupils in later years. Young pupils' political

Towards political literacy: the role of *World Studies 8–13*

The curriculum should:

- deal with *political disputes and issues* at a range of scales developing from the local to the global. The issues should be presented in as concrete a form as is possible, making personalities, processes and institutions visible in classroom activities which simulate aspects of the real world. The links between local, national and global issues in an interdependent world should be stressed.
- acknowledge the pupils' awareness of *political conflict* and provide knowledge and experience of *conflict resolution/non-resolution.*
- introduce pupils to the *main actors in politics;* nation states, governments, political parties, trade unions, firms, multinational companies, banks, pressure groups, international organisations, etc.
- recognise and develop the links between *economic awareness* and *political literacy.* This will involve some basic knowledge of the world's economic and political order.
- help pupils to organise their developing knowledge of politics by providing appropriate *language, concepts and ideas.* The hierarchical nature of power and the role of the state in social affairs are particularly important ideas.
- provide pupils with simple and concrete examples of *alternative social arrangements and futures.* Allow them to discuss the meanings of such values as justice and democracy within such settings.
- provide opportunities for pupils to exercise *political skills,* including *action skills.*
- develop pupils' ability to detect and handle *bias.*
- awaken pupils' sensitivity to issues of *human rights.*
- aid *values clarification.*
- foster *commitment to justice and democracy.*

Figure 2.3 Towards political literacy: the role of World Studies 8–13

knowledge, skills and attitudes should be shaped with political literacy in mind and the teacher of *World Studies 8–13* has a significant role to play. Figure 2.3 is an attempt to suggest some of priorities, taking into account our knowledge of pupils' developing ability to understand political concepts and ideas which will be outlined later in the chapter.

An approach through issues

The *Programme for Political Education* advocates the development of political literacy through study and involvement in real political issues. It helps teachers to recognise the potential of different issues by offering questions to guide classroom inquiry[8]. As pupils and teachers seek answers to these questions they develop the knowledge, skills and attitudes which contribute to political literacy. Similar questions have been used to structure the organisation and presentation of the case studies in Part 2 of this workbook.

A great strength of world studies is its development and use of experiential and democratic learning activities which facilitate inquiry focussed on such questions. Page 126 of *Learning for Change in World Society*[9] has a very useful checklist for designing and evaluating such activities and many readers will have become increasingly skilled in adapting them to particular objectives, content and pupil needs. Teachers seeking further help with techniques have a growing literature to help them,[10] much of it produced by Development Education Centres.[11]

While there is then a developed rationale and methodology for political education through *World Studies 8–13*, Doug Harwood's work[12] suggests that many teachers resist involvement in this dimension of the project. The reasons they give are of three main types and relate to misunderstandings or uncertainty about the meaning of political education, young pupils' abilities, and their own feelings of insecurity when handling political issues. Their support for political education increases when it is presented in terms of the skills and processes outlined in Figure 2.2, but it is important that their initial reservations are challenged and their confidence developed with the type of arguments this chapter contains. It has already attempted to clarify the meaning of political education and the teachers' other reservations will now be dealt with.

Children and politics

Many teachers of young children suggest that political education is beyond their pupils' capabilities and interests. What research there is tends to contradict such views and suggests that it is an area in which junior and middle schools can make a valuable contribution.[13]

Children are active participants in their political socialisation, developing political ideas, skills and values as they form a concept of self in relation to society. From an early age, they assemble their political world view from a disorganised collection of unrelated bits and pieces of political information and attitudes, filtered by the talk and behaviour of adults. This is well seen in the remarks of eight-year-old pupils collected at a school in Morpeth during the 1987 general election campaign (see Figure 2.4). In the primary years, an egocentric, personalised and concrete view of politics (reflected in most of the remarks of the Morpeth children), gradually gives way to a more elaborated, objective and abstract view.

Olive Stevens has traced this development in semi-structured discussions with children[14] and Alistair Ross' summary of her findings is reprinted as Figure 2.5. At seven, many children were able to take part intelligently in discussion about politics, to present limited but relevant information and introduce ideas. By nine, they were showing increased ability to sustain a discussion and to contribute a wider range of political topics to it. Eight to thirteen year olds are clearly interested in political matters especially if they can be shown to affect them personally. They have a developing political vocabulary and reasoning skills, a growing awareness and commitment to social ideals, and by eleven are usually ready to begin considering political structures, processes and issues.

Most eight year olds will be well aware of political relationships in the home, classroom and local community. They will perceive differences of class, race and gender, but may not be able to describe these for a number of years. They will be aware of political events via the media and their political thinking will be developing ahead of their vocabulary. Connell's work[15] suggests that the ability to organise political ideas in terms of hierarchy and power is a particularly significant breakthrough. It occurs between the ages of nine and eleven and enables ideas of delegation, stratification and government to develop. Whereas they previously attributed power to individual people, most nine year olds can think in terms of institutionalised power which is always legitimate and unquestionably accepted.

Notions of countervailing power on the part of the governed develop in adolescence, by which time politics as a war between individual 'goodies' and 'baddies' has become transformed into politics as conflict between opposing teams or parties. Although Olive Stevens (Figure 2.5) suggests that eleven year olds are beginning to relate issues to structures and processes, earlier work linked real understanding of politics to the attainment of formal or propositional thought.[16] While we should remember that mental agility with political concepts and ideas, and a coherent view of how society is and might be arranged, are developments which relatively few adults attain, the development of political thought is one of several areas in which Piagetian orthodoxy has recently been questioned. As in other areas, it appears that appropriate questioning and teaching can reveal and develop mental capacities far earlier than was previously thought possible.

As far as affective development is concerned, it is widely reported that nine to thirteen year old pupils have a benevolent view of leaders and a positive view of government, but are rarely capable of principled thought. Cross-national studies show that British children and adolescents 'emerge with a developed sense of their own indi-

viduality and basic freedom in relation to a relatively benign government, but that they lack a sense of the common good, a disposition to help the common enterprise and to enjoy doing so'.[17] Such findings would appear to be contradicted by some recent attitude surveys among young people, such as that cited in Chapter 1, and we should remember that children are socialised within a differentiated and ever-changing social and political environment. The children of Mrs Thatcher's Britain are already showing very different political outlooks from many of those children of the 1950s and 1960s who are now their teachers. A renewed individualism and materialism has not left children and adolescents unaffected.

The research on children and politics is not extensive. Much of it is dated and relates to children in other countries. Teachers should perhaps consult it with caution and test its validity by carrying out classroom research with their own pupils. Activity and discussion will soon reveal existing political knowledge, skills and attitudes and these can guide future planning of the school's formal and hidden curriculum. World studies has done much to facilitate this process, particularly by making schools and classrooms more democratic places where pupils are offered rational

Fighting for power as seen by class 5D

Political education is alive and well among 8-year-olds at Pegswood First School in a former mining village near Morpeth. These are some of their comments on the 1987 general election campaign.

WHEN YOU VOTE

"you vote for Parliament"
"you have a piece of paper with names on. You put a cross in the box you want to vote for".
"You go to school"
"you have to be over eighteen"
"you have to go in a box"
"They pick the papers out of a box, put them in piles and put an elastic band round them".

THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT

"It's where children go when they have no mams or dads"
"It's the most private club"
"Where the leaders meet"
"has got lots of statues around it"
"There's a red carpet and big seats"
"The Queen and Diana go sometimes"
"There's guards at the doors in case there's any trouble"
"They talk a lot and argue"
"Sometimes they have parties"
"There's trumpets and a flag on top when they're at home"
"Sometimes it's called the House of Commons"

MRS THATCHER

"terrible" "awful" "bossy "silly" "stupid" "noisy" "nasty" "she boasts"
"she's somebody's mam!!!
"she's a pain in the neck"
"she's got yellow hair"
"doesn't give money to schools"
"tells everybody what to do"
"tells lies"
"has a pointed nose" "pinches money"
"is spiteful to Arthur Scargill and the Labour Party"
"She talks lazily and always interrupts"
"She asks others to do things she won't do herself"
"always has a handbag"
"She's married to Denis and I don't think he likes it"
"Most poor people will die in two years because of her"

THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY

"Margaret Thatcher leads it"
"If you vote for it, you're voting for David Owen"
"It's bad and hard up"
"They'd build more offices for people"
"They would say they'd try to help poor people"
"They would get the money from the bank and build more hospitals"
"They might go round knocking on doors and giving people their jobs back"
"All their things are blue because of the Union Jack"

THE LABOUR PARTY

"If you vote Labour, you vote for Parliament"
"Neil Kinnock works for them"
"It's just for Neil Kinnock"
"It's terrible"
"People in Pegswood vote Labour because our football strip is red"
"They'd stop teachers going on strike, and give money to schools and hospitals"
"They would do things like Hoovering for old people"
"They might give people money that they collect in boxes"
"They would charge to get into parties"
"all their things are red, so that they match the Queen's red carpet. They want to be posh and royal"

THE SDP/LIBERAL ALLIANCE

"I don't know about him"
"They would give lots of money away"
"They have their own big yellow bus"
"It has funny doors, and a desk in case anyone wants to write in there"
"They need a bus so that they can go on trips and outings. Then they don't have to pay"
"On the side of the bus it says 'The Two Davids', like the 'Two Ronnies'".
"They should have a 'Target' bus from Ashington. It would be cheaper".

THE GREEN PARTY

"gives things to the Third World"
"are good and kind"
"helps children that have no home"
"Take care of abandoned things"
"save money for blind and handicapped"
"look after children"
"stands in the street with money boxes"
"lots of orphans should join the Green Party!"

Figure 2.4 Source: *Times Educational Supplement*

authority and can develop their own social efficacy and competence.

Children talking politics

At 7 years old
Political thinking is intuitive and symbolic; ideas discrete and unstructured; but children have made contact with the political and some have a conceptual base – information, awareness, interest and working vocabulary.

At 8 years old
Political language develops and some political events may be described; some political relationships are known but not understood.

At 9 years old
Political discussion becomes more balanced, children introducing and following new areas of discussion; a stronger commitment to social ideals.

At 10 years old
Fewer speculative political suggestions, and fewer extended examples are used – instead an attempt to relate to political reality. Some consistency of views, and evidence of evaluation.

At 11 years old
Greater linguistic ability, and a greater competency with political concepts; political issues are related to political structures; political processes understood and discussed to an extent – for example, the accountability of government.

Figure 2.5 A summary of Olive Stevens' findings (Source: Ross, 1987[13])

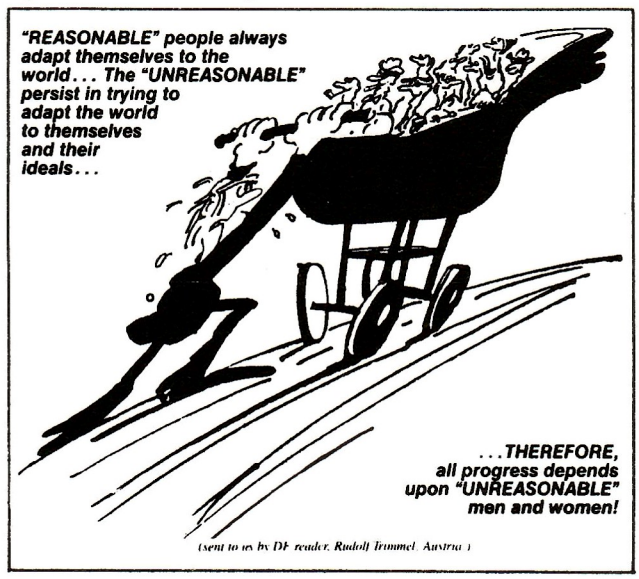
Teachers of world studies and political education

Doug Harwood's survey of 48 primary and middle school teachers in 1982–3,[18] suggested that world studies' objectives relating to political education were not considered important by project teachers. The attitudinal objective of justice and fairness referred to earlier in the chapter, and listed on page 26, was, for example, rated only moderately important. Political skills were seen as only slightly important, and one group of teachers considered work on the distribution of power and knowledge of political ideologies as entirely inappropriate. How can we account for these views when such objectives are central to education for global citizenship and within the capabilities of young pupils if appropriately handled?

The answer lies partly in the nature of teachers' professional education and their political socialisation. Few of us have a formal education in politics and world affairs, and political education features in relatively few courses of initial or in-service teacher education.[19] Some teachers of world studies are perhaps too utopian while others reflect the idealism associated with progressive primary education. Wishing to liberate the child through more open classrooms and experiential methods, they remain largely unaware of what it is they are liberating pupils from and for. Their curriculum is psychologically rather than politically grounded and results in classroom activities which often give too little attention to the social structures which cause oppression and prevent liberation in the real world.

At a different but related level, teachers' reservations about political education can be understood in terms of their insecurity when asked to teach about the controversial issues which world studies considers. This is an area in which there is a growing literature to guide us and while much of it is aimed at the secondary school teacher, it contains advice relevant to the primary sector.[20] Robert Stradling's work[21] is particularly important in helping to clarify the concepts of balance,

Figure 2.6 Source: *Development Forum*



neutrality, commitment and indoctrination raised by such teaching and illustrated by Figure 2.6.

In addition to the literature on teaching controversial issues, the teacher seeking support might consult some of the guidelines on bias in political education which have been issued from such sources as local education authorities, the Department of Education and Science[22] and the Politics Association.[23] The latter suggests that young people should be encouraged to understand what bias is and how it can be detected. This means teaching about the nature of ideas, beliefs and opinions; how they are formed and how they can influence judgements. It means considering examples of mild and flagrant bias and exploring how all political information reflects degrees of bias whether it be the press, political speeches, or the television news. Pupils should also be awakened to the presence of bias in the way they are taught and should be helped to develop rational ways of thinking which can identify and deal with bias in its many forms. World studies has done much to expose and counter racist and sexist bias in the school curriculum and has not ignored political bias. Robin Richardson's article 'Now listen children . . .'[24] remains an inspiration to myself and many other teachers, and points us towards the politics of political education and world studies itself.

As we saw towards the beginning of the chapter, education is itself political, and different sets of beliefs or ideologies about the workings of society and the role of education, give rise to different conceptions of political[25,26] and global education.[27] The world studies community is therefore often engaged in political debate and this generally reflects the arguments taking place between socialists, social democrats, and the green movement within society at large. While both are important debates, they should not be allowed to draw teachers' attention away from the urgent need to defend political education and world studies from current attempts to limit and redefine social education.

The current crisis

In an essay on global and international approaches in political education, Ian Lister[28] associates world studies with 'vanguard educators', stressing a new process and a new perspective on the world. He suggests that they share political literacy education's concern with issues, skills and active learning but put greater emphasis on the need for social change, affective learning, multicultural issues and international and future perspectives. Lister considers that the world studies vanguard has realised significant achievements, but urges it to give greater attention to content, political realism and the lessons of the *Programme for Political Education*, which has done much to extend and legitimate political education in schools. He considers that the way ahead lies with a coalition of political educators and vanguard educators from such movements as world studies.

The work of this coalition takes on particular significance at the present time when, as part of its attempt to restructure the economy and society in the interests of capital, the Government seeks to limit democracy in the workplace, in government, and in education. Curriculum initiatives in development, peace, human rights and environmental education are under attack and a national curriculum which reasserts traditional subjects is promised.[29] Genuine social education which cultivates critical and active citizenship for all is, once again, seen as too threatening. New forms of economic and political awareness are the order of the day and, where established, world studies may have to fight for its continued existence.

In this climate we shall need political skills and a greater understanding of both political education and the politics of education. We shall need to be able to expose the political intentions of our critics, the shallow nature of their arguments, and their attempts to limit the education of our children in support of their definitions of 'standards', 'relevance', and 'freedom'. We should seek to advance alternative meanings of these terms, sustain the broad advances won by progressive and radical educators in recent decades, and continue to develop our own theory and practice of a critical and liberating curriculum. Sustaining world studies in the 1990s will entail linking our struggle for socially useful and democratic schooling with wider political movements seeking to defend democracy. The world studies movement can meet the challenge but, like Eamon Burke, it is likely to learn some new lessons along the way.