Education for peacebuilding and social justice: A case-study of an elite school in Jordan

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And, most importantly, for Mohammed R and all those displaced by conflict.

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List of acronyms

BoB	Beyond our Books
CTS	Criminal, Troublemaker, Security threat
HS	High school
IB	International Baccalaureate
IDP	Internally Displaced People
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
JI	Jordan International school
KSAs	Knowledge, skills, and attitudes
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
MoE	Ministry of Education
MS	Middle school
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PBSJ	Peacebuilding and Social Justice
PS	Primary school
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNWRA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinians
-WBS	Western-born staff
-Y	Youth

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Abstract

The capacity of education to promote or inhibit peace is widely documented (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Crisp et al., 2001; Lopes Cardozo et al., 2015; Novelli & Smith, 2011). This scholarship tends to focus on the education of marginalised youth from lower socioeconomic contexts. More recently, there have been calls to examine the education of dominant or powerful groups (Bajaj, 2008; Choules, 2007b). Such calls are grounded in peacebuilding literature that asserts all socioeconomic groups have a shared responsibility for peacebuilding (Gawerc, 2006; Lederach, 1999; Miall et al., 1999). This literature is in its naissance stage, with most studies examining social justice education of elite youth in the West (Howard, 2013; Kenway & Fahey, 2015; Swalwell, 2013a).

This study focuses on the education of elite youth from the Middle East and North Africa (MENA)—a region affected by conflict stemming from authoritarianism, corruption, and cronyism (Alatassi, 2018; Dodge et al., 2017; Gelvin, 2015). It focuses its attention on Jordan, a country that has experienced protests against inequality and corruption and one in which a number of affluent families from across the MENA region have found themselves as a result of conflict in their home countries. The case-study specifically explores how staff and students perceive the role of elite youth in peacebuilding, the nature of elite students' engagement in peacebuilding, and educational policies and practices that contribute to or inhibit peace. It employs a number of theoretical lenses, including Galtung's (1967) positive and negative peace, Crenshaw's (1989) intersectionality, and Rothberg's (2019) implication.

Emerging from this study is that context and demographic have a significant influence on how elite students and schools in Jordan engage in peacebuilding and social justice. The findings indicate unique factors inhibit or promote the ability of this demographic to contribute to peacebuilding, including *wasta* (clout), risk, family history, and living in a socioeconomic and linguistic 'Bubble'. Additionally, educational programming for this demographic appears to experience several tensions in attempting to cultivate allies and future leaders capable of positively influencing peace in the region, many of which are common to elite schools elsewhere as they attempt to balance the drive to promote social justice with the reality of living in a neoliberal world.

I. Introduction

Literature commonly attests to the ability of education to promote peace in conflict-affected contexts (Davies, 2004; Gallagher, 2004; Novelli & Smith, 2011). Educational policies and practices can promote reconciliation and develop knowledge, skills, and attitudes necessary to understand and prevent future conflict (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Lopes Cardozo et al., 2015; Novelli et al., 2015). While this literature tends to focus on educating and empowering marginalised groups or those from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, there have been calls to extend the research (Dugan, 2014; Goodman, 2000; Swalwell, 2013a) or 'shift the gaze' (Choules, 2007b) to education and self-reflection on the part of dominant or powerful groups. These calls are based in the understandings that marginalised groups should not be the exclusive target of peace education interventions (Bajaj, 2008).

Such understandings are in line with conflict analyses that suggest a more holistic approach to peacebuilding should involve all socioeconomic groups (Gawerc, 2006; Lederach, 1999; Miall et al., 1999). Moreover, as Young points out, "for every oppressed group there is a group that is privileged in relation to that group" (2011, p. 42). Studies are consequently beginning to draw attention to the 'elite', who are often framed as the 'engines of inequality' (Khan, 2012; UNRISD, 2018) and who have the potential to negatively impact peacebuilding processes (Silva et al., 2018; Valters et al., 2015). The literature also suggests that elites can play a critical role in creating an ethos or culture of peace because of their prominent political position or cultural resources (Bar-Tal & Rosen, 2009).

Looking specifically at the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), conflict-related research has examined elite involvement in activities such as authoritarianism, corruption, and cronyism that spurred protests in the region during the Arab Spring (see Alatassi, 2018 on Syria; Dodge et al., 2017 on Iraq; Gelvin, 2015 on Yemen). While these studies tend to focus on how elites have contributed to conflict, the literature also notes that elites have a vested interest in peace given the negative impacts they too have experienced as a result of these conflicts, such as kidnappings and confiscation of property for failing to support a regime (Alatassi, 2018; Crawley & Skleparis, 2018). In addition to those fleeing conflicts associated with the Arab Spring, the MENA region, particularly Jordan, is home to millions of displaced Palestinians, among them elites who have also lost land and property and also benefitted from large profits under Israeli occupation (Massad, 2018). These various experiences make the elite assets for transforming conflict dynamics in the region.

Although the literature recognises that the elite are key stakeholders in peace and that education can be a transformative peacebuilding tool, there is a dearth of literature surrounding peacebuilding and youth in elite schools. Existing literature indicates that elite students' engagement with components of peacebuilding, such as social justice, has been largely limited to gifting or volunteering activities (Kenway & Fahey, 2015; Wheeler-Bell, 2017), in spite of peacebuilding theorists' recommendations for critical engagement with privilege, power, and related triggers of conflict such as oppression (Freire, 1970b; Galtung, 1969). Moreover, as most studies concentrate on the United States (Choules, 2007b; Goodman, 2000; Swalwell, 2015; van Gorder, 2007; Wheeler-Bell, 2017), there is a relative absence of research on elite youth in the MENA region. In their review of youth agency, peacebuilding, and

education, Lopes-Cardozo et al. (2015) examine numerous contexts including the MENA region, but primarily focus on the participation of the marginalised. While they, and others, acknowledge that elite youth participate in some peacebuilding activities, there is no discussion of how this participation might differ from other youth, nor the successes, limitations, and impact of their activities. Similar gaps exist in other reviews focused on peacebuilding and education (Pherali, 2019; Sommers, 2006; UNHCR et al., 2005).

This thesis fills this gap through a case study examining whether elite students in the MENA region engage in peacebuilding activities and the extent to which their education supports or detracts from peacebuilding and social justice. Set in Jordan, where a number of affluent families from across the MENA region have found themselves as a result of conflict in their home countries, it explores how staff and students perceive the role of elite youth in PBSJ, the nature of elite student engagement in peacebuilding, and the educational policies and practices that contribute to or inhibit peace.

Background

This section contextualises the case-study through a discussion of regional conflict, Jordan's education system, and humanitarian aid system—all of which are intertwined and impact the provision of education for peacebuilding and social justice.

Conflict and forced migration in the MENA region

The MENA region has experienced major conflicts, including those stemming from the occupation of Palestine and those brought on by the Arab Spring protests. In terms of the former, the conflict between Palestinians and Israelis was triggered by the creation of Israel in a

territory that was inhabited by a Jewish minority and Arab majority who both claimed historic roots to the land. The United Nations (UN) voted to split Palestine into separate Jewish and Arab states, with Jerusalem as an international city but Palestinians rejected this plan and in 1948, British rulers, unable to resolve the issue, withdrew from the territory and Jewish leaders declared the creation of the state of Israel.

Conflict ensued with hundreds of thousands of Palestinians fleeing and being forced out of their homes in what they refer to as the *Nakba* (the Catastrophe). Troops from neighbouring Arab countries, including Jordan, largely supported Palestinian resistance. A ceasefire was declared in 1949 with Israel controlling most of the territory. As both sides failed to reach a peace agreement, conflict has persisted, and many Palestinians, including the elite, lost land and property and have never returned (Brynen, 1995). This conflict escalated in 2018 when the American government recognised Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and moved its embassy there.

As for the Arab Spring (2010-2012), Waghid and Smeyers (2014) assert that the uprisings were driven in part by oppressive and unjust political rule as well as a dissatisfaction with falling currency values and lack of opportunity/employment associated in part with a global recession. Gelvin (2015) also draws attention to proxy wars, particularly in the context of Yemen. The region also has a longstanding history of foreign intervention, most recently with the creation of states following World War I as well what has come to be referred to as the American invasion of Iraq in 2003.

While all important factors contributing to conflict, this study focuses on oppression and unjust political rule. Analyses of conflicts in the MENA region commonly highlight the role elites have played in contributing to the unjust conditions leading to conflict. Becker (2005), for instance, examined how Bashar al-Assad's regime consolidated power in Syria through controlling resources and distributing government posts through his elite circles. This analysis is supported by Alatassi (2018), who likewise described the political-economic strategy in Syria as 'neopatrimonial' and working for the benefit of members of the country's upper and upper-middle classes. Alatassi posits that the business elite's reaction to the conflict has contributed to the longevity of the conflict as well as Assad's regime. Similarly, in his examination of the connection between the bourgeoisie and the Syrian regime, Haddad (2012) concluded, "All the bourgeoisie have benefited from the same economic dynamics over the decades and, invariably, at the expense of the majority of the Syrian people" (p. 255).

The situation in Syria echoes those of other countries, including Iraq and Yemen. Dodge et al. (2017), for example, described the drivers of conflict in Iraq as stemming from a 'political marketplace': a form of transactional politics that facilitates the purchase of political loyalties in exchange for material reward, or an updated form of patrimonial politics. As for Yemen, Gelvin (2015) described how conflict stemmed from "corrupt, aging despots" (p. 86) and that graft and bribery had been endemic to the country. He asserts that the state won the support of the elites by granting them access to wealth and power. These examples reveal some common themes that Asseburg and Wimmen (2016) explore in their study of transformation dynamics, elite change, and social mobilisation in the Arab world. They describe the role (choices and performances) of the 'Politically Relevant Elite' (PRE) in the Arab Spring: those who held

significant influence in the political transformations in Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, and Yemen. Asseburg and Wimmen and others (Bellin, 2012) contend that the PRE co-opted transformation processes to maximise resources and monopolise power, thereby reducing the effectiveness of bottom-up participation.

While Jordan features less heavily in the Arab Spring literature, it also experienced protests over corruption and a demand for political reform during and since this time (Al Shalabi, 2011). The country, however, has managed to remain relatively stable and currently hosts over three million forced migrants, including those displaced by the occupation and uprisings as well as thousands of others fleeing from conflict generated by extremist groups such as ISIS (World Bank, 2020).

This overview of conflict brings to attention a number of matters relevant to this research. For one, it has drawn attention to how elites have both contributed to and been affected by conflict. It also positions Jordan as an important stakeholder in peacebuilding given it is a place of refuge for those affected by conflict and that it has also had to negotiate calls for justice.

Additionally, these conflicts and the subsequent forced migration have two consequences important to this study. First, the surge of refugees displaced by conflict has put strain on the schools that has contributed to the popularity of private schools, where most elite youth are enrolled. Second, the state has seen an increase and intensification of peacebuilding efforts in the education system. The following sections discuss these two areas and the extent to which they intersect.

Forced migration and strain on the education system: The draw of private schools

Following the 1948 Arab-Israeli conflict, the International Committee of the Red Cross and UNRWA (United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinians) opened schools in Jordan to support Palestinian refugees at a time when the country's education system was already struggling with access (Salameh, 1988; UNRWA, n.d.). Additional UNRWA schools were also established in Jordan after the Arab-Israeli War of 1967, which saw 400,000 Palestinians flee to Jordan and put additional strain on the system (Salameh, 1988; UNRWA, n.d.).

With increased waves of forced migrants from countries such as Iraq, Syria, and Yemen, informal and nonformal education programmes have also helped fill in gaps in delivery and meet the needs of refugees and Jordanian youth. Informal education is run by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in refugee camps and urban areas and primarily address psychosocial needs through recreational, vocational, and life-skills (Ahmadzadeh et al., 2014). The non-formal sector is available to refugees and Jordanians aged 9-20 years who have missed more than three years of school (UNICEF, 2022a). It is predominantly run by international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) and is certified by the ministry of education (MoE).

Where possible, both refugees and local students enter into the formal education system in Jordan, the focus of this research. It consists of public and private streams. The public school system consists of ten years of compulsory basic education and two years of secondary education (after which the students sit for a General Certificate of Secondary Education Exam known as the *Tawjihi*) or vocational training (UNESCO, 2022). Because this system has continued to face issues of quality and access with subsequent waves of refugees from conflicts

in the MENA region, the government created half-day shift classes in areas facing heavy enrolment (Younes & Morrice, 2019). Jordanian students predominantly attend school in the morning and refugee students in the afternoon because tensions and hostilities have grown between the groups due to a perceived increased attention to Syrians (Salem, 2018; UNICEF, 2015).

These challenges have contributed to the increased enrolment in private schools (World Bank, 2022). Jordan has one of the highest rates of private school enrolment in OECD countries with private schools consisting of 41 percent of total schools (Government of Jordan, 2016). While these schools must apply the curriculum and textbook prescribed by the state, the private system is perceived to be of better quality, to provide better certification, and to be safer (USAID, 2022). Such perceptions have merit given that public schools tend to produce lower results on large-scale examinations compared with private schools (Government of Jordan, 2016).

Although private schools are an attractive option, they come at a cost. In Jordan, they range from budget private schools charging as little as 200 JOD (£221) per year to 'elite' schools charging as much as 21,000 JOD (£23,158) per year. The majority if not all of these more expensive private schools are international schools, where elite students are known to predominantly enrol (Tabazah, 2018). They are open to local, regional, and international students and employ international staff. They emerged in the 1950s and initially served British and American expatriates as well as locals with dual citizenship but later opened to those who could afford the fees. Others followed in the 1990s and 2000s, which, though lacking any

connection to embassies, also hire international teachers and accept international students. These elite schools are the focus of this study.

Conflict and peacebuilding education

In tangent with accommodating forced migrants, schools in Jordan have attempted to soften some of the impact resulting from conflict and displacement and have seen a growth in policies and practices related to peacebuilding.

The nonformal sector in Jordan covers various areas related to education, conflict, and peacebuilding. The Norwegian Refugee Council, for instance, offers programming to support well-being, social-emotional learning, and social cooperation and cohesion amongst the Jordanian and Syrian students (Shah, 2018). Save the Children and UNICEF's (2022b) Makani programme similarly focuses on psychosocial support and social cohesion. Likewise, World Vision (2021) focuses on psychosocial support and on child protection. Other programmes in this sector use education and employment to prevent recruitment by militant groups (Christopherson, 2015). Questscope offers a particularly innovative approach to education for peacebuilding, in which Jordanian and Syrian refugee youth engage in Freirean education (Magee & Pherali, 2017). It involves the use of dialogue, critical reflection, and democratic decision-making—all of which have been associated with education for peacebuilding and social justice (Salomon & Cairns, 2010).

In state schools, the MoE specifically outlines that the objectives of secondary education include the ability of students to apply democratic principles in their "dealings with others, and believe in the principles of social justice" and "be aware of international issues and problems

and perceive the importance of international understanding and peace built on rights and justice" (Government of Jordan, 2019, Para. 10). The MoE has also trained teachers in public schools to meet the needs of forced migrants in integrated classrooms and partnered with external and international parties to provide teachers working in shift schools psychosocial training (Bengtsson et al., 2021). Acosta's (2017) study of peace education in public schools suggested that these policies and practices have been put to action. Teachers in his study described how they delivered peace education through discussions of societal and political issues and teaching about peace through religious examples. They also indicated that they addressed psychosocial needs like anxiety.

Al Zyoud et al.'s (2013) study of peace education practices in secondary schools similarly outlines ways in which peace education is enacted in Jordan in subjects such as Islamic education, citizenship education, Arabic, English, literature, and history. The authors noted various peacebuilding activities, including *storytelling* (e.g., teachers narrate certain stories about tolerance from Islamic history or Arabic culture); *modelling* (e.g. teachers exemplify peace and prioritized dialogue and discussion); *role playing* as a way to empathize with different cultures and promote tolerance and peace among students; and hosting an '*open day*,' in which students participate in activities promoting peace and tolerance and listen to well-known social figures (e.g. academics from the Jordan University) discuss relevant issues.

The literature above is a fraction of a much larger body of studies, reports, and grey literature on peacebuilding education in Jordan. In contrast, there is a dearth of studies focused on peacebuilding within private and/or elite schools. One of the few studies comes from Howard

and Maxwell (2020). Their study examined global citizenship education in an elite school in Jordan, in which they observed a number of practices related to peacebuilding described above, such as discussion, critical thinking, dialogue, and inquiry. Students also engaged in protests through art and performances. The authors also noted activities not typically found in nonformal, informal, or public schools, such as the existence of exchange programmes, participation in international events, and the Model United Nations (MUN).

Howard and Maxwell assert that studying such elite schools is vital as they "produce future leaders for the Middle East who are committed to democracy and freedom" (p. 23). However, little else is known outside of this single study as other studies of elite schools in Jordan did not emerge in a review of the literature. The following section discusses possible reasons for this apparent gap in the literature.

The elite gap

The relative absence of literature on peacebuilding education in elite schools in Jordan may be due in part to 1) the larger invisibility of elite forced migrants in humanitarian language and imagery and 2) loopholes that allow for alternative programming at international schools where elite youth tend to enrol.

The 'invisibility' of elite forced migrants

As indicated in the preceding section, nonformal, informal, and public schools have responded to the needs of children fleeing contexts of conflict through efforts such as psychosocial support and peace education. Few peacebuilding efforts have been catalogued in elite schools, despite the fact that among the millions of forced migrants are affluent or 'elite' families. Their

absence in the literature may be due in part to the legal definition of 'forced migrant' and the imagery of 'forced migrants'.

The formal categorisation of 'forced migrants' as internally displaced people (IDP), asylum seekers, or refugees (European Commission, 2021) does not lend easily to elite youth displaced by conflict. An IDP is someone who is forced to flee to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalised violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who has not crossed an internationally recognised state border (UNHCR, 2004). An asylum seeker is a person making a claim for refugee status but whose status has not yet been determined (UNHRC, 2015a). The legal definition of a refugee is:

> Someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion (UNHCR, 2015b, p.3).

Families forced to migrate to Jordan due to conflict are not IDPs, yet the other two legal categories imply that those who are affected by conflict will at one point formally register with the UNHCR for support. Wealthy families are unlikely to register with the UNHCR as they are often able to manage the financial challenges of displacement without its support.

Zetter (1991) suggests that an emphasis on helping the most vulnerable has led to the belief that those affected by conflict "inhabit" (p. 40) an institutionalized world of NGOs and international agencies, despite the fact that over 80 percent of refugees live outside of camps in places like Jordan (UNHCR, 2018). This association between conflict and lower socioeconomic

groups is bolstered by imagery used in humanitarian and development organisations that evoke images of 'the fly-in-the-eye child' (McClelland, 2015, Para. 1). Polzer (2008) further posits that policy-orientation in forced migration studies has meant that "successfully integrated refugees seem uninteresting to many academics and practitioner institutions because they 'don't need help'" (p. 447). Consequently, the experiences of those who have the financial capacity to integrate are not widely documented.

Affluent families are more commonly associated with 'economic migrants', which does not have as clear a connection to literature centred on peace education and psychosocial support as 'forced migrant'. However, an economic migrant is defined as "a person who leaves their country of origin purely for economic reasons that are not in any way related to the refugee definition, in order to seek material improvements in their livelihood" (European Commission, 2016). While it could be said that wealthy forced migrants have left their home countries for economic reasons, the economic reasons are likely created by the conflict and may not be separable from reasons for refugee flight (Betts, 2015). Additionally, Crawley and Skleparis (2018) argue that efforts to categorise people as 'economic migrant' and 'refugee' fail to capture the complexity of migration and its significance for individuals over time and space.

While these definitional distinctions may be moot as peacebuilding education can be offered to any demographic, not simply forced migrants (Al Zyoud et. al. 2013), these distinctions may nonetheless guide decisions on who receives such programming, especially given the limited resources available for these efforts and the subsequent need to triage humanitarian efforts.

Loopholes and alternative programming for international schools

The 'invisibility' of elites as forced migrants appears to have trickled into the education system, for as the preceding section indicated the MoE, operating and monitoring nonformal and public education, has several objectives related to peace and social justice and offers psychosocial training to those teaching forced migrants. Elite forced migrants, however, are enrolled in the private sector, where there is little government oversight in their schools. Policy loopholes enable private schools to bypass much of the prescribed policies relating to peace and social justice as well as the teacher training. As for the latter, elite schools are predominantly international and can hire foreign staff who may lack a background in teaching forced migrants. In terms of following government policies, aside from the state's administrative matters (e.g., licensing and fee guidelines), most decisions regarding the strategic development of these schools are made by superintendents and independent boards of directors— none of whom are required to follow government objectives.

Additionally, while regular private schools must apply the curriculum and textbooks prescribed by the state, 'foreign educational institutions' (i.e., international schools) are permitted to use non-Jordanian curricula and books (Government of Jordan, 1994). Students graduating from these schools do not have to pass the Jordanian *Tawjihi*. They automatically qualify for this certificate by taking specific foreign exams or completing Advance Placement (AP) courses. This means there is no need to cover content in the Jordanian curricula, including content related to peacebuilding and social justice.

This is not to say that elite youth in Jordan will not receive any peacebuilding education as it may be integrated in their schools' policies and/or covered in their chosen curricula. However, without empirical evidence, this remains unknown. As there is a dearth of such literature in Jordan, the following section expands the literature review to studies in similar contexts: education in the Global South and in elite schools.

Education for peacebuilding in the Global South

Literature on education for peacebuilding commonly examines educational practices in conflict-affected contexts in the Global South, including the MENA region. For instance, Lopes-Cardozo et al.'s (2015) review of youth agency, peacebuilding, and education noted key knowledge and skills contributing to peacebuilding, including knowledge of different religious and cultural groups, conflict resolution skills, ability to take peaceful action, critical thinking, inquiry, discussion, etc. This review draws on a few case studies in the MENA region; however, its analysis focuses predominantly on lower socioeconomic contexts. Lopes-Cardozo et al. allude to elite participation in education for peacebuilding, but state only that education for peace must ensure that they are not overly represented. The authors do not discuss any details related to the nature of elite engagement in peacebuilding nor indicate that any knowledge, skills, or attitudes that might be particular to this group.

Bajaj's (2015) review of 'pedagogies of resistance' and critical peace education praxis offered seven core competencies that reflected similar findings as Lopes-Cardozo et al., such as the need for critical thinking, empathy, collective action, democratic engagement, communication, conflict resolution, and reflection. Like Lopes-Cardozo et al.'s review, Bajaj's review considers

lower socioeconomic contexts and references the need to include the elite in education for peace but, once again, does not indicate whether this demographic uses educational practices specific to their demographic. The UNHCR's (2005) analytical review of peace education also fails to disaggregate by socioeconomic groups.

Natil's (2021) review of the ways in which young people engage with and contribute to peacebuilding in the MENA region examined youth empowerment, freedom of expression, mobilization, ideologies, conflict resolution, and peacebuilding. His references to the elite, however, are primarily focused on how the elite co-opt youth movements or about how youth are invited to discussions amongst the elite but are not listened to. Natil's sole reference to elite youth is based on Pratley's (2011) categories of youth in peacebuilding, wherein elite youth are referred to as 'spoilers' who may not find peacebuilding to be in their benefit. This characterisation, however, is premised on 'elite fighters' who must be incentivised towards peace in order to give up their power. Pratley gives the example of offering child soldiers vocational training. This characterisation suggests the 'elite youth' were not from an 'elite' socioeconomic class (as is the focus of this research and elaborated upon in the following chapter), who would be more likely able to afford such training.

Emerging from this brief review of the literature is that literature on peacebuilding education in the Global South and more specifically, the MENA region is dominated by a focus on lower socioeconomic groups. Therefore, the following section broadens the scope to the West in order to determine whether anything may be known about elite schools and peacebuilding.

Education for peacebuilding in elite contexts

A growing body of literature focuses specifically on how 'privileged' groups engage in peacebuilding, or more specifically, social justice. Howard (2008), for instance, explored how elite students in the US learn privilege, and, importantly, how privilege can be un-learned in public and independent schools. He outlines five common lessons that students glean from the hidden curriculum of elite schools, including "success comes from being superior to others" (p. 217) and provides examples of how teachers can counter such ideas through humanising practices such as being honest with students, exposing students to multiple perspectives, encouraging collaboration, emphasising community, and helping students envision and identify ways to create a humane society. Howard's (2013) more recent work examined elite students' commitment to social justice and found that they often attempted to negotiate and rationalise their privilege in ways that allowed them to support simultaneously the needs of others and themselves.

Swalwell's (2013a) study of social justice pedagogy with elite students in US schools also offers several promising educational practices, including introducing students to multiple perspectives, creating a de-centred classroom space, and engaging students in relationship-building with marginalised people. She recommended three steps for teachers to take to promote social justice education: first, solicit students' ideas about privilege, injustice, and the relationship between the two (e.g., through one-on-one conversations, class discussions, written essays, and art projects); next, analyse student responses for areas of growth; lastly, engage in on-going critical reflection.

These studies, and others (Khan, 2012; van Zanten, 2009), however, focus on youth in the West—a context that differs culturally and politically from the MENA region. As Choules (2007a) aptly asserts, education for social change must be tailored to the context as students experience and respond differently depending on socioeconomic position *and* cultural systems.

The following section explores the emerging synergies and differences across social justice education in elite schools in the West and peacebuilding education in schools in the Global South.

Education for peacebuilding across socioeconomic contexts

As the preceding sections have illustrated, there appears to be some commonalities between literature on education for peacebuilding in elite schools and in schools in the Global South. Both, for example, emphasise reflection, knowledge of justice, considering multiple perspectives, and critical thinking.

However, North (as cited in Swalwell, 2013, p. 22) contends that the nature of the challenges each group faces are so different that we "cannot expect a single approach to social justice education to be effective for all students in all contexts." That is, both contexts encompass unique characteristics that appear to influence what education for peacebuilding emphasises in each context. This argument is supported by studies that indicate important differences between these two demographics. For instance, in their study of power and perspective-taking, Galinsky et al. (2006) noted that those with more power have the tendency "to view other people only in terms of qualities that serve one's personal goals and interests, while failing to consider those features of others that define their humanity" (p. 1072). The authors also noted

that power was associated with a reduced tendency to comprehend how other people see, think, and feel.

Seider's (2008) study of social responsibility in affluent American high school students suggested a *decrease* in students' levels of empathy for economically disadvantaged people after participation in a social justice pedagogy class. After learning about social justice issues, students began to fear poverty and the course reinforced their belief that they "really have to work hard or bad things could happen" (p. 658). Similarly, Curry-Stevens' (2007) research on transformative education and pedagogy for the privileged asserts that because that self-concept is invested in relations of domination, there is a tendency for privileged learners to feel imperilled by transformative agendas as these are against their interests.

Perhaps as a result of such tendencies, education for peacebuilding in elite schools often highlights relationship building, with studies focused on how educators might address entitlement, guilt, resignation, and ambivalence amongst students and sought to instil a sense of collectivity (Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2009; Swalwell, 2013a). These concerns did not appear as commonly in the literature on education for peacebuilding in the Global South and its strong focus on marginalised groups.

Thus, while the literature indicates the possibility of core elements of education for peacebuilding and social justice relevant across cultures and socioeconomic groups, it also points to significant differences. This study sits at the intersection of these bodies of literature.

Case-study overview and research questions

The literature suggests that education for peacebuilding exists in Jordan and is encouraged in the state. It has also indicated that all socioeconomic groups have been affected by conflict and the conflict analyses have pointed to the elite involvement in conflicts in the MENA region. Yet, few studies appear to have examined education for peacebuilding amongst elite youth in this region.

In this relatively unexplored area, my research asks:

How do elite students and schools in Jordan engage in peacebuilding and social justice (PBSJ)?

1. What is the perceived role of elite youth from the MENA region in PBSJ?
2. To what extent do elite schools in the MENA region offer programming conducive to PBSJ?
3. To what extent do elite students in the MENA region participate in activities related to PBSJ?

This research makes use of a case-study of an elite school in an affluent area of Amman: Jordan International (pseudonym). As described in more detail in Chapter 5, Jordan International (JI) is a Kindergarten to Grade 12 school with tuition fees ranging from £15,000 - £20,000 per year per student, depending on grade level. Clients of the school include local Jordanians as well as prominent families from Iraq, Yemen, Syria, and Palestine, as well as international students.

While the discussion has highlighted forced migrants due to their close connection to conflict, it is not just forced migrants who benefit from peacebuilding education. As noted above, some

of the factors leading to conflict (often issues relating to social justice like inequality and corruption) in the MENA region were, and continue to be, issues faced in Jordan (BBC, 2013; Hamid & Freer, 2011). As such, Jordanians (elite and otherwise) might also engage in peacebuilding education to ensure a more sustainable peace. Moreover, because Jordanians share many of the same characteristics as their MENA counterparts (i.e., religion, language, culture— although there is also heterogeneity within this demographic), their views also allow for a broader analysis of the education for peacebuilding and social justice among the Arab elite. As such, this study includes all elite students from the MENA region, regardless of residency status.

Organisation of the thesis

Chapter 1 has outlined contextual information on conflict, forced migration, and education in Jordan. It focused on how Jordan has become a place of refuge for those fleeing conflicts in the MENA region but also a country grappling to maintain peace within its own borders. It drew attention to the role elites have played in regional conflicts as well as the impact conflict has had on them. It then examined programmes supporting peacebuilding in Jordanian schools, which have been documented most commonly in non-formal, informal, and state schools. This review highlighted a gap in the literature: little information is available about what, if any, education for peacebuilding occurs within private schools—a popular option for both refugees and local Jordanians who have the financial means to enrol.

Chapter 2 takes a deeper dive into the concepts introduced in the first chapter. It defines key terms used in this study, including ‘elites’, ‘peacebuilding’, and ‘social justice’. In doing so, it

draws attention to the strong association between elites and power. I then consider what role(s) this demographic might play in peacebuilding and social justice (PBSJ) by exploring literature on youth in the Global South and elite youth. Given that no studies offer a framework to examine this question, I synthesise the extant literature to provide terminology and framing for this study. The roles in this framework are then critically examined using Galtung's (1967) positive peace, Crenshaw's (1989) intersectionality, and Rothberg's (2019) implication.

Chapter 3 considers how the education of the elite can support or subvert PBSJ. I begin by examining the wider theoretical literature on education for peacebuilding then amalgamate relevant educational approaches documented in literature on peace education in the Global South and social justice education for the powerful to help frame this study. These approaches are evaluated for the extent to which they support positive peace. I then examine the interaction between educational approaches and roles in PBSJ. I also consider other factors influencing student engagement, including assumptions surrounding student agency and learning (a theory of change vs. a dialectic) as well as student motives.

Chapter 4 outlines the methodology of this study. It describes the study design, form of analysis, limitations, and ethics. It also discusses the key theoretical literature used to analyse the findings, including Galtung's (1967) positive peace, Crenshaw's (1989) intersectionality, Rothberg's (2019) implication, and Freire's (1970b) humanisation.

Chapters 5 provides a thick description of the case-study as a foundation for understanding the data. It introduces key participants and describes relevant activities and policies. It then introduces the widespread perception held by participants that students lived in an elite space

called the 'Bubble', which was a significant factor influencing the school's programming for PBSJ.

Chapter 6 focuses on two key themes: efforts to transform elite students from Antagonists to Allies (predominantly through awareness, action, advocacy, and critical reflection) and the drive to foster Future Leaders (predominantly associated with mobilising capital). This discussion highlights several educational approaches within these themes and reflects on reasons for the relative absence of inter-ethnic Allies, Victims, and Troublemakers.

Chapter 7 outlines several contradictions arising in the school's activities and discourses surrounding PBSJ, including the idea that the students were 'same' and 'different'; efforts that were both humanising and dehumanising; concerns that efforts to help the Other could cause harm; the possibility that students used activities predominantly for self-improvement; concerns surrounding co-optation of compassion; the duality of *wasta* (clout); the need to 'sell' PBSJ; and a tension between the collective and the individual.

Chapter 8 draws attention to reasons why elite students may become 'Bystanders' in PBSJ by highlighting several challenges relating to context (status, gender, risk, and family history), programming (nature of activities, abstract concepts, content selection and comfort levels, a need for modelling and accountability, and an unclear theory of change), and students' individual traits (competing interests, lack of vested interest, attribution of responsibility, and stage of life). It then considers how assumptions surrounding student learning and student motivations may have caused some of these challenges to be overlooked.

Chapter 9 considers whether an elite Arab form of PBSJ exists through an examination of the different intersections of students' identities. It also evaluates PBSJ programming for rigor through the lenses of positive peace (Galtung, 1967) and transformative social justice (Rizvi, 1998); and critical education philosophies, most specifically Freirean (1970b) humanisation. Lastly, it examines the extent to which understandings of positive duties (Kant, 2017), and implication (Rothberg, 2019) were encouraged by the school and acknowledged by students.

Chapter 10 offers some final thoughts and outlines this study's contributions to knowledge. It also provides suggestions for those working in the field of peacebuilding and social justice with elite youth and recommends areas for further research. The chapter and thesis concludes with a reflection on hope for PBSJ in the MENA region.

II. Elite youth, peacebuilding, and social justice

Chapter 1 outlined a gap in the literature on peacebuilding with elite students in the MENA region. This chapter defines the key terms used in this study: 'elite youth' and 'peacebuilding'. It then explores how elites and youth might engage in peacebuilding and social justice. In doing so, I synthesise themes in the literature to produce a framework of potential peacebuilding roles for elite youth in the MENA region.

Defining 'Elite youth'

'Youth' is nebulous term, with numeric values spanning the ages of 10-30 in the literature. As described in Chapter 4 (Methodology), my research intended to focus on students in secondary school, typically those aged 12-18, as this demographic was deemed to be of an appropriate level in their cognitive development to be able to discuss abstract terms such as 'peace' and social 'justice' (Piaget, 1936). However, this group was expanded to include those as young as ten as some students of this age were able to discuss such issues. That said, the literature this study draws upon is not consistent in age or definition. Where there are discrepancies, I have made the effort to specifically examine the subgroup I have defined (10-18). Where this data has not been disaggregated, I have flagged this for the reader.

Definitions of 'elite' also vary. For some, 'elite' is associated with power (Hujo & Carter, 2018; Khan, 2012). Thus defined, one could claim that those with power are elite. This characterisation, however, may be too simplistic. Although a Foucauldian understanding of power suggests that it is "never localized here or there, never in anybody's hands" (Foucault,

1980, p. 98) and individuals “are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising power” (p. 98), an association of ‘power’ with ‘elite’ would therefore imply that if all students have power, all students are elite. Consequently, a students' socioeconomic positions would be inconsequential, and a wealthy student would not be considered any more elite or powerful than a student from a lower socioeconomic background.

This conceptualisation fails to address the relative advantages and opportunities certain groups of people hold. Sayer (2012) describes this advantage in terms of authority, access to means of violence, or control of others and resources that, in tangent with institutions and relations, contribute to a “field of forces” (p. 182). Others refer to this advantage as ‘privilege’. Stoudt et al. (2012) describe privilege as those living on the “high end” of the unequal distribution of materials, resources, rewards, knowledge, and opportunities. Likewise, Stephens’ (2007) definition of elite focuses on the relational by comparing a person’s position and power with the average person in a given society. Not only do these definitions recognise privilege, but they also highlight that power is not binary. These latter conceptualisations reflect an Orwellian middle ground: that while all students have power, some may have more.

While acknowledging the strong association between ‘elite’ and ‘power’, it is vital to also consider contextual factors that can block, override, modify, or reinforce power (Sayer, 2012). Sayer (2012) asserts that the power an individual holds is often linked to institutions and wider social relations, which is especially relevant in contexts of high mobility or forced migration as these links may be broken. Similarly, Harvey (2011) suggests that elite status can be both gained and lost over time and in different geographical areas. That is, the power elites hold in

one context (be it wealth, position, etc.), may not transfer to another. With the average longevity of a conflict at 26 years (UNHCR, 2015) and the average displacement over 20 years (European Commission, 2021), social and economic capital may become significantly reduced and cultural capital may not translate in displacement contexts [see, for instance, Doheny's (1988) article on Nigerian refugees and Weiermair (1971) on elite Hungarian refugees in Canada]. Such a scenario is plausible in the context of Jordan where forced migrants' power and status as 'elite' may be precarious given that forced migration has increased tensions in Jordan, resulting in multiple forms of discrimination (Alfadhli & Drury, 2016).

Additionally, though the term 'elite' often bears a negative connotation due to the imbalance in power, power is not always gained illicitly, nor does it mean that elites always mobilise their power to their advantage; that is, it cannot be assumed that all elites will think, act, and experience life identically. Howard (2013) asserts that privilege is only one of many parts of identity and may not drive decision-making. Looking specifically at some key aspects of intersectionality in this study, 'elites' may also be 'forced migrant', and 'Arab' underscores that elite youth from the MENA region not only have multiples identities influencing their decisions, but they may be simultaneously powerful (i.e., socioeconomic class) and powerless (e.g., displaced and discriminated against). While this study focuses less on other intersections of identity, it should be briefly noted that power can be influenced by gender (West & Fenstermaker, 1993), ability (Campbell, 2009), sexual orientation (Bernal Crespo et al., 2016), etc. It may also be impacted by global power relations that can privilege certain languages (Kachru, 1986) and ethnicities (Adesina & Marocico, 2017). For instance, in their exploration of

social class in elite international schools, Tarc and Tarc (2015) suggest that race, gender, and nationality can complicate notions of class.

What these challenges to defining 'elite' reveal is that the term should not be essentialized. Therefore, where this study refers to '**elite students**', it is with the understanding that they are students from affluent families who may or may not exercise power. That is, they may be commonly grouped by their ability to pay higher school fees, but their power or status may vary. That said, peacebuilding and social justice theories that discuss the role of 'elites' tend to homogenise this group. Thus, in the sections ahead, literature discussing elites may define them not only in terms of wealth, but also power, status, privilege, and position. Where possible, I will flag this for the reader.

Because the term 'elite' can be critiqued for lacking in objectivity and universality (Kenway & Koh, 2015), other terms considered for characterising this demographic, including *non-poor* (Evans et al., 2000), *wealthy*, and *privileged*. These terms, however, have been critiqued for masquerading as a benevolent prerogative, thereby obscuring the painful experiences of the marginalised (Hernández-Sheets, 2000). As detailed in Chapter 5, both staff and students at the case-study school (JI) expressed their preference for the terms 'elite' or 'privileged' to characterise themselves, with the understanding that these terms should not hold any connotation of superiority but a recognition of the wealth or position into which they were born. This study respects their preference.

Building on this conceptualisation of 'elite', the schools in which these students enrol will be referred to as '**elite schools'**, or what Gatzambide-Fernandez (2009) defines as

‘demographically elite’. This is to say, that because of the financial costs of enrolling, their attendance is limited to wealthier families. Thus, while others refer to elite schools in terms of being ‘academically’ elite or as having an elite reputation (see, for instance, Kenway & Lazarus, 2017), these characterisations are secondary to their enrolment of wealthy students. This definition is consistent with Kenway and Koh (2015) who similarly define privilege “as understood in relation to those who do not have the financial wealth to afford an exclusive education” (p. 3).

Defining peacebuilding and social justice (PBSJ)

Perhaps the most seminal work on peacebuilding comes from Galtung’s (1967) distinction between ‘negative’ and ‘positive’ peace. The former refers to the absence of physical violence. Positive peace, on the other hand, involves not only the cessation of physical violence, but addressing structural violence, which is associated with “inequality, above all in the distribution of power” (Galtung, 1969, p. 175). This more comprehensive understanding of peacebuilding has at its core a close association with **social justice**. More specifically, positive peace is largely based in transformative social justice or what Rizvi (1998) calls *social democratic justice*. Its main tenets are rooted in critical theory, which emphasises a critical reflection of power, violence, and injustice. Moreover, as justice is ‘social’, it describes a just society as a “cooperative community” (Rizvi, 1998, p. 52) in which trust and relationships are central.

Rizvi (1998) contrasts social democratic justice with *liberal individualist* and *market individualist* understandings of social justice. Liberal individualism draws from two principles of Rawls’ (1972): first, that all individuals are entitled to as much freedom as possible provided others

share the same freedom; and second, that social goods should be distributed equally, unless to the advantage of the least privileged members of society. Market individualism holds that people are entitled to what they have produced, where the process of fair competition is more important than the outcome (Nozick, 1974). These latter two understandings emphasise the individual and the role of the market in a laissez-faire approach to justice, contrasting the more collectivist or cooperative view of society of social democratic justice (Beilharz, 1989).

Rizvi critiques these latter two more 'economic' understandings of social justice as being disconnected from the 'social' despite the reality that economic activities are relational. While liberal individualism does acknowledge redistribution, it, along with market individualism, fails to consider other areas of justice, including recognition and representation (Fraser, 1996) as well as reconciliation (Novelli et al., 2015). As indicated in the introduction, these areas are of vital importance in the MENA region, given that uprisings were triggered by corruption and that the recognition, representation, and reconciliation are consistent themes in discussions surrounding the occupation of Palestine. Social democratic justice therefore appears to best support positive peace. This study will therefore adopt it as the primary lens through which the research on peacebuilding through education will be examined.

As I favour this relational definition of social justice, it is therefore vital to first expand upon what social relationships and 'cooperative community' entails. In this regard, I consider Rothberg's (2019) conceptualisation of responsibility and what Kant (2017) calls positive duties towards others. As for the former, Rothberg conceptualises responsibility to others through an understanding of 'implication'. He notes that 'implication' is not synonymous with 'complicity'.

‘Complicity’ insinuates legal liability or guilt in which causality is proved. Following Young (2010), Rothberg argues that ‘complicity’ cannot sufficiently describe the complexity of human interactions and the possibility that injustice can be caused indirectly. ‘Implication’ offers a more general sense of responsibility that can account for structural problems that cannot easily be narrowed down to an individual or a single act that has occurred in either past or present. These understandings reflect Galtung’s (1967, 1969) conceptualisations of indirect violence as entrenched in unequal power and resources in complex ways that cannot always be reduced to specific individuals.

Likewise, positive duties in the context of peacebuilding translate to an ethical obligation to build peace and confront injustices—whether or not these affect a given individual. In contrast, negative duties simply refer to abstaining from violent actions (e.g. do not kill) (Davies, 2004). This distinction is important as individuals refraining from overt or direct violence may not be contributing to peacebuilding. Instead, their acts of omission may be doing the opposite and fall into indirect violence. That is, if individuals fail to intervene when witnessing violence, refrain from building relations, or are uninterested in resolving disputes then they might be seen as complicit in violence. Rothberg, and others (Bollas, 1993; Bramen, 2017) similarly argue that denying transnational and synchronic ties to conflict constitutes “violent innocence” (p. 19). Arendt (1987) aptly captures this understanding:

> This vicarious responsibility for things we have not done, this taking upon ourselves the consequences for things we are entirely innocent of, is the price we pay for the fact that we live our lives not by ourselves but among our fellow men, and that the faculty of

> action, which, after all, is the political faculty par excellence, can be actualized only in one of the many and manifold forms of human community (157–58).

Importantly, such understandings of collective responsibility and positive duties must be examined for their congruency in a given society. Societies that emphasise more individualist understandings of justice may not perceive acts of omission (negative duties) as 'violence' or 'injustice'. Alternatively, they may see social justice as a responsibility of social systems (Novak, 2000). In these cultural settings, the responsibility for peace and justice might be understood as an obligation of state structures, or an obligation for an individual to care for himself. In contrast, other cultures emphasise an obligation to one another. Consequently, it is imperative to examine social, political, and cultural understandings of morality and obligation to appreciate the extent to which collective responsibility is expected in a given society.

The MENA region, the focus of this research, is characterised by diverse cultures with no singular identity; however, as it is strongly influenced by Islam, one may consider the congruency between Islamic understandings of peace and social justice and this study's emphasis on positive peace and positive duties. While varied, Islamic principles appear to reflect positive peace. The Quranic understanding of peace *(salam)* is "not merely an absence of war; it is the elimination of the grounds for strife or conflict, and resulting waste and corruption *(fasad)* they create" (Abu-Nimer, 2000, p. 223).

It also includes references to positive duties. For instance, some translations of 'Islam' state it is derived from *silm*, which means reconciliation, peace, submission, and deliverance (Canan, 2004). Other synergies with social justice include the institution of *hilf al-fudul*, a 7th-century

alliance created by Mohammad and Meccans to redress injustice and exploitation through collective action (Hasan, 1971). Similarly, *asabiyyah* is a concept associated with social solidarity, group consciousness, shared purpose, and social cohesion popularized by Ibn Khaldun in his philosophical and sociological book *Muqaddimah* (Sheikh, 2020). The Universal Islamic Declaration of Human Rights (1981) also includes economic rights stating that "all means of production shall be utilised in the interest of the community (*Ummah*) as a whole, and may not be neglected or misused" (Section 15).

Concepts like redistribution are also emphasised in Islam, the most prominent example being the *zakat*, a mandatory charitable contribution sometimes referred to as a religious tax on those with wealth (Choudhury & Malik, 1992). Other forms of voluntary charity include *saqada, waaf* (endowment)*, and Wasiyah* (donations through wills). Similarly, *usharakah* (the law of sharing) obligates Muslims to share their harvest with those who cannot afford to buy the crops (Abu-Nimer, 2000). Islam also addresses acts of omission as unjust. Hasan (1971) gives the example of hoarding wealth and not spending it on the poor. These examples indicate that it may be appropriate to apply transformative understandings of peacebuilding to the MENA region as it appears that peace and social justice are culturally understood in terms of positive duties.

This study therefore draws from these understandings of peace and social justice and defines **peacebuilding as *collectively and critically reflecting upon and actively transforming sources of injustice to achieve positive peace.*** Because of the direct links between peacebuilding and social justice, these terms will henceforth be abbreviated as **PBSJ** with the understanding of

peace**b**uilding achieved through **s**ocial **j**ustice. While PBSJ can encompass a myriad of topics, this study will particularly focus on political conflict as it relates to socioeconomic injustice (relevant to the Arab Spring) as well as ethnic tension (relevant to Palestinian-Israeli relations). That said, it also does not exclude participants' references to other areas of social justice, such as gender and the environment, as these also contribute to PBSJ.

Considering this definition, the connection between elite students and PBSJ becomes clearer: they are inherently part of the collective effort required to achieve positive peace. The following section explores the nature of these efforts through literature examining the specific roles elites have played in PBSJ.

Potential roles of elite youth in PBSJ

Given that elites are important to PBSJ, what role(s) might elite youth from the MENA region play? Howard and Maxwell's (2020) study of global citizenship education in an elite school in Jordan, is one of the few available pieces of literature that suggests a role for this demographic: "future leaders" (p. 23). Given the apparent lack of other studies focused on this demographic, I expanded the review of potential roles in PBSJ to include three bodies of literature: peace theory, youth in conflict affected contexts, and elite studies. Several more relevant roles emerged, including future Top Dogs (Antagonists and Leaders), Saviours, Influencers, Disrupters (Criminals, Troublemakers, Security threats; Activists; and Changemakers), Allies, Victims, and Bystanders. These are described below.

Future Top Dogs: Antagonists and Leaders

'Top Dogs' (Miall et al., 1999, p. 17) refers to those whose power and resources make them influential, particularly in the political arena, or as Sayer (2012) describes: they are perhaps in greater "possession of the capacity to produce change" (p. 181). Consequently, they may have the ability to affect peacebuilding initiatives, both positively and negatively (Lederach, 1997; Silva et al., 2018; Valters et al., 2015).

This characterisation is laden with normative assumptions, which may stem from assumptions of power as 'good' or 'bad' (Sayer, 2012). While normative assumptions lack objectivity, Sayer (2011) argues that failure to explicitly describe and explain the assumptions reduces objectivity as such discussions are often 'crypto-normative' (p. 180). Thus, for the sake of clarity and transparency, the use of 'positive' leaders or 'good' Top Dogs should be evaluated based on actions associated with this study's definition of PBSJ (e.g., good Top Dogs reflect upon and actively transform sources of injustice to achieve positive peace as a collective) and 'negative' or 'bad' should be associated with behaviours conducive to conflict (e.g., bad Top Dogs oppress others and support systems of injustice).

Importantly, literature focusing on Top Dogs primarily refers to elite *adults*; however, social reproduction theories suggest that elite youth may go on to take the roles of their parents (Bourdieu, 1974). Therefore, depending on the roles of their parents, students may be viewed as 'bad' or 'good' *future* Top Dogs, or what I refer to as Antagonists and Leaders, respectively.

As for the **Antagonists**, because inequality and power imbalances in unjust systems can be driving forces behind violence and conflict (Cramer, 2003; Stewart, 2010), there is a growing

interest in the roles of the elite in peacebuilding, as they are sometimes described as 'engines of inequality' (UNRISD, 2018). Such literature focuses on the extent to which the elite might be complicit in the causes of conflict and resistant to peacebuilding efforts that are against their interests. For instance, participants in Thiessen and Darweish's (2018) study of conflict resolution in Israel and Palestine stated that the control over conflict resolution should be "wrested from the distracting and distorting self-interested hands of elite-political actors in both Israeli and Palestinian societies" (p. 81)—an assertation supported by Massad (2018). Similarly, as discussed in Chapter 1, the literature on the Arab Spring points to numerous instances in which behaviours of elites in the MENA region reflect this characterisation (Alatassi, 2018; Asseburg & Wimmen, 2016; Gelvin, 2015).

While the literature focused on youth from the MENA region revealed no studies suggesting elite youth would be future Antagonists, this characterisation has appeared elsewhere. For instance, in his study of elite schools in America, Gaztambide-Fernandez (2009) observed students creating leadership positions requiring little or no work for classmates who needed these for their college application—a practice that might be likened to cronyism. Others focus on the toxic culture elite youth have been raised in and their subsequent poor political leadership. In his article on his British elite school experience, Beard (2021) states that while being prepared for the 'top jobs in the country', "we laughed at anyone not like us, and the repertoire on repeat included gags about slaves" (Para. 30). He concludes that because of their upbringing in an elite school, "public schoolboys like me and Boris Johnson aren't fit to run our country", pointing to the entitlement surrounding events such as Johnson's lockdown party and the corruption. Sim's (2012) study of civic participation in Singapore also casts doubts on elite

students' future leadership. She found that students were prepped to be future leaders, but their discourse indicated they would maintain class interests.

In terms of 'Good' Top Dogs, or **Leaders**, Bellin's (2012) examination of the robustness of authoritarianism in the Middle East points to opposition elites, suggests that some members of the elite did not support corrupt regimes. More recently, the crown Prince of Jordan made statements against corruption in Jordan (BBC, 2021), an action that might be affiliated with 'good' leadership. In terms of *future* leaders, Adeyemi's (2017) study of crime after war in African nations indicated that youth seek mentors to help develop their leadership but the leadership culture is characterised by corruption and cronyism. In Jordan, Howard and Maxwell's (2020) study of global citizenship education in an elite school noted elite youth who were already committed to democracy and freedom.

Characterising youth as future Antagonists and Leaders has a few limitations. First, the conceptualisation of Antagonists can pre-emptively position elite youth as negative leaders, who need intervention lest they continue unjust practices modelled by their parents or other influential adults in their social milieu. It thus discounts any agency on behalf of elite youth. Second, and relatedly, a future Leader only differs from an Antagonist based on perceived life projection. Third, conceptually, becoming a future Leader in peacebuilding may be an oxymoron. That is, if PBSJ involves reducing power inequalities, the drive of elites to be in power is a contradiction itself (Maxwell & Howard 2020). Fourth, while this conceptualisation has been introduced as a binary, it is not that simple—even its conceptualisation as a spectrum is problematic. As previously discussed in the section on elite students, a number of variables

confound the future roles of elite youth in conflict-affected contexts. Thus, there is a possibility that they may not take on these positions of power.

Saviours

While a Top Dog may shape peace or conflict through political power, the 'Saviour' (Swalwell, 2015, p. 24) may try to 'save Others' suffering from poverty or the impact of conflict, primarily through economic power. This role is loosely affiliated with social justice as it is a means to financially re-balance some level of inequality.

Although numerous critiques exist regarding how Saviours may be uncritical of the systems causing the inequality and/or engage in charity to alleviate a sense of guilt (see Charity discussion in Chapter 3), Murphy (1998) contends that we must consider the non-ideal theory of justice. That is, we should first support just principles and institutions, but "if people can do more to promote the aims of justice a view that refuses to extend the principles of justice to personal conduct is prima facie deficient" (p. 279). He argues that promoting socially just institutions is a "Quixotic task" and that a rich individual "could clearly do so much more to alleviate suffering or inequality by doing what she can on her own— by giving money to humanitarian aid agencies" (p. 281). Indeed, there is historic precedence for this behaviour amongst elites in Palestine. In the fallout of British withdrawal in 1948 and facing loss of territory, some attempts were made by the Palestinian elite to pay off struggling peasants' debt to preserve their land as well as buy land for dispossessed peasants (Massad, 2021). In this light, Saviours may be viewed as taking a more active role in PBSJ in their attempts to resist occupation. That said, this form of engagement involved adults.

In terms of *youth* 'Saviours', Swalwell's (2013) study of elite youth in the United States found that the Saviour approached helping the less fortunate with a view of a 'deficit Other' in a patronizing or superficial way (p. 24). This phenomenon, however, might be shifting slightly. A more recent report by Wealth-X (2016) the on trend and shifts in ultra-wealthy giving revealed that millennials are demonstrating greater social and environmental awareness than their parents and are reshaping philanthropy through social enterprises and efforts such as employee-based philanthropy (providing employees time to tackle issues). This appears to hold true for Arab youth who, as Hartnell (2018) describes, seem to be engaging in social enterprise and who appear to have an increased sense of social purpose, creating businesses that potentially work towards social change.

Influencers: Peacebuilders with cultural capital

Another means by which elites can help foster peace is by taking on a role as Influencers. Bar Tal (2000) points to the voice of the cultural elite and how they can contribute to reconciliation discourse through avenues such as books, films, and theatre. Drawing on studies in conflict-affected contexts, Bar Tal posits that these have the ability to build a "peace ethos" (p. 362) through creating symbols and models. Arguably, those from any socioeconomic background have the ability to become an Influencer; however, this role may be more easily available to those with existing cultural capital and social prominence.

Like Top Dogs, this role can be conceptualised both positively and negatively. As for the former, elites can mobilise their visibility to help draw attention to causes. Dubbed the 'Bono effect' (after U2 singer), this attention has led to a phenomenon wherein two-thirds of all Americans

have taken to copying these elites and donating to charities (Falksohn, 2006). Peace influencers also exist in the MENA region. Gana's (2012) study of rap and revolt in the Arab world indicates that popular musicians have played a key role in highlighting socioeconomic discrepancies and protesting authoritarian rule. Ghanem (2021) likewise noted how Palestinian model Bella Hadid publicly posts information relating to injustices facing her fellow country people. Indeed, Palestinians have called on celebrities to use their influence, at times criticising those who have not (Kerr, 2021).

More insidiously, this role may also be conceptualised through a Gramscian lens in which Influencers create and maintain hegemony. Thus, elites not only have the ability to shape culture but have the means to retaliate against the cultural movements of the subalterns. As Gramsci (1971) describes:

> The traditional ruling class, which has numerous trained cadres, changes men and programmes and, with greater speed than is achieved by the subordinate classes, reabsorbs the control that was slipping from its grasp. (pp. 210–211)

This lens is reflected in Alexander and Bassiouni's (2014) analysis of the Egyptian Revolution: "would the people remake the state in their image, or the state remake the people?" (p. 238).

Once again, literature on this role is dominated by a focus on adults. However, Swalwell (2015) and others (Desai, 2015), point to how elite youth, like their adult contemporaries, have demonstrated civic action through "creative participation" (Swalwell, 2015, p. 492), such as artwork, social media, film, and so on. Although these cases point to the ability of youth to

create a more socially just culture, Khan (2011) documents how they can equally maintain an environment of elitism, particularly in schools.

Disrupters

While the roles Future Top Dogs, Saviours, and Influencers imply that students need to have capital or power to make change, Disrupters do not necessarily require it. 'Disrupters' is a term frequently associated with innovators or outsiders who have positively challenged an industry and are "push(ing) the world forward" (Goldin, 2017), while the term 'disrupt' bears a more negative connotation. Because of this duality, I also invoke this term, applying it to youth who disrupt the status quo in society and, consequently, are champions to some and menaces to others. 'Disrupters' may therefore be likened to literature surrounding 'deviance', in which individuals challenging conformity are labelled as, criminal, pathological, and socially dangerous, or, for some, 'benevolent anarchists' (Merton, 1968, p. 175). Although perceptions and actions vary, disruption can be viewed as 'building peace' where the existing state of affairs limits peace and social justice.

'Disrupters' is therefore an umbrella term that includes individuals resisting the status-quo; "criminals or troublemakers or security threats" (Lopes Cardozo et al., 2015); activists; and 'changemakers'. As for the first, 'disruption' might be associated with '**resistance'** as both have been used to describe actions associated with challenging institutions and social mores (e.g., *disrupting* the status quo may be synonymous with or *resisting* the status quo). For instance, McEvoy-Levy (2001) describes how Palestinian youth demonstrate resistance to occupation by maintaining everyday routines, such as going to school and crossing through Israeli checkpoints.

In other words, they resist subordination. Similarly, in their review of youth political engagement in the MENA region, Laine et al. (2015) highlight how youth disrupt the status quo through everyday activities like playing football, wearing a veil, searching for a job, and expressing certain sexual behaviours. These acts reflect a rejection of limits on freedom—characteristics associated with peacebuilding and social justice (Barnett, 2008; Natil, 2021).

In terms of the second, because political, economic, and state failures have impeded the ability to find work and get married, MENA youth are often viewed within a lens of 'waithood' (Singerman, 2007), their frustration with these failures sometimes characterised as a 'powder keg' (Reddy, 2012). While valid reasons might be behind these frustrations, in an era of securitisation post-9/11, youth in the MENA region have been examined for dispositions, actions, and traits, which may align them with conflict (Gertel & Hexel, 2018). As such, their efforts to address the source of these failures and injustices have been viewed as hostile and they are sometimes characterised as "**criminals or troublemakers or security threats**" (CTS) (Lopes Cardozo et al., 2015) or 'spoilers' (Kemper, 2005). Disruption through this lens would be viewed upsetting negative peace.

Murphy (2012) reverses the understanding youth as CTS and suggests they might be viewed more positively as Arab Spring protests demanded the government address issues such as freedom of the media, public accountability, and corruption— demands consistent with PBSJ and reflective of 'positive conflict' (Davies, 2004). That is, they can be considered **Activists**. Along a similar vein, are '**Changemakers'**. Though first coined in the context of social entrepreneurialism (Ashoka, n.d.), the term 'Changemakers' has recently been adopted in

contexts relating to social justice (Changemakers, 2021; UNESCO, 2019) where individuals take creative action to solve a social problem (Rahman et al., 2016).

The interpretive differences between an Activist or Changemaker and a CTS may be influenced by the socioeconomic background of the youth involved, particularly for that of a CTS. While the literature acknowledges that youth of all backgrounds in the MENA region face uncertainty and have engaged in protests and other forms of activism (El-Baghdadi & Gatnash, 2019), it also acknowledges that those with fewer resources are particularly affected by insecurity as opportunities or material fortune can soften these political and economic frustrations (Gertel & Hexel, 2018; Murphy, 2012). As such, they are viewed less as a 'powder keg'. In contrast, literature on elite youth tends to favour the more positive term of 'Activist' or 'Changemaker'.

Allies

Inspired by Freire's (1970b) 'radical' (someone who is committed to fight by the side of the oppressed and transform injustice), Swalwell (2013a) coined the term 'Activist Ally' in her study of elite youth in America to describe youth who felt a sense of duty and responsibility to others.

I have omitted the 'Activist' part of the role as there are three slight but significant differences between an Ally and an Activist. First, discourse surrounding the Ally is often framed within discourses of collectivity/humanisation and rights/responsibilities, wherein living in interdependence is emphasised. While activism may be focused on addressing an issue affecting all of humanity, it is not always so, nor are the motives of the Activist necessarily grounded in notions of interdependence. For instance, one could argue that those opposing COVID-19 vaccine mandates or promoting pro-life laws are engaged in activism as they are

advocating for a cause, but interdependence is not their main goal. Thus, an Ally can engage in activism, but an Activist is not necessarily an Ally. Second, and similarly, Allies may (and arguably, should) partake in activism, but they do not necessarily lead it. They may, however, support the activism of those whom they are supporting, for to craft and lead activist movements on the behalf of others runs the danger of paternalism, which is not congruent with allyship.

Third, Allies tend to be associated with those in power, while this is not necessarily the case for Activists. More specifically, there is a tendency towards understanding the Ally as someone who supports Others' quests for justice. It is often used to describe heteronormative individuals who stand with LGBTQ+ community or the white anti-racist supporting people of colour. The Ally is therefore implicitly contrasted with the marginalised, the oppressed, the vulnerable—that is, they are the dominant, the privileged, and in some cases, the powerful. Consequently, allyship may be best described as "the paradox of empowered dissent" (Robbins, 2017, p. 10). Although Robbins was speaking of the process of global democratisation, the situation may be generalised to social justice issues that also "cannot afford to do without the input of those who are empowered (that is, who are beneficiaries) and yet who also dissent from and even denounce the system that empowers them" (p. 10). In other words, in order to achieve social justice, the beneficiaries of injustice must reject systems of injustice, and in doing so, they may be considered Allies.

A number of studies describe students' endeavours to become Allies. For instance, Oglesby and Drake (2020) describe how American students attempted to ally with those who are Black,

Indigenous, and People of Colour in a unit on allyship. They found that after being introduced to vocabulary like oppression, privilege, and marginalisation, students could collectively articulate their experiences of oppression or oppression they witnessed in nuanced ways. Students in Lucas and Clark's (2018) study of social justice education in a private school in America noted shifts towards allyship when students toured a poorer area of a city and interviewed those living there. These studies suggest the potential for vertical and horizontal allyship.

Although not mentioned in the literature on elite youth in the MENA region (i.e., Howard and Maxwell, 2020), there may be potential for it to arise given that 'allyship' draws on concepts highlighted in Islam, such as collectivity (Hasan, 1971) and rights (Dwyer, 1991).

Victims

Literature on victims tends to describe how youth become carers, child soldiers, and orphans during times of conflict (Kemper, 2005; Lopes Cardozo et al., 2015), which do not clearly reflect the lives of elites. However, the elite have also been victims of oppression and faced the consequences of conflict. Alatassi (2018), for instance, describes how elites who remained neutral in Syria risked the confiscation of their properties and various terrorist charges. Similarly, research by Crawley and Skleparis (2018) revealed the various ways in which those with wealth and resources have been negatively impacted by the conflict in Syria, including the impact of a failing economy on savings, destruction of businesses, inability of people (particularly women) to engage in certain professions, and child-abductions for ransom money.

El-Baghdadi and Gatnash (2019) and Salbi and Becklund (2006) also discuss how privileged groups encountered negative experiences of conflict, including the limits on freedom of speech

and need to live in exile when speaking out against certain governments in the MENA region. Repressive restrictions have also reduced the ability of all Palestinian families, including the elite, to move freely and improve their economic opportunities (Halbfinger, 2019; Hawari, 2019). Combined with the tense socio-political environment, many have had to relocate (Labadi, 2018). Elite youth have co-experienced these negative impacts of war on their families (loss of work, finances, etc.) (Crawley & Skleparis, 2018; Stolte, 2020) and been directly affected by conflict. They may also be subject to conscription (Crawley & Skleparis, 2018; Salbi & Becklund, 2006) and have been kidnapped (Crawley & Skleparis, 2018).

While some may characterise 'Victims' as an experience rather than a role, the need for testimonials is central to peacebuilding activities such as Truth and Reconciliation Commissions (UN, 2010). In this sense, the Victim's role may be viewed as a witness of conflict and/or injustice and pertinent to reconciliation as their testimonies "challenge us to question the construction of ethical and political relations and imaginaries through testimonial practices" (Zembylas, 2006, p. 319)

Bystanders

The characterisations thus far have focused on how individuals may engage in peace and conflict; however, there is the possibility that they may engage with neither. The Bystander is included in this discussion as their non-interference may ultimately result in the continuation of injustice or conflict, or what Shaklar (1990) refers to as "passive injustice" (p. 40).

The reasons for this non-engagement are varied and some apply generically to youth, while others may be more specific to elite youth. As for the former, two reasons seem to span

socioeconomic backgrounds: fear and developmental ability. Altiok and Grizelj (2019) describe how individuals can be targeted and/or detained by military and police due to their involvement in peace work outside institutional spaces. Youth are no exception: those protesting injustice were arrested and tortured in Syria (Gelvin, 2015). Thus, what may appear as neutrality or complicity may be hesitation to engage in issues relating to PBSJ in the MENA region due to the political environment. Non-engagement may also be attributed to developmental levels. Kohlberg and Hersh's (1977) theory of moral development and Piaget's (1936) theory of cognitive development both posit that youth may not appreciate ideas such as 'positive duties', which may result in a Bystander position.

Several factors explain the non-engagement specific to the elite. First, Galtung's (1969) work on violence and peace, indicates that the elite may not engage in activities relating to PBSJ as perpetuating the status quo is often in the favour of "those at the top" (p. 179). Second, those in power may also be unaware of the impact of their behaviour on the disenfranchised unless prompted (Dugan, 2004). Teachers in Swalwell's (2013a) study of elite schools in America, for instance, viewed students as living "in a Bubble" of privilege (p. 25). Third, Lederach (1997) points to how the participation of the elite (particularly the politically elite) may also be limited as they may be locked into a certain perspective because of their high-profile. Because of this situation, they may not easily enter into constructive conversations due to the need to save face. Similarly, members of the royal family in the UK are obliged to stay neutral in political matters (Crown, n.d.). Though these explanations generally pertain to elite adults, youth may also limit their public opinions.

Fourth, an individual may draw from a market-individualist perspective. Such a perspective rationalises a lack of engagement in PBSJ as it is based on the understanding that individuals are only responsible for themselves. As discussed above (see Defining Peacebuilding and Social Justice), these individuals would not understand PBSJ as positive duties and would not necessarily be compelled to engage in issues not personally affecting them. This latter explanation is not necessarily limited to the elite but favours their inaction. Fifth, and similarly, Swalwell (2013) noted that a segment of elite youth appeared 'resigned' (p. 96); that is, they were overwhelmed by the depth and breadth of social justice and/or a belief that human nature and society is "permanently and fundamentally flawed without any hope for meaningful social change". In this sense, although seemingly unengaged, students were described as highly conscious of injustices.

Analysis of roles

This section has outlined some of the most common themes arising in literature on the roles of elites and youth in PBSJ. A few key points emerged from this review that may be best examined using three relevant theories: Galtung's (1967) positive and negative peace, Crenshaw's (1989) intersectionality, and Rothberg's (2019) complex implication. Understanding the extent to which these roles align with positive peace provides a means to evaluate how each might contribute towards transformative peacebuilding. Intersectionality and complex implication are essential frameworks for understanding PBSJ the MENA region context as these consider not only all facets of an individual's background and experience, but also allow us to consider relations between groups of people through space and time—important considerations in contexts of protracted crises and displacement.

Roles for positive peace

The roles demonstrate different degrees of critical engagement in PBSJ, which may be evaluated in terms of the degree to which they support this study's conceptualisation of peacebuilding. Allies and Disrupters may be seen as the roles most in line with positive peace as they are more likely to transform the status quo and/or work collectively towards PBSJ. Though perhaps engaging in less direct ways, Influencers might also be viewed through the lens of positive peace as they work towards cultural transformation. Future leaders ('good' Top Dogs) also have the potential to be transformative, though the degree to which they will cannot be determined as it is premised on future action. The Saviour, with its focus on plugging the gaps of inequality without any change to the structures and systems creating it, may be viewed as one of the least transformative. Given that this study emphasises positive peace through positive duties, the Bystander offers little to peacebuilding efforts but is an essential role to consider in order to understand and address the reasons for non-engagement.

Not all representations fit neatly into categories of positive and negative peace. Trends such as social-change philanthropy (Hartnell, 2018), for example, blur the lines between Saviour and more transformative representations. The example of elite Palestinians purchasing land also provoked a reconsideration of Saviours as their financial backing supported the ability of others to resist an Israeli takeover, thereby blurring into the characterisations of Allies and Disrupters. The Victim was also problematic as it is premised on potential action. That is, they may or may not share their witness stories for reconciliation. Although abstaining could be seen as refuting a positive duty, the vulnerability of the Victims complicates this matter. Thus, the safety and wellbeing of individuals in conflict-affected contexts creates a situation that may override their

responsibility, making it inappropriate to categorise them as supporting either positive or negative peace.

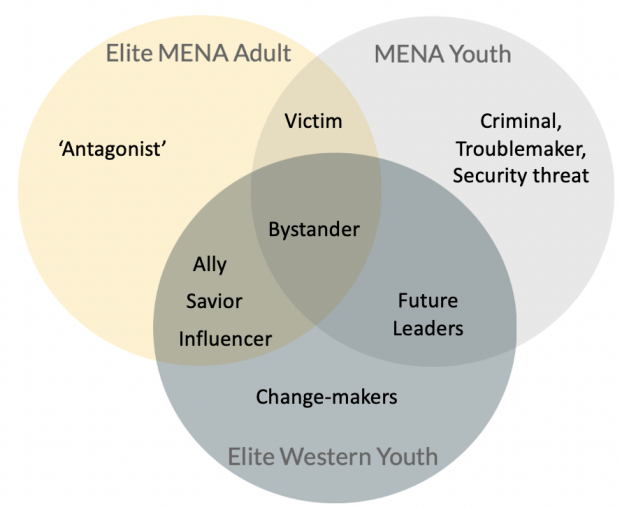
Similarly, there is the possibility of role fluidity, wherein students adopt different roles under different circumstances. For example, an individual may have the understandings of one representation but the actions of another. Allies, for instance, may resort to Saviour strategies or become a Bystander when faced with potential retaliation from the government for more transformative approaches, as indicated by Hartnell (2018). Likewise, elite youth may seek to be a 'good' Top Dog but find themselves lacking the skill sets to take on this role as in Adeyemi's (2017) study of crime after war in African nations. Role fluidity may also occur as students mature, moving from 'youth' to 'adult'. For instance, young students who are Bystanders may mature into other roles with further cognitive and moral development. These scenarios reveal a complexity in the examination of roles and the need for nuanced discussions.

Intersectionality

The three main intersections accounted for in my study (elites, youth, Arabs) have rarely been examined in combination and while I drew together studies across these demographics to create the framework above, the division in the literature tended to suggest different roles (see Figure 1 below). For instance, several roles prominent in literature on elites in the MENA region were absent in the literature on MENA youth generally from lower socioeconomic groups, including Antagonists, Influencers, Saviours, and Allies. On the other hand, literature on MENA youth included CTS, but studies of elite youth were more likely to be characterised as Changemakers. Literature on Victims was in literature focused on youth from lower

socioeconomic backgrounds and to some extent, elites in the MENA region. The differences in themes emerging from each intersection of identity suggest that different demographics have different roles. Consequently, if they have different roles, they may require different education—an issue explored in more depth in the following chapter.

Figure 1: Intersectionality and roles



However, for those who identify with all three intersections, the picture becomes complex and may be best understood through Crenshaw's (1989) theory of intersectionality. Intersectionality refers to the interconnected demographics (e.g., race, class, gender) of an individual, which impact the level of oppression or privilege they experience. It helps explain how multiple roles may apply to 'elite students from the MENA region'. Relatedly, students may find themselves in more than one role. For instance, an elite Palestinian student may be both privileged by token of their wealth but oppressed by their continued displacement. As indicated above, these roles may be also blended.

Implication

Rothberg (2019) extends discussions of intersectionality with an examination of how it relates to conflict. Through synchronic and diachronic analysis, Rothberg posits that all individuals are implicated in conflict. He asserts that whether they are conscious or not, legally involved or not, 'implicated subjects':

> occupy positions aligned with power and privilege without being themselves direct agents of harm; they contribute to, inhabit, inherit, or benefit from regimes of domination but do not originate or control such regimes. An implicated subject is neither a victim nor a perpetrator, but rather a participant in histories and social formations that generate the positions of victim and perpetrator, and yet in which most people do not occupy such clear-cut roles. (p. 1)

Implicit in this conceptualisation is that the available vocabulary describing relationships to conflict is not sufficient.

In this regard, Rothberg draws heavily on Robbins' (2017) and Meister's (2010) notion of the 'beneficiary'. Meister, for instance, argues that Bystanders might be more accurately described as 'structural beneficiaries' or "those who received material and social advantage from the old regime and whose continuing well-being in the new order could not have withstood the victory of unreconciled victims" (p. 26). Robbins (2017) similarly describes Beneficiaries as those whose "fate is *causally linked*, however obscurely, with the fates of distant and sometimes suffering others" (p. 3).

‘Beneficiaries’ were not included in the list of potential roles in the framework above, as the recognition or misrecognition of one’s implication can lead to opposing sets of actions. That is, recognising that one is implicated in injustice or that one is a beneficiary may propel an individual to become an Ally. Not recognising one’s implication or status as a beneficiary may mean individuals are Bystanders.

Summary

This chapter defined and examined the intersections of 'elites’ and ‘peacebuilding’. It focused on elites’ relationships to power and suggested that power is a complex matter rooted in social relationships, context, and intersectionality. It then grounded the study in conceptualisations of positive peace, positive duties, and transformation, and ensured such understandings were congruent with the local context.

Drawing on three bodies of literature, this chapter reviewed several possible roles that elite youth might take in PBSJ, including Top Dogs, Saviours, Influencers, Disrupters, Allies, Victims, and Bystanders. After synthesising and defining terminology to frame the forthcoming research, these roles were analysed using three theoretical lenses: Galtung’s (1967) positive and negative peace, Crenshaw’s (1989) intersectionality, and Rothberg’s (2019) complex implication. This analysis concluded that some roles were more aligned with positive peace than others. It also suggested that while all students might be implicated in PBSJ, the manner in which they may engage could be influenced by their different intersections of identity.

While this review outlined a useful list of possible roles elite youth in the MENA region might take, no studies have explored the actual roles they have taken or how they perceive their

roles. Moreover, we have yet to ask elite youth themselves what they perceive their role to be— a gap also noted by Lopes-Cardozo et al. (2015). This is crucial as understanding one's responsibilities or lack thereof can have an impact on what these youth choose to engage in and how they engage in it. Additionally, understandings of roles can influence the nature of education for PBSJ. The following chapter explores this latter point in more detail.

III. Education for PBSJ

The previous chapter defined peacebuilding and social justice (PBSJ) and explored the potential roles of elites. This chapter explores the extent to which their education might support PBSJ. It briefly considers how the positionality and ethos of private schools intersects with peacebuilding, before focusing on educational approaches to PBSJ. The chapter concludes with an examination of the interaction between roles in PBSJ and education for PBSJ as well as a discussion surrounding how student agency and motives may affect engagement.

'Faces' of education

Education can be a mechanism to support peace or perpetuate conflict. This duality is commonly referred to as the 'two faces' of education (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000). The 'positive face' of education contributes to positive peace through nurturing tolerance, disarming history in textbooks and discussions, including students of all backgrounds, and so on. The 'negative face' challenges the assumption that education is a panacea for social ills and cautions that it can be rooted in structural violence and fuel hostility.

The line distinguishing positive or negative faces of education is not always clear. Some practices may be described as neither a 'positive' nor 'negative' face, but perhaps an 'ineffective face'. For instance, a UNICEF (2011) report on the role of education in peacebuilding found that many educational approaches lack a clear connection to addressing sources of conflict and focus instead on addressing an immediate need. These initiatives often simply "add good education and stir" (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000, p. 33)—that is, they are framed in the belief

that providing access to good quality education can attract students who might otherwise engage in conflict. While this strategy continues to have some appeal (Alaoui, 2017), it can fail to address issues at the root of these needs—ones often linked to injustice. Moreover, this strategy would consequently imply that elite schools provide education for PBSJ, given that they typically provide good quality education.

Examining what educational practices *can* support peacebuilding is a problematic issue as it is difficult to isolate education from the many variables that may also lead to peace, nor is it easy to agree upon a universal set of indicators (Seitz, 2004). However, the literature offers several analyses that are helpful in critically evaluating how schools are positioned to support or inhibit PBSJ and what educational approaches are philosophically in line with this study's definition of PBSJ. Below, I briefly consider the former before focusing on the latter.

Positionality and ethos of private schools

The very fact that private schools are available only to those who can pay for them raises questions about their ability to support peacebuilding and social justice. Jordan's Ministry of Education is aware of this issue. It cautions that as "private schooling is only available for families with financial means, this could have negative consequences for inequalities between higher and lower-income families in Jordan" (Government of Jordan, 2016, p. 106).

However, it is not simply that quality private schools can increase the gap between those who can afford them and those who cannot— it is that their goals can conflict with PBSJ, and their very existence can affect social policy. Menashy and Zakharia (2017) express concerns specific to private involvement in refugee education, including that the involvement of business may

mean that education is decontextualised, driven by profit-motives, and predominantly influenced by market principles. Such neoliberal principles not only have the potential to increase inequality as they are often designed to enable states to roll back social policies (Robertson & Dale, 2013)—an issue that has been specifically raised in Jordan (Kayed, 2019) – but are critiqued for commodifying education (Nussbaum, 2010) and recasting the relationship between education and society as a relationship between education and employability (McMillan, 2018) and productivity (Robertson & Dale, 2013). This commodification may allow those in power to 'have' rather than to 'be', meaning that such an education may be detrimental to fellowship and solidarity and may perpetuate an unjust status quo (Freire, 1970b; van Gorder, 2007).

In fact, as Bourdieu (1986) suggests, the transmission of power may be the ultimate goal of clients in such schools. That is, attending an elite school can provide students with social capital (placing students in advantageous social networks) and cultural capital (promote desired cultural knowledge). The exceptional education these schools tend to offer can also lead to better job opportunities, thereby also providing economic capital. Bourdieu further posits that individuals can convert one form of capital into another form. Thus, students who can afford to attend elite schools (using their economic capital) might convert this into social capital by token of socialising with powerful friends. In doing so, they maintain or build power and status (Bourdieu, 1998). This theory appears to hold in elite schools in Western contexts (Commission on Social Mobility and Child Poverty, 2014), and as Gardner-McTaggart (2016) and Tarc and Tarc (2015) argue, may explain the growing popularity of elite international schools amongst the elite and rising middle class in the MENA region and elsewhere in the Global South.

Swalwell (2015) asks a number of related questions:

> How are elites (un)consciously using civic education to maintain political power? How does civic action contribute to the construction of elite identities? Are there elites trying to interrupt this process, and if so, how and what are the effects of their attempts? (p. 496)

Such questions are vital, given that studies suggest that elite schools both embrace and distance themselves from this role in the reproduction of power. Mcdonald et al.'s (2012) study of organizational rhetoric in the prospectuses of elite private schools found that elite schools, while reproducing broader economic and social privilege and inequalities, attempt to offset elitist messages (such as 'world-class') with a commitment to community concerns and social justice to avoid appearing self-serving and to distance themselves from profit-driven corporations. Similarly, in a study of elite schools in England and South Africa, Kenway and Fahey (2015) examined privileged benefaction. They concluded that benefaction enables schools to look socially responsible, downplay the reproduction of privilege, and reinforce the status quo of power.

Likewise, Gardner-McTaggart (2016) points to the tension between the IB programme's promotion of peace and responsible citizenship, and the concurrent drive to produce global businesspeople in the Global South. His study of elite students in IB programmes in the South suggested that students enrol in such schools to increase their capital rather than to "develop inquiring, knowledgeable and caring young people who help to create a better and more peaceful world through intercultural understanding and respect" (International Baccalaureate®,

n.d.). Thus, Gardner-McTaggart (2016) concludes:

> Much in the way that the British elitist Eton college or Harrow school is not chosen by parents because of their Anglican church values… these elitist schools are chosen for their status, for the 'distinction' they represent and the capital they confer. (p. 22)

Thus, the espoused goals of programme relating to peace or social justice may not be the outcomes nor the goals valued by attendees. Consequently, there is a need to examine the 'hidden curriculum' (Jackson, 1968). Giroux and Penna (1979) offer a critical examination how the hidden curriculum can potentially undermine PBSJ. Following Cagan (1978), they argue that educational practices often promote competitiveness, individualism, and authoritarianism. They further posit that this focus on individualism results in the fragmentation of consciousness and social relationships. As such, the hidden curriculum reproduces the "ethos of privatization" and creates environments in which "self-interest represents the criterion for acting on and entering into social relationships" (p. 34), thus undercutting PBSJ.

Even where the goals of an elite school may not be as conspicuous, there is debate whether elite students should participate in educational initiatives for PBSJ. Durrani et al.'s (2017) study of Youth Parliament (YP) in Pakistan provides an interesting model in which elite youth sought to increase accountability between politicians, duty bearers, and youth; however, the authors critique that such programmes can further marginalise some youth as the programme appealed to elites and empowered them to take up political spaces, thereby reproducing inequities. Sommers (2010) also brings to attention the fact that elite youth leaders are unlikely to represent the views and needs of the non-elite, under-educated youth majority.

While understanding these authors' primary concern surrounding inequality and misrepresentation, the issue then is not that elite youth have access to initiatives supporting peacebuilding, it is that marginalised youth are not able to access similar initiatives. Because peacebuilding involves all segments of society, the matter is not about pitting one group against the other to see who should and should not receive education for PBSJ. As the first two chapters of this thesis have argued, there multiple reasons for including the elite in peace.

As such, it remains important to understand best practices in peacebuilding education for the elite.

Educational approaches to PBSJ

An expansive body of literature considers how educational practices can cultivate knowledge, skills, attitudes (KSAs) that support PBSJ. Several frameworks help navigate this immense body of literature by categorising school practices and KSAs into educational approaches. These approaches are underpinned by different philosophical understandings of PBSJ and emphasise specific KSAs through various activities and practices in the classroom and the wider school.

Three frameworks offer a comprehensive overview of educational approaches to PBSJ: Choules' (2007b) social change discourses, Wheeler-Bell's (2017) social justice education for the privileged class, and Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) 'good' citizens. Choules (2007b) offers a deep dive into three prominent ways in which education for social justice has been approached: charity, human rights, and privilege. Her framework is particularly suitable for this study as it is based upon her experience working with those from privileged and dominant backgrounds. Likewise, Wheeler-Bell's (2017) examination of social justice approaches for the privileged

provides four possible social justice approaches: civic volunteerism, class suicide, political apathy, and activist allies. Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) framework emphasises the type of citizen produced by various educational approaches: personally responsible, participatory, and justice-oriented.

As these frameworks are derived predominantly from Western contexts, I round these frameworks out with studies and approaches found in the MENA region, including Waghid and Smeyer's (2014) cosmopolitan approach and Howard and Maxwell's (2020) characterisation of global citizenship as a social justice approach. Combining this literature, six overarching approaches emerge: political apathy; charity and volunteerism; human rights; democratic citizenship education; and critical education. As will be discussed below, many of these approaches overlap with the roles outlined in the previously chapter.

Before delving into these approaches, it should be noted that while this framework attempted to weave together existing literature across demographic groups, there is a possibility that in this relatively unexplored area, new school approaches may emerge and/or that students have formed their own unique approach to PBSJ. Moreover, schools and other organisations catering to youth in the MENA region may not publicly release details of their activities, as governments may view activities surrounding social justice as threatening, thereby making them a potential target for harassment (Altiok & Grizelj, 2019). Consequently, they may be undocumented. The framework below, however, may be a useful starting point for framing research on education for PBSJ in elite schools.

Political apathy

Wheeler-Bell (2017) draws attention to Fish's (2012) political apathy as a social justice approach. This approach encourages the academisation of issues and involves covering bodies of knowledge and equipping students with analytic tools—or more specifically, not to practice politics but to study it. Fish's rationale behind the approach is that teachers should refrain from encouraging political activism as such actions often mask leftist ideologies as social justice to the exclusion of others. Wheeler-Bell, however, criticises the political apathy approach for reproducing privilege and detaching from details that may need challenging. His critique of this approach is supported by Goodman (2000), who advocates for minimising distance and anonymity.

While this conceptualisation does not appear conducive to positive peace as it does not emphasise transformation and may be in the interest of the elite, it is important to also consider that certain countries in the MENA region may only allow for theoretical study as activism seen in the Arab Spring has endangered youth [see for instance Gelvin (2015) for an analysis of the Syrian conflict].

Charity and volunteerism

Choules (2007b) describes charity approaches as driven by a need to relieve suffering through acts of kindness. Similarly, Westheimer and Kahne (2004) describe those engaged in charity as 'personally responsible'; that is, those who commit time or money or both to charitable causes. It is sometimes referred to as 'philanthropy' when done in the long term and associated with

adults or large donations. This approach is clearly connected to Saviours who, as described in Chapter 2, mobilise their economic capital to reduce inequality.

Along the same vein, is Wheeler-Bell's (2017) 'civic volunteerism', which, self-evidently, involves volunteering as a means to support social justice but is also focused on understanding and reproducing civic organisations. Westheimer and Kahne (2004) describe those involved in volunteering in these civics activities as 'participatory citizens' and distinguish them from personally responsible citizens: "(W)hile the personally responsible citizen would contribute cans of food for the homeless, the participatory citizen might organize the food drive" (p.3). The authors therefore imply that such a citizen would engage in a slightly deeper manner in which they are not simply 'giving' but problem-solving and organising. Both 'civic volunteerism' and 'participatory citizens' describe volunteerism as involving participation in efforts to improve the community and are often viewed as 'neutral' or 'non-partisan' as there is little political discussion involved.

Although slight differences exist between in characterisations of charity and volunteerism, they may be grouped together as they are underpinned by similar approach; that is, they attempt to address PBSJ through unidirectional help. Moreover, both suffer from the same criticisms. For instance, Choules (2007b) and Wheeler-Bell (2017) point to how this approach sustains power dynamics as the privileged decide who gets what help is provided and when it is given. This situation is not only paternalistic (Wheeler-Bell, 2017) but may lead to a sense of dependency and a loss of dignity on behalf of the benefactors who are expected to be grateful, or worse, it creates a sentiment of debt to those providing the 'gift' (Derrida, 1992). Goodman (2000) and

others (O'Connell, 2009; Swalwell, 2013a; Wheeler-Bell, 2017) also critique this understanding of social justice as being a superficial, short-term solution to an immediate problem rather than a more sustained engagement in deeper issues causing the problem. As such, it may help soften the impacts arising from inequality but it generally unsupportive of positive peace.

Moreover, engaging in charity and volunteering can be understood through manifest and latent functions (Merton, 1957), wherein charity is manifested as a 'good' action (e.g., 'helping') but latent in its implicit permission to keep on extorting the poor. Billionaire Peter Buffet (2013) describes this phenomenon of helping those less fortunate as 'conscience laundering' and that "as more lives and communities are destroyed by the system that creates vast amounts of wealth for the few, the more heroic it sounds to 'give back'" (Para. 7).

While this approach does not align with my study's more transformational definition of PBSJ, Choules highlights how the charity approach is the dominant discourse surrounding initiatives with refugees. Charity is also a common practice in the MENA region. In a report on philanthropy in the Arab region, Hartnell (2018) suggests that a large proportion of philanthropy is driven by religious traditions:

> Whether it is Islamic model of charitable giving – *waqf* (loosely translated as endowment), *zakat* (alms or charitable giving, which is the third pillar of Islam and obligatory for believers), *sadaqah* (benevolence and voluntary giving) – or the Coptic Christian *oshour* (non-obligatory giving to the Church of up to 10 per cent of wages) and *bokour* (non-obligatory donation to the Church of one's first full month's salary). (p. 3)

This type of engagement may be particularly relevant in Jordan where many citizens (over 97%) are Muslim (United States Department of State, 2019) and where many Christian refugees displaced by ISIS have settled (Sweis, 2014).

Arab youth equally act as participatory citizens. Abdou and Skalli (2018) point to Egyptian youth's civic engagement through civil society organisations (CSOs). They found privileged and middle-class 'youth' (21-40 years old) created CSOs that addressed political issues and provided services such as education and healthcare to the community. Gertel and Hexel (2018) similarly documented this form of civic engagement. Their research indicated that youth (15-24 years old) across a number of MENA countries were involved in CSOs; however, this number was particularly low for elite youth.

Human rights education

Choules (2007b) remarks how charity approaches are sometimes supported by or replaced with a human rights discourse. Because rights are codified, marginalised groups can ostensibly make demands rather than await the benevolence of the more powerful.

While human rights discourse is fraught with accusations of being a Western concept, scholars, such as Dwyer (1991), also point to the congruency between Islam and human rights. For instance, Hassan (2003) describes how the human right to exercise religious freedom, is clear in the Quranic dictum, "Let there be no compulsion in religion" *(Al-Baqarah*[1]: 256). Moreover, as indicated above, human rights are also politically acknowledged in Islamic statutes (Universal

[1] Chapter in the Quran

Islamic Declaration of Human Rights, 1981). More specifically, Jordan's Comprehensive Human Rights Plan for 2016-2025 links religion, rights, and peace: "Believing in God and respecting values and upholding the ideals of equality, justice and peace, and acknowledging the right of every person to a free and dignified life are fundamental principles in religion" (Jordan Embassy, n.d., p. 5). Jordan's National Charter also specifies a commitment to protect human rights and to adhere to the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, n.d.).

Although appropriate in the MENA context, this approach has some limitations. For one, because "the problem remains with the Other, the marginalized or oppressed group who wishes to gain the full benefits of personhood" (Choules, 2007b, p. 469), it is an educational approach emphasised in such communities wherein the focus is on self-advocacy. As such, Choules remarks that human rights discourses among the powerful remains largely unexamined. This appears to be the case in Jordan, where it is documented in Al Zyoud et al.'s (2013) study of state schools but not on Maxwell and Howard's (2020) study of an elite school.

Where it is a focal subject in elite schools, students are often expected to fight for "everyone's rights… to create more of an equal society" (Swalwell, 2013a, p. 102). This approach, however, reflects discretionary power and paternalism. Perhaps the biggest criticism Choules levies against adopting a human rights approach is that it does not require a critique of power. Similarly, Roy (2004) asserts that "justice is for the rich and… human rights for the victims" (p. 2).

Democratic citizenship education

If a human rights approach can be characterised as having an "emphasis on equality … in which the dominant group *accepts* the presence and *participation of others*" (Choules, p. 473, emphasis added), democratic citizenship education involves shaping citizens who can *participate* in a democratic society *with others*.

Democratic education was first espoused by Dewey (1944) who asserted the importance of consensus, communication, inquiry, and reflection. Dewey asserted that these skills are integral to the cooperation of individuals and their participation in society. As such, democratic education is often linked to citizenship education (and is sometimes referred to as democratic citizenship education). Because of its emphasis on diversity and perspective-taking, it also overlaps with global citizenship education as both are founded on the principle that, in a globalised world, individuals are exposed to many different people, perspectives, and ways of living and that democratic principles can help us to live together peacefully.

While common in Western countries, democratic citizenship education is found elsewhere—though not without problems. Although democratic principles are not necessarily inconsistent with Islamic or Middle Eastern values (Tessler, 2002), Geha and Horst (2019) highlight how citizenship programmes encourage political participation through systems that do not exist or function in the MENA region. Following Galtung's (2000) model, Mitchell (2005) describes such scenarios as "a mis-match between social values and social structure" (p. 8). Waghid and Smeyers (2015) provide numerous examples of how democratic citizenship education has been

manipulated within the MENA region, and is either loosely connected to PBSJ or, in fact, in opposition to the positive peace:

> In those countries in which citizenship education is given some consideration emphasis seems to be placed on… 'combating rebellion against authority' such as riots, suicide operations, and belonging to armed opposition (Algeria); 'confronting growing threats and proliferation of extremist groups' (Egypt); 'appreciation for government' (Oman); 'loyalty to homeland' (Sudan, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan). (p. 540)

It therefore appears that citizenship education may be co-opted by government interests and focused on negative peace.

Waghid and Smeyers (2014) advocate for democratic citizenship education to be meaningfully incorporated into the Arab and Muslim world and argue that this can be achieved through *cosmopolitanism*. The authors suggest that cosmopolitanism offers a culture of acceptance and hospitality that cultivates co-operative social relations and collective reasoning that ought to be incorporated into educational institutions. This emphasis on cosmopolitanism is fitting given Islamic openness to outside learning (Majālī, 1976) and the clear connections it offers to examining international schools, which are inherently cosmopolitan with their international clientele and curricula. Moreover, Sant (2019) and Duarte (2016) highlight how elites tend to engage in democratic education in a more cosmopolitan manner: learning other languages, studying abroad, and familiarising with the Western canon.

Howard and Maxwell's (2020) study of global citizenship education in an elite school in Jordan captures this approach. It found that lessons encouraged students to:

> build and maintain relationships across differences, to develop an awareness of diverse perspectives, to accept and appreciate human differences, to be in the service of others, and to value democratic ways of knowing and doing (p. 22).

Additionally, their case-study school facilitated "educational and intellectual exchanges across geographical, cultural, and political frontiers" for the purpose of "building blocks of peace" (p. 23).

Knowledge of different groups of people has been highlighted with the basis being that such an understanding may mitigate or prevent conflict (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2013; UNESCO, 1995). As such, educators in the MENA region and elsewhere have included studying other religions and cultural and ethnic groups (Al-Zyoud et al., 2013; IIEP, 2005). While these studies primarily refer to preventing or recovering from ethnic conflict, knowledge of others has also been central to understanding socioeconomic injustice. It is particularly present in literature on elite youth, wherein they examine they socioeconomic challenges of others (e.g., Swalwell, 2013).

Perhaps one of the most common and controversial educational activities in this vein is that of intergroup contact. Initially called the contact hypothesis (Allport et al., 1954) and designed for ethnic conflict, it posits that as different groups of individuals interact and communicate, their understanding and appreciation of one another would increase. It sometimes described as involving 'head', 'feet', and 'heart' (McCauley, 2002) as the activity involves thinking critically,

interacting with others, and shifting attitudes—although there is some debate on the order of these (Tal-Or et al., 2002). This type of activity has focused on decreasing tensions between ethnic groups such as Palestinians and Israelis (Ditlmann & Samii, 2016) and has extended beyond to include individuals of different socioeconomic backgrounds predominantly through service-learning (Howard, 2008; Kenway & Fahey, 2015; Swalwell, 2013a) as a part of vertical-relationship building (Lederach, 1999).

My review will not delve into the details of individual studies employing this activity as most of these are subjugated to several over-arching criticisms. Kester (2012, p. 67) for instance, cautions that for such initiatives to be successful, they must meet the criteria for 'an ideal situation' (the ability to self-fund the initiative, equality between groups, the ability to practice what they have learned outside a contrived environment, and sustained interaction), which is often difficulty to achieve. Salomon (2004) also suggests that another limitation of this approach is that the long-term effects are unknown. Moreover, this approach may lack a deeper engagement with issues such as historical inequalities and power relations (Beckerman, 2010 as cited in Smith, 2011).

Despite these issues, it remains a prevalent activity noted in even the most recent literature in the MENA region, with some degree of success. Gross and Maor (2020), for instance, found that an Israeli university with mixed attendance of Arab and Jewish students showed more positive attitudes and relations between the groups than those with less mixed attendance. Likewise, Mousa's (2020) study of a football team composed of Muslims as well as Iraqi Christians displaced by ISIS demonstrated more positive behaviours (more likely to vote for a Muslim to

receive a sportsmanship award and train with Muslims after the intervention) than those of all-Christian teams.

Although this approach allows opportunity for transformation, achieving this end is not inevitable. Howard and Maxwell (2020) thus advise that such an approach would benefit from a deeper critical engagement in which reflexivity would play a greater role. In this effort, they follow Andreotti's (2006) recommendation that it include "the analysis and critique of the relationships among perspectives, language, power, social groups and social practices" (p. 49). Such an emphasis is described in more detail in the following approach.

Critical education

O'Connell (2009) describes how approaches like charity, human rights, and civics perpetuate values of elite groups that reflect a thin form of compassion (including individualism, autonomy, self-sufficiency, consumerism, Whiteness, and "bourgeois" Christianity). She contends that these approaches allow elites to create categories of deserving and undeserving people; to engage in voyeuristic curiosity; to ignore the structural causes of suffering; to condemn vulnerability; and to place the onus for social change on those who suffer. Critical education stands in opposition to this type of 'engagement'.

One of the most significant contributors to critical education is Paulo Freire (1970b), a philosopher who focused on the ontological vocation of humanisation. This vocation is "affirmed by the yearning of the oppressed for freedom and justice, and by their struggle to recover their lost humanity" (p. 43). According to Freire, humanisation is operationalised through praxis, which, he argued, consists of reflection (also referred to as conscientization or

critical awareness) and action, and must be dialogical in nature. When individuals recognise that their actions and reflection can transform the world they are said to have achieved "authentic liberation"(p. 79). However, the pursuit of humanisation can be liberating only if certain values are evidenced: love, hope, trust, humility, openness, and respect.

Furthermore, this pursuit "cannot be carried out in isolation or individualism, but only in fellowship and solidarity. No one can be authentically human while he prevents others from being so" (p. 85). The prevention of humanisation, or 'dehumanisation', occurs in many ways, including when the humanising vocation is "thwarted by injustice, exploitation, oppression, and the violence of the oppressors" (p. 43); when we treat individuals as Objects, which are "known and acted upon" (p. 36) and "receptacles to be filled" (p. 72), rather than as Subjects (conscious social actors able to actively participate in social and political life); and when we develop a "focalized view of problems" (p. 142), which divides communities and prevents the individual from understanding issues of the totality (also referred to as 'alienation').

This philosophy, sometimes referred to as 'popular education', is grounded in Marxism and pervasive in the literature focused on education for PBSJ. For instance, in her description of 'privilege', Choules (2007b) advocates for a 'shifting of the gaze' (Foucault, 1979) from the deficits of the poor to an examination of privilege, which entails an examination of the allocation of limited resources, over-consumption, and power. Similarly, Zembylas (2006) asserts the need for a space to engage in "discourses that formulate individuals' experiences in ways that challenge prevailing oppressive forces through a collaborative effort of interpretation and reinterpretation" (p. 318).

Critical education is also drawing increasingly from discourses surrounding responsibility, implication, and collectivity. Choules (2007b) for instance, discusses the “an obligation to act” and a need to move understandings of social justice as ‘charity’ to social justice as ‘duty'. For some, this duty involves a radical change in social structure. For instance, in Wheeler-Bell’s (2017) framework, ‘class suicide’ holds that privileged students did not earn their privilege and should consequently renounce all advantages associated with their situation and align with the oppressed. Wheeler-Bell points to two shortcomings of this approach. First, it oversimplifies the distinction between intentional injustice/moral blame and collective responsibility (Young, 2010). Second, it places undue responsibility on children who would be required to renounce family and friends. A third critique might also be levied: while a gallant sacrifice, the impact of one individual forfeiting all privileges associated with class may not be as transformative as dismantling the structures that contribute to class formation. This is not to say that such efforts are at odds, but that to be more transformative, class suicide should go beyond renouncing privilege, class, and power.

Gill and Niens (2014) merge these understandings of obligation and humanisation in what they call ‘dialogic pedagogy’, which “incorporates an element of critical reflection and dialogue, inquiry-based learning and authentic relationships in the process of education and hermeneutical encounter” (p. 22). Dialogic pedagogy is in line with several peacebuilding literature reviews that also stress critical thinking, dialogue, and intergroup contact, including Kagawa’s (2005) review of emergency education; Lopes Cardozo et al.’s (2015) review of youth, peacebuilding, and education; Sommers’ (2001) review of peace education and refugee youth; and Davies’ (2004) *Complexity and Chaos*, based on her experience and research in education in

conflict-affected contexts. These practices aim to cultivate '*justice-oriented*' citizens who, instead of donating to or organising a food drive, might ask why there is a need for a food drive (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Alternatively, Swalwell (2013a) refers to the activist ally: students who show political awareness and political solidarity.

The degree to which such critical education pedagogies can be implemented in the MENA region is a subject of examination. In his study of citizenship education in Arab contexts, Al-Maamari (2011, as cited in Waghid and Smeyers, 2014), cautions that delivering such forms of pedagogy is contingent on teacher preparation programmes, many of which have failed to develop strategies for critical thinking and rely on didactic approaches. Looking more specifically at Jordan, Magee and Pherali's (2017) study of Freirean pedagogies used in an educational programme supporting Jordanian and Syrian youth found that social change efforts competed with the need for certification; that is, participants suggested that their enrolment in the programme hinged on how well it might prepare them for the job market. However, that this pedagogy has been noted in the MENA context is significant as it suggests some level of acceptance and/or capacity to adapt.

While Magee and Pherali's study did not include students from high socioeconomic backgrounds, critical pedagogies have been found in studies of elite schools. This literature indicates that special considerations should be taken when using this pedagogy with elite students. For instance, Swalwell (2013a) suggests that while marginalised students feel empowered from learning about oppression, privileged students feel overwhelmed. Goodman (2000) also found that students who experience over-arousal (i.e. distress) may avert any

further action if it feels too psychologically threatening. In these scenarios, individuals may focus on their own needs (i.e., relieving their distress) instead of engaging in a more collective praxis conducive to PBSJ. As such, there appears to be a precarious balance between unsettling privileged groups and immobilising them.

Choules (2007a) also stresses that context matters, especially regarding more transformative Freirean pedagogies as "the way that social change pedagogy is experienced, understood, and responded to differs significantly depending on the positioning of the students" (p. 161). She describes how educating dominant groups to understand issues affecting oppressed people has resulted in the former group feeling threatened and not sharing the same vision of social change as those being oppressed. Similarly, a teacher in another study (Howard, 2013) expressed concerns that his teaching for social justice could result in students using the knowledge to their own advantage. Choules and others (Evans et al., 2000), including Freire (1985), therefore warn against transplanting such pedagogy and remind us that popular education was designed for popular sectors.

Not all studies reflect these concerns. Educators in Curry-Stevens' (2007) study suggested that reactions might differ according to the length of a programme. She indicated that activities can initially evoke destabilising feelings, but in the long-term, individuals may experience feelings of liberation. This finding indicates the need for educators to consider the time commitment of activities in order to manage students' reactions. Curry-Stevens provides two additional suggestions based on the findings. First, because students may experience feelings of guilt and instability, educators should encourage students to process this guilt rather than cast judgment.

Second, because it may be overwhelming for students and/or their individual self-interest is not strong, students will require support to maintain their commitments to social justice.

Thus, while critical education appears to support PBSJ, the nature of it may vary according to context and socioeconomic position.

Analysis of educational approaches

A number of points emerge from the existing bodies of literature documenting educational approaches to PBSJ. First, like the roles of elite students, these approaches support this study's definition of PBSJ to varying degrees, with critical education being the most likely to address issues of injustice as it tends to focus on dynamics of power and emphasises dialogue and praxis— all of which is essential for conflict transformation. Human rights and democratic citizenship education approaches can also contribute to PBSJ as the former involves advocacy for those facing injustice and the latter promotes critical reflection and skills to work collectively in society. In contrast, political apathy and charity approaches appeared to be the least likely to transform injustice.

Second, context plays an important part in determining what approach might be chosen and the success of an approach. Culturally, these approaches appeared to be congruent with Islamic values. On the other hand, approaches like human rights, democratic education, and critical education might be incongruent with existing political structures, not to mention put students at risk. Thus, while charity and political apathy may not be transformational, educators may be limited to these approaches.

Third, practices may be evaluated not only on behaviours but on intention. For instance, students who engage in charitable acts may have the intention of redistribution or at the very least, support negative peace. On the other hand, others may use charity as a tool for 'conscience laundering', in which the intention is neither redistribution nor negative peace but to maintain power (see 'Individual motives', below). Similarly, several studies discussed above suggested that elite schools propound discourses of peace and responsible citizenship through activities like service-learning, they also reproduce privilege (Gardner-McTaggart, 2016; Kenway & Fahey, 2015; McDonald et al., 2012). Thus, it is equally important to examine the hidden curricula (Giroux & Penna, 1979). Likewise, Merton (1968) draws attention to latent functions or unintentional consequences, which may be positive, negative, or neutral. As was evidenced in Seider's (2008) study of social responsibility in elite American schools (wherein levels of empathy dropped), practices that reflect the positive face of education and are in line with positive peace may have unintentional negative consequences.

Finally, the approaches in the framework appeared to correspond with several roles described in the previous chapter. This matter is discussed in detail below.

Interaction of educational approaches and roles in PBSJ

Given that the manner upon which institutions like schools approach PBSJ is often derived from their understandings of the role the given audience plays (Kemper, 2005), it is perhaps unsurprising that links emerge between the educational approaches above and roles in PBSJ. As such, schools might aim to groom the 'good' Future Leaders; sanction, educate, or reorient the

CTS and Antagonists; provide critical pedagogy for the Ally; organise charity events for the Saviour; empower the Changemaker; or facilitate the Influencer.

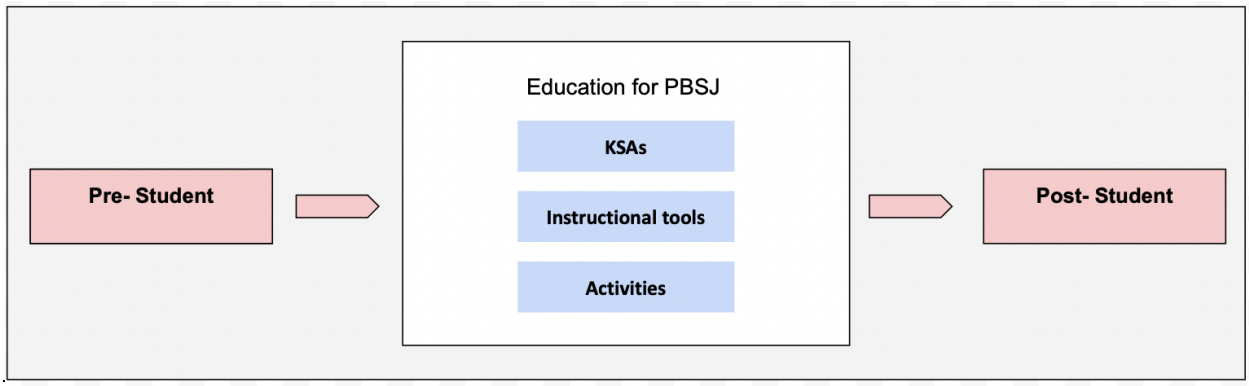
However, to think of education for PBSJ as a list of roles and their corresponding approaches is to ignore student agency. That is, it is important to not solely see what is available, but how it is received. The following sections consider factors influencing students' engagement in PBSJ, namely assumptions surrounding agency and learning as well as literature on motives.

Agency and learning

Two dominant assumptions appear to emerge from the literature on peacebuilding : 1) that individuals are empty receptacles who need to be filled with the knowledge, skills, and attitudes of PBSJ (i.e., a linear change) and 2) that individuals have pre-existing understandings of PBSJ and their role therein and, subsequently, their engagement in educational for PBSJ is a dialectic process.

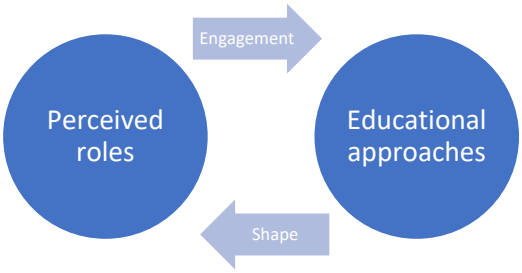
As for the former, some efforts to conscientize and humanise students in order to build PBSJ reflect Miall's (2003) understanding of conflict transformation as elite transformation, which he characterizes as changes of perspective, heart, and will, as well as gestures of conciliation. Similarly, in her article on theories of change in conflict interventions, Shapiro (2006) outlines how transforming individuals involves strategies targeting three kinds of change: cognitive, behavioural, and affective (i.e., KSAs). This transformation might be conceived as a linear theory of change in which students receive education for PBSJ and are transformed into a specified type of peacebuilder (see Figure 2 below).

Figure 2: Theory of change



A second model considers the dialectic between students' perceived roles and the educational approaches offered. In this conceptualisation, the educational approaches can shape the perceived roles of students, but students' perceptions of their roles might also shape their engagement (see Figure 3 below). That is, students who conceive themselves in a specific role may be hesitant to engage in activities associated with other roles. For instance, a student who considers himself a Saviour, for instance, may not engage in school activities relating to the critical education. Conversely, a student who considers himself a Saviour may receive critical education and choose to take on a role as an Ally or Disrupter.

Figure 3: Dialectic between roles and educational approaches



In this regard, it is important to consider what drives students to engage in education for PBSJ—the focus of the following section.

Individual motives and engagement

A student's decision to engage in any particular PBSJ approach may be driven by different motives. These motives may also influence the nature of students' engagement within an activity.

In her work with privileged individuals and social justice, Goodman (2000) identified three categories of motives: moral/religious, empathy, and self-interest. She posits that moral and religious motives are similar in that they are underscored by an ethics of justice or an ethics of care (or a combination of the two). An ethics of justice is concerned with rights and fairness and may include the Golden Rule or treating everyone as a child of God. It also emphasises principles or standards. An ethics of care focuses on relationships, the welfare of others, and preventing harm or suffering, which are concerns found across many religions. This type of motive may have some relevance in Jordan where many citizens claim a religious orientation, particularly Islam (United States Department of State, 2019), in which a duty of care is prevalent (Bassiouni, 2012) as are rights (Dwyer, 1991).

In addition to these moral/religious motives, privileged groups may be driven by empathy. Goodman suggests that empathy is guided by altruism, a need to comply with internal standards (e.g., being caring), or a need to reduce negative feelings (such as guilt). Howard's (2013) study of affluent students from a liberal arts college in the US may reflect this type of motivation. Students in his study were required to engage in 'social justice work' (e.g., women's

equality, environmental concerns, animal rights) each week. A number of students continued to engage in the activities when they were no longer mandatory. Howard examined the motivations of these students and found that some saw themselves as a valuable resource while others were driven by either a desire to be rewarded or by guilt. It was equally found in Howard's (2008) study of elite secondary students in the US.

Privileged groups may also be motivated by self-interest; that is, they recognise the individual, mutual, or interdependent benefits of engaging in social justice. Goodman posits that using individual self-interest as a means to motivate elites to work towards social justice and peacebuilding can mitigate against the perspective of "just helping them", consequently reducing condescension (2000, p. 1080). However, she cautions that appealing to self-interest might breed distrust as those involved may not trust the motives, nor the depth or sustained engagement of individualistic self-interest. As such, it may run counter to cooperative, humanising goals. Moreover, because this might encourage superficial commitment, it may lead to lip-service or co-opting.

In contrast, self-interest can be mutual or interdependent, wherein there is genuine concern for others. The distinction between these two interests is that the former is done in a primarily altruistic fashion, but the privileged may feel good about the action. The latter involves action based on the recognition that both groups' lives are intertwined. This type of motive may be thought of as deeply relational, for as Young (2011) puts it, "for every oppressed group there is a group that is privileged in relation to that group" (p. 42). Although Goodman's conceptualisation implies that these two groups have different reasons to work collectively

towards the same end, lives may also be more directly intertwined in their oppression, for as Crawley and Skleparis (2018) and Alatassi (2018) point out, people from both ends of the socioeconomic spectrum were affected by the conflict and that peacebuilding provides a collective benefit. Regardless of the distinction, this type of motivation may be developmentally influenced, as Hakvoort and Oppenheimer (1998) suggest that such a position may only arise once students reach a level of social-cognitive development where they recognise mutual relationships— often in adolescence.

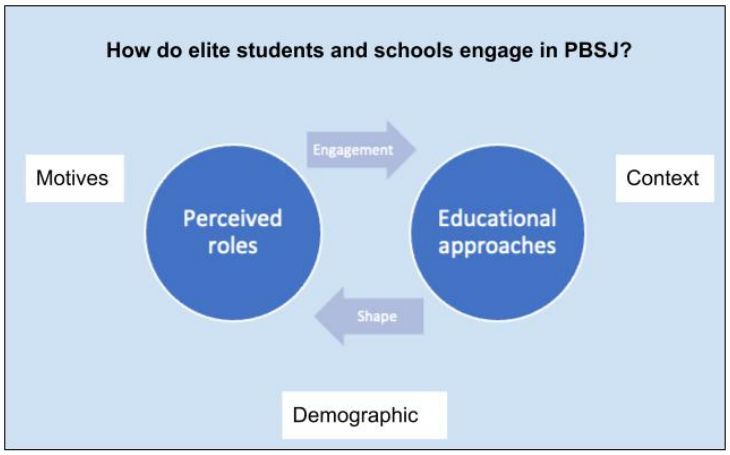
While the different motives may not be explicitly connected to each of the educational approaches or roles outlined earlier in the chapter, some connections may still be made. For instance, those driven by an 'interdependent' motive may be students most likely to engage in critical approaches as both are based in understandings of collectivity and positive duties. They may equally be described as Allies. Students who are particularly motivated by their religious values may engage in charity, human rights, democratic, and/or critical approaches as all of these were found to have some congruency with ethics of justice and care within Islam. Those who have a self-interest penchant may be Bystanders if they feel activities are not in their benefit. Lastly, students with any of these motivations are not likely to have much interest in political apathy, in which there is no actionable component. These hypotheses are, however, just that: hypotheses. The literature has yet to explore the actual nature of privileged students' participation in PBSJ.

Summary

This chapter has examined the impact of elite private schools' ethos and positionality on PBSJ. The literature suggested that because elite private schools are exclusive to the wealthy and governed by neoliberalism, their very existence is incompatible with collectivity and likely to increase inequality through the reproduction of power. This incompatibility with PBSJ, however, was not viewed as a reason to prevent elite schools from providing education for PBSJ given the collective effort required. As such, I explored educational approaches to PBSJ and synthesised these into a framework that included political apathy, charity and volunteerism, human rights, democratic citizenship education, and critical approaches. The chapter then drew attention the congruency between certain educational approaches and roles in PBSJ, while acknowledging the importance of student agency and individual motives.

Through examining the complex interplay of roles and approaches, situated in a particular context with a particular demographic of free-thinking students driven by different motives (see Figure 4 below), this study hopes to explore how elite students and schools in Jordan engage in peacebuilding and social justice. The following section outlines the methodology for doing so.

Figure 4: Potential factors influencing engagement in PBSJ



IV. Methodology

This chapter describes the research approach, design, and the methods I used to answer and analyse the research questions. It also presents the ethical considerations of the research, my positionality as the researcher, and the limitations of the study.

Overview

This research focuses on the case-study school Jordan International (pseudonym): an elite international school in Amman, Jordan. As will be elaborated upon in the following chapter, this school was attended by elite students from the MENA region (Jordan, Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Egypt, and Palestine) as well as various international students. Data was collected over the course of a school year (September 2019 - June 2020), through qualitative methods, namely: observations, interviews and life narratives, document analyses, surveys, and a 'sticky-note activity' in which students defined 'peace' and 'social justice'. Table 4 below summarises the methods used to answer each research question as part of my case-study while Figure 5 provides a more detailed timeline of the fieldwork.

In total, 62 HS students from the case-study school were surveyed, 30 of whom were from the MENA region. Seventy-two MS students participated in the definitions activity, twenty-nine of whom were from the MENA region. Twenty-four JI students from the MENA region, 28 JI staff members, two NGO partners, three parents, five staff members from other elite schools, one student from a different elite school, two elite school alumni, and 1 JI alumnus were interviewed.

Table 1: Summary of research design

Questions	Method	Sample
1. What is the perceived role of elite youth in peacebuilding and social justice?	-Surveys -Interviews -Observations -Document analysis (policies, curricula, lesson plans, student assignments, etc.)	-JI students -JI staff -JI parents -JI and other elite school alumni -NGOs affiliated with JI -students and staff from other elite schools
2. To what extent do elite schools offer programming conducive to peacebuilding and social justice?	-Surveys -Observations -Interviews -Document analysis (policies, curricula, lesson plans, student assignments, etc.)	-JI students -JI staff -JI parents -JI and other elite school alumni -NGOs affiliated with JI -students and staff from other elite schools
3. To what extent do elite students participate in activities related to peacebuilding and social justice?	-Interviews -Observations -Document analysis (year books, school newspapers, social media, student assignments, etc.)	-JI students -JI staff -JI parents -JI alumni and other elite school -NGOs affiliated with JI

Figure 5: Fieldwork timeline (2019-2020)

<table>
<tr><th>Sept.</th><th>Oct.</th><th>Nov.</th><th>Dec.</th><th>Jan.</th><th>Feb.</th><th>Mar.</th><th>April</th><th>May</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="8">School visits to identify case-study school</td><td>Supply teaching</td><td colspan="7">Began teaching assignment</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3"></td><td colspan="7">Staff interviews</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td colspan="5">Student interviews</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td colspan="4">Other interviews</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="8">Observations</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="8">Document analysis</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2"></td><td rowspan="2"></td><td rowspan="2"></td><td rowspan="2">Definitions activity- MS</td><td></td><td></td><td rowspan="2">Survey-
HS</td><td rowspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="2">Life narratives</td></tr>
</table>

Research paradigm

This study's emphasis on social justice, intersectionality, collectivity, and dialogue parallels constructivist and transformative research paradigms. In terms of the former, constructivism is ontologically grounded in the notion that "knowing is not passive" (Schwandt, 2000, p. 197); that is, reality is socially constructed (Mertens, 2010). As such, this paradigm emphasises perspectives and context—factors that have clear connections to intersectionality. Though constructivism is criticised for its subjectivity (Mack, 2010), Schutz (2003) argues that all research is inherently subjective and that acknowledging subjectivity strengthens the quality of the research. Others (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Mertens, 2010) posit that multiple data collection strategies and thick description of the case and researcher reduces subjectivity, increases transparency. Because these methods can help overcome the limitations of constructivism, this paradigm was chosen over paradigms that would offer less internal coherence and that also present limitations.

As this research also emphasises social justice, it draws from a transformative paradigm, in which understanding how oppression is structured and reproduced is central (Mertens, 2010). Constructivist and transformative paradigms have a level of compatibility as they both have the same ontological and epistemological view that reality and knowledge are socially constructed and emphasise the role of dialogue. In fact, Mertens (2010) suggests that constructivist researchers are increasingly citing the ethical need to situate their work within a more transformative paradigm. Where these two approaches differ is that the transformative

paradigm stresses the goal of transforming society through raised consciousness and action. The constructivist paradigm, on the other hand, does not necessarily lead to action.

Because of its activist nature, the transformative paradigm has been criticised for having a political agenda and for jeopardising researcher objectivity (Cohen et al., 2007). As such, rather than explicitly and actively leading participants towards any action, it was my intention to explore students' understandings of peacebuilding and social justice and observe any praxis. Thus, while the *literature* centres on social justice, which has connections to the transformative paradigm, the *methodology* is largely constructivist. Although this research could be criticised for lacking action, I believe it is best not to take a political approach given the sensitive nature of the topic (on-going civil wars), the demographic of participants (youth), and the possibility of violating the principle of 'do no harm'—that is, given the context, there is reason to believe that transformative praxis could put students at risk (Gelvin, 2015; Hartnell, 2018). That said, during the final stages of writing the thesis, I presented the research and advocated for certain changes (see Recommendations). These changes were actioned, and I was able to notify participants that their input had helped improve programming.

Methods

As this research draws from transformative and constructivist paradigms, it uses qualitative methods to gather data—namely interviews, document analysis, and observations. Creswell (1990) recommends qualitative methods where, "a concept or phenomenon needs to be understood because little research has been done on it" (p. 23), as is the case with PBSJ in elite schools. Quantitative methods were not considered appropriate as their structured and

numeric nature restricts participants' ability to communicate freely and in depth. However, due to COVID-19 restrictions and the state-wide switch to online learning, some topics that were to be discussed in focus groups had to be addressed in surveys with virtual follow-up interviews. This method, and others, are discussed in detail below.

Interviews

Interviews served a dual purpose of contextualising and checking my observations and document analysis, as well as eliciting participants' thoughts on topics related to the research questions. These latter questions were piloted at a different international school in Amman to ensure the language was clear, adjust the order of questions, add additional questions, etc. All interviews were semi-structured in nature to take advantage of planned and piloted questions (see Appendix) that establish direction and scope, and flexibility to pursue unanticipated responses (Mertens, 2010).

Staff members, students, alumni, and parents from JI were invited to interview, as well as NGO workers paired with the school and students, and staff members, and alumni from other elite schools (see 'Sampling' below). Participants were offered interviews in either English or Arabic (with a translator of their choosing). Because elite schools in Amman require teachers to be fluent in English, all participants chose English, and the use of interpreters was not required.

Interviews were initially face-to-face and individual; however, due to COVID-19, all interviews after March had to be conducted via an approved online platform as the country entered a lockdown. When possible, the online interviews were on camera as this style of interview provides the benefits of noting nonverbal behaviour (Kirk, 2007). Interviews that did occur in

person were offered at the school or in a setting the participants felt comfortable in (Punch, 2002), such as a local café. As the school offered private meeting rooms, many participants opted to interview there. All interviews were recorded on an encrypted device and stored on a digitally secure platform.

Participants were asked in interviews to define ‘peace’ and ‘social justice’. These definitions provided a baseline to understand how they interpreted the concepts and how these understandings coloured their other responses. For instance, asking: “Do you or students you know participate in activities relating to PBSJ?” required first understanding what the participant believed was ‘peace’ and ‘social justice’. Participants were also asked questions such as: “Does your school have any policies that might relate to PBSJ?” to assess the extent to which these policies were pushed by the school and determine whether or not students’ and staffs’ actions were guided by these. Interview questions also sought to explore whether participants saw any gaps in programming with questions such as: "Do you think your school could do anything else to support PBSJ?” To determine whether elite youth engaged in PBSJ, but preferred to do so outside of the school, students, parents, and alumni were asked: “Are there other places that support PBSJ that youth engage in outside of the school (e.g., mosque, community groups, etc.)”.

Students and staff from other elite schools were asked the same questions as JI participants, as well as questions regarding their school context and programming to determine whether the findings from JI were generalisable. Questions for NGO workers focused on the nature of JI student engagement in service-learning and intergroup contact activities, how youth from their

organisation experienced the activities, and the aims and history of the relationship between JI and the NGO. In each interview, I asked participants how they might explore this research (e.g., "What questions would you be asking?") to help shape the research from an 'insider' perspective (see full lists of questions in Appendix).

At the end of the interview, after responses were given, I prompted participants with themes generated from the literature on roles and educational approaches in a guided discussion. Because there were several roles, participants in the pilot had difficulty remembering all of these. Therefore, in the actual interviews, I printed simplified versions of these themes on cards for participants to read over and reflect upon. The purpose for prompting them with themes was threefold. First, it served as a form of member-checking. That is, I wanted to ensure I had correctly interpreted their statements when these appeared to be associated with themes in the literature (e.g., "When you said x, it sounded like something I had read about called y. Is this a correct association?"). Second, prompting participants with new roles often triggered examples they had not immediately recalled during the limited interview time. Third, it allowed me to understand why participants omitted certain roles.

Participants were then asked to reflect on the roles and approaches they mentioned and discuss the extent to which these were applicable in the MENA context. In doing so, discussion became more nuanced, with participants sometimes describing the presence of a role or activity in one area (e.g., the school) but not another (e.g., society) and, without prompting, participants sometimes arranged the cards into self-made categories. When the interview was completed, I kept the cards as the participants had arranged them, made notes on what the

arrangement signified, and made a photographic record of these (see 'Thematic discussions' in Appendix). When a new code emerged that was not part of the literature, the participant crafted a new slip together to add to the collection and use in upcoming interviews. Although the slips could not be used in a similar manner during online interviews, I also shared the master file with participants so that they could discuss the themes and add new ones where applicable.

Observations

As the school offered me a part-time position, I undertook an observer-as-participant approach (Mertens, 2010), wherein in addition to observing special functions and school-wide activities, I participated in assemblies, parent meetings, staff meetings, and, when invited, in after school clubs, classroom lessons, fieldtrips, etc. Observations were recorded in written form as well as through photographs to facilitate a 'thick' or detailed description of the context (see below). Observations focused on the extent to which peacebuilding and social justice was enacted in these lessons, assemblies, extracurricular activities, fieldtrips, and so on, as well as the nature of this engagement. They also served as a tool to triangulate the data; that is, to determine the extent to which what was discussed in interviews and written in policy (see 'Document analysis' below) was occurring in practice.

Document analysis

Throughout the research, I examined numerous extant documents, including relevant textbooks, curricula, policies, yearbooks, mission statements, bulletin boards, lesson plans, school newspaper articles, conference brochures, recruitment posters, social media posts, and

student products posted around the school and those shared by students and teachers. This analysis had the aim of gaining "insights into the dynamics of everyday functioning" (Mertens, 2010, p. 373) and familiarising myself with the rhetoric and beliefs of the school community. It also enabled me to understand the rationales and outcomes of activities relating to PBSJ and determine whether these reflected an implicit or explicit educational approach or role for elite youth in PBSJ. Once again, this method allowed me to triangulate the data by noting any synergies or discrepancies between what it taught and what is policy/curricula; what is taught and what is understood by students (as demonstrated by student products); and what is promoted in policy/rhetoric and whether this was reflected in the behaviours of staff and students.

Sticky-note activity

Students were invited to share their understandings of 'peace/peacebuilding' and 'social justice' on sticky notes with one colour representing MENA students and one represented international students (see Appendix). This activity was meant to explore whether cultural differences existed in students' definitions. Although meant to be used across all secondary classes and then used as a basis for focus group discussion (in which I would co-construct the themes with students), due to COVID-19, I was only able to elicit responses from Middle School (MS) students.

Survey

A web-based survey posed open-ended questions such as, "What is important at JI?" and "Why did you or your parents choose JI?" to contextualise the findings (see full list of survey

questions in Appendix). The former question helped triangulate against my observations and school mission statements and policy and determine whether or not it included any references to PBSJ. The latter question provided insight into whether policies or practices related to PBSJ might be a draw or whether students and their families had different or even opposing pursuits that might affect their (non)engagement. As with the interviews, students were also asked to define 'peace' and 'social justice' for the same purposes discussed above. A final question on the survey was left open for students to discuss anything they thought might be relevant to the research that was not included in the survey questions.

As outlined in 'Sampling' (below), all High School (HS) students were invited to complete the survey as the views of non-MENA students' classmates, particularly their definitions of PBSJ, may also have an impact on MENA students themselves. To distinguish between students from the MENA region and those from elsewhere, this demographic information was elicited. The survey was otherwise anonymous; however, students were offered the option to provide contact information if they would like to have a deeper discussion of the topics in the survey and/or allow me to contact them if their responses were not clear. In retrospect, survey responses appeared to increase participation amongst introverted students who did not want to meet face to face (as two survey participants indicated). Thus, this method expanded access and led to a wider range of responses.

Life narratives

Life narratives offer a rich account of an individual's experience. This research method involves recording oral histories and jogging memories through in-depth interviews (Yow, 2005). It is

supported by other data sources such as documents and artifacts (Mertens, 2010). This study made use of all the above, with documents such as personal poems (see Appendix) and eliciting artifacts such as photographs from life narrative participants—families who had direct experience with conflict (see 'Sampling' below). In-depth interviews were conducted with individual members of a family and with family dyads (siblings, mother-daughter) (e.g., one interview with the mother, one with the daughter, then one with both). Prior to the lockdown, narratives were conducted face-to-face and in a space of the family's and individuals' choosing. After the lockdown, these occurred via an approved online platform. These conversations began with the same questions posed during interviews but were longer in length (sometimes two and a half hours) and/or involved a series of conversations (two to four) to allow more time to elicit fine details and pursue participants' digressions. In addition to interview questions, the conversations centred on family history (as this often appeared to influence what they could/could not do to support PBSJ) as well as life prior to, during, and post-conflict and their future aspirations (as these responses indicated the role(s) they saw themselves playing at different points in their lives).

Recognising the limitations of human memory, Mertens (2010) recommends that researchers promote consistency in testimonies (reliability) and accuracy in relating factual information (validity) by checking inconsistencies in the narrative through asking for clarification from the narrator, cross checking the testimony with other sources, and comparing accounts. To maximise the reliability and validity of their narratives, I engaged in in-depth review of pertinent historical information ahead of the scheduled conversations. At the beginning of the discussions, I emphasised that I was an outsider who had read English accounts of the history

from largely Western sources and would play 'devil's advocate' to try to understand any differences between these accounts and their recollections. This strategy also enabled me to inquire about areas that might not be brought up otherwise (Mertens, 2010). Conducting interviews in dyads served as another useful strategy as it was a means to compare accounts as families sometimes disputed each other's recollections. They also were able to refine and elaborate upon one another's accounts by adding details. Following the interviews, I also cross-checked participants' accounts with reputable historical sources, such as Al Jazeera and peer-reviewed articles.

Thick description/Portraiture

Thick descriptions and portraiture are employed throughout the findings. 'Thick description' involves capturing biographical (who?), historical (what led to this?), situational (context), relational (what's happening?), and interactional (what are the meanings and relationships?) details in a way that allows the reader to 'see' the lives of the participants (Badenhorst, 2015; Denzin, 1989; Geertz, 1973). Portraiture is sometimes described as a form of thick description (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997). Lawrence-Lightfoot (n.d.) describes 'portraits' as depictions of individuals shaped through dialogue with the portraitist (i.e., researcher) and the subject (i.e., participant), and while their representations sometimes splinter (as the researcher cannot know everything but can sometimes see qualities the participant is unaware of), the essence is captured.

While passages are sometimes lengthy, these can demonstrate the complexity of issues and everyday life (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997). The vividly detailed description inherent in

these methods was viewed as important as it contributes authenticity to the study (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997), which is vital given that I position myself as an 'outsider' (i.e., non-Arab, see 'Positionality' below). These methods therefore serve to add objectivity, allowing the reader to see the wider evidence. As such, it also helps decolonise the research (Brooks, 2017) as it preserves much of the original account. Moreover, including whole sections of a transcript enables the reader to gain a deeper understanding of participants' experiences that were rooted in complex intersectionality and implication. In providing vignettes, the reader not only becomes privy to details of their lived experience, but participants are humanised— that is, they are treated less as 'elite subjects' and more as complex, storied individuals. Student portraiture was particularly important in this effort as it helps capture "goodness" in a field that tends to focus on the negative (as was common in analyses of conflict in the MENA region) and can tend to "pathologize" (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997, p. 8)– an issue described in more detail in Chapter 6.

This study focused the thick description on the setting (the school and wider community), school activities, and portraiture on an array of students who appeared representative of the wider student body. These methods have been similarly employed in studies of elite schools and students (see, for instance, Howard, 2008; Swalwell, 2013a).

Sampling

All teachers, administrators, support staff, and secondary students were invited to participate in semi-structured interviews, with the aim of securing participation from 10-15 staff members and 10-15 students. Other participants were also invited with the aim of securing 2-3 alumni, 2-

3 parents, and 1-2 NGO workers paired with the school. For transferability purposes (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), the study also sought to include 2-3 students and staff members from other schools. Note that all participants' names have been anonymised.

Staff members

Staff members (teachers, administrators, counsellors) were considered key participants in the study. All staff members would be able to offer their observations, but their specific assignments also offered unique perspectives valuable to this study. **Teachers**, for instance, are charged with delivering curricula and are often significant adults in youths' lives. Teachers not only have the ability to impact students' understandings and perspectives but act as mentors and often organise extracurricular activities. As such, their understandings of PBSJ may influence students' understandings and their interests may shape what activities are available to students. Teachers also choose resources, adopt a pedagogical approach, and foster learning environments that can support or inhibit PBSJ. Although the study focused on secondary teachers, it also included some primary teachers as many of them organised activities related to PBSJ. Additionally, they had taught students in secondary and could attest to any changes in behaviour. That is, they would be able to comment whether they saw activities relating to PBSJ as having any impact over the long-term.

Administrators were also considered important stakeholders as they have the ability to create and shape policies that affect programming and youth. They could thus determine the extent to which PBSJ is prioritised. **Counsellors** were also enlisted in the study as they led activities and

lessons related to conflict resolution and relationships and were explicitly hired to listen to youth and help meet their social and emotional needs.

At the outset of the fieldwork, I aimed to secure 10-15 interviews of the over 150 staff members. Initially, five teachers agreed to interview. This number gradually grew through increased interest (largely generated through the participants themselves). Many of these participants took an interest in PBSJ and it was not until I had completed 15 interviews that I had reached data saturation for this group of engaged staff members. However, because these staff members appeared very engaged in PBSJ, I decided to expand the number of participants beyond 15 and purposely asked staff members who appeared less interested in PBSJ to interview in order to balance the perspectives. The additional staff members were selected through snowballing based on completed interviews (in which students and staff named members who had different points of view or approaches) as well as observations (e.g., staff members whose actions and conversations implied apathy regarding PBSJ and/or who tended to minimise or dislike activities relating to PBSJ). Thirteen staff members meeting these criteria agreed to participate, bringing the total to 28 staff members (see Table 1 below).

Of those interviewed, eight were from the MENA region and 20 were Western internationals, and 11 identified as male and 17 as female— which was largely reflective of the teaching demographics at the school. Nine worked at the Middle School (MS) level, nine worked at the High School (HS) level, three worked at the Primary School (PS) level, four worked in specialised support positions, and five worked at an administrative level[2]. Teaching staff worked in various

[2] Note that some of these participants worked in more than one area

capacities such as language, technology, art, science, and social studies. To ensure their anonymity, these positions are not associated with each individual in the table below, nor are their exact years in Amman listed.

Table 2: Staff demographics

Name	Gender	Heritage	Years in Amman
1. Craig	M	Western	5-10
2. Gina	F	Western	20-25
3. Paul	M	Western	0-5
4. Yasmin	F	MENA	5-10
5. Laura	F	Western	5-10
6. Nasir	M	MENA	5-10
7. Bayan	F	MENA	>25
8. Carla	F	Western	0-5
9. Sue	F	Western	15-20
10. Kate	F	Western	5-10
11. Caroyln	F	Western	20-25
12. Natasha	F	Western	10-15
13. Rabia	F	MENA	>25
14. Christa	F	Western	0-5
15. Frank	M	Western	0-5
16. Zack	M	Western	0-5
17. Rashida	F	MENA	10
18. Cole	M	Western	5-10
19. Kurt	M	Western	0-5
20. Roger	M	Western	15-20
21. Iman	F	MENA	>25

22. Yusra	F	MENA	>25
23. Gord	M	Western	5-10
24. Dalia	F	MENA	>20
25. Jack	M	Western	0-5
26. Melanie	F	Western	0-5
27. Igor	M	Western	5-10
28. Amanda	F	Western	0-5

Students

This study focused on secondary-aged students from the MENA region. This age group (Grades 6 to 12, or 11–18-year-olds) was selected for a number of reasons. First, as Steinberg (2014) outlines, this stage of adolescent development represents a period during which youth develop aspirations for the future. It is also a time when youth establish their identity within a group, and actively seek opportunities to foster connection and engage with their communities (Chopra, 2017). These aspects of adolescence are important in this study as it seeks to understand how elite students may contribute to social transformation, in which both the future and the community are central. Second, this age group is generally able to provide more nuanced and thoughtful responses than younger students (Piaget, 1936). Third, it was this age group that played a significant role in Arab Spring protests (Ahmida, 2012; Gelvin, 2015). I extended this age group by one year, including students from fifth to twelve grade (10-18 years) after observing all levels and concluding that students of these ages were able to provide insightful remarks regarding issues relating to PBSJ. Below this grade level, these concepts tended to be too abstract.

As with the teachers, the interview uptake was initially low (three volunteered) but increased with growing interest following the first interviews, with an additional six students asking to participate. Once again, because I had not reached saturation of data and needed more varied perspectives, I increased the number of student participants. In an attempt to secure ensure maximum variation in the sample, I approached thirteen students identified in student and staff interviews as having diverse experiences of conflict (as they could recall details first hand and relate these to their views on PBSJ) as well as those who were largely resistant to efforts relating to PBSJ—both of which were initially underrepresented in the first uptake. Eight of these students agreed to participate.

Not having reached data saturation, I then randomly approached another three participants based on the number of hours they registered in service-learning (one with low hours, one with the exact hours required by the school, and one with more than the required hours). The remaining four participants agreed to interview after completing the survey described above and offering to participate. These participants were selected based on a need to expand upon their answers to ensure these were properly understood. Thus, in total, twenty-four students from the MENA region were interviewed (see Table 2 below). Sixteen of these students were female and eight were male. It should be noted that I reached out to several other male students to balance these perspectives, but they did not want to participate, predominantly because they were too busy with schoolwork.

As with staff members, to ensure their anonymity, students' grade levels are not provided, nor are their exact years in Amman listed.

Table 3: Student demographics

Name	Gender	Grade	Background	Years in Amman
1. Bayan	F	HS	Jordanian	>15
2. Farah	F	HS	Jordanian	>15
3. Hayley	F	HS	Syrian	0-5
4. Fadi	M	HS	Palestinian	>15
5. Nahla	F	HS	Palestinian	>15
6. Aisha	F	HS	Iraqi	>15
7. Lila	F	MS	Jordanian	10-15
8. Salma	F	HS	Palestinian	>15
9. Qadira	F	HS	Egyptian	0-5
10. Ren	F	MS	Syrian	5-10
11. Elham	F	HS	Yemeni	5-10
12. Abdel	M	HS	Yemeni	5-10
13. Ramzi	M	HS	Iraqi	10-15
14. Jamal	M	PS	Iraqi	5-10
15. Fatimah	F	HS	Iraqi	10-15
16. Nura	F	MS	Iraqi	>15
17. Amani	F	MS	Jordanian	>15
18. Laith	M	MS	Jordanian	5-10
19. Sada	F	HS	Palestinian	>15
20. Aya	F	MS	Kurdish	10-15
21. Samira	F	MS	Iraqi	>15
22. Mohamed	M	HS	Jordanian	>15
23. Saif	M	MS	Syrian	>5
24. Hussein	M	MS	Jordanian	>10

Other participants

I also included other participants who were important stakeholders. **Parents**, for instance, were included as their values and understandings can significantly impact students' views on PBSJ. They also have the potential to influence educational programming as the school is a private institution that is likely to consider and respond to them to keep their patronage as paying clients. Consequently, the extent to which parents value PBSJ in school programming may influence the extent to which the school promotes it. One parent was recommended by participants for being involved in the school, another was recommended by her daughter for being "an average Arab mum" (Amani-Y), and a third was flagged by staff as having experienced conflict. All three interviewed at the school. Parents and students also participated in life narratives as **family dyads**. I identified three families (Elham and Abdel— siblings; Samira and Jamal— siblings; and Aisha and Deena— daughter and mother, respectively) who appeared to have the most significant experiences of conflict as they could relate roles and activities to their direct experiences. I also included a **JI alumnus** who was able to provide a retrospective view on their education and the ways in which it may have affected their engagement in PBSJ.

This study also included individuals from outside of the school. **Staff from NGOs** affiliated with JI were invited to interview in order to gain an external view on the nature of student engagement in service-learning and intergroup activities involving their youth. These NGOs were based in a lower socioeconomic area of Amman and supported refugees and, to some extent, vulnerable Jordanians. One was invited after randomly meeting in person at a local event and the other was a representative selected by the organisation. The former participated in a virtual interview while the latter interviewed at the NGO office in East Amman where JI

students sometimes visited. All **elite school staff members** in service-learning, public-outreach, or similar position at one of four schools similar to JI were also invited to participate. Five staff members from the four schools agreed and interviewed via approved audio or video platforms. These staff members then suggested the names of students and alumni from their schools whom I could interview. One **alumnus** agreed to participate. One **parent** and one **student** from another elite school were also interviewed. Whilst this number may be small, as stated above, it was beyond the scope of this research to conduct an extensive comparison. Instead, their participation was elicited as a means to check for significant discrepancies between schools to determine whether the findings might be generalisable.

A summary of these groups of participants is included in the Table 3, below.

Table 4: Other participants

Name	Gender	Position	Heritage
1. Annelise	F	NGO partner	Western
2. Samira	F	NGO partner	MENA/Western
3. Abdulrahman	M	Elite school alumni	MENA
4. Sarah	F	JI alumni	MENA
5. Munira	F	Other elite school staff	MENA
6. Chantelle	F	Other elite school staff	Western
7. Heeba	F	Other elite school staff	MENA
8. Safiya	F	Other elite school staff	MENA
9. Nawaf	M	Other elite school staff	MENA
10. Muna	F	Parent	MENA
11. Gina	F	Parent	MENA

12. Deena	F	Parent	MENA
13. Heeba		Elite school parent	MENA
14. Marya	F	Elite school student	MENA

Study design

This study involved both desk-based and field-work components. Desk-based work included internet searches to identify elite schools in Jordan. This largely involved searching for private schools and comparing fees, facilities, and teacher qualifications (i.e., fees over £5000/student/year, well-equipped, certified teachers) through school websites, website aggregators, forum discussions, and online reviews. After creating a list of potential schools for a case-study, I analysed available documents such as policies, vision statements, rules, intake procedures, curricula, etc. to gain a general understanding of what appeared to constitute an 'elite' school in Jordan.

Once in Jordan, this initial information was cross-checked and elaborated upon through conversations with locals (parents, school board members, superintendents, teaching staff, administrative staff, students, and alumni) in which we discussed the nature of educational programming and demographics of these elite private schools. These conversations consistently named a few key schools that were attended by socially elite/noble families, wealthy families, and families affected by conflict. I then conducted site visitations to four schools, meeting staff and observing the differences in facilities (e.g., classroom equipment, gym facilities, technology, etc.) and after school pick-up (e.g., Did the students have personal drivers? Were students

picked up by nannies? etc.). While I intended to conduct more site visitations, access to some was restricted by school privacy policies.

Originally, I had planned to select two case-study schools: one that exemplified a typical case and one that demonstrated a particular desire to educate for PBSJ. However, as the schools were very similar in terms of facilities, programming, and staff and student demographics, I limited the study to a typical case-study of one school as it would provide an opportunity for more in-depth research. Jordan International (JI) was selected as the case-study school as the superintendent offered me nearly unlimited access for the research. Although JI is an international school, conversations and online information (Tabazah, 2018) suggested that elite families from the region tended to attend these schools. Moreover, all other schools in the tuition bracket of over £5000/student/year accepted international students and none offered the local Jordanian curriculum. To help ensure that JI was in fact a 'typical' elite school despite being 'international', I cross-checked findings with students, staff, and alumni at other schools in informal conversations during my first month in the field.

After gaining access to research JI from the superintendent, I was immediately offered teaching positions at the school. After turning down offers to work full-time, which I believed would limit my ability to observe the school more widely, I took on a part-time position teaching a MS classroom six hours per week. This position minimised disruption (as I no longer had to formally schedule visitations and gain security passes) and shifted my positionality from researcher to 'insider'. As an insider, I was better able to get a 'backstage' pass (Miller, 2004), as I was able to view documents behind the firewall, join staff meetings, accompany students on fieldtrips, and

so on. I was aware that conducting research as a teacher had the potential to change power relations; however, it appeared that this position allowed me to develop better relations with the staff and students as I became a familiar face, participating in after-school activities and chatting with them while on supervision and at school events.

While building relationships with students and staff, I gathered documents for analysis and familiarised myself with school activities by speaking to the staff who ran these. After building this familiarity over the course of my first month at the school, I formally presented the research at a staff meeting where I went over the goals of the study, asked to observe classes, and invited staff to interview.

After three months in the school, I felt I had developed a relationship of trust with students and began focusing the research on them. I started with MS students as I worked in this department and therefore was familiar with students and programming. Moreover, it would allow me time to work out any issues that might arise before expanding the focus to HS students. At a MS staff meeting, I explained I would be inviting MENA students to interview and went over the forms with teachers. With the administrators' approval and encouragement, teachers were instructed to either read the forms verbatim to all MS students and refer all questions to me or make time for me to present the research and forms myself. In the same meeting, I also explained that all MS students (MENA and international) would be invited to share their definitions of 'peace' and 'social justice' on sticky notes with one colour for MENA students and another for international students.

After completing the definitions/sticky note activity and conducting two MS interviews without any issues, I opened the research up to HS students in the same process as MS students. Because HS students were in the midst of exams, they did not have time to do the definitions activity, but they were invited to interview using the same process described above (i.e., either teachers or I presented the research to students in each class). While conducting these student interviews, I identified three families who appeared to have the most significant experiences of conflict and invited them to engage in life-narratives**.** During this time, other participants were also invited to interview, including parents, alumni, NGO staff working with JI, and students and staff from other elite schools. It was also the intent of this study to interview a couple of youth from the NGOs but due to privacy policies and COVID-19, this was not possible.

As the exam period passed, I was preparing to conduct the definitions activity with HS students; however, COVID-19 cases began to rise globally, and administrators warned of a potential school closure. As such, I pivoted to surveys, which, as described above (see 'Methods') gathered demographic information and asked students to define 'peace' and 'social justice' to achieve the same purpose as the stick-note activity. Shortly before the lockdown, staff introduced the survey to HS students (i.e., read over the information and consent forms, shared my contact information, and provided the link to the survey). Sixty-two students responded, 32 of which were international students and 30 were from the MENA region. The lockdown also meant that remaining scheduled interviews and follow-up interviews from the survey were shifted to video or audio calls on approved platforms from mid-March. This shift was cleared by the university ethics board. Online interviewees included seven students, an NGO worker, a

school alumnus from another elite school, a student from a different elite school, and five staff members from other elite schools.

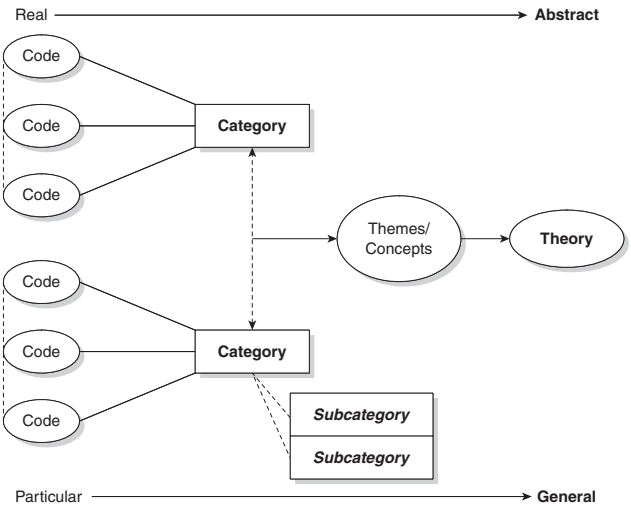
Following the data collection, it was my initial hope to have JI students co-analyse the findings in a focus group. Because of the pandemic, it was no longer possible to do this in person. One student who participated in the survey and an interview wished to gather five friends from different elite schools to examine the findings via an online platform; however, due to screen fatigue and a lack of communication and coordination amongst the students, this effort also did not come to fruition. As such, I independently analysed the findings (see 'Data analysis' below) and presented these to students and staff as a form of member-checking.

As I wrote up the findings and shared the topic of my research amongst members of the academic community and public, I was met with many reactions implying a negative perspective of the students. As these perceptions largely did not appear to reflect the nature of many students at JI, I reached out to six students whose stories and perspectives represented a wide spectrum of youth (with considerations given to gender, nationality, age, and experience with conflict) to write a short paragraph about themselves in order to humanise the findings (see 'Portraiture' above). I gave them an example using myself as a model, which included demographic information, interests, and personality traits). For those who were unsure of what to write, I wrote a suggested paragraph that included some of the information they offered and asked for them to revise it as they saw fit.

Data analysis

As described above, codes and themes generated in interviews were checked by participants at the end of the interviews (see 'Interviews' above). Where participants expressed their view required a new code, this was included. New codes and themes also emerged in a later analysis of these interviews as well as in the other forms of data (observations, document analysis). Their analysis occurred after the fieldwork was completed when the recordings of interviews were transcribed (using approved software) and uploaded into data analysis software (Nvivo). This later analysis was solely conducted by the researcher following Saldana's (2009) process (see Figure 6 below).

Figure 6: Data analysis



Note: Figure is from Saldana, J. (2009). An introduction to codes and coding. *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*, 1–31.

When required, I reached out to participants via email asking for clarification on their statements to ensure I understood these correctly. Following the analysis and a draft of my

findings, I returned to JI over a year later to present the key themes to the staff leadership team and available teachers (including former participants but also those who had not participated) and elicited their feedback. This feedback suggested I had accurately depicted the school, or as an administrator put it, I "held a mirror to the school" (Roger-WBS). I also met with available students who were former participants to conduct member checks.

Framing and examining the findings

As research on peacebuilding with elite students in the MENA region was limited, this study drew together several bodies of literature to create frameworks outlining the potential roles and educational approaches for this study's demographic. The synthesised lists provided framing and terminology for initial exploration while also acknowledging the possibility that the findings might reveal new understandings, different language, and novel roles and approaches.

While these frameworks help describe and categorise the behaviours of the students and the school, they did not offer a clear means to theoretically understand and evaluate the literature and data. In this regard, I have primarily employed Galtung's (1967) positive peace, Freire's (197b0) humanisation, Crenshaw's (1989) intersectionality, and Rothberg's (2019) implication.

Theoretically understanding roles and approaches

As discussed in Chapter 2, Galtung's (1967; 1969) conceptualisation of positive peace framed this study's definition of PBSJ, along with understandings of positive duties (Kant, 2017), implication (Rothberg, 2019) and transformative social justice (Rizvi, 1998). This theoretical literature can be used to critically evaluate the rigour of PBSJ education, in tangent with critical education theories, most prominently Freirean (1970b) understandings of humanisation. I also

draw on these conceptualisations, particularly Rothberg's understanding of the 'implicated subject' to examine students' roles in PBSJ, along with Crenshaw's (1989) work on intersectionality.

To a lesser degree, I draw on supporting theoretical literature, such as Merton's (1957) manifest and latent functions, Giroux and Penna's (1979) social analysis of the hidden curriculum and Goodman's (2000) motivations framework. This literature allows for a more nuanced examination of the findings. More specifically, evaluating the extent to which these roles and approaches support positive peace rests on the presumption of good intentions and foreseeable outcomes. However, as studies in the previous chapter have demonstrated, the best intentions may have adverse outcomes and seemingly positive behaviours can be rooted in questionable intentions. Merton's manifest and latent functions offers explanatory power for when programming has unintentional outcomes. Giroux and Penna's social analysis of the hidden curriculum is useful in examining implicit values and intentions that could subvert PBSJ. Likewise, Goodman's framework on motives of privileged groups in social justice allows for a critical examination of why students engage in PBSJ and whether or not these motives are in line with positive peacebuilding.

Ethics

As this study includes vulnerable populations (i.e., youth and forced migrants), I will focus on ethical guidelines relating to these populations.

Research with youth

While youth are a contentious research population because of concerns regarding vulnerability, involving them in research supports their right to be consulted (Kirk, 2007). A number of guidelines have been created to reduce possible risks when researching vulnerable populations like youth (Kirk, 2007; McLaughlin, 2015; Street, 2015). Kirk (2007), for instance, outlines three ethical concerns: informed consent, confidentiality, and power relations. Below, I consider these in the context of this research.

To ensure that students were giving fully *informed consent*, the aims of the research were explained in child-friendly language (Christian et al., 2010). These forms also indicated how the information would be used and stored, as well as their rights as owners of the data. Students were also assured of their right to *confidentiality*; that is, their individual responses would not be discussed with teachers, principals, or anyone in a position of power. However, students were also made aware that if they should reveal something that puts them at risk, that it was the researcher's obligation to pass on the information to the appropriate personnel.

As for *power relations*, Kirk emphasises children's right to refuse to participate in research. I explained these rights orally and in consent forms, wherein I asked for their written or oral consent as well as their parents' (see Appendix). Consent forms further indicated how to contact the university if these rights were not upheld. Students were made aware that their participation in the study was voluntary, that they had the right to pass on any question and withdraw completely from the study at any point, and that they had the right to be accompanied by a guardian.

In fact, in taking a teaching position, students had two venues to pursue if they were uncomfortable with the research: my university and JI's superintendent (as I was, in a manner of speaking, also the students' employee given that JI was a private school that responded to clients' concerns). To help ensure my position of power as a teacher was not influential on the results, I initially chose not to interview any of my students. When students expressed frustration over this exclusion, I then made it clear that if they wanted to participate, I would allow this after their grades had been submitted at the end of the year.

Research with forced migrants

In congruence with the segregated nature of 'elite' studies and studies relating to conflict-affected contexts outlined in the literature review, there appears to be a disconnect between research ethics and methods focused on wealthy demographics *and* those affected by conflict. For instance, Guerin and Guerin (2007) advise:

> "If people in these communities were luxuriating in their new homes, they might be open to very theoretical or abstract inquiries, but refugees are people under pressure and are focused on solving problems rather than finding out answers" (p. 157).

It appears Guerin and Guerin are therefore suggesting the incompatibility of 'those luxuriating' and 'refugees', which, though largely true, cannot be universalised. Yu and Liu (1986) more clearly distinguish between socioeconomic groups of refugees. In their work with Vietnamese refugees, they assert that the kinds of questions that a researcher could pose varied with each demographic, including the 'rich' refugees. This assertion is not elaborated upon, and it is

unclear whether they are referring to research questions or interview questions, but it does acknowledge that research may differ according to different socioeconomic positions.

That said, the wider literature on research with forced migrants outlines a number of ethical considerations that seem relevant to this study. Yu and Liu (1986), for instance, caution that forced migrants may not be in a position to challenge the information nor choose the topic of research. As mentioned previously, participants were involved in member-checks and consent forms will include the university's contact information in case they felt they were not given proper information. As for the topic of research, it was refined based on conversations with participants. For instance, each interview included the questions: "Are there any other questions should I ask?" and "What questions would you be asking?" Also important is researcher sensitivity around the challenges of forced displacement (Mackenzie et al., 2007). Once again, at the beginning of every interview, participants will be reminded of their right to withdraw or refuse an answer. Questions also avoided using sensitive terms when discussing issues of displacement.

Ethical dilemmas

Two ethical dilemmas arose over the course of this research. First, while researchers are advised to limit their influence in data collection to help ensure objectivity, I felt an ethical responsibility to object to two staff members' plans to dismiss and stop paying their cleaners when they heard of the impending lockdown. This decision to discuss the impact this would have on marginalised communities was made out of concern for the cleaners' livelihood. The discussion did change their course of action and stimulated a larger school-wide conversation

surrounding the precarious financial security of support workers. At this point in the data collection, I had completed most staff interviews and schooling shifted online the next day, thus any other impact this discussion had on the data was likely minimal.

Second, a student at JI had conducted research on service-learning. I have quoted some of her work and thoughts in this thesis. While it was my desire to give her credit, through conversations with my supervisors, it was determined that doing so would risk the anonymity of the case-study school. That is, if she were to make her school or work public in the future, readers would be able to identify the school. As such, her name remains as a pseudonym.

Positionality

As this study follows a constructivist paradigm, I discuss the motives behind this research and describe my positionality so that the reader can situate the research within my professional and socio-historic position.

The focus of this study stems from my previous work in developing peace education programming in conflict-affected contexts. Having also worked in and with elite schools, I felt moved to explore how understandings of peace education were mobilised in these schools, given that the lives of people across all socioeconomic classes can intersect with conflict.

In terms of my work as a teacher at JI, my position could be viewed as an 'insider' (see 'Study design' above). Some consideration was given to this decision as 'researchers as insiders' can influence the findings as participants may factor in this position before sharing their thoughts. However, because this position was temporary, limited in scope, and did not involve any other

duties or responsibilities, I did not feel like a 'double agent' (Nikkanen, 2019) nor did I sense that participants saw me in this regard. This sense was bolstered by the school's pre-existing culture and promotion of research and criticality. In fact, after presenting the findings, staff described participants' quotes as, "brutally honest" (Kate-WBS) yet "fair" (Roger-WBS), indicating that participants were comfortable in sharing sincere thoughts.

Despite working as a teacher at JI, I position myself as an outsider, as I am not from the MENA region. As a bi-racial (white and Chinese) woman from Canada, there is potential that cultural and religious behaviours and understandings may have gone unnoticed or misinterpreted. Moreover, while most participants from the MENA region spoke fluent English, my limited ability to read Arabic prevented the use of Arabic literature in the review, which could have informed this study. Additionally, I recognise being a white-presenting woman from a middle-class family could influence what different groups of participants (Western and MENA) chose to share. In spite of the cosmopolitan nature of international schools and the fact that many of my participants were from significantly higher socioeconomic bracket, I recognise there are still "gray zones that exist as a result of long and tangled histories with colonization" (Wyatt, 2018, p. 302) that my Western positionality and my UK university nonetheless occupy.

While I have discussed this research with individuals from the MENA region, it is my hope that these findings will be further developed by an 'insider'; that is someone whose intersections of identity are more parallel with the participants of this study.

Limitations

Reiterating the points made above under 'Positionality', one limitation of this study concerns my position as an outsider. Because of the complexities of language and its cultural embeddedness (Kapborg & Berterö, 2002), my inability to speak Arabic limited my understanding of tacit, cultural communications, as well as the scope of the literature review. Another possible limitation flagged in this chapter was a concern over the transferability of this study as the case-study school, JI, is an international school. However, as indicated in the study design, JI appeared to be a typical elite school in Jordan as all of these had international staff, international students, international curricula, and used English as the dominant language for instruction and communication.

Thirdly, as noted in 'Sampling', the majority of student interviewed were female. As described above, I attempted to recruit several other male students to balance these perspectives, but they did not wish to participate. Upon reflecting on this issue, it appeared that female students and staff were also more heavily involved in PBSJ activities at the school, which may make this sample representative; however, it does not negate the fact that the findings reflect more female voices. This matter is discussed in more detail in 'Areas for future research' in Chapter 10.

A fourth limitation is the ability to evaluate the role of elite private schools in peacebuilding and social justice, given the difficulty in measuring the impact of any peace education programme (Seitz, 2004). I do offer suggested areas of improvement in the conclusion, with the caveat that

such recommendations are based on the best available information gathered from this study but whose impact may not be known.

V. Jordan International and the Bubble

The literature review revealed several ways in which elite schools and students might engage in PBSJ. While many of the roles and educational approaches outlined in previous research emerged in this study's findings, numerous nuances arose that reflected traits unique to the local context. As such, I begin by situating the case-study school, Jordan International (JI), in the elite school landscape of Amman. I provide a portraiture of the school (its environment, policies, and activities) and its community, highlighting several staff and student profiles in order to bring a human face to those this study refers to. I also present the backdrop of this community— what participants referred to as 'the Bubble': a line they drew between their world and the world of the 'Other'. This context sets the foundations for further analysis.

Before delving into these findings, it is important to note that participants have been given pseudonyms to protect their identity. Their names have a '-Y' to indicate 'youth' and a '-S' to indicate staff, and where appropriate, '-WBS' for Western-born staff. Where responses are derived from surveys, they referred to as "MENA student survey response". The positionality of other participants, such as NGO workers and parents, are described in situ.

Private school landscape in Amman

An unofficial hierarchy of schools exists in Amman. At the 'base' are an assortment of lower-cost private schools (in the region of £200 per year) and state schools, some of the latter are only able to offer reduced-day programming due to financial constraints and over-capacity from accommodating refugee students. A level 'above' this group of schools are slightly more

expensive private schools that often offer English as a language of instruction and have moderate-sized classes. Only a handful of schools are deemed as the top-tiered, or 'elite' schools. These are all private in nature and offer numerous facilities (e.g., sports fields, design labs, cafeterias, etc.), small class-sizes, and international curricula. They use English as their primary language of instruction, employ international and local teaching staff, and cater to both international and local students, including members of the royal family, and children of prominent artists, businesspeople, and politicians. Their tuition fees range from £12,000 to more than £20,000 per year per student, depending on grade level.

These elite international schools have a longstanding history in Jordan. Following WWI when the League of Nations awarded Britain the mandates over Transjordan at the end of the war, the British began replacing Ottoman state structures, including a traditional system of education (consisting of private Islamic schools and Christian missionary schools) with British and French curricula, teaching methods, and examination systems (Government of Jordan, n.d.; Massad, 2001; State University, 2022). Although the country re-evaluated its education system after gaining independence in 1946, these schools have persisted, along with their foreign curricula, pedagogies, and examination systems.

Although variances exist between these elite private schools (such as the specific international curricula used and its associated accrediting bodies), general programming associated with PBSJ tended to be very similar. For instance, most, if not all, elite schools had a Model United Nations (MUN), a student council, and a community-outreach component (the latter of which is often associated with IB schools but not limited to these). Moreover, the rhetoric was closely

aligned, with active citizenship, global advocacy, and critical thinking appearing as common tropes in school documents and websites. Similarly, school ideals and student profiles commonly featured empathy, responsibility, kindness, community, and leadership. All elite schools in the Amman area also required students to engage in activities relating to service-learning by embedding these in the curricula or as a requirement for graduation, though the hours and activities varied.

A walk-through of Jordan International school (JI)

The focus of this research, Jordan International (JI), is a top-tiered school located in Amman. It is described by students and staff as predominantly 'elite' or 'privileged'. JI is an established school, having been in the community for decades. Giant brick walls surround the school. Friendly security guards check identification at the main gate before allowing visitors, parents, nannies, drivers, and staff through—all of whom are required to wear lanyards identifying who they are. The school grounds boast an auditorium, full-size football field, fitness centre, pool, two technology labs ('maker-spaces'), four gymnasiums, various meeting rooms, and two libraries, the latter of which showcases books on everything from Anne of Green Gables to anime as well as numerous magazines on current affairs, such as the *UN Chronicle* and *Foreign Affairs*. In the outdoor common area is a giant ceramic piece of art with a placard stating that it symbolises harmony in Jordan's diverse society.

The school itself is decorated much like Western schools, with displays of students' work, including students' art and photographs (ranging from landscapes to political statements). The bulletin boards at the entrance advertise events put on by the school or events in Amman such

as musical performances, but it is also common to see information on pet adoption. Some fundraising products students have made (such as t-shirts for Gaza) are also advertised. Two massive pieces of art stand out, one in the stairwell in which students' handprints form the word 'ubuntu' (Zulu for 'I am, because you are') and another in the cafeteria in which plastic water bottle lids form a picture of a globe (accompanied by numerous posters and displays reminding students about reducing their environmental imprint). Around the common areas are displays promoting the three attributes that make up JI's student profile: Respect, Compassion & Integrity; Global Advocacy; and Reflective Thinking.

In the main hallway, where high school students frequent, are posters about post-secondary acceptances and prestigious universities that alumni have attended and a photograph of all JI students making a peace symbol. In the middle school hallway is a collection of pictures, including a picture of Desmond Tutu with a quote about doing "little bits of good." Most of the Middle School (Grades 6-8, referred henceforth as 'MS') classroom doors are decorated with a monthly theme, often associated with a holiday or student products portraying their identities (through maps, essays, flags, etc.). In primary classrooms, there are 'peace tables' (where students can go to think and talk) with 'peace wheels' that advise students on how to resolve interpersonal conflict (see Appendix).

Students, staff, and parents describe the atmosphere of JI as 'kind' with minimal bullying. During lessons, students of all grades can often be seen sitting in groups or circles conducive to social learning. At times, they are the ones leading classroom activities, with the teacher as a facilitator. At break times, teachers stand in their doorways, chatting to students and ensuring

students are showing respect to one another. The wellbeing of students is clearly at the heart of the school, with regular professional development focused on mental health, weekly staff meetings carving out time to ensure struggling students receive support, and student surveys to monitor and respond to challenges students might be facing. The school also offers programs for parents like book clubs focused on empathy, brain development, substance use, and so on.

Programming for PBSJ

Within this setting are several classroom and school-wide activities that may be associated with PBSJ. These activities, along with school policies and school-wide language relevant to PBSJ, are described below and referenced throughout the following chapters.

Activities related to PBSJ

JI offers several extracurricular programmes including choir, robotics, chess club, and sports teams. It also offers electives such as art, guitar, and drama. Below, I highlight several activities most relevant to this study.

Secondary School

The following activities are available to secondary students through clubs, school-wide events, and classroom activities.

Design Thinking is an approach to problem-solving used across various classes, programmes, and clubs. It was developed at Stanford University as a six step, iterative process to tackling a variety of problems, including issues at school, entrepreneurial innovations, and global challenges. These steps, which include empathy, define, ideate, prototype, and test, are

integrated into the language of the school and are meant to build upon the school's habits of learning: critical thinking, creativity and innovation, and communication and collaboration.

Personal Projects are one of the main avenues for students to apply Design Thinking. These projects allow secondary students to engage in a specific issue that matters to them. At the MS level, this begins with a unit on Teen Activists, embedded in their language arts classes. Students studied human rights, read publications by Amnesty International, examined the traits of youth activists, and evaluated these activists' arguments. In the following unit, students research an issue important to them (using primary and secondary data) and develop an argumentative (activist) essay. These essays covered a variety of issues, ranging from abortion, vaccinations, gun control, advocating for government support for former prisoners, the Chinese government's treatment of Uighur Muslims, fossil fuels, mental illness, animal rights, digital privacy, honour killings, immigration, school-based violence, and so on (see 'Student products' in Appendix).

Like MS students, High School (Grades 9-12, referred henceforth as 'HS') students also identify a problem and solve it, but this time as a year-long mandatory project built into students' timetables. It is primarily student-led with teachers providing guidance when needed (in fact, there are posters around the class specifying the role of the teacher as a facilitator and the types of support they can offer to students). Alternatively, students in this cohort had the option of registering volunteer hours with one of six local organisations, including Habitat for Humanity, animal welfare, and four NGOs linked to refugees and marginalised Jordanians.

Personal Projects are an evolving activity that has taken various forms over the years, particularly at the HS level.

Science Education for Refugees is a student-led club that leads lab experiments and donates lab equipment to marginalised communities like those in the Zaateri refugee camp.

Compassion Conference is an annual conference that one of the school's administrators created in partnership with another regional elite school out of interest in compassion, collaboration, and creative problem-solving. It is open to students in MS and HS across Middle Eastern countries. Its charter declares "because Peace is born in schools!" (original punctuation) and is based on the Charter for Compassion, which focuses on "Citizens working with local governments on grave issues to transform their cities into just communities" (Charter for Compassion, 2019). More specifically:

> We believe we can build a more peaceful future. We believe peace begins in schools. We believe that by inspiring continuous, compassionate action, we can shift a generation of thinkers and create a more compassionate world. We believe in service. We believe in kindness. We hope you will join us in our journey to building peaceful, accepting and compassionate communities (Compassion Conference, 2019).

During the conference, students attend a keynote lecture, sign up to workshops, participate in intergroup activities with marginalised communities (predominantly refugees), re-group with their schools for discussion, and then, following the principles of Design Thinking, create an action plan for compassion. The first Compassion Conference focused on compassionate action,

the second compassionate leadership, and the third compassionate connections. In 2020, the focus was on building upon all of these principles but because of COVID-19, it was cancelled.

Student Voice has gone by a variety of names over the years, including the Social Justice Club and Student Change and Student Advocacy. It was created by a high school student who wanted a space to talk about controversial issues that were not discussed in classes, and a means by which students could get together and create change in an informal way. The group has focused on LGBTQ rights, sexual harassment, and violence against children and youth in the US (concern about school and mass shootings) and the MENA region. They meet weekly in a meeting room with a staff member who occasional joins in the discussions or checks in on them. The group has initiated marches against violence (it held the first women's march in Jordan following the #MeToo movement), created a blog, and held seminars and presentations to increase awareness about certain issues.

Connecting Through Art is a non-profit organisation "that helps cultivate global kindness" (Facebook post from JI, Jan. 16, 2020) through creating portraits of children facing challenges such as violence, war, extreme poverty, and loss of parents. The website states that it is designed to break down cultural barriers. Students watch videos about a region and receive a photograph of a child from this region, accompanied by one thing about them (like favourite colour) to support the portrait. It also entails a small donation to the organisation for logistic support. MS art students contributed to this project through portraits of young Pakistani orphans. The previous year, they had created portraits for Filipino children. The project is introduced to students during their art class but is a voluntary activity.

AP Research is a mandatory class for those enrolled in the AP program. Students must research a topic and produce a thesis. Topics ranged from the psychology of sport injuries to the rights of orphans in Jordan.

Model United Nations (MUN) involves students debating topics relating to global issues, usually connected to the Sustainable Development Goals. Students are also invited to a MUN event held in the region, but this was cancelled due to COVID.

Student Council is open to all students who are interested in exploring leadership opportunities. Students learn skills associated with organising events and fundraisers. At the HS level, they are also involved in the school's formal decision-making processes.

TEDx is organised by students who present their talks to the school and wider community. This year's theme was "2020 Vision". Some topics covered included financial literacy and alternative routes to education. Students from the MENA region presented on "Empowering Refugees Through Technology"; "Internalized Racism and Misogyny: You're not who they say you are"; "It's Time to Give Back" (which focused on how students should not be part of the brain-drain but stay/return to make a difference in Jordan); and "Genetically Engineering a Development Gap" (which focused on the ethical issues surrounding genetic manipulation).

The Beyond our Books (BoB) is a programme aimed at fostering compassionate, globally aware citizens with an appreciation of the values and traditions of others. Students "take action to make the world a better place and engage in sustainable service in order to gain awareness of issues that go beyond their national borders" (JI website). In doing so, the programme states

students will strengthen their teamwork skills and “execute their vision in order to reach a common goal of greater good” (JI website).

Advisory is the same concept as ‘homeroom’: a space to address issues often related to health and well-being, but also a scheduled period where teachers can check in with the students. One of the topics they were to cover was ‘conflict’ (interpersonal), but due to the interruptions posed by COVID-19, this unit was not delivered as anticipated.

Primary school

While the focus of this study is of secondary level, it is also worth discussing activities at the primary school level as it demonstrates not only the school-wide emphasis on community engagement and advocacy but also suggests that many students come into secondary school with an existing skill set from previous activities.

Changemakers is an after-school club for primary-aged students. Each week, they sit in a circle on the carpet. They have various guest speakers who come in and talk about how they were changemakers themselves. Students then choose any issue (whether it was presented or not), identify a mentor (with the support of staff leading the club), interview the mentor on their issue for guidance on how to approach the issue, develop a plan, and implement it.

Eco warriors is an after-school club for primary-aged students who want to advocate for environmental causes.

School Newspaper is primarily student-run, with contributions from students across all primary grades. It covers a wide range of topics including breast cancer awareness, the water crisis in Jordan, and appeals to end homework.

The Gift of Giving occurs near Christmastime when Grade 4 students plan activities for a visit to an organisation catering to lesser-privileged children. Students also wrapped and presented a gift to the children. A social media post explained that the focus of this activity was giving back and community integration.

Morning circle is an activity all primary teachers do at the start of each day. It often consists of a fun activity done together as a class as well as an opportunity to share what they did or how they are feeling. Everyone sits in the circle, including the teacher who also participates.

Policies relevant to PBSJ

The school policy manual includes policies commonly found in other schools of this calibre, including student and staff rights, complaints procedures, child protection policies, non-discriminatory practices (e.g., racial and gender equality in admissions and career opportunities). Amongst some of the more important features of JI's policy manual are policies on teaching about controversial issues as well as political engagement – both of which can be significant factors in PBSJ. The policy manual recognises that controversial issues may arise in lessons and that discussing these matters can be a "productive educational opportunity" provided that: the issues are relevant and of interest to students; students can gain valuable insight into their position in society; sufficient evidence exists to analyse the issue; and that students can use the conversation as a means to understand how such discussion is central to

“democratic processes and the requirements of good citizenship”. Moreover, the manual provides guidelines for navigating the issues in classroom instruction (see Box 1 below).

Box 1: Teaching about controversial issues

The board encourages the consideration within the instructional program of any controversial issue as it arrives in the normal pursuit of the school curriculum or particularly as it may occur in contemporary affairs which has political, economic, or social significance and concerning which the students, at their level, should have an opinion.

For such studies, we recognize the right of the students:

1. To have free access to all relevant information including the materials that circulate freely in the community.
2. To study under teachers who support an atmosphere free from bias and prejudice.
3. To form and express individual opinions on controversial issues without jeopardizing their relationship with the teacher or with the school.

From *Policy Manual,* 2019. Jordan International.

The document also states that the school is to maintain its neutrality in political values and cites the right of school personnel to:

> participate as individuals in political activities appropriate to their nationality and/or individual belief. They have the responsibility to ensure that the school is in no way associated with their personal political activity and they abide by all local laws.

Such a policy indicates that the school understands and appreciates the value of engaged citizenship and the rights of individuals while also safeguarding against any alignment with a particular political ideology.

A second policy document, JI's accreditation manual, also offers valuable insights on what is valued at the school. As part of the accreditation process, the school had to outline its strategic priorities, one of which included a focus on global advocacy. That global advocacy is included as one of only four strategic priorities indicates that it is a matter of importance at JI. This priority included a focus on outreach and community service and specifically listed a refugee organisation and Habitat for Humanity as partners in this endeavour. The manual also outlines the need for "identifying opportunities to integrate students' agency and voice in designing curriculum and programming… to be global advocates", suggesting participatory values.

Language: Awareness, Empathy, Compassion

Marking the hallways, arising in interviews, and embedded in student products and school documents (such as JI's mission statement and the school's student profile) were three recurring words: awareness, empathy, and compassion. Global awareness was one of the three traits listed in JI's student profile and was an outcome of the school's community service programme.

JI's focus on 'empathy' appeared to stem from programming centred on Design Thinking, in which 'empathising' is the first of step. Like empathy, 'compassion' was similarly connected to school programming. The frequency of its use in interviews and documents appeared to stem from JI's flagship conference, the Compassion Conference, in which compassion was described

as being “rooted in a principled determination to transcend selfishness and break down...boundaries” (Compassion Conference website).

Participants were quick to contrast empathy and compassion with ‘sympathy’. As one staff member described:

> Empathy being a real seeing and hearing of another person's experience or point of view and finding common elements from your own experiences or views that helps you bridge differences. Sympathy makes someone ‘other/they/you’, while empathy makes it all ‘us/we’ (Dalia-S).

This understanding was particularly prevalent in Compassion Conference’s documents, with excerpts such as: “our deep interdependence”; “compassion is essential to human relationships and to a fulfilled humanity”; and “draw people into their circles who are often considered to be aliens or enemies”. Similarly, another staff member used American Tibetan Buddhist Pema Chödrön’s quote about how, as opposed to sympathy, “compassion is not a relationship between the healer and the wounded. It’s a relationship of equals” (Chantelle-WBS).

This aversion to sympathy echoes concerns outlined in the literature review surrounding how such an approach insinuates a mentality of superiority (Swalwell, 2013a). Empathy, on the other hand, was perceived as a deeper understanding of challenges faced by others (such as poverty, injustice, and refugee situations) from the perspective of a fellow human being and equal— rhetoric highlighted in PBSJ literature (Bar-Tal & Rosen, 2009; Galtung, 2000) with

descriptions of humanisation as “social process, driven by a sense of care for others” (Roberts, 2016, p. 886).

Overarching approaches

While it is not the intent of this chapter to engage in an in-depth analysis of its educational approach, emerging from this portraiture of JI are a number of approaches described in Chapter 3. JI’s focus on rights, citizenship, diversity, and voice may be associated with democratic citizenship education and human right education. Its emphasis on critical thinking and action is reflective of both democratic and critical education approaches. The school’s language of empathy and compassion may also be associated with critical education, as well as charity and volunteerism. This latter approach is also clear in the Gift of Giving and volunteering in Personal Projects. These approaches are discussed in further detail in Chapter 6, where they intersect with perceptions of students’ roles in PBSJ. Moreover, these approaches are problematised when examined alongside student and staff perspectives of activities, student motives, and the actual manifestation and/or end product(s).

People of JI

JI’s website boasts that the school “promotes individuality and celebrates diversity” and describes itself as a “melting pot”. As described below, the staff and student demographic reflected these characterisations. That is, unique stories could be found within a largely cosmopolitan group.

Staff

Teachers at JI are Western school-accredited, English-speaking, and due to the school's competitive hiring package, they tend to have a decade or more of teaching experience. Most of the teaching staff are Western-born (WBS) and have been hired by JI because of their extensive international experience, which is believed will help them navigate Jordan's socio-political context (Cole-WBS). Some of these staff members have been in Jordan for over 20 years, have married locals, and are raising their families in Jordan. Others have taught globally for most of their careers, in places such as Vietnam, Ecuador, Russia, Jakarta, China, Ghana, etc. Despite their experience teaching in various elite contexts, many WBS were educated outside of the elite school circuit.

Policy-wise, JI has no affirmative action but does hire local staff in addition to its core of international teachers. Local staff fill many of the administrative or support positions and lead Arabic classes, and a few are graduates of JI who now teach both electives and core subjects. They are often well-travelled, many having studied abroad in countries such as the United States, Canada, and the UK. Despite this background, local parents sometimes complain that too many Arabs work at the school because they want their children to learn English and have a cosmopolitan experience (Cole-WBS).

Local and international teachers are on the same pay scale, but international teachers are given accommodation and a free flight home each summer, whereas locals are not offered such perks. Although this differential treatment exists, there did not appear to be any tension between local staff and international staff. Perhaps because both groups of teachers earned the

same wages, no obvious differences in socioeconomic backgrounds seemed to exist. Neither group appeared to 'perform' affluence or superiority; however, international teachers were more likely to discuss coming from meagre backgrounds than local teachers.

Below, I highlight the profiles of three teachers to help paint a more intimate picture of a range of staff members.

Sue is a Western-born teacher who has lived in Amman for a decade or two. She is one of many teachers raising their family in the country with no plans to move. Like other teachers who have been in Jordan for a while, she can understand and speak basic Arabic. On the weekends, she enjoys walks through old Amman. Sue says she had always wanted to be a teacher but became an international teacher after having gone to an international school herself. Her parents, like some other teachers, were missionaries.

Zack is a Western-born teacher who has lived in Amman for less than five years. He is one of many teachers who have worked on the international school circuit, ever interested in adventure but also choosing to work abroad because it provides him with many bonuses unavailable to teachers from his country, such as free housing and health insurance. Like other teachers at JI, Zack's social group consists mostly of expats with whom he likes to stay active. As is common of many teachers, Zack goes on holidays outside of Jordan on extended breaks to relax and discover new places. Zack became a teacher he wanted to make a difference in society. He was attracted to JI because of the school's focus on advocacy and service-learning.

Bayan is from the MENA region, but like many other teachers, she has spent a significant amount of time abroad and speaks English fluently. Having lived in Amman for long time, she knows the city inside out. Bayan chose to become a teacher because she wanted to share her passion of literature with youth. She is also a graduate of an elite school. In her spare time, Bayan likes to hang out with both locals and expats.

Students

Like other elite schools in Jordan, JI is considered an 'exception' because it hosts more local students than the average international school, which in other parts of the world predominantly, cater to Western students. Of JI's 900 students, approximately 40% are Western, 26% are Jordanian (of which 17% are exclusively Jordanian and do not carry an additional passport), and the remainder are from 48 different nationalities. The international student population is predominantly made up of children of teachers, NGO workers, or embassy workers. A very small minority of students are Jewish but none from Israel (i.e., they were Jewish students from Western states). In terms of locals, aside from Jordanians, those from the MENA region are predominantly from Iraq, Egypt, Yemen, and Syria. There is also a substantial number of Palestinian students.

A number of high-profile families are patrons, including children of royals, high-ranking politicians, and wealthy businesspeople from Jordan and the wider MENA region. Although the school board has wanted to provide scholarships to lesser-privileged youth, the administration decided against it, concerned about politics interfering with the selection and creating "too

much of a headache" (Cole-WBS). Those who are accepted must provide records and references. Grades are not considered in student applications but students who are severely disabled (e.g., non-verbal and not toilet trained) are not admitted. Programming is available, however, for those with learning disabilities.

When asked how they would describe students attending JI, many participants used the term 'privileged' or the '1%'. Others used descriptors such as 'elite', 'fortunate', and 'wealthy'. One student used behavioural terms like "spoiled, lazy, emotional—oh, are these all bad?!" [*laughs*] (Qadira-Y). Because some international students were children of aid workers and teachers, students cautioned, "I think it is fair to say 'elite', but I don't think it's all of us" (Farah-Y).

While many participants stressed the fact that the school catered to a wealthy local demographic, many families stated that they wanted their children to feel like an ordinary kid, with no special privileges, even if they were members of the royal family. In fact, staff were barred from using titles of nobility, such as 'His/Her Royal Highness'. Students reiterated this desire with nearly every participant who could be described as 'elite' specifying that this term was strictly because of their socioeconomic advantage rather than superiority. This understanding was reinforced by their actions as very few appeared to "enact privilege" (Howard, 2013) through mobilising this advantage to suit their needs. This mentality was reflected in student behaviours, which were not unlike those in Western schools. Students commonly dress like Western youth (jeans, athletic clothes, school t-shirts), with a few wearing more traditional clothes such as a hijab. In the hallways, they chat about their extracurricular

activities, the latest on Tik Tok, homework and tests, and things they did on the weekend (often Escape Rooms[3] and movies).

Although their unique stories cannot all fit within the scope of this thesis, I provide a closer look at the lives of several students to humanise these findings. Theirs are some of the accounts and views highlighted throughout this study.

Aisha is a quiet girl with curly hair that she recently streaked green. She dresses much like any Western teenager, though her mother still wears traditional clothing such as the hijab. Like their clothing, their lives have differed significantly. Aisha's mother was part of a well-off family and had to flee their home country during the war with nothing but the clothes she wore, giving birth to Aisha's older brother, Haled, as bombs dropped around her as no hospitals were near. While moving back and forth between countries that did not want to grant them asylum, Aisha was born. However, because of her family's history, Aisha had no citizenship making it difficult for her mother, Deena, to take her anywhere. With much hesitation, the Jordanian government allowed their family to stay in Jordan where Aisha has spent nearly her whole life, although still stateless. Aisha shares her life story and draws upon the stories of her mother and grandfather as she provides her analysis of PBSJ in the MENA region.

Jamal is often seen running around the playground with his friends or siblings. His lackadaisical air causes his teachers to shake their heads, but behind this front is an insightful

[3] A game in which players use clues to solve puzzles in order to escape a room.

boy, eager to converse about things such as the politics of oil— impressive for a boy of ten years. His family is from Iraq and occupied powerful political positions there. He, too, dreams of one day leading Iraq and speaks with a deep love for a country he has only been able to visit. Jamal describes Iraq with both pride and realism, detailing the delicious food and bombed out schools. He dreams of going back and working to reform the country to its former glory. His sister, **Samira**, is a quiet, polite girl who often wanders around alone at recess. Like her brother, she appears invested in Iraq but ping pongs between subdued optimism and loss. They smile and argue, as they recount their story and their views in their joint interviews.

Hayley is driven. She gets straight to the point and speaking articulately about matters she has a clear opinion on. Haley takes every opportunity to improve both the school's operations as well as her resume. Her teachers describe her as hard-working, and it is evident in the way she follows up and schedules follow-up meetings well in advance to ensure these do not interfere with her exam preparation.

Ren speaks as if she is 13 going on 30. She is a quiet, reflective, and confident young woman who enjoys volleyball, music, anime, and spending time with her pets. Ren's family fled Syria in the early stages of the war, but many of her friends and family remain there. She laments that she has only one friend in which she can share her stories and feelings with, regarding Syria: a fellow Syrian girl from another school whom she happened to run into. She otherwise keeps her reflective conversations to one teacher and the school counsellor and expresses

herself through art and poetry. Ren dreams of going back to Syria and visiting the Umaid mosque in Damascus, John Baptist Church, the Roman theatre in Daara, and the Norias of Hama. Her parents have shown her pictures of these places, and she hopes "It is still all in one piece".

Ramzi fills a room with his unique charisma. He is a tall, athletic senior who is described as 'patriarchal' and 'air-headed' by his peers. When he enters a classroom, he moves the furniture around so that he can switch out the standard plastic blue chairs for a plush one – and no one seems surprised. Ramzi tells people he will be the future King of Iraq. He hasn't done his homework and his teacher laments that he is checking the prices of his stock on the market in class. When I ask to interview him, he straightens up, squares his shoulders, and transforms to a distinguished looking young man wishing to become a good host and conversant, but struggles to understand the nature of poverty, making comments in class like, "beggars probably have millions of dollars."

Abdel wears a big leather jacket and is never far from his sisters, Elham and Nina. Neither he nor his siblings appear very interested in PBSJ, but they nonetheless agree to chat and quickly become enthusiastic about the research. They sit around a table and tell me stories of their life in Yemen, highlighting a particular school day when they were crammed in the trunk of a teacher's car for protection after an assassination attempt on a peer whose family had a similar background. What had once seemed like just "normal war stuff" had become very real for the then-eight-year-old back in his home country of Yemen. He misses the country but

has no immediate plans to return, his eyes currently set on moving to the UK to pursue a business degree.

Fadi embodies Arab hospitality. At lunch hour, he is surrounded by friends and quickly makes himself available for a chat. He is eager to talk about PBSJ despite his well-known apathy for any work in this area. His teachers have tried to encourage his engagement in issues relating to Gaza as a fellow Palestinian but express that it was difficult. I sit across from him and explain the confidentiality of the study and he smiles, "You mean I can be completely honest, even if I say things teachers won't like?" I return his smile and confirm. He leans back in his chair and tells me a different side of the story: reasons for his perceived and real apathy, despite acknowledging that his future in the family business may take him back to Palestine.

The Bubble

The portraitures above suggest that the life of a students at JI is unlike that of the average student in Jordan and surrounding MENA countries. The activities and rhetoric apparent at JI appeared to reflect ideals of the broader upper and middle-class communities in Amman. This demographic is often seen in cafes and stores that boast socially responsible ideals (e.g., coffee shops and hotels that sold products made by refugees; clothing stores that donated part of the profits to charities). Conversations with store owners revealed that they were often graduates of the top two tiers of schools in Jordan.

The community in which JI is based is made up of large homes with manicured gardens and is dotted with cafes, malls, specialty grocery stores, gyms, salons, and restaurants serving international cuisine. Outside of this community, vendors set up tables to hawk their goods as minibuses pass by on the streets. Instead of taking Ubers or having drivers pick them up after a full-day of top-quality education, children doddle home halfway through the day, having finished shift-school. Instead of participating in a robotics club or organising a TEDx talk, youth sell snacks to passing cars or kick around a tired football in what little green space they can find. This discrepancy points to an unbalanced distribution of wealth and a different way of life that participants in this research referred to as 'living in a Bubble'. This section describes the various characterisations of the Bubble that arose in interviews with students and staff as it had important implications for educational practices focused on PBSJ.

In terms of the most common characterisation, the Bubble was predominantly described as having specific geographic (i.e., the community surrounding JI) and socioeconomic characterisations, or as one student put it, "really wealthy Arab families" (Nahla-Y). In other words, it was an elite space, not unlike the Bubbles described in other studies of elite schools (see Howard, 2008; Kenway & Fahey, 2015; Swalwell, 2013a). When asked for their description of the world outside of the Bubble, participants admitted they were not entirely confident in providing one as they hardly left the Bubble but used terms like 'chaotic', 'conservative', and 'traditional':

> You see much crude behaviour— I hate to say that because they are my people, but you don't feel safe sometimes, especially as a woman. Like my mom would wear a black veil

> in areas downtown… Like you feel like you're in what's supposed to be an Arab country (Aisha-Y).

While this characterisation suggests that elite students would have to leave their Bubble to engage with those from lesser-privileged and marginalised backgrounds, some students and staff at JI characterised the Bubble as permeable: that students could not evade reality because "they see the kids on the street trying to sell them gum" (Sue-WBS) and "the shepherd boys are right outside my window" (Amani-Y). Moreover, the Bubble did not prevent students from attaining second-hand experience of the world 'outside'. As one student put it, "Like, we see refugees all the time. We see some dead bodies all the time. We see everything on the news or on TV" (Salma-Y). Another student credited the observations of her father in his work in agricultural for her vicarious knowledge of poverty:

> He travels to like a lot of the countries with like higher rates of poverty than Jordan. And so, like his experiences and everything like that kinda taught me like, my experience to other people is completely different and like I'm more blessed than most people. (Sada-Y).

Although the potential to witness inequality and learn narratives of conflict through different media has been discussed in PBSJ literature (see for example Bar Tal, 2009), its impact has yet to be highlighted in literature on elite youth. The emergence of this theme may be attributed to large-scale displacement in the region, which has not occurred in Western countries from where most of the literature on elite youth has stemmed.

Staff and students discussed how the Bubble was also linguistic: that even if students did engage with those outside their 'Bubble', most MENA JI students were only fluent in English and were ashamed to use their Arabic because it was poorly developed. As such, these students were unable to understand locals and refugees who only spoke Arabic. One student's essay described how she was reminded that "if you can't speak or understand our language, then you aren't an actual Arab" (see 'Student products' in Appendix). That differences in language may create barriers between citizens of different socioeconomic classes is a finding that appears to be relatively undiscussed in the larger body of literature on elite students in the West (primarily the US), likely because the global linguistic hierarchy tends to favour English (Kenway et al., 2017; Mehmedbegovic, 2017; Windle & Nogueira, 2015), which is available to all socioeconomic classes as it is the medium through which most public schools deliver their curricula.

Because of lucrative value of learning English, many other elite schools found outside the West market this mode of instruction. Consequently, the linguistic Bubble has been noted in other elite schools in colonial contexts. Kenway et al. (2017), for instance, point to how elite students in South Africa wishing to learning isiXhosa must pay for it privately, and few do. As a result, many elite students are unable to communicate with black South Africans. Literature surrounding PBSJ points to the centrality of dialogue (Gill & Niens, 2014; Nagda & Gurin, 2007), and the inability to speak the local language may inhibit not only the ability to communicate but the proclivity to associate with those whom they cannot understand (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984), thereby contributing to a gap between socioeconomic groups.

The linguistic barrier appeared to be part of a wider effort to cultivate a cosmopolitan elite cultured in activities that differed vastly from the average youth in the region. That is, even if students were able to speak the same language, their preferences for certain social activities, their values, what they were taught created additional gaps. In terms of the latter, the knowledge JI chose to focus on differed from the content covered in the Jordanian curriculum. Although teachers sometimes attempted to merge the Western curriculum with regional topics (for instance, linking civil movements in the West to Palestinian-Israeli relationships or using studies of global empires to analyse whether ISIS was an empire, a revolution, or a civil war), the Western curriculum omitted much local content present in the Jordanian curriculum, such as Islamic studies, Hashemite dynasty, Jerusalem's custodianship, Arab heritage, regional terrorist groups, etc. As such, students could not recall learning about Sharia law, the Amman Message (focused on unity and tolerance amongst Muslims), and Jordan's custodianship of Jerusalem—all of which are addressed in Jordan's curriculum (Pardo & Jacobi, 2019) but could describe how the House of Lords in the UK functions. The topical differences may contribute to the sense that JI students are different from their fellow citizens and, consequently, need to know different things (an issue explored in more detail in Chapter 7).

Apart from gaining different knowledge, students at JI participated in activities different from the majority of locals, such as fencing, and partook in international trips. As with language barriers, because these activities differ from the majority of locals, elite students are therefore unlikely to socialise with them. The distinction in activities between social classes within a society is not uncommon; however, it may be exacerbated by a drive to adopt an elite culture located outside of their society.

Students and staff also expressed concerns about divergences in values emphasised at JI and those in the wider society. As one parent stated:

> With my kids, because they are in Jordan and it is an Arab culture— Muslim religion, all of that— sometimes I have to have talks with (my child). For example, like here (at JI) we have students that are openly gay, and it is accepted and it's fine. Everybody has a choice. And she finds that that's okay, that's normal. But leaving JI, our Bubble, and going outside into, you know, the culture and you can't walk around and say, "Oh, my friend is gay and, you know, she has every right". They're going to judge you… So, it's like living in two different worlds that don't mix. (Deena)

There thus appears to be a tacit understanding that what is learned in the Bubble must stay in the Bubble.

Another finding not present in the larger literature focusing on elite youth emerged: the plurality of Bubbles. That is, some students at JI flipped the Bubble paradigm and suggested that the poor of East Amman live in their own Bubble (Salma-Y, Mohamed-Y). These students described how refugees and the poor were exposed to much more violence and, consequently, youth in this other Bubble replicated the violence in the form of, for instance, abuse against women or torturing animals (see 'The Other', below). While they acknowledged the existence of violence associated with an elite Bubble (predominantly indirect violence such as corruption), they posited that their elite Bubble provides them with opportunities to see alternative worlds in which physical violence is not normalised and provides them with an

education to help them understand both direct (physical) violence and indirect violence (e.g., corruption)—a topic described in more detail in Chapter 9 (see 'Privilege and peace').

The Other

Emerging in tangent with characterisations of the Bubble and whom it included were those whom it commonly excluded: refugees and marginalised groups. Staff and students' descriptions of these groups were often orientalist, in both its traditional sense ('exotic East' different from the 'modern' West [Said, 1978]) and its more recent class distinction (between the "elites and plebs" [Buchowski, 2006, p. 446]).

This latter form of Othering was prevalent at JI. The 'Other' (refugees, the poor, marginalised groups) "built fires" (Jack-WBS) and, as indicated above, were 'crude', 'traditional', and 'violent' and in need of support:

> Like one of the girls I worked with was saying how her dad would beat up the cat and how her brothers grabbed a puppy and threw it off a cliff and drowned it. All these stories. And I was teaching them how to treat animals with respect, how to treat themselves with respect. (Salma-Y)

Such characterisations are not that different from the Criminal, Troublemaker, and Security threat (CTS) rhetoric that arose post-9/11 (Gertel & Hexel, 2018; Lopes Cardozo et al., 2015).

Significantly, students appeared to differentiate themselves from "locals" (Laith-Y, Fadi-Y), despite both having lived in Amman their whole life and having Jordanian citizenship. This perceived disconnect suggests that students lacked connection to Jordanian society— a

sentiment seemingly stemming from identifying with the West and orientalising the Other. This terminology also appears to capture a sense of Freire's (1970b, p. 142) conceptualisation of alienation, in which a 'totality' is broken down into 'local communities' and 'focalised problems' of divided people. These perceptions of themselves and those outside their Bubble will have important implications for the students' and the school's engagement with PBSJ.

Summary

This chapter has provided a contextual background of the study. It has situated the case-study school in the larger elite school landscape and described the school's community in Amman. It briefly examined activities, policies, and language related to PBSJ, and suggested these reflected a number of educational approaches outlined in the literature review, including critical education, democratic citizenship education, human rights education, and charity and volunteerism. It also described the school's demographic and introduced some of the key participants.

This chapter illustrated the many ways in which the lives of those attending JI differs from the rest of the country— that is, that JI students lived in a Bubble. While the Bubble primarily referred to a geographically insulated space where privileged people live, additional characterisations emerged, including the idea of a permeable Bubble, the Bubble as linguistic and cultural, and the notion that the elite Bubble was one of multiple Bubbles. The following chapter examines how the school and students engaged in PBSJ within this context.

VI. PBSJ programming for the powerful

The previous chapter's thick description of the case-study suggested that Jordan International (JI) was a top-tiered school that catered to the region's powerful families in an elite space referred to as 'the Bubble'. This chapter considers how this context contributed to some understandings of students' roles in PBSJ and how it shaped JI's educational practices. I focus on two key themes emerging from the data: 1) the transformation of elite students from Antagonists to Allies, based on an implicit understanding of conflict transformation as elite transformation and 2) mobilising power for PBSJ, based on the perceived exceptional abilities of students to address PBSJ given their various forms of capital. I then consider roles typically found outside of the Bubble: Victims and CTSs.

Antagonists to Allies

Because of the numerous differences between elite students and those in the wider society, JI students, staff, and parents expressed concerns that their insulation within the Bubble may lead to a situation in which youth are ignorant of social issues and, consequently, grow up to be 'bad' citizens with an inordinate amount of power. As one staff member described, "And these guys, they are the one percent, and they have no, no idea about people in the real world, and that obliviousness is scary" (Frank-WBS). This characterisation is closely aligned with that of 'Antagonists'. As outlined in Chapter 2, Antagonists are 'Top Dogs' (individuals with power and resources, particularly in the political arena) whose actions oppose PBSJ through either ignorance or because they benefit from the causes of injustice and are knowingly complicit with a violent status quo. In the MENA region, the Antagonist is regularly linked to the political

elite's historic engagement in corruption and opposition to measures that might decrease their power (Alatassi, 2018; Becker, 2005; Dodge et al., 2017; Gelvin, 2015; Haddad, 2012).

While neither students nor staff could provide any specific examples of *student* involvement in activities associated with corruption, injustice, violence, or the like, there was a general concern surrounding "inequality, corrupted systems, money means power" (MENA student survey response). A minority of participants also expressed concerns surrounding questionable practices linked to students' families:

> **Farah-Y**: I noticed that when my grandpa was a politician, they gave him things for free, like cars and like, um, helpers in the house, and like an (inaudible) and a bodyguard. And I feel like all that money shouldn't be spent on the politicians and should be spent on the country.
>
> **Researcher**: Do you think these perks are needed to attract the right people or are included in the job?
>
> **Farah-Y:** Yes, but they don't need so much of it and that money could be invested elsewhere. He was a well-loved prime minister, and other leaders don't need all that.

Staff, too, wondered about potentially corrupt practices of certain JI families, given their reputation. One staff member, for instance, speculated that some parents may have been recipients of hefty government contracts:

> Some of these families got wealthy off just really dirty dealings and corruption… Like one father, he's only like a billionaire because he was the only one during the Iran-Iraq war who had a license to sell, um, 'heavy equipment' [*makes finger quotes*]. So, he's like a big scale arms dealer, right? (Laura-WBS).

This study could not verify these speculations. However, that staff had these beliefs and were concerned about social reproduction (Bourdieu, 1974) is significant as the beliefs appeared to shape educational programmes at JI. That is, they were often tied to a desire to inhibit 'ignorant' and potentially corrupt Antagonists by transforming them into Allies. As one staff member put it: "I get these guys for one, two years. I want them to know about these issues [*points to the whiteboard where he has written 'Power' and 'Justice'*], 'cause look at the corruption (in the region)!" (Frank-WBS).

Aside from concerns surrounding future ignorance and/or corruption, participants also worried that the Bubble prevented elite students from building bonds with the greater community. These concerns were often entwined. That is, many of these participants believed that students needed to learn about the issues and injustices faced by this latter group. After learning about these issues and/or meeting with the Other, elite youth would become affectively moved and would then work together towards resolving such problems, much like the characterisation of Allies.

A number of activities at the school aimed to transform Antagonists into 'Allies'. They most frequently involved ensuring students were knowledgeable, empathetic, and reflective individuals who could address global issues and see themselves as part of a greater collective;

however, their robustness for tackling injustice varied depending on the effort. These efforts fell into three broad themes: 'popping the Bubble'; action and advocacy; and critical reflection. As will be discussed below, such activities drew on various educational approaches found in this study's framework.

Popping the Bubble

At the more 'introductory' or basic end of the PBSJ spectrum were activities that aimed to increase awareness and expose students to the world outside their Bubble and were accordingly referred to as 'popping the Bubble'.

Building this awareness predominantly consisted of conscientizing students on the struggles of a 'poor Other' (Said, 1978) through: 1) studying the challenges facing the Other, 2) volunteering, and 3) engaging in activities with the Other. Participants associated these practices with PBSJ as they described how understanding the Other would stimulate cognitive and affective changes would prevent ignorance amongst those with future influence and power. Furthermore, by relating to and engaging with the Other staff indicated they were fostering empathy necessary for the development of Allies. As will be discussed below, these activities were in the spirit of conscientization and relationship-building but lacked the rigor to be described as a form of critical education.

Studying and understanding the Other

JI offered a number of different avenues for students to understand the Other. For instance, students studied the lives of Others by reading biographies of refugees and watching films in various classes. These lessons often included critical thinking questions, such as "What are

some of the challenges refugees face in the day to day lives?" (lesson worksheet). The library also supported this drive to understand the Other with books on display such as *Poor People* by William Vollmann (2007). Aside from planned programming and the availability of such resources, impromptu conversations provided opportunities to understand the world outside of the Bubble. Box 2 below, for instance, describes an interaction between students and a teacher in an English class.

Box 2: Class conversation

Bayan-S: What is public education like Iraq?

Ramzi-Y: Miss, I don't think there are schools Iraq.

Bayan-S: Of course there are schools.

Haled-Y: Uh, yeah there are. My apartment became a school.

Ramzi-Y: What! Like a home is a school?

Haled-Y: Yes.

Students were also encouraged to consider different perspectives. For instance, one Compassion Conference workshop that focused on what works and what does not work in helping communities hurt by military and economic wars required students to take on six different views on a particular effort. Likewise, students were also encouraged to look for similarities between different groups of people, as is common in democratic citizenship education. For example, one high school student's Personal Project involved creating a video

that showed her brother and a Syrian refugee doing the same daily routines (sleeping, washing up, praying, etc.).

While efforts were designed to put students in the Other's shoes and build empathy— practices supported in PBSJ literature (Johnson & Johnson, 2006)— these practices raise some concerns. First, although teachers often attempted to pair awareness with critical thinking questions, Freire (1970b) maintains that critical reflection must be dialogical in nature. Because of the lack of meaningful, reflective dialogue with the Other in these activities, it appeared that attempts to empathise, understand, and relate to the struggles facing the Other were often left to students' imagination. Several studies point to the dangers in this practice. For instance, Galinsky et al.'s (2006) study of power and perspective noted that power was associated with a reduced ability to grasp how others see, think, and feel. Similarly, Killumets (2020) found that those in power may misread emotional states and intentions by projecting what they would do in the other person's situation. Perhaps most concerning is that these efforts can cultivate false empathy (Delgado, 1996); that is, they make the privileged think that they truly understand these struggles when they may not.

Second, and relatedly, Spelman (as cited in Goodman, 2000) cautions that empathy might result in the 'paradox of appropriation' wherein the elite's identification with the more marginalised may erase the specific difficulties the latter experiences. Rothberg (2019) suggests privileged groups might instead "offer a space" (p. 6) rather than putting themselves as the focus.

Third, where privileged groups might focus on themselves, students may instead reflect on power and social position. As Robbins (2017) notes, the abstract language of empathy may be

appealing but it is also important for individuals to understand how "your fate is *causally linked*, however obscurely, with the fates of distant and sometimes suffering others" (original emphasis). Moreover, Rothberg (2019) questions whether aligning ourselves with the Other is less effective than attempts to recognise implication. That is, much in the same way social movements in the United States moved from "We are all Trayvon[4]" to "We are not Trayvon" (p. 6) or even "I am Zimmerman", privileged groups can resist appropriation and reflect on vicarious responsibility.

Fourth, Gaztambide-Fernández and Howard (2013) critique this type of awareness or "knowledge of other peoples' suffering" as "material for sounding 'really cool' … and for appearing informed and well educated" (p. 3). They argue that this knowledge and elite students' commitments to social justice is performative and contributes to their 'moral standing' rather than actually dismantling structures of injustice. The school's focus on 'awareness' rather than 'reflection' in school documents and rhetoric marks an important distinction as awareness appears to be serving the elite whereas reflection may not. In this regard, 'awareness' might be conceived as 'thin conscientization'. That said, efforts to study and understand might be considered an improvement from 'political apathy' (Fish, 2012), as these efforts do not 'academizes issues' but look at real issues in specific contexts.

[4] Trayvon Martin was an African American teen who was shot by George Zimmerman walking home from a convenience store. His death became a rallying cry against racial injustice.

Volunteering in the Other's world

Volunteering activities, such as Beyond our Books (BoB), were another perceived avenue to create Allies. Through BoB, students were able to travel to developing countries to help locals with a project. The programme's description appeared to be on fostering compassion for others and building skills for Allies to use:

> (BoB) program is designed to give students the experiences that will inspire them to become compassionate, globally aware citizens… Students will take action to make the world a better place and engage in sustainable service in order to gain awareness of issues that go beyond their national borders. Students will strengthen their teamwork skills as they have opportunities on these trips to work together in teams to plan and execute their vision in order to reach a common goal of greater good.

Also apparent in this passage is an emphasis on 'awareness'. Such trips exposed students to poverty and, as one staff member noted, provided an opportunity for students to reflect on their lifestyle of privilege:

> We didn't put them in five stars. They were in three and four stars. I mean, it's something. I mean, I took a girl who had never carried her own luggage before. So those trips, the ones where they built the house in Vietnam, they had to sweat, they had to walk, they carried stuff. That was good for them. (Carolyn-WBS)

Evident in this statement and the passage above was that volunteering offered different angles to becoming Allies. Like the framework's characterisation of volunteerism, JI's approach

centred on improvements to the community, akin to Wheeler-Bell's (2017) 'civic volunteerism' and Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) 'participatory citizens'. Participants, particularly students, associated these efforts with allyship. BoB's focus on skill-building and awareness of Others was also reflective of democratic citizenship education. Staff members expressed it was important for Allies to know about life outside the Bubble and develop skills to help make this shared life better.

Parents, staff members, and students also described awareness much in the same way as critical consciousness: "It's whole new reality for them" (Nasir-S). That said, in many ways, volunteering activities like BoB differed from conscientization. For one, as evident in the previous section, they appeared to lean towards witnessing poverty rather than reflecting on and addressing power. Second, Allies did not seem to be associated with building relationships or even conversing with those they were supporting. Thus, they lacked the dialogical element that is central to critical education.

Intergroup activities

Beyond studying/imagining the Other and volunteering in the Other's world, students were encouraged to engage directly with refugees or marginalised groups, which commonly involved socialising (e.g., playing football) or leading the groups through activities normally unavailable to them (e.g., science experiments, art). Organisations also came to the school for a yearly celebration in which they dined together on campus. School documents suggested that these activities helped "open (students') eyes" and understand how they "can connect and contribute to the community". One NGO worker reflected on how intergroup visits that involve

sports or arts are “great equalizers” (Annelise). She expressed that “anything that levels the playing field is good to engage kids who are different” as it minimises the idea that they sit on “opposing sides of a line”.

These intergroup activities reflect Allport et al.’s (1954) contact hypothesis and Lederach’s (1999) vertical relationship-building, in which interaction between different groups is thought to increase understanding and appreciation—traits linked to PBSJ literature (Lopes Cardozo et al., 2015). This study’s framework categorised intergroup activities under the banner of ‘democratic citizenship education’ as they are often used to foster understanding and appreciation of others, which participants described as being central to allyship.

Although such activities were thought to pop the Bubble and stimulate allyship, one staff member indicated that it was not automatic. She described how teachers “had to train (JI youth)… but then our kids would be like, ‘Can I see your Instagram?’ And the other kids would be like, ‘Can, can I add you online?’” (Yasmin-S). When asked what this ‘training’ entailed, she described how staff proactively interceded the common proclivity for pity by telling students:

> None of this, “I feel so sorry for you”… You're going to go there, you're gonna see what it's going to be like. And hey, you can't feel sorry for that… community service is not about you. (Yasmin-S)

For some students, this process triggered existential reflections that were affectively challenging. They described to JI staff and how intergroup contact made them reflect on an emptiness they felt:

Yasmin-S: When they go onsite, sometimes it's hard, you know?

Researcher: Like what kind of things usually come up?

Yasmin-S: Um, you know, "Life isn't fair. They're happier than us. They look so happy and they're smiling, and they have very little. We have everything and we're not happy… They're playing in the little alley and they're still happy. It doesn't have to be a field like ours."

Students also expressed how they felt more alive when with interacting with the Other: "Like most of my friends, who are very privileged and very rich, always feel depressed and down. When they work with (marginalised groups), they're so happy and they love life" (Salma-Y). These sentiments appear to reflect the vocation of humanisation (the "struggle to recover their lost humanity" [Freire, 1970b, p. 43]) and how affluent groups can be at a loss because lack of interdependence. As Luthar (2003) notes: "the rich are the least likely to experience the security of deep social connectedness that is routinely enjoyed by people in communities where mutual dependence is unavoidable" (p. 6).

Though bringing together elite students and marginalised groups was highly supported at JI, staff and students, as well as representatives from the NGOs all suggested that JI students needed more regular engagement with youth outside the Bubble to genuinely develop relationships and understandings—an issue Allport et al. (1954) also raised. Participants all expressed concerns that only providing short and irregular visits was akin to what Shepard

(2016) refers to as 'slum tourism'. Even the staff who organised the activities described how "'exposure' makes me sick" (Bayan-S).

The ability to arrange for regular contact, however, was complicated by logistics, including transport, coordination, available space, and time that staff could dedicate. These logistical challenges have been observed elsewhere. For instance, like those at JI, teachers in Swalwell's (2013a) noted that as the curriculum was overloaded, students often only had one class, which did not allow enough time to process what they learned, let alone return to build relationships. JI faced another challenge: security. This challenge was not solely logistical— participants expressed that students who arrived with security detail was "not the kind of scene you want" (Sue-WBS) when the goal was to build relationships. The school, however, recognised the need for security. One teacher described how students used to be able to visit the refugee camp before it became quite populated "but then they (camp residents) started throwing rocks at the bus, so we had to quit" (Caroyln-WBS). This incident may stem from the fact that the activity did not meet another one of Allport et al.'s (1954) optimal conditions for bringing together different groups of people: in addition to regular engagement, groups should be of the same relative socioeconomic status.

Despite these challenges, staff continued to arrange intergroup activities as they expressed that these visitations were vital to the affective transformation of potential Antagonists and that they provided an opportunity to cultivate relationships that were necessary for JI youth to be able to act as Allies. That said, although these activities were described as affectively moving

and backed by good intentions, participants did not mention any examples of actual Allies; that is, JI students had not in fact, befriended any youth from these intergroup activities.

Advocacy and action

Although the previous section outlined several limitations to educational activities focused on awareness, students and staff indicated that awareness was an essential foundation for advocacy and action, both of which were viewed as important to allyship as they could help fix issues the Other faced. Several activities provided opportunities for advocacy. One unit embedded in their MS English classes was on teen activists, which included a study of human rights. The culminating project entitled 'Call to Action' required students to advocate for a human rights cause through an essay. A Compassion Conference workshop similarly highlighted the role of advocacy journalists as "giver(s) of voice to the voiceless".

There was also a sense that Allies did not just advocate for change but worked towards fixing the problems they spoke of. HS Personal Projects provided such an avenue. Using Design Thinking, students were expected to gain an understanding of an issue, often by speaking to someone directly impacted by the issue, then solve this issue. This understanding largely reflects Freire's (1970b) praxis, consisting of conscientization and action. Its manifestation, on the other hand, was not as representative of critical education as it often did not transform oppression/injustice. Instead, 'action' was often limited to plugging gaps. For instance, students studied causes of conflict and then built a basketball court for the underprivileged or created a prosthetic for a war amputee. While laudable projects that exhibit Ally-like support, these actions do not transform the conditions that led to poverty and conflict.

Staff were aware that Personal Projects emphasised temporary/short term solutions to problems. As one staff member explained, “You can't solve the refugee crisis in four to six weeks, but you might be able to resolve a trash situation or a bullying issue” (Chantelle-WBS). In this light, schools both support and restrain PBSJ as they encourage engagement but are limited by the school calendar. As such they may limit elite youth’s visions of how to work towards PBSJ by ‘focalising problems’, which Freire (1970b) cautions can inhibit the individual from understanding issues of the totality. Because of these issues, such activities, with their emphasis on helping community members and advocating for their rights, tends to align more closely with other approaches, such as volunteering, democratic citizenship education, and human rights education.

Critical reflection

While the preceding sections reflected some aspects of critical education, the activities below showed clearer connections, particularly those involving a critical reflection of power and endeavours to transform the roots of injustice.

Understanding power

Although the activities above tended to focus on the Other, a few activities ‘shifted the gaze’ to a focus on power. For instance, students analysed plays on racial discrimination and engaged in a poetry unit on ‘power’. They also participated in activities such as the Privilege Walk (Transfer Leadership Institute, n.d.). Based on Peggy McIntosh’s (1989) analysis of privilege, this activity aimed to visually demonstrate differences in privilege as it involved students stepping forward for every aspect of privilege that applied to them. The class discussion associated with this

activity highlighted how “privileges are often granted to an individual group based on who they are, or what they represent in our culture, rather than anything they have done” (Bayan-S). This activity appeared to be one of the few that focused on intersectionality and implication.

Participants linked these activities to the transformation of Antagonist to Ally as they explained that students must first understand how the elite engage in oppression (i.e., recognise any potential ‘antagonism’ towards PBSJ) and have been beneficiaries of an unjust system before they can break down these barriers and enter into true allyship. In other words, an Ally first must not be an oppressor.

One activity exemplified such attempts to recognise the daily benefits of oppression in students’ lives. As part of Connecting Through Art, an art teacher had students watch a video showing living conditions in the Philippines and draw pictures. She had intentionally chosen Filipino children as subjects to help JI students understand and appreciate the contexts from which their nannies and cleaners came. To help make the connection more personal, she suggested the students sit with their nannies and ask if what they saw in the video is what their lives were like and whether they had to leave their families behind to take care of JI youth. In this sense, the project was aimed at popping the Bubble, but also as an introduction to global power relations that were present in the students’ homes.

Internal transformation

Perhaps the most critical engagement with power and injustice came from ad hoc actions triggered by current events and wider social movements. For instance, following George Floyd’s death in the US, staff elicited perspectives on uncomfortable issues in a circulated

email which sought 'Elephant namers': an appeal to staff, students, and parents to "honestly identify and address all the ways in which inequity operates in our school in order to foster a better approach to global advocacy" (Amanda-WBS). Others circulated resources to support staff and student understandings of social justice, such as lists of suggested books. This internal critical reflection and desire to transform inequity within the school may be viewed as an act of allyship. It moves understandings beyond needing to work *for* the Other to needing to work on themselves, which, unlike many of the activities described above, is less paternalistic and does not insinuate a 'deficit other' (Swalwell, 2013).

What about inter-ethnic conflict and Allies?

While the majority of conversations above focused on bridging the space between students of different socioeconomic backgrounds (that is, it focused on vertical relationship-building), a minority of staff and students mentioned the need to address tensions between Israeli and Arab youth. As one student relayed:

> I remember one of my friends is Jewish and the Palestine kids treated him super badly just because he was Jewish. And I was like, "Listen, …don't hate on this poor kid who did nothing". Then they start yelling at us like, "He's bad" and that he's like a terrorist and he killed Palestine. He was like, "Just because I'm Jewish does not mean I feel that way". But they still treated him badly. And when I stood up for my friend, they started saying those things about me. (Ren-Y)

The relative absence of activities on this topic appeared to be due to a number of reasons. First, many JI students were either Palestinian or Arabs supporting Palestine. As one student put it:

“Like Iraqis and Kuwaitis don’t like each other, but we will band together on Palestine, because (the occupation) has got to go” (Aisha-Y). These students often referred to the conflict not in terms of tensions between two groups, but “genocide” (Aisha-Y). As such, the matter was not about reconciling differences but ending the regular killings of Palestinians by the Israeli state.

In this regard, it is worth considering possible limits to ‘the virtue of openness’ (Roberts, 2016). That is, the open exchange of ideas “must be balanced against concerns for human dignity and social justice” (p. 887). Similarly, though speaking about human rights, Meister (2010) points out that such discussions may not be possible in situations where the real or perceived “evil regime” (p. 25) has yet to be defeated. Likewise, Rothberg (2019) argues that by privileging reconciliation over justice, victims settle for a “moral victory” (p. 15). In other words, it may be questionable to call on Palestinians to look past ongoing occupation and attacks, to forfeit demands for justice, and cultivate bonds with their oppressors when allyship is predicated on some semblance of humanity.

Second, many staff members were empathetic towards the Palestinian right to return. While they seldomly overtly expressed it, this empathy may be behind their omission of Palestinian students in discussions surrounding transforming Antagonists to Allies. Consequently, it appeared that a sort of consensus developed at JI surrounding who is right and who is wrong—the result being that speaking out against Israeli occupation took precedence over creating inter-ethnic Allies.

Third, those who identified a need for relationship-building between Israelis and Palestinians expressed concerns over navigating this very controversial issue. Staff described the difficulties

relating to merely mentioning Israel in lessons and school activities (see Chapter 8), let alone organising intergroup contact between Israeli and Palestinian students (and other Arabs for that matter).

Fourth, the transformation of Antagonists to Allies was closely knitted to definitions of the Bubble as socioeconomic. Thus, if there is no understanding of the Bubble as inter-ethnic, there is nothing to 'pop'. It therefore seemed that although students at JI may have multiple intersecting identities, socioeconomic differences dominated discussions of 'us'/'them' and 'in the Bubble/out of the Bubble', and overshadowed potential discussions surrounding ethnic tensions.

Other tensions between groups in MENA region rarely emerged in the case-study. As indicated above, students acknowledged the political tensions between Iraqis and Kuwaitis, but could not point to any examples of this within the school. When prompted, participants indicated that:

> We're quite non-denominal… Many parents send their kids to our school because they know they don't have to deal with that stuff. If anything, things come up between Jordanians and (Western students), and mostly just in MS. By the time they get to high school, it's ironed itself out. (Cole-WBS)

Another staff member reiterated that students "are used to, like, diversity, so it's not, it's not like they have to figure out that Muslims are equal to Christians" (Chantelle-WBS). Additionally, students often minimised religion in class discussions and in interviews, describing themselves as "more moral than religious" (Nahla-Y) and speaking of Jordanians as 'locals', despite having

lived most of their lives in Jordan – matters discussed in more detail in Chapter 8. Thus, not only have students become accustomed to difference through their cosmopolitan education, but many appeared to identify with this generic cosmopolitan culture rather than 'Kuwaiti' and/or 'Muslim'.

That said, one teacher did attempt to highlight discrimination in Jordan. In a class on privilege, Arab students discussed racism, wherein the teacher indicated that discrimination likely exists in their neighbourhood, even if students do not see or hear it (see Box 3).

Box 3: Discrimination in Jordan

Ramzi-Y: I don't think there's any discrimination (in Jordan) because we're an Arab community.

Bayan-S: Are there black Jordanians?

Students: Yes.

Ramzi-Y: Oh! Bedouins!

Salma-Y No, there are besides Bedouins.

Haled-Y: Yeah, we call them the A-word.

Ramzi-Y: What's the A word?

Bayan-S: It's like the N-word, but in Arabic.

Ramzi-Y: Oh, I thought that was the Z-word.

Salma-Y: There's both.

Bayan-S: Anyway, (my friend) works with Black communities by the Dead Sea. They tell her that they are told they are black because God doesn't love them, that too many flies have landed on their skin. Now think about it, do you see any black Jordanians in (this neighbourhood)?

Students: No.

Bayan-S: So, what does that tell you?

Students: There's discrimination.

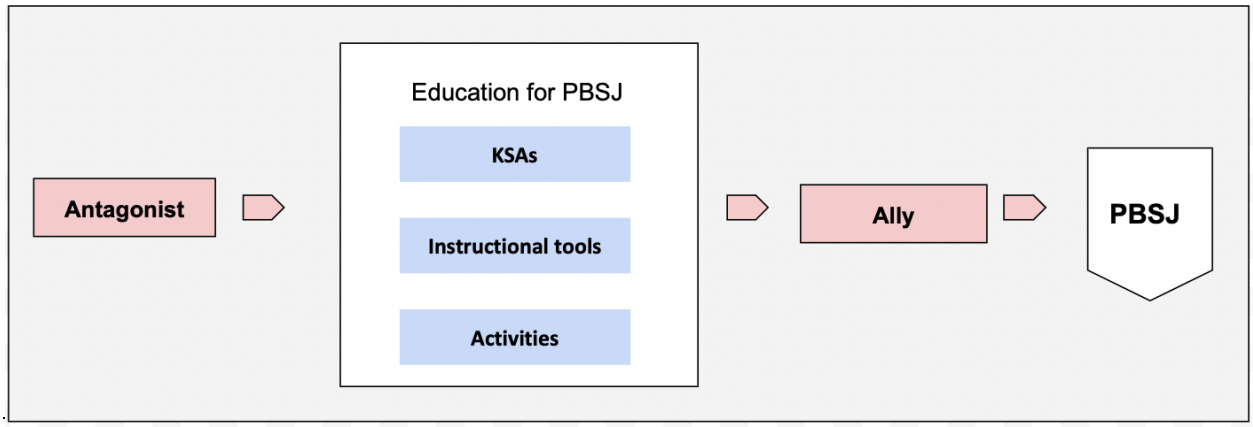
This situation leads to a duality of the Bubble: it appears to foster an appreciation of difference, yet it is situated in a neighbourhood wherein certain differences (e.g., being poor and black) are ostracised, which leads the elite to think they are not discriminatory because in the absence of these communities, they do not see discriminatory behaviours occurring at a personal level.

Conflict transformation as elite transformation

JI's efforts to change students into Allies in order to build PBSJ reflects Miall's (2003) understanding of conflict transformation as elite transformation. Miall asserts that personal transformations (i.e., attitudes, behaviours, and relationships) within those with decision-making power can be crucial in developing peace. Likewise, discussions with participants, particularly staff, implied a theory of change in which a student gains specific KSAs and is transformed into a citizen capable of building peace. In this case-study, students at JI may enter as an Antagonist, learn about the Other and the real world through various activities and instructional tools, develop skills of critical reflection, and become a conscientized Ally capable

of contributing to PBSJ (see Figure 7 below). As one administrator put it: “It's a shift in mentality towards compassion and that is going to help tackle issues of inequality and then help tackle issues relating to peace” (Chantelle-WBS). This process is reflective of the linear theory of change described in Chapter 3.

Figure 7: Antagonist to Ally



Acknowledging the logic and literature behind such an understanding, the very premise of the theory of change is, nonetheless, concerning. While students and staff expressed concerns about Antagonists in need of intervention, Higgins and Novelli (2018) and others (Zembylas & Bekerman, 2013) have criticised similar conceptualisations that pathologize individuals for their ‘destructive’ behaviours and attitudes as such efforts tend to attribute conflicts to personal/violent qualities. While most attempts to “fix the sick” and “troubled minds” (Zembylas & Bekerman, 2013, p. 205) have focused on the marginalised, in this case it is the elite (JI students) who are the target of intervention. Such conceptualisations can be critiqued for their neo-colonial nature in that they see individuals as needing peace to be brought to them (Kadiwal, 2019), which coincidentally or not, occurs within a Western-style institution.

Although the drive to do so stems from a need to address structural causes of violence, which often require the support of the elite who have the power and positions to do so, it nonetheless raises the question whether it is ethical to pathologize the rich but not the poor.

Mobilising power for PBSJ

The previous section examined how JI attempted to break down barriers between those ostensibly 'inside' and 'outside' of the elite Bubble. While many of these efforts focused on minimising the gap between themselves and the Other and dismantling power structures, this section considers how the opposite approach also existed in the school; that is, students were encouraged to embrace their power and mobilise their capital 'for' PBSJ.

Embracing capital: Leaders, Saviours, and Influencers

As discussed in the literature review, Bourdieu (1986) describes different types of capital: social, economic, and cultural. In his earlier work, Bourdieu (1981) also describes political capital as pertaining to a small number of people in comparison to "the more completely ordinary individuals (who) are divested of the material and cultural instruments necessary for them to participate actively in politics" (p. 172). These forms of capital were mirrored in three roles in this study's conceptual framework: Top Dogs (Future Leaders with social and political power), Saviours (wealthy citizens with economic power), and Influencers (visible citizens with social and cultural power). All three of these were apparent in the case-study to different degrees and perceived as affecting PBSJ.

Trickle down PBSJ: Educating Future Leaders

Students and staff emphasised JI youths' potential to provide positive future leadership. As in the literature review, students, staff, and parents described this role as 'Future Leaders' and associated it predominantly with influential political power. As one staff member put it:

> The students who we educate will have a lot of influence right, in the future. I mean, if they're not going to be politicians, they are probably going to be businessmen and women, or, you know, like they will maybe have roles in government… Like they could actually shift policy (Chantelle-WBS).

Likewise, parents expressed that "our future leaders, who have the power or will have the power, understand that very early on" (Deena). For students, it was not simply that they would have power but, as in Swalwell's (2013b) study, that there existed a responsibility associated with this power and socioeconomic status:

> I have a voice some people don't and I'm going to use it, you know? I am so privileged, so lucky, and so grateful, and I'm able to go to a school and have an education and have a life where I am able to speak for other people. Because of the family that I was born into, I also have a platform. So, to implement change, if I can, I will. (Amani-Y).

Many students similarly agreed that because of their status, they were *morally obligated* to contribute to society: "Because I was born into a rich family, I have to care for the world we live in and I will try my best to change lives and communities in order to prosper and thrive" (Laith-

Y) and “I feel like people who are privileged are responsible for helping the world become a better place” (MENA student survey response). This perspective was also noted in Swalwell’s (2013b) study, wherein students described a sense of duty in addressing inequality because “with great power comes great responsibility” (p. 1).

This rhetoric of leadership and power arose not only in interviews and surveys. Websites and social media associated with JI were replete with descriptions surrounding how the school prepared students to be the “leaders of tomorrow”, with photos of alumni in leaderships positions, or students mingling with high profile politicians or royals.

While leadership imagery and discourse are not exclusive to the elite, certain sociocultural understandings underlined the elite’s exceptional ability to make things happen in the MENA region. That is, powerful families had *wasta* (loosely translated as clout, connections, power), which facilitated tasks associated with leadership. As one student illustrated: “You need something signed, you can do it. Just call this guy and this guy can get it done” (Fadi-Y). Students described this process as “just straightforward, no nonsense. It’s like ‘I want to do this, this how I'm going to do it’ and then do it or get it done” (Abdel-Y). In conversations regarding PBSJ, *wasta* generally bears a negative connotation, but participants pointed to its potential use when in the hands of ‘good’ individuals:

> It's weird how this school, in this city, in this region, at this time, (Personal Projects) really, *really* works. And like, one of my hopes and goals is that this program can develop, and the students can go home to their parents and be like, “Why haven't you been doing this for the last 50 years? Help *me* do this!” you know, because these kids

> who go to this school are going to be the captains of industry, and they are going to be the leaders of this country. They're the ones with *wasta* and they can make a change and if we can help begin to like integrate that into their psyche now, maybe the future will be better. (Craig-WBS)

and

> My brother has like these twelve friends and between them, they can get anything done, like anything. With their connections, they just have to make a phone call. Like, imagine if they really cared about this stuff? (Sarah, alumnus).

In addition to this perceived exceptional ability to achieve what they would like, JI offered activities aimed at developing leadership skills, frequently connected to democratic citizenship education, including public speaking in TEDx talks, debate in the MUN classes, and student council. Public speaking and debate were linked to education for PBSJ as they were perceived as leadership skills that enabled students to advocate for a cause. For instance, public speaking was viewed as a means "to spread compassion… with confidence" (Compassion Conference). Student council also developed skills to organise and lead activities and events.

These skills, along with activities focused on understanding the Other and the world 'outside' of the Bubble, prompted participants to suggest that: "I do think that it's building peace because we're going to build the leaders who will make better decisions in the future" (Chantelle-WBS). This finding is reflected in Peshkin's (2001) study of an privilege in an elite American school, in which he compares this understanding to 'trickle-down' economics: "provide an outstanding

education to the students, who then are prepared to contribute to society through whatever jobs and careers they come to have" (p. 100).

The extent to which their leadership might actually trickle down may be inhibited by a challenge unique to this study: mobility. More specifically, many students leave the region because of the fragile economic climate in the MENA region. Combined with the cultural and linguistic barriers of the Bubble, JI students may have little incentive to stay and apply their KSAs in the MENA region. As one parent put it:

> even, you know, *our* graduates don't have work… Brain drain. We all leave. My kids left. I have a senior this year. She's leaving. I don't want her to come back… There's nothing to do." (Gina-WBS)

Many JI students graduate, go on to study overseas, and do not return to the MENA region—meaning that they may bear little to no influence on PBSJ in these countries. Thus, the hidden curricula, one of preparing local JI students to be able to function in a society different from country of origin, may be at odds with the goals of transforming the elite so that they can transform structures of inequality and injustice in the MENA region. This seemingly contradictory characterisation (a Future Leader in the MENA region who will not live in the MENA region) may suggest that participants drew mainly from either social reproduction theories without accounting for the economic issues affecting the current generation of youth and/or drew on ideas outlined about elite youth in Western contexts and transferred them onto students without accounting for the context. JI was not alone in this issue. This finding echoed the results of Howard and Maxwell's (2020) study of elite students in another Jordanian

school, in which the authors also note that most students leave the Middle East for post-secondary, but that the school attempted to foster a commitment "to return one day as leaders" (p. 24).

Some participants expressed concern about the injustice of this mobility, particularly in reference to brain drain. One student presented on this issue in a TEDx talk, imploring fellow students to stay and give back to their country:

> Have we ever just stopped and thought to ourselves how we can help contribute to bettering the economy rather than tossing all the blame on the government, packing up and leaving? … If you lived in Jordan, spent any of your life in Jordan or are Jordanian, you are fed by a Jordanian farmer who harvested their crops on Jordanian soil. You bathed and drank from Jordan's water sources, despite the scarce water we have already. And you slept peacefully at night and went about your days while Jordan's military protected you at the borders. So, the least we can do is come back for a couple of years and pay it forward and back for all its generosity (Farah-Y).

Thus, in spite of the economic challenges in the region, students' financial ability to leave, and a cosmopolitan education that prepares them to live and study elsewhere, some students recognise that they are beneficiaries of those who cannot leave and expressed sense of debt to their country, reflecting an understanding of interdependence.

While elite youth from the MENA region could still be Future Leaders in other contexts, as Kenway et al. (2017) point out, capital does not necessarily travel, thus such mobility may

threaten students' ability to influence positive social change on the scale they may be able to where they exercise more power (*wasta*). Moreover, even within the MENA region, this power is precarious. For instance, two JI boys left Iraq: one boy's family fled as refugees and were not able to carry their social or economic capital with them to Jordan ("we lost everything"—Haled-Y). On the other hand, the other boy's family continued to operate their business in Iraq remotely and continued to hold sway in the country.

Some students saw mobility as an opportunity to be a more effective Future Leader. One student noted that because JI youth were mobile, they were better able to "spread their voices all around and make (issues) more international" as opposed to "keeping it in Jordan" (Sada-Y). She expressed a more specific concern that the school allows students to have a voice, but "it stops there" and they are unable to broaden their scope outside this Bubble in Jordan. Sada indicated that this was particularly important when it came to topics like the occupation of Palestine, which was widely known in the MENA region but, she stated, was "not understood" elsewhere and resulted in negative stereotypes of Arabs. That JI also helped provide the cultural capital for students to be able to adapt into Western contexts and translate their local knowledge and experience was also helpful in students' endeavours to be Future Leaders outside of the MENA region who could address MENA region issues.

A student from Yemen also expressed that he wanted to study in London as it might be "easier to make change", whereas in Jordan he felt "mostly powerless to do anything from (his) current position" (Abdel-Y). Likewise, a Syrian student described her desire to be a Future Leader abroad:

> I mean, ever since like, the war happened, I always wanted to do something to help… I want to be the president of America because it's known as a strong country. I wanted to use that like high standing to do some good. But then I realised… you have to be American. (Ren-Y)

This desire to be a leader abroad appeared to stem from locating the root or mitigation of conflict abroad. For instance, Ren expressed her frustration over a lack of foreign intervention in Syria (see Box 4 below).

Box 4: Excerpt of Ren's poem

When they take off their masks to (reveal) their true selves

"all Arabs are terrorists why help?" is what some want to say.

Although they cover that up a deep secret inside them and say

“Let’s try peaceful terms," they say instead of helping suffering Syrians,

what about the people who are meant to help

but instead, they’re trying peaceful terms

are we not worth your valuable men?

Men who joined to help right?

No, they joined to bomb Afghanistan.

I’m sorry was that last line too dark but let’s be honest even the soldiers know it themself!

Because when they notice what they’re bombing, it’s Afghanistan children and families in poverty!

Note: See full poem and Ren’s notes on it in Appendix.

These findings suggest that some participants located the power to affect PBSJ more internationally and may imply that students see civil conflicts as needing intervention from leaders outside their country. This contrasts with Western literature, as students in studies such as Swalwell's (2015) and others (Howard, 2008) did not mention the need to go abroad to be able to affect change within their home country, possibly because students are already located in global centres of power, or in contexts of relative stability.

Saviours and charity approaches

As indicated in Chapter 2, the 'Saviour' (Swalwell, 2013a) attempts to support the Other primarily through financial assistance; that is, they mobilise their economic capital. This role in PBSJ was connected to charity approaches in the literature (Choules, 2007b).

Charity was pervasive across all age levels at the school. At Christmas time, JI put on 'The Gift of Giving' in which Grade 4 students planned activities for a visit to an organisation supporting marginalised children. They also wrapped and presented gifts to the children. While charity may be a developmentally appropriate approach for this age group as it offers a more concrete introduction to privilege and poverty (Piaget, 1936), this approach continued to persist after students moved beyond concrete understandings. That is, the desire and expectation to help the less fortunate continued into MS, with students expressing an urge to "to give back because people at JI are very fortunate" (Aya-Y). For instance, in their Personal Project plans, students wrote they wanted to address poverty, but stated they had "no idea" how to do this, aside from vague suggestions or one-line answers like "food". One student specifically outlined that he

would provide meat to refugees because “I like charity and I like to hunt”. Charity also carried on into HS. As one HS student described:

> We have, like, for example, this email, and it says, like certain organisations and what they do and what they're missing, what they need. And so, as students we will take which one we want to help the most, and then we just go there (Nahla-Y).

A long-term staff member suggested that the school had been moving away from charity activities over the years (Carolyn-WBS). However, there continued to be support for fundraising, which was particularly prevalent in Personal Projects. Many projects used something the students enjoyed (e.g., cooking), which could allow for fundraising (e.g., writing and selling a cookbook for charity). In this regard, the school may be shifting away from fostering ‘personally responsible citizens’ (those who donate to the food drive) to ‘participatory citizens’ (those who organise the food drive) (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004).

Increasingly, activities associated with charity and fundraising tended to include a preparation lesson and post-activity debriefing aimed at building more critical understandings. Staff members described how they attempted to guide students towards these understandings and the difficulties in doing so:

> Students are like, “Okay, I want to do a thing where I donate a bunch of supplies to a school.” And I'm like, “Well, that's cool and that's helpful but like what does a school, a really bad school need?” So, they're like, “Heat. I'm going to get them heaters.” And I say, “Okay, but how are they going to get the gas?” (Bayan-S)

And:

> I took this one kid to the Gaza camp to a house, and it was the most uncomfortable thing because this kid has a lot of privilege and he was like, “How much is gas for a month. Okay, I'll buy that for six months. What else do you need?” And was just like doing this kind of thing. And there was like zero, zero connection. And so, we had to go back to school, and I had to have like a long conversation about what happened. Like, this isn’t sustainable. (Craig-WBS)

These examples indicate that students required scaffolding to move beyond their role as Saviours and to see the limitations of one-off charitable actions. While teachers saw critical reflection as part of this process, sometimes it was limited because “there isn't enough time and enough space to do it” (Carolyn-WBS).

Though most JI staff members recognised the need to move past charity, some were open to the possibility that charity could actually be something marginalised communities wanted. One staff member most critical about charity stated: “If it’s just money they want, we would respect that” (Bayan-S). She went on to suggest that even if it was seemingly distasteful to mobilise money, students could make good use of their resources:

> Like all these kids have contacts between their parents, their friends, parents. So, like if this kid wanted to insulate a school and his dad was a contractor, right? You ask your dad for prices, go to the cheapest thing, figure it out, raise the money, do that. (Bayan-S)

Such sentiments reflect Murphy’s (1998) contention that:

> If injustice is about inequality, people should do what they can to reduce it. If they can have a greater impact on inequality by aiming directly at its reduction than they would have if they directed their energies to institutional reform, this is what they should do. (p. 281)

This caveat importantly respects the recipients' position to decide what it is they want—an idea highlighted in the Capabilities Approach (Sen, 1999) and reflected in humanitarian practices such as cash and vouchers assistance (CVAs). That said, lest students enter into dialogue with the recipient, acts of charity and rejection of charity could both be viewed as paternalistic as they allow the powerful to decide what kind of help should be given (Choules, 2007b).

Influencers

The literature review described Influencers as those who can help create a culture of peace, largely because they hold cultural capital. More commonly, 'Influencers' is a term used for those who have the ability to influence a significant number of people or 'followers'. This role was not emphasised at the school but was somewhat apparent in a Compassion Conference workshop on 'Compassion in a Digital World':

> Digital tools can be used to both build up and tear down relationships, especially in the school setting. How do we harness the power of social media to build compassion and empathy? This workshop will offer examples of how others have used online communities to nurture a culture of kindness in their schools and communities.

While no participants described such a role amongst the students, it may be an emerging one. One staff member described how youth in Student Voice were eager to change their environment and were using social media to do so:

> They feel like students don't feel comfortable talking about controversial topics, but they do that now through a student blog, like spread awareness and promote a healthier, more inclusive culture at JI. (Yasmin-S)

Another staff member described how her students often did plays about peace in her Arabic classes, such as one focused on the conflict between Lebanon and Israel (Yusra-S).

When prompted with the characterisation, participants discussed alumni with 'influence', such as a student who left Jordan and became a refugee in a Western country after coming out as gay and being disowned by her family. She went on to coach football to refugees in her country of asylum. Her talks on the challenges facing refugees and "our degradation of humans" has garnered nearly two million views on a social media platform.

On a smaller scale, one staff member liked to recruit "the kids who… can lead a lot of change and might not always choose to do it in the standard way" (Chantelle-WBS) to events like the Compassion Conference because they recognised their creative potential and reach. Students also indicated that certain activities linked to PBSJ needed the social sanctioning of 'popular' kids and that "Arab kids are invested in being cool" (Lila-Y) and if they did not deem an activity 'cool', others would not participate (see also 'Stage of Life').

Students also attempted to connect with actual Influencers. For instance, several JI students participated in a music video by an internationally acclaimed rock band who were endorsing environmental activism. The students involved then wrote to the band hoping to be included in their environmental initiatives on the basis of being "creative, innovative, and globally connected". In other words, they wanted to attach their capital to that of the influencers. Students also looked up to influencers such as Colin Kaepernick (the American football player who took a knee to stand up against oppression), by creating artwork of him and describing their admiration of his efforts to address discrimination in the caption. Students' appreciation of these Influencers may suggest that it is a role they may one day aspire to. Moreover, students appeared to be contributing in many small but significant ways to a changing culture: one in which they advocated for LGBTQ+ rights and organised a march for women—a matter discussed in more detail in below (see Disrupters).

Elite exceptionalism

Educational approaches fostering these types of roles can be critiqued for inculcating what Kenway and Fahey (2015) call 'elite exceptionalism'—that is, these approaches encourage the perspective that it is:

> the responsibility of the privileged to address the big problems of the world and the view that elite schools are a training ground for the individuals who will eventually do this (p. 107).

In this respect, elite exceptionalism may be viewed as the negative face of education as it embraces power. Moreover, as van Zanten (2009) argues, preparing elites to be future leaders

reflects the old rhetoric of British public schools that justifies the existence and perpetuation of similar schools on the basis of this exceptionalism, thereby reinforcing structures of power rather than dismantling them.

Other roles

The characterisations of Victims was primarily found in literature focused on refugees, marginalised groups, and/or those from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, as was certain types of Disrupters, namely, Criminal, Troublemakers, and Security threats (CTS). The same tendency existed in this case study; that is, when prompted with these identities, participants tended to contrast elite youth with Victims and CTS. However, a minority of students, staff, and parents acknowledged and even evidenced that some JI students were Victims and CTS; that is, the Other may also exist in the Bubble.

Victims

As indicated in Chapter 1, a number of factors contribute to the 'invisibility' of elites affected by conflict or injustice. The invisibility of the elite Victim also arose at JI. When prompted with this potential characterisation, staff were able to provide a few examples of students loosely affiliated with 'victims' but stated that they were not 'real' refugees. For instance, "Oh no, we *did* have some displaced Syrians, but of course the ones that came here were the wealthy ones who could get out with their money" (Caroyln-WBS). They went on to describe how some elite students' families had to move suddenly, sometimes with the "kids arriving at night in their pyjamas" (Sue-WBS) but suggested that they were probably sheltered from conflict and able to settle comfortably "in five-star hotels" (Laura-WBS). These minimisations suggested that staff

defined students as ‘elite’ rather than being ‘refugee’ or, for that matter ‘Syrian’, ‘Yemeni’, ‘Iraqi’, etc.

Whether elite youth could be considered refugees was a topic also debated by students (see Box 5 below).

Box 5: Classroom observation

During a book talk, students were asked to describe the main character, Kek. A local student said, "He's a refugee, actually, no, he was rich. Well, I guess he still had to leave so he is a refugee."

The teacher then asked if students enjoyed the book. One Western boy, Tim, stated he was “99% sure” he'd never get to experience what Kek experienced and so he found it interesting to hear his story. A local student appeared to take offense to this statement, claiming "everyone" was trying to attack Jordan and, consequently, Jordanians like him may have similar experiences as refugees who have fled conflict. Tim then replied that while this may be true, "We" [*indicating the classmates*] have the ability to hop on a plane and leave and not everyone does", to which his classmates, both Arab- and Western-born, agreed.

From this conversation and the quotes above, it appeared that participants focused on the ability to leave before conflict escalated as an important factor distinguishing elite students displaced by conflict from ‘real refugees’. For those describing themselves as Victims and

refugees[5], this was not entirely true. In fact, some students had directly experienced conflict, as indicated by Abdel (see Box 6).

Box 6: Abdel

We weren't sheltered from (the conflict). Like we would see on the way to school like the bullets and like the spray paint and like everything from like the demonstration that happened, and we would have to take different routes because those were the safe routes. And then a lot of our friends, they got like stuck in the middle of the like, protests. Like yeah, 'cause they were like the President's granddaughters so they would get directly affected by it and people would target them… Like at one point we had to get escorted out of the school by our teachers, in the trunks of their cars, because there was like a risk of us getting kidnapped… There was a safe place, it was underground because at any point we were under risk of attack. And right now, the school's burned down and become a military base.

Though many of the families fleeing the conflicts that developed during the Arab Spring had since established themselves in Jordan for several years, Victims described what their families had lost, their inability to return, the loss of networks, and the fear and pain of having family in those countries (see Boxes 7, 8, below).

Box 7: Jamal

At the daily morning circle, students take turns sharing stories from their weekends. Jamal, a bubbly 5th grader sitting droopily in the corner with his hood up, shares that his uncle's house

[5] Note that these were the participants' word choices

in Iraq was burned down and the war in Iraq has started again. He adds that 200 people died in the latest protests. He buries his face in his hands, holding back tears.

He describes how his dad, who owns a business there, was worried about his workers, and that he had sent his brother, Jamal's uncle, to check up on the business. Jamal's mood changes to one of frustration as he details how his father is now driving to Iraq "and it's in a war!" He talks about how reporters are being attacked and businesses are being raided, soberly lamenting how the conflict initially started because of oil.

Box 8: Ren

We were safe, but the rest of my family was still there (in Syria). My uncle, he had a little candy shop and [*chokes up*] I'm sorry, it's just [...] um, he was taken by Syrian soldiers, and he was almost like tortured to death. It was so awful. And he like, all he wanted was to know was if his wife and kids were safe. That's like all he kept asking. And whenever he asked the question, they would like, make the torture worse each time.

And so basically, thank God, like he was released after they were like, done with him... And so, um, it was really hard for him because like he lost basically everything. He lost all his money because they like robbed him basically. It was not just his shop. He lost his business and […] sorry [*stifles a cry*]. It's just he lost, you know**,** he lost the trust of like, the government…

Just knowing that like my uncle, like when he was telling me the stories when I visited him, he was like the happiest. He had like these beautiful children, this loving wife, a beautiful home,

like a business that he liked. His family was near him, everything was so beautiful in Syria. And then next thing you know, this is like, the next morning it's like, what's happening? Bombs, bombs. He's being tortured…

Again, like, it's just scary every single day just to think like, what if they're gonna send us back to Syria? Like every single day, there's a fear of going there and like, being in Syria. You see the news; you see my grandma calling us saying she heard bombs. It's still like, scary to think about like whenever I call my grandma and there's a bomb, like I'm praying and she's telling me that she loves me and that like, all of these things, and that she wishes that she could see me before she passes away. And it's just like, I wish I could be there with them. But it's not safe and my parents don't want me to risk it and it's like, uh, it's just bad.

And like, some people be like, "Oh, but you didn't experience it" or "You're overexaggerating, you don't feel like what these people feel." And I'm like, "Okay, but like listen, honey, I am with (my grandma) every time there's a bomb. Every time there's a bomb, I see this on TV, I call my grandma like 10 times to make sure she's safe. Like I've realised the stress too. I'm also going through things as well, like it's we are both are feeling the same thing."

Aside from the experiences faced by elite families in Syria, Ren's story reflects the toll that conflict can take on youth, even when not directly exposed. A student from Iraq shared a similar story, of family sheltering in basements, expressing, much like Ren, a sadness for the "distressed state" of her country and an inability to return (Nura-Y).

Victims also detailed challenges they faced despite being ‘safe’ in Jordan. Ren, for instance, indicated that her nationality as a Syrian incurred stereotyping and difficulty negotiating travel— challenges refugees commonly face:

> I legit went to America. Now like, I don't think I'll ever be able to go there just because I'm Syrian and because of the war and it's a legit like chains. I thought it was like a normal thing someone can do being able, to be treated like a normal person, not being seen from other people around the world as a terrorist or as scum of the earth.

Another student, Aisha, also knew what it was to be unable to travel freely. While her peers were choosing between different universities abroad, her lifetime of statelessness and lack of any passport meant her options were severely limited.

Victims also expressed a sense of sadness stemming from a lack of a social network (see Box 9). Nearly every interviewed student whose family had been displaced was unaware of any other students from the same heritage/background at JI or in the wider community in Amman: “There are other Yemeni families like us here?!” (Elham-Y).

Box 9: Ren on social network

I don't really know people who are like outside of school that are Syrian. I know some people like that I met are Syrian but like I met them once and then I never saw them again. And it was like so nice to see them like and hear like, they have the same backstory, to like see people have like the same experiences and have their grandparents in Syria and then being

like really scared for them and having to travel back to Syria because you want to say goodbye to your grandfather.

While JI staff were aware that several students had similar backgrounds and came from the same country, none appeared to be aware of the desire of these students to have a community with their fellow country-people. Those staff members who knew more details about these students' displacement, loss, and fear—as students like Ren publicly shared their experiences (see Ren's poem in Appendix) – expressed that they felt ill-equipped to support victims: "I don't think we have a protocol to take them through" (Sue-WBS). This 'protocol' was not limited to the Iraqi, Yemeni, and Syrian students highlighted above, but also the numerous Palestinian students who also identified as Victims.

Surprisingly, non-Palestinian participants, particularly staff, did not refer to the Palestinian conflict when prompted with this role in interviews. This omission may be because the *nakba* had occurred so long ago, indicating that a student was only considered a Victim if the conflict was relatively recent. However, Palestinian students did not see victimhood as in the past. Several Palestinian students described their anger over the US moving the embassy to Jerusalem, some stating in student products that they were "traumatised by current events; the U.S. government is an enemy" (MENA student survey response). Additionally, they continued to face restrictions. A poetic essay by a Palestinian youth described how even her mother "can't sign any papers, she can't give me permission to leave" and without documents signed by those outside her family, she "would've been stopped at passport control and sent back." These experiences serve as reminders that "even when people without political liberty or civil rights…

happen to enjoy favourable economic circumstance, they are deprived of important freedoms in leading their lives" (Sen, 1999, p. 16).

While characterisations of the Victim are often applied to lesser-privileged youth, these stories indicate that Victims may also exist *in* the Bubble. As one student described, Palestinian students "speak about (the conflict), but it's not the range of 'I care because *these people* are hurting.' It's 'I care because *my* people care and *my* family care'" (Qadira-Y). As such, they may have a role to play in PBSJ. As indicated in the literature review, Victims' stories can play important roles as testimonies to injustice and violence (UN, 2010). As one student described:

> It's just so nice that I finally get to speak about it because I need to share these stories because, you know, I still feel kind of really like alone in this. I know that there are probably people that like, feel this with me. And if I'm able to, like, share the story, then like, I could do good. (Ren-Y)

Thus, not only might their stories reveal a more complex way in which conflict and injustice operates, they may also be cathartic experiences that can reduce the alienation of forced migration.

Disrupters

'Disrupters' was defined in Chapter 2 as an umbrella term that included individuals resisting the status-quo, activists, 'changemakers', and 'criminals, troublemakers, or security threats' (CTS). The literature review revealed a fine line between positive understandings (the former three characterisations) and viewing Disrupters negatively (as CTS).

As with the literature on elite youth, JI students were not perceived as CTS. When prompted with the CTS characterisation, most participants cringed, with many of them replying that students generally did not participate in public protests. No other activities appeared to be associated with this characterisation. This finding echoes the findings of Gertel and Hexel's (2018) study of youth in the MENA region, wherein elite youth tend to be involved in what might be described as lower-key activities deemed slightly 'safer', such as blogging, while their lower socioeconomic counterparts, those typically associated with CTS, were more likely to be involved in protests.

Participants at JI were quick to provide counterexamples to CTS. They made statements such as, "(JI youth) usually grow up and go to university and become doctors and businessmen and do well, not necessarily actively working to cause problems" (Sue-WBS). In fact, students who wanted to engage in actions that could be considered 'troublemaking' ensured that these activities would not 'cause problems'. As one staff member described: "Like the walkout for the environment, the students gave us two weeks' notice. I mean, what is that? [*laughs*] Who gives notice?" (Bayan-S). What's more, she lamented how students did not protest over issues that mattered to them—ones as simple as changing the school lunch menu:

> **Bayan-S**: And here I am, like, "Come on guys! Organise!"
>
> **Researcher**: Is that a dangerous thing to say in the Middle East?
>
> **Bayan-S:** Yeah. Especially in the Middle East. So, it's okay to organise and protest,

> when it's something *we* want you to organise, you know what I mean?

Indeed, there appeared to be widespread support for disruption. In fact, an administrator had made waves in ensuring inclusiveness in the school by supporting LGBTQ+ students in a country where this was largely controversial. Under this leadership, students could critique school policies in the student-run newspaper, they could write essays criticising school programming, they could join the Changemakers club where they chose an issue they wanted to tackle and set out to do so.

Thus, what seemed to emerge from these conversations was a sense that students engaging in positive disruption within the Bubble were Changemakers, but CTS exist outside of it. One teacher member, however, acknowledged that this was a fine line:

> Could they be perpetuating conflict? Yes. But I would say that's a good thing. Like not active armed conflict, but are they speaking up and saying these policies are not okay? Yes, they are (Sue-WBS).

Sue's statement reflects the more positive connotation to such actions, in line with Davies' (2004) positive conflict. Where positive conflict appeared to shift into troublemaking was when students' engagement moved outside of the Bubble. For instance, staff suggested that discussing things like LGBTQ rights was considered "radical" in the region and could be interpreted as troublemaking (Yasmin-S). This example echoes findings in Laine et al.'s (2015) review of youth political engagement in MENA countries, wherein actions such as playing football or wearing a veil were politically engaged actions. Perhaps, then,

Troublemakers are not associated so much with behaviour or identity but location. That is, regardless of who does the action, if it provokes trouble (as it likely would outside of the Bubble), it is troublemaking.

As for 'criminals', admission policies restricted their entry into JI. Similarly, because some JI students belonged to high-profile families, they performed in-depth security checks— meaning 'security threats' would also be barred from entry. That said, the term 'security threat' is imbued with assumptions surrounding what is a threat. Gertel and Hexel (2018) note that such a characterisation emerged most prominently after the 9/11 terrorist attacks. This rhetoric was most common in the West, wherein politically engaged Arabs were viewed as possible threats. A handful of students who appeared the most impassioned about social justice described themselves in interviews not so much as security threats, but as "very opinionated" (Qadira-Y), a "devil's advocate" (Laith-Y), and "argumentative" (Sada-Y) in their views on conflict and peacebuilding. In the eyes of West, these students might be categorised as security threats for declaring, for instance: "I've become a full-fledged pro-Palestinian and no one's opinion can change my devotion to fighting for the rights of my people" and "demanding freedom for those who have had it stripped away from them" (student product). This position, however, was common in Jordan as well as JI where the right to return was a frequently discussed. As such, participants described pro-Palestinian students as Victims with national pride rather than security threats.

Summary

This chapter has outlined several roles and approaches in PBSJ. First, concerned that living in a Bubble could cause students to become Antagonists, the school endeavoured to foster Allies who understood the world outside of the Bubble where the Other lived. These efforts, some more robust than others, drew from various educational approaches, including democratic citizenship education, volunteerism, human rights, and critical education. The ways in which they were enacted at JI appeared to focus on bridging the socioeconomic gap (as opposed to addressing inter-ethnic tensions) and seemed to be based on an implicit understanding of transformation as elite transformation. This understanding, however, was critiqued for its pathologization of the elite.

This chapter also considered how those within the Bubble were positioned to mobilise capital for PBSJ, primarily economic (charity) and political (*wasta*). As such, the school focused its educational efforts on building Future Leaders who may be able to make positive political changes. Though in line with PBSJ efforts like democratic citizenship education, the accompanying discourses bridged on a sense of elite exceptionalism. Additionally, the role of Future Leaders was problematised as many students at JI leave the region (due to political and economic concerns), thereby calling into question whether they will effect positive change in the region.

To a lesser degree were attempts to mobilise cultural capital as PBSJ Influencers. That said, students appeared attracted to blogging and were creating ripples in their advocacy for matters such as LGBTQ+ rights, which ran counter to the culture.

Victims and Disrupters, identities mostly associated with the Other, were also found within this Bubble. Participants' stories and actions thus problematised the notion of elites as 'inside' a Bubble and the Other as 'outside'; however, this was not always clear to participants who often distanced elite refugees from the Other. Similarly, those students engaging in disruption within the school were seen as engaging in positive conflict and referred to as Changemakers, while those disrupting outside the Bubble were criminal, troublemakers, and security threats.

Apparent throughout this chapter was the complexity of the interaction between roles and approaches for PBSJ. For instance, activities like volunteering were connected to Allies as they were viewed as 'conscientizing', yet their stated purpose reflected democratic citizenship education rhetoric and were run by staff members who focused on work and awareness more than critical consciousness. Thus, differences between what was a stated goal, an unstated goal, the actual activity, and the beliefs of those running the activity and engaging in the activity sometimes meant a convergence of educational approaches.

Also emerging from this chapter are tensions in JI's various approaches to education for PBSJ and implicit understandings of elite youth's role in PBSJ in the MENA region. These tensions are discussed in detail in the following chapter.

VII. Contradictions in PBSJ programming

In attempting to provide education for PBSJ, several contradictions arose at JI. First, I examine how students were characterised as 'same but different'; that is, students were both equal to and more powerful than the Other. Second, I posit that activities aimed at humanising students had undercurrents of dehumanisation. Third, I examine concerns that the activities aimed at helping the Other may actually cause harm. Fourth, I consider the extent to which JI students co-opted activities for PBSJ for their benefit, thereby increasing the gap between them and the Other. Fifth, I critically evaluate questionable forms of compassion in which the focus is solely on the self. Sixth, I consider the duality of *wasta.* Seventh, I focus on how education for PBSJ in elite schools reflects aspects of neoliberalism, creating ontological frictions. Finally, I consider the tension between goals of collectivity and an emphasis on individual work.

Same and Different

This section explores how students were simultaneously positioned as equals and un-equals. This dual understanding appeared in two sets of sub-themes: one in which the Other was the same as elite youth but also 'exotic', and another in which students were characterised as the same as the Other but also powerful leaders.

The Other: Same and exotic

As described in Chapters 5 and 6, students tended to characterise refugees and marginalised groups as the 'deficit Other' (Swalwell, 2013), describing refugees as "damaged from the problems" (Farah-Y) and as having "crude behaviour" (Aisha-Y). While some staff members

encouraged students to think of them as equals and told students, “None of this, ‘I feel so sorry for you’” (Yasmin-S) and emphasised ‘empathy’ over ‘sympathy’, conversations with other staff members suggested that they ‘exoticized’ (Swalwell, 2013a) the Other. A staff member, for instance, suggested a skills-exchange in which refugees could teach JI students “how to build a fire” (Jack-WBS). A representative of one organisation supporting refugees appeared shocked at the suggestion and described the idea as “out of touch” with the lives of refugees (Annelise). She appeared dismayed that JI staff would not recognise that refugees “have deep insights on society” and ought to be able to discuss “What do they think is happening in their communities? What do they think are the most important issues facing women and girls in Jordan, etc.?” When asked what she thought her youth would want JI students to know, she replied:

> What life is like for them. What it feels like to not trust your neighbour, which are some interesting stories that we’ve heard recently. Like what they think every citizen deserves, and how they did or did not see that in their communities pre-, during, and post- different revolutions.

As indicated in Chapter 6 (see ‘Intergroup activities’), however, time constraints largely resulted in ‘voyeuristic’ contact rather than deep conversations regarding problems shared by humanity, such as the one Annelise suggested. That said, while potentially powerfully dialogue, the NGO worker also conceded that the organisation did not “allow people to talk about politics, unless it’s in a very specific, protected, or mediated environment”. A similar policy existed at JI. This situation points to a tension between the protection of vulnerable

and powerful youth and their ability to speak freely and deeply as Subjects. Because of these limitations, students may struggle to go beyond superficial engagements with the Other.

Elites: Leaders and equals

Because students were born into families perceived to have significant influence in the region, the school stressed students' capacity to effect positive social change. Rhetoric and activities appeared to reinforce the locus of power with the elite and reflect a sense of directionality in which charity and leadership flows from the powerful to the 'deficit' Other (Swalwell, 2013).

In terms of charity, the school often raised funds for these organisations serving refugees and marginalised groups and offered workshops focused on developing tools such as "successful fundraising techniques", which though tied to "partnering with NGOs", nonetheless reflect an understanding of dependency rather than *inter*dependency. Such activities appeared to contribute to the notion that PBSJ was about "allowing the goodness and purity of the privilege I have to pour into ones who are in need" (MENA student survey response). This understanding seemed to influence Personal Project rationales, in which many students appeared to see themselves as the centre of change. For instance, their descriptions of activities were often framed as 'JI youth *to* the Other': "to educate them" (MENA student survey response); "to give them what they need" (MENA student survey response); "help the needy" (MENA student survey response).

Using language like 'leadership' in intergroup activities may also reinforce power dynamics in that it suggests a hierarchy in which the Other is dependent on the elite to lead them. For example, the rhetoric of 'compassion' sometimes focused less on students' shared humanity

with others and more on developing their skill sets as leaders with compassion acting *for* others, reflective in Compassion Conference workshops rhetoric such as "lead with compassion" and:

> In the first session, we will engage in reflective exercises to help us define our leadership style and vision. In the second session, we will… focus on the concept of 'multipliers' who are leaders who multiply the talent of those around them. Participants will leave the workshop with a vision and purpose that they will be able to put into action through their use of compassionate leadership skills.

It is not that leaders cannot be compassionate, it is that leadership language and activities like these appear to be based on an neo-colonial understanding that the powerful need to lead the powerless (Kadiwal, 2019), which was also reflected in the imagery around the school, including a picture of Princess Diana holding a child from Africa. This understanding of Other, common at JI, may be fed by missionary-like sentiments (Said, 1978; Swanson, 2004) that, instead of converting the heathens, more currently aim to support 'the fly-in-the-eye child' (McClelland, 2015, Para 1).

It is, perhaps, not coincidental that members of staff were raised by missionaries and some continued to hold and use that title, nor that the NGOs the school chose to partner with were predominantly run by "white women" (Bayan-S). In fact, the Compassion Conference, which brings in refugee students to meet with nearly a dozen elite schools in the region, originated from a nun in Paris. That such an idea emanated from a global location of power (the West), and one traditionally associated with missionary activity could raise concerns. However, it

should first be noted that the Conference did not have any explicit connections to any religion. This is not to say that religious beliefs did not influence the creation of such events.

In contrast to the emphasis on charity and leadership, staff described "the relationship of equals" (Chantelle-WBS). The simultaneous promotion of both discourses leads to a situation in which students are to mobilise power and pretend they have none. They are expected to help the Other by token of their inherent inequality and see the Other as no different from themselves. In other words, students were 'same and different'.

Although seemingly contradictory, the duality of 'leaders' and 'equals' recognises students' relative privilege in an unequal society. As Young (2010) reminds us,

> What differentiates social positions is that different rules apply to people in different positions, and people in different positions have different kinds and amounts of resources available to them to mobilize in an effort to achieve their goals. (p. 60)

Downplaying this reality risks losing students to abstract visions of the world (Freire, 1970b), in which they might shed their implication and preserve the status quo. Similarly, failing to recognise a person's position and power inhibits the ability to critically examine relations of domination. While undoubtedly a complex duality, students appeared to navigate the two characterisations by asserting that they were the same as any other student, yet different because of their relative socioeconomic advantage, or as one student described:

> I feel like as elite youth, and the people who have had more opportunities, it's not that we have a larger voice. I just think we have like a bigger platform to like spread everything. (Sada-Y)

This understanding reflects their recognition that it was not that they had a better understanding of problems and solutions but expressed awareness that they had better resources.

Elites as Objects

The school's pursuit to transform Antagonists into Allies walked a fine line between conscientization and treatment of JI youth as Objects, their identity 'known' to the educator who acts upon this identity as if "receptacles to be filled" (Freire, 1970, p. 72).

Students seemed to recognise the emphasis on their transformation and expressed frustration regarding certain practices in which they felt obligated to play ignorant. For instance, Fadi described his irritation with a need to 'perform' conscientization after doing work for Habitat for Humanity:

> (The school asks), "What did you learn?" [*Pauses, shaking his head*] "I built a house here" [*laughs*]. Like you're going to have to make up some stuff just to answer the questions that you have to answer 'cause you didn't feel like it actually made a difference. Like you did the work, but you didn't really learn anything. Like, "Okay. People are less fortunate" [*shrugs sarcastically*]. We went, we helped them [*shrugs again*].

Fadi questioned the merits of intergroup visitations and service-learning when “it’s not like we don’t know poor people exist”. He stated that students felt compelled to play a part in the charade and resort to artificial ‘pearl-clutching’ or what Zembylas (2006) describes as “manufactured, emotional confessions” (p. 313).

Perhaps because of these experiences students jokingly referred to ‘service-learning’ as ‘community service’— that is, they *did* work rather than they *learned* from the work. In fact, JI originally called service-learning ‘community service’ but had to change it as the students likened it to forced labour for criminals, also named ‘community service’. One statement made by a teacher seemed to reinforce this perception. She expressed that when their experiences did not involve strenuous work, such as painting houses for the poor, students “did not learn anything” (Caroyln-WBS). One student’s frustration with the inefficacy of such labour-centred activities drove her to produce a survey to measure the extent to which students felt service-learning actually involved learning. In describing the results of her study, she indicated that many students strongly disagreed with the idea that service-learning helped them: “Students felt they already possessed these qualities” (Hayley-Y), with ‘qualities’ referring to empathy, resiliency, responsibility, leadership, and awareness—the stated outcomes of service learning.

Aside from being regarded as an ‘empty recipient’ (Freire, 1970a), an implicit understanding of conflict transformation as elite transformation pre-emptively classified students as Antagonists. Documents advised students that they should make “decisions based, not on their personal interests, but on the interest of humanity” (Compassion Conference), insinuating that elite

interests were incongruent with humanity. Likewise, staff members suggested students resisted PBSJ and should feel guilty:

> The guilt is only gonna come if we're requiring something and they're not doing it unless they are put in (area outside their neighbourhood). But I don't think our kids feel the guilt because they haven't even been part of (intergroup activities) yet. You know what I mean? And the guilt will come only once they've connected. (Yasmin-S)

These views correspond to literature on PBSJ, which suggests that elites will be resistant to change as the status quo is in their interest (Galtung, 1969) and advises that stakeholders should “work with but not for elite interests” (Valters et al., 2015, p. 23) as changing structures “can never be in the interests of the top-dogs” (Miall et al., 1999, p. 17).

However, this perspective suggests that elites’ sole interest is economic power. In contrast, other theorists suggest that humanisation is an ontological vocation that is in their interest (Freire, 1970b). As discussed in Chapter 6 (see ‘Intergroup activities’), students indicated the value in minimising the barriers power creates as engaging with the Other and becoming humanised contributed to emotional well-being (e.g., “they love life”- Salma-Y). In understanding JI youth as Antagonists rather than individuals in pursuit of humanity staff members fail to see the students as Subjects; that is, they distort or “domesticate” (Freire, 1970a, p. 1) the elite student to suit pre-existing beliefs.

Helping or hurting the Other?

Participants expressed concerns regarding whether programming seeking to 'help' the Other was actually hurting them. Two sub-themes arose in this vein: 1) the 'mandatory' nature of service-learning activities that involved the Other and 2) the unknown impact programming had on Others.

Mandatory service-learning

There appeared to be some division over the mandatory nature of service-learning, with some participants viewing it as necessary and others as dangerous. One staff member in favour of the compulsory service stated, "if you just let it be, the chances of it happening is slim" (Yasmin-S). She indicated that it was imperative to push students to engage in service-learning for the good of society, which would otherwise be at a loss without the associated learnings emerging from this interaction. Educators in Curry-Stevens's (2007) study of transformative education with privileged learners similarly doubted the "viability of voluntary and committed change" (p. 39) when privileged groups can opt out and not suffer any negative consequences. Efforts to force positive duties, however, may be equally problematic. Organisations working with JI, for instance, expressed concerns that:

> If a (JI) kid really doesn't want to engage, then they should do a different type of community service as opposed to putting refugees, who already face their fair share of issues at home, onto a field just to be ignored (by JI students). (Annelise)

JI students saw the same issue: "A lot of the students would treat the refugees as if they're hours. Like they're service hours, not they're human beings" (Salma-Y).

Because of the concerns surrounding this engagement as being akin to jail-like community service or 'slum tourism', one staff member suggested that students should instead "sleep in Gaza camp. They need to go three days without brushing their teeth, that's like *real* exposure and you're going to start to understand what *really* needs to change" (Bayan-S). Another staff member similarly asserted JI students should go to the desert with limited resources:

> Give them a bottle of water in the sleeping bag. They've never had to stretch themselves, never been a situation where they didn't have everything provided for them or easily assessable… If you've ever been at the end of your paycheck and have no way to pay the rent, how are you ever going to know what that feels like? You can say, "Oh, that's horrible" but you will never really know the terror of not knowing where you're going to get money for the next thing that happens. (Carolyn-WBS)

In this manner, students would come to understand the conditions the Other faced without using them as attain hours. However, given the logistical concerns such as security (see 'Intergroup activities' in Chapter 6), such alternatives are unlikely.

<u>Unknown impact of intergroup activities</u>

Though staff who led Bubble-popping activities and students who participated in them supported these activities on the basis they could conscientize and cultivate Allies, they also indicated some unease surrounding the "potential harm to the communities we are trying to serve" (anonymous teacher in global advocacy activity), especially when visitations were at JI. Although able to offer safe spaces to socialise, students and staff questioned whether the interaction was destructive in that it might appear as "in your face bragging" (Bayan-S) because

visitors would see JI's extra-ordinary facilities, which might then bring about awareness of the high levels of inequality in their society. Teachers worried that refugees saw all these resources and luxuries "and then we send them off on a bus and say bye" (Gill-WBS). These concerns herald back to Bajaj's (2008, 2012) warnings that attention must be paid to the format of the peace education to prevent good intentions from causing harm or adverse consequences.

The unease surrounding the Other's awareness of this inequality raises a number of questions. First, though such knowledge may be painful for the marginalised, is it equally problematic to conceal affluence? That is, it is not simply paternalistic to 'protect' them from such awareness, but it is also unjust to pretend such vast inequality does not exist. Second, given that this practice fails to meet Allport et al.'s (1954) optimal conditions, but that peace education emphasises collectivity, humanisation, vertical relationship building, and reconciliation, is there a better approach? Third, and more practically, why had there not been any conversations with marginalised youth regarding the potential for harm?

While the first two questions may require further study, the answer to the third could be found within this case-study. Essentially, instead of organising the activities with NGOs and the youth they support to ensure JI was not violating the 'do no harm' principles of humanitarian aid (UNHCR, n.d.), most of the planning, coordination, and programme evaluation was done within JI's social networks. This oversight existed in different spaces and at different levels. For instance, in activities related to Design Thinking, Personal Projects, and clubs such as Changemakers, students had to outline people who would be able to support them in their problem-solving endeavours. These contacts were nearly all located within JI's circles— often

parents, staff members, or family friends. Additionally, the school facilitated a high school student's (Haley) primary research on the effectiveness of school's approach to service-learning by publicly posting her survey on their media channels for current students and alumni. This feedback loop allows the elite to evaluate the elite on how they solve issues for the Other.

These issues remained present in policy creation at JI. As part of the school's accreditation, JI chose to be externally evaluated on its commitment to global advocacy. JI first conducted its own research, which entailed seeking to understand the extent to which the school was intentionally teaching global advocacy in and out of the classroom as well as "What do our stakeholders believe are the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and abilities that students need to be global advocates?" (school document). Feedback from stakeholders was drawn through focus groups for parents, mandatory staff meetings, and surveys across demographics (including JI students). Results from focus groups and meetings were put on display for the school to see in the centre of the school. Next, the school audited internal programming and sought to learn from other similar schools. Results of the external evaluation concluded that the school had performed well in their global advocacy programming. Thus, once again, the elite decide what the elite need to be global advocates and then evaluate themselves.

Similarly, the privileged were helping the privileged engage in issues relating to PBSJ. When asked who ran the NGOs the school partnered with, one staff member's face lit up with the realisation: "Come to think of it, lots of the organisations the school is paired with are run by white women" (Bayan-S). She then reflected, "in all fairness it makes it easier to organise, I know they will email me back, whereas other local organisations with fewer resources may

not”. Furthermore, local organisations largely lacked English skills and while many of the students at the school were from the region and attended Arabic classes, they had difficulty communicating. While easier to coordinate and communicate, some participants expressed it was not an ideal situation:

> I think that a lot of it is basically misguided white folks trying to help the natives… If you don't speak Arabic, if you're not Jordanian, how are you not just another person coming here to tell us what to do? (Caroyln-WBS).

In this respect, such efforts could be viewed as neo-colonial, given that White Westerners appear to be shaping much of the programming.

Thus, despite ostensibly supporting PBSJ, these practices may be seen as unjust as marginalised groups lack representation in this process (Fraser, 1996). These exclusionist practices reflect Thiessen and Darweich’s (2018) concerns that “power advantage shapes both the type of conflict resolution strategies chosen and research conducted on resulting practices” (p. 82). Such practices also run counter to best practices outlined CARE’s (2014) examination of theories of change, which suggests that practitioners ask who is involved, including in assessing the success of an intervention. This situation is not unique to JI. Howard’s (2013) study of elite schools in America describes how social networks of this demographic do not include powerless, thus the potential for understanding and addressing oppression may be quite limited.

It therefore appears the issue is not simply a matter of asking whether the activities might have a harmful impact on the Other, it is that the entire process of planning, executing, and evaluating activities is exclusionary, paternalizing, neo-colonial, and, consequently, unjust.

Helping themselves

As indicated in the preceding section, participants were unsure if marginalised youth benefited from intergroup activities— aside from the temporary use of facilities, which students and staff acknowledged could be used without JI students. This situation led participants to question:

> So, you have to be clear. Who are you benefiting? Are you doing it for that group? Are you doing it for this group? And let's be clear. Don't go on saying you're doing it for them when really, the one who's benefiting is us. (Caroyln-WBS)

Gaztambide & Howard (2013) also draw attention to this concern:

> Unless economically privileged individuals are willing to examine their sense of entitlement and challenge their own privileged ways of knowing and doing, being in solidarity with less fortunate others will remain about improving themselves. (p. 4)

This opinion was widely shared. Teachers described how JI had reached out to organisations and was often turned down as JI "had nothing to offer them" (Nasir-S). A staff member from an NGO that did pair with JI reiterated these sentiments: that the NGO youth enjoyed accessing JI's facilities but stated that "it's almost always that the people doing the volunteering who benefit more than the people receiving it" (Annelise). Ironically, then, the charity paradigm appeared to be reversed. That is, JI students were recipients of charity as marginalised youth

were providing 'awareness' for the wealthy and powerful, or as the NGO worker described, marginalised youth provide the elite with "a gift of perspective" (Annelise). This situation reflects Freire's (1970b) assertation that the "great humanistic task of the oppressed is to liberate themselves *and* their oppressors" (p. 44, emphasis added).

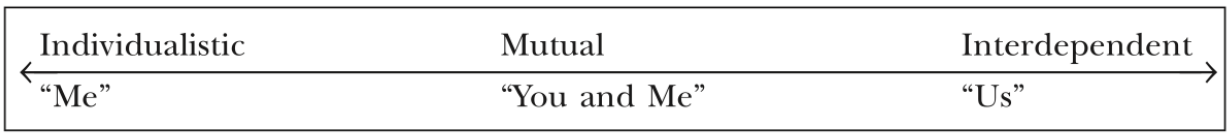
The NGO worker later qualified that 'awareness' was not necessarily a negative thing and she hoped that the JI volunteers would benefit; however, there were times when students seemed to see these opportunities as resume-building. This is not to say that helping themselves is incongruent with helping the Other. Goodman (2000) recognises the potential for mutual or interdependent benefits of engaging in social justice, in that such motives can mitigate against the perspective of "just helping them" (p. 1080). To some degree, this mutuality was reflected in a Compassion Conference workshop, in which JI students could help marginalised groups develop skills at the same time they developed their leadership skills:

> In the first session, we will engage in reflective exercises to help us define our leadership style and vision. In the second session, we will… focus on the concept of 'multipliers' who are leaders who multiply the talent of those around them. Participants will leave the workshop with a vision and purpose that they will be able to put into action through their use of compassionate leadership skills.

While both groups could experience benefits, Annelise elaborated that the issue arose when individual goals *superseded* the desire to help each other or reach a deeper social understanding. Goodman (2000) characterises this as a continuum of self-interest (see Figure 8

below), which distinguishes individual motives from mutual and interdependent ones more aligned with PBSJ.

Figure 8: Goodman's continuum of self-interest



Note: Figure is from Goodman, D. J. (2000). Motivating people from privileged groups to support social justice. *Teachers College Record*, 102(6), 1061–1085.

Thus, it is vital to consider not only the overt actions associated with PBSJ but personal and programme intentions, as certain ones may run counter to PBSJ and result in what may be referred to as 'empty praxis': a lack of purposeful action for PBSJ. This distinction is important given that humanisation is rooted in "intentionality towards the world" (Freire, 1970a, p. 4).

Four questionable forms of motives or 'intentionality' emerged: 1) resume- and transcript-building, 2) receiving recognition, 3) developing skills for personal use, and 4) using PBSJ activities to 'feel good'.

As for the first, a student described a belief circulating amongst students that they should "donate because it'll be good for your resume" (Salma-Y). Similarly, a staff member described how service-learning completes the 'graduate showcase' (which would otherwise just be grades) and helps students with their personal essays for university (Yasmin-S). The dual purpose of helping others and helping themselves appeared led to a situation in which the goals of students no longer appeared to focus on working collectively to address social justice issues—as the programme espoused. As one student described:

> I would go and like physically to invite someone to my club (Student Voice), and they'll say, "No, I want to make my own" I'm like "Why?" And they're like, "Because I can put it on my transcript". And so, I realised that when they get to senior year, they're like "Transcript! Transcript!" [*snaps fingers twice*], like "What can I put on it? What can I send to Harvard so they know that I'm doing what they need?" (Qadira-Y)

and

> The school doesn't need to encourage kids to participate in activities like MUN because they're not struggling to get kids to do it. Kids already do it. But they do it because colleges want them to do it. And so, you find people on TEDx talk and MUN and hate it, you know? And they're just doing it. And you can ask them, like, "Why are you doing this?'" and they'll be like, "I don't know, I needed something on my transcript". And it's mostly kids who don't do sports who don't want to feel like "I'm doing nothing". Other kids do it because they, they are interested in it. You know, they think it's cool. They're into politics. But I don't think anyone even does it with the mentality of like, "I'm making such a big difference in the world'. Because *I* don't even. (Qadira-Y)

Staff members noted this tension in relation to parents as well: "We're right now shifting from competition to collaboration, but parents are still very much in the mindset of like, you need to get into this university" (Chantelle-WBS). Thus, students may perform socially-conscious acts, but these same acts may be pursued with the loftier intention of adding value to resumes, a trend Kenway et al. (2017) noted in their study of elite youth. Kenway and Fahey (2015) describe this phenomenon as "doing well by doing good" (p. 108). Acts driven by such motives

are critiqued for propensity to reinstate positions of power (O'Connell, 2009; Swalwell, 2013a; Wheeler-Bell, 2017).

Second, students suggested that their peers appeared to be driven by a need for recognition: "I was so surprised because people were like, competing against each other for hours, who has the most hours" (Salma-Y). This competition may be fostered in part by JI's Global Advocacy Awards, which were bestowed to students showing the most exemplary engagement. Thus, like social entrepreneurialism and philanthropy, it appears that "social rank accrues to those who distribute the most" (Kenway & Fahey, 2015, p. 108). Moreover, this practice has the potential to shift motivation away from an ethical predisposition to an external need for individual recognition.

Third, activities associated with PBSJ, such as activism and service-learning, often involve improving skills sets such as public speaking, organisation, etc. as a by-product. Once again, this is not necessarily a negative, but it becomes questionable when it displaces praxis and becomes the primary focus. In fact, in a job advertisement for a service-learning coordinator, there were no references to relationship building between JI students and the Other. Rather: "The JI service-learning program is seen as an important element in developing students with global awareness" (JI website), conflicting with Yasmin's statement that "it's not about you" as the single goal outlined is developing students' awareness. At times, even developing awareness seemed secondary. One student, for instance, indicated that the most valued lessons he learned was business logistics for selling t-shirts (Fadi-Y) as opposed to a deeper understanding of social issues—which was his teacher's intention. This challenge is not unique to JI. Gardner-

McTaggart (2016) voiced similar concerns in his examination of the IB programme's promotion of peace and citizenship and its concomitant efforts to produce global businesspeople.

Using PBSJ activities for personal gain may not be limited to the intention of the students and parents, but the intention of the school as well. As one student put it, "They're not teaching us how to have morals. They're teaching us to get hours and to look better. And I think that's the truth" (Salma-Y). This quote indicates that students felt some level of approval for these behaviours, in what might be described as the hidden curriculum. Alternatively, it may be explained by Merton's (1968) understanding of manifest and latent functions, wherein the school may have intended to offer PBSJ activities so that students could contribute to PBSJ, but, unintentionally, the activities attracted students whose goals differed from the intended goals of the programme.

Fourth, participants expressed concerns that service-learning "was just making little rich kids feel good about themselves" (Caroyln-WBS). Students indicated that this form of engagement provided guilt-relief and that "to be able to give back kind of makes you feel a bit better about yourself" (Aya-Y). However, guilt-relief may also enable the elite to continue injustice so long as they periodically 'do good' – a phenomenon Warren Buffet (2013) describes as 'conscience laundering' and one in which Howard (2013) noted in his study of elite youth in America.

The themes arising from this research were echoed in Hayley's Personal Project research on the effectiveness of JI's service-learning programming. It revealed similar motives such as enjoyment, self-betterment, and gratification (see Table 5 below).

Table 5: Haley's student survey responses

Theme	Definition	Frequency
Enjoyment	The type of service performed corresponded with student interests and/or skills. Students had the most fun performing this type of service. Many students also enjoyed spending time with animals (if they indicated that they worked with an animal shelter).	18
Self-Betterment	Students learned something from the activity and/ or the activity prompted reflection.	5
Community	Students enjoyed participating with and helping their community.	5
Gratification	Students saw the most results doing their service and/or this type of service was the most rewarding.	4

Note: These data are from: "Figure 3 – Findings from the thematic analysis on chosen service activities" by 'Haley', 2020.

Only five students out of 32 students Hayley surveyed described their engagement as motivated by 'community'. Although, once again, these intentions may not be mutually exclusive, her findings prompt the question why are so few students saying 'community' if that is the purported intent of the programming? As such, there is a paradox that students can be Bystanders *in* service-learning; that is, though seemingly contributing to PBSJ, they are in fact opting out. Thus, we might distinguish between opting out and opting in, wherein the former is non-participation in PBSJ, and the latter is participation with intention.

Co-opting compassion

In activities, such as Compassion Conference workshops, students were encouraged to “explore your thoughts and yourself”. Likewise, participants expressed in interviews that “the more compassionate that you are to yourself, the better off you'll be to the rest of the world” (Chantelle-WBS). Self-reflection and self-care may be important aspects of peace as they can help provide foundations for compassion and reflection (Hertog, 2019). These practices may be particularly important to those engaging in PBSJ, where compassion fatigue and vicarious trauma are common (Eriksson et al., 2001). Goodman (2000) pointed to such issues in her study of privileged groups, which she referred to ‘empathic distress’.

This attention to the self, however, is a delicate balance, for Rothberg (2019) cautions that placing the privileged at the centre of attention bridges on narcissism. This case-study raises further concerns: that compassion can be co-opted. That is, certain activities appeared to be precariously linked to PBSJ, and reflected what I call ‘spa-PBSJ’. This spa-PBSJ involves students “turn(ing) their attention inward”, engaging in “relaxation practice including breathing techniques and some Hatha yoga to develop mind and body awareness…, and explore the role of relaxation and self-compassion” (Compassion Conference) after flying in for a conference, staying at a four-star hotel, and touring a new city. Such activities appear to offer little opportunity for critical reflection on power and privilege— which was a major focus of the conference.

The duality of *wasta*

Participants described many instances in which students tapped into *wasta* and were divided on what it meant in terms of PBSJ:

> They already have networks, *wasta*, which is both good and bad in terms of nepotism and being able to mobilise networks for a good cause, like the girl who is liaising refugees with entrepreneurs and the woman who sells refugees' art in Harrods (Craig-WBS).

and

> These kids are so cynical, you know, even though they're wealthy, they're still cynical because they know that the system is broken— 'cause it is. It runs on nepotism, it runs on cronyism, and it runs on *wasta*, which they call 'Vitamin Wow'. A good dose of Vitamin Wow and you'll get what you need. And all of us have used it because it's how things run (Gill-WBS).

Mobilising *wasta* may be viewed in one of two ways: it may be perceived as subverting JI's goal of undoing inequality by asking students to use the advantage that they gained through inequality, or it may be viewed as subverting self-reinforcing structures of power through activating capital in order to increase the power of others. Either way, if students are to create a more equal world, these methods may only be temporary as it is a currently useable strategy but not one they can continue using should their power or *wasta* decline with an increase in

equality. Though equivalents to *wasta* exist in studies of elite schools elsewhere (Kenway et al., 2017; Lee et al., 2014), this tension has not yet been highlighted.

Selling PBSJ

Offering service-learning appeared to be an important component of elite education in Jordan as all elite schools offered this programming. Many staff members suggested this movement began in IB schools (in which service-learning is part of the curriculum) and that JI, like other elite schools globally, was likely offering it to stay competitive.

Though not the explicit intent of programming, service-learning also provided students with extraneous perks: building individual skill sets (as described above), travelling to events, and earning credentials and/or recognition associated with their participation. These perks appeared to attract clients (students). Participants (students, staff, and parents) consequently suggested that such activities appealed to students not because of their ethical nature nor the ability to develop skills, but the fact that "a lot of my friends are in it for the international field trips" (Lila-Y). One staff member specifically described how interest in a service-learning activity dropped when an international trip had to change to a local trip: "for lack of a better word, (helping locally) is not sexy at all, right. Going to build a well is exciting and new" (Chantelle-WBS). Because of the perceived need to externally motivate students, one teacher remarked: "Peace was easier to sell in those days than now" (Caroyln-WBS) and commented on how students did not appear to need this external motivation before, indicating a possible shift towards more neoliberal values.

On the other hand, PBSJ may not be so much a 'product to sell', but one to keep on the back shelf. Bourdieu (1986) and others (van Zanten, 2009) point out that elite schools are self-reinforcing mechanisms of power, which may be the primary attraction for some families. Programming that runs against the reinforcement of power may cost the school clients. Thus, in tangent with the provision of fun international PBSJ trips, social capital appeared to be tacitly marketed with numerous visual representations, such as a photo of a student with a former American president on the school website, social media posts about members of the royal family speaking to students, and a poster of King Hussein speaking at their school.

Although no participants at JI described capital-building as a primary draw for enrolling at the school, administrators expressed apprehensions that pushing a PBSJ agenda may drive away their clientele:

> Not that anyone will say they are against peace, but we also have to be mindful that we aren't like making it like 'too much' [finger quotes] because we also have to keep our parents happy and not all of them chose the school for that (Cole-WBS).

Thus, administrators had to consider not just what was good for society but what would enable the school to retain clients and survive as an institution.

Collective but individual

While school documents recognised that "our future depends on our ability to work together" (JI policy manual), the school appeared to emphasise individuality rather than collective efforts. For instance, it organised assemblies to celebrate individual achievements like a speech by staff

member who climbed Everest, yet there was no acknowledgment of staff initiatives that supported PBSJ, despite many staff members doing so. Additionally, activities like Personal Projects involve students working independently. One teacher posited that this approach was due to the need for accountability for grades (Craig-WBS). However, working independently and being assigned a numeric value based on the demonstration of an individual's skills may detract from the larger discourse of collectivity. Giroux and Penna (1979), for instance, contend that ethos of individuality described here has potential to atomise and fragment social relationships, making virtues of collectivity exist only in rhetoric:

> The social processes of most classrooms militate against students developing a sense of community… The structure of schooling reproduces the ethos of privatization and the moral posture of selfishness at almost every level of the formal and hidden curricula. Whether gently supporting the philosophy of "do your own thing" or maintaining pedagogical structures which undermine collective action, the message coming from most classrooms is one that enshrines the self at the expense of the group.

Similarly, Roberts (2016) asserts that:

> Neoliberalism, as enacted in institutions such as schools and universities, often relies on a model of accountability where there is a fundamental lack of trust in those being held to account. From a Freirean perspective, the demand for accountability should be replaced with the principle of responsibility, the ethical partner of trust. (p. 887)

These statements appear to capture what was occurring at JI: that the rhetoric of 'working together' was in competition with practices that placed the focus on the actions of the individual.

Equally problematic was the competition between students for service-learning, in which MS students could win a Global Advocacy Award and HS students' informal competition for logging the most hours in HS (see 'Helping themselves', above). The competitive drive to win debates in MUN was also noted amongst many students and staff who described the activity using terms like "cut-throat" (Amani-Y). This emphasis on competition stands in contrast to the school's goals of listening with compassion and empathy. Staff appeared to note this phenomenon. For instance, in a global advocacy staff meeting, they indicated a need to: "shifting focus: I → we" (original punctuation). This concern has been raised elsewhere as well. Giroux and Penna (1979) assert that "competition and individual striving are at the core of American schooling" (p. 34). Likewise, Kenway et al. (2017) noted that students assumed the world worked in an individualised way because their school promoted the rhetoric of individual achievement.

Summary

This chapter has highlighted numerous contradictions that arose within JI's education for PBSJ. These existed in rhetoric and in action, including the duality of elite youth as 'same' but 'different' and in the drive to humanise JI students while also treating them as Objects. Tensions also arose by token of needing to negotiate PBSJ efforts in a neoliberal environment in which competition and the individual are paramount. Thus, despite the schools' stated

intentions, activities were prone to focus on individuals and result in self-promotion and the co-optation of compassion.

This chapter and the preceding one have considered a variety of ways in which students engaged in PBSJ; however, as the following chapter explores, not all students chose to participate in educational activities.

VIII. Bystanders

Although JI attempted to engage students in PBSJ through its numerous activities, some students did not appear to be interested. This chapter explores several reasons why students were Bystanders. These reasons can largely be divided into three categories: social, political, and historical challenges; school-related challenges; and challenges related to the individual. It also considers how overlooking student agency can contribute to notions of apathy, which can create blind spots in PBSJ programming and result in the existence of Bystanders.

Social, political, and historical challenges

Certain social, political, and historical conditions made engaging in PBSJ unimportant, perilous, or difficult for students.

Status

For some students, their status may excuse them from needing to solve problems, whether these are small issues or ones as complex as PBSJ. As one student put it, "It's the status of how rich certain people are... They just say 'This is a problem. Fix it, I pay you to fix it'" (Qadira-Y). This appeared to be the case of a student who reluctantly chose to help out refugees in his Personal Project but wanted his driver to drop off the gas he promised to refugees in Gaza. Qadira further described how students from higher socioeconomic positions may not only be unaccustomed to fixing problems themselves but also fighting for something that *they want*, thus changes can be quite small as "complaining is much easier than considering what can be".

Teachers also proposed that the difference in socioeconomic status created a sense of "entitled privilege" (Carolyn-WBS) that prevented students from understanding themselves as an equal in society and having collective responsibility.

Gender

Although not seemingly problematic at JI where policies were in place to ensure non-discrimination, some students described the difficulties in engaging in discussions of any sort, including PBSJ, because of their gender. One student's poetic essay described how:

> Being a girl in Arab society prevents me from embracing all the different parts of myself… I want to unleash my beliefs and opinions to the world, yet my culture holds me back. (Anonymous MENA student)

This suggests a sense of resignment. Another student stated likewise stated:

> It's just like when we had the first Women's March like a few months ago. That's it. You know, no one really cared about it because it was women's rights and Arabs don't care about that or don't want to change that. (Salma-Y)

These statements suggest that girls may face more difficulties in engaging in PBSJ outside the Bubble, which for some students is cause for protest, but for others it is cause to 'hold back'.

Perceived risk to self

Some JI students, particularly those from Iraq, were interested in PBSJ but expressed that any engagement in such issues would entail risk. As one student put it: "I will try my best to change

lives and communities in order to prosper and thrive. It doesn't mean necessarily sacrificing my life for the greater good" (Laith-Y). This conceptualisation was supported by another student who expressed a fear that should he try to make changes as a future politician, he would need to face the possibility of being killed:

> **Jamal-Y:** The only down part of being president is… pop! [*makes a sign of a gun at his temple*].
>
> **Researcher**: You're worried about getting shot?
>
> **Jamal-Y**: I would help my country by sacrificing my life, to try to give them a nice start.

He later discussed democratic changes he wished to see, such as the right to protest, but recognised the challenges of allowing this to happen: "If you are the president and you allow protestors, the rest of the government, who is corrupt, will like make you in a fake car crash" (Jamal-Y).

A parent reiterated these concerns:

> Politically, there's not much freedom of speech, freedom of taking actions. You don't really have the rights that you have in the Western world. It's chaotic in Iraq, you know, you're afraid to step on someone's foot or you're afraid to say the wrong thing. And then *poof*, you're disappeared, and then no one knows how to get to you. Unless you have strong connections, *wasta*, you pretty much stay out of the way because you don't know what will happen to you. (Deena)

These concerns are valid not only in Iraq but also in Jordan. Jordanian authorities have increasingly targeted political and anti-corruption activists such as broadcasters on charges that violate their right to free expression (Human Rights Watch, 2019). In this environment, students may therefore be hesitant to engage in PBSJ activities.

Two points arise from these accounts. First, the expressed sense that a violent political system is working against them is paradoxical, given that elites hold positions of power and have various forms of capital to change this system. In the MENA region, however, elite youth appear to feel trapped by a system created by the elite of previous generations. Young's (2010) analysis of social structure helps explain this phenomenon. She describes how injustice can arise from the "accumulated outcomes of the actions of the masses of individuals enacting their own projects, often uncoordinated with many others" (p. 63) and how "even relatively privileged individuals will often say that they 'have no choice' about doing or not doing certain things because of the way that they experience structural processes" (p. 56).

Second, and relatedly, the tension between what elite youth in the MENA region aspire to accomplish and what the environment allows reflects Mitchell's (2005) concern over "a mis-match between social values and social structure" (p. 8)—a common challenge in the region (Akar, 2006; Laine et al., 2015; Shuayb, 2007). Sayer (2012) similarly distinguishes between power as 'puissance' (potential) and as 'pouvoir' (activation). That is, while elites may have more power (i.e., capital, 'puissance') than others, they are at the mercy of existing structures in society that can inhibit the mobilisation (activation) of power, even if it is for PBSJ.

Family history

Participants also discussed the barriers to engaging in PBSJ as children of current or previous Top Dogs. For instance, a staff member at the school described the self-censorship of certain students arriving from conflict-affected contexts in which their parents were former Top Dogs: "(the students) spoke very little because they were told not to speak about political things" (Yasmin-S). One parent outlined how her family's former prominent political positions made it difficult to simply live, let alone effect positive change (see Box 10 below).

Box 10: Deena's family history

Deena: That's (the family's political history) what made it worse. That was why we couldn't just walk through the border customs and say, we want to come in, because at the time everything, *everything* was up in the air. There was no government in Iraq and no country was ready to take us in because that would be a statement to the world if you were harbouring— political 'anything' [*finger quotes*]. The invasion, it just happened. The Americans were in there and no one knew what was going on. So, no one was ready to say, "Here, come, we'll take you and keep you safe". So, we have to get smuggled because we had nowhere to go. After a while, very short while, they're like you know, "You're here and you're putting us in a difficult position, please leave."

Researcher: Where to?

Deena: *Exactly*. Where to? You can't claim political refuge, you can't claim anything. You can't because they don't want you. They don't want you, that makes it hard for

them. So, it's not like we're just refugees going to go knock on the door UNICEF, and they'll give us whatever, a tent anywhere. You can't do that. So, this is very complicated. We were elite, but because we were elite, the war and the invasion that happened made our situation even worse than just, you know… The only people that were in the country had bombs, I mean, we also had bombs falling all around.

Researcher: Were you, like, targeted because of your family?

Deena: Yes. We were not targeted by (omitted), we were targeted by the (inaudible), because there are some very strong negative feelings regarding who we were and what so-and-so might have done to someone so-and-so.

A subsequent interview with her child, Aisha, revealed that such a history created barriers to being visibly engaged in addressing issues related to PBSJ: "I couldn't (help) because my family was political. It's a dictatorship in Iraq, there's no freedom of speech, speaking out will just get you tortured and killed". She went on to describe alternative ways in which she could help: "donations, give them jobs," but did so with what appeared to be a heavy heart as she had articulated more critical ways in which she wished to help on a more structural level (such as dismantling private schools to improve opportunities to learn for all children). The potential to retreat to Saviour tactics somewhat reflects Hartnell's (2018) report on philanthropy in the Arab region wherein aid has focused more on humanitarian support because of the politics of the region. Aisha, however, was not fond of charity and, consequently, stated that she "just did other activities" instead of engaging in PBSJ.

School-related challenges

School-related challenges pertain to the nature of educational activities, how these activities account for students' levels of understanding, what content is freely discussed in classes, how activities are modelled and monitored, and an unclear the theory of change in PBSJ activities.

Nature of activities

One factor impeding students' motivation to engage in PBSJ was the nature of the educational activities. Some students indicated that most activities were "geared toward extroverts" (Aisha-Y), especially ones regarding debate and public speaking. Likewise, another student described how activities they saw as connected to PBSJ, like TEDx talks, were not in their comfort zone: "I don't think I have the ability to stand up in front of people and speak and I think I'll just get awkward and stuff" (Sada-Y). This discomfort may explain why several students who were interviewed appeared to be quite informed and interested in issues relating to PBSJ but were uninvolved in school activities and, subsequently, many staff members were unaware of their passion and interest in this area. (Perhaps uncoincidentally, these students were also ones who opted to do the survey and/or audio calls to discuss this research— a methodological consideration discussed in Chapter 10).

Other forms of discomfort were sometimes barriers to participation. Participants described how some students do not want to participate in service-learning because "it's too cold (outside)" (Bayan-S) or because they did not want to get up early on a Saturday (Nahla-Y). Students also described how the process of recording hours so was cumbersome that it created an aversion to engaging in activities (Fadi-Y). They equally complained that the multistep,

iterative process of Design Thinking was off-putting, given that in the MENA region elites are able to use their *wasta* to 'get things done' (Fadi-Y).

Abstract concepts

In spite of the widely-held belief that abstraction develops in secondary-aged youth (Piaget, 1936), some HS students indicated that the language used in activities, often drawn from Design Thinking, was too abstract for them to grasp (Fadi-Y). Similarly, some MS students expressed hesitation in discussing 'social justice', stating they "get confused about these topics" and did not think they were the "right person" for the research (Saif-Y), but once I explained that I was interested in speaking about their thoughts on Palestine, Syria, Yemen, etc., they became quite eager to speak. The dislike exhibited towards Design Thinking and the initial hesitation may therefore indicate a need to begin with concrete examples before introducing abstract processes and concepts. Where PBSJ activities fail to do so, students may not be inclined to participate.

Content selection and comfort levels

Students raised concerns regarding freedom to speak about certain PBSJ issues within the school. While the school seemed to encourage disruption (see 'Disrupters' in Chapter 6), students lamented how some topics and projects in which they wanted to engage in were discouraged, such as a student who wished to write an essay about the war in her home country of Iraq was advised by her teacher to change to anti-smoking in a 'Teen Activist' unit (Nura-Y).

As indicated in Chapter 6, many regional students described the conflict in Palestine as highly relevant to their lives and while the library held many materials related to the matter (e.g., Washington Post's coverage of Israel and Gaza and a love story between Palestinian and Israeli youth) many Western teachers expressed they felt ill-equipped to facilitate discussions surrounding these relations due to reactions from both students and their families in previous activities relating to Israel, such as the "uproar" (Sue-WBS) that occurred when a 'kindness dance' showed a video of schools in Israel that triggered students' refusal to participate and calls from angry parents. Teachers were consequently hesitant to present certain material. One teacher stated that this hesitancy has increased as the conflict has persisted:

> If I would bring up peace in the Middle East, I wouldn't do it... but we came up with Israeli peace plans about 15, 16 years ago and that worked because things weren't so bad, it wasn't to the point of the map looking like it did now, Gaza hadn't been totally destroyed. Now 'peace' means 'abdication of right of return'. It means abdication of all these things that some of these kids' families have been actually fighting for. (Caroyln-WBS)

Instead, the focus appeared to be student-led and centred on raising awareness about the continued oppression of Palestinians and addressing the needs of Palestinian refugees through social-entrepreneurship (e.g., selling t-shirts and giving part of the proceeds to Gaza) or charity (e.g., providing gas to heat homes in Gaza).

Students were aware of the school's hesitancy in broaching the topic on a deeper level and expressed frustration:

> Like, I wish they would just talk about it instead of making a taboo subject… (Teachers) are scared to do it, as it might upset parents maybe. But if you don't talk about it, like, I don't think it's going to solve anything… Like when Trump moved the embassy, I wanted to scream— none of the teachers talked about it. (Salma-Y)

This is not to say that Western teachers were not engaged in these matters. In fact, some had very strong views and were vocal on social media about the violence experienced by Palestinians, especially during the Gaza bombings of 2021. However, they did not always feel comfortable bringing these personal views into the classroom given the perceived sensitivity surrounding the topic. For instance, when school shifted online due to COVID, a sixth-grade teacher who was pro-Palestinian was due to teach about Judaism, but instead focused on a different unit as it was determined that given the sensitivity, it may not be the best unit to experiment with in unconventional, online lessons. One student, who consistently volunteered to explain Islam, expressed his disappointment with the decision: “Awe, I was kinda looking forward to it. I don’t know a lot about what they believe. It would have been interesting” (Hussein-Y).

Other Palestinian students expressed that they preferred to talk about this issue amongst themselves, not with Western students and staff who might not “get it” (Nahla-Y). As one student put it:

> The teachers are very well-educated, and they know important stuff and what subjects are sensitive, but it’s very different talking to an international student. They freak out on the spot and say “(Palestinians) are wrong!” (Fadi-Y).

These conversations suggest that students may find spaces in which they are better able to speak about topics that are important to them (making them appear to be Bystanders) and/or their participation is inhibited by teachers' comfort levels.

Need for modelling and accountability

Although the school espoused values related to PBSJ, students questioned the superficiality of the rhetoric and activities in their wider observations of actions at the school. For one, they expressed frustration regarding the lack of accountability when it came to meeting the service-learning hours required for graduation as they stated it sent the message that such activities were not really valuable. As one student put it: "it's like if it's not important to you then why is it important to me?" (Aisha-Y).

The lack of 'walking the talk' beyond rhetoric was evident behind the scenes. Staff at JI asked the kids to think about their nannies, drivers, and cleaners in class activities but when COVID hit, some staff said that they were going to let go of their cleaners to save money ("I'm going to save that cash!" – Laura-WBS), despite the school's emphasis on empathy. Other staff members were aware of this double-standard. In a staff meeting on improving global advocacy programming, they listed "teachers lead by example" as a challenge they needed to overcome. One staff member confided: "I don't do enough. I know that. And I think that's why the Compassion Conference is good, because it reminds us we're not doing enough" (Jenn-WBS), indicating that staff, too, could be Bystanders. In fact, some of the reasons students had for being Bystanders were the same modelled by staff. One teacher, for instance, described how she had difficulties securing colleagues to come help her put on activities related to PBSJ on

weekends (Bayan-S). As detailed later in this section, students also did not participate in activities because they preferred to put their energy into other areas, such as sports. Similarly, teachers described how they were “too busy to do these things, but it’s not a lack of desire” (Caroyln-WBS).

That said, some staff were quite engaged in many activities related to PBSJ. Teachers were interested in Freire and reading liberatory education literature (Sue-WBS, Paul-WBS) and engaging in important conversations regarding PBSJ. For instance, as discussed above, conversations surrounding social justice peaked during the George Floyd protests in America, with suggested readings on the specific roles and positionality of international schools in tackling colonial and racist injustices. Police violence towards African Americans moved several staff members who performed in a band to raise money for an organisation fighting racial injustice in the United States. Additionally, as the effects of COVID-19 began to take a toll on the wider community, the school paired with an organisation supporting migrant workers and encouraged patrons to help this population by contacting them and purchasing supplies they need. Thus, the need for modelling may not be because of a complete absence, but because of a lack of visibility.

This need for modelling is apparent across the literature, with Bickmore (2005) arguing that an important aspect of citizenship education is active citizenship modelled and *lived by the staff* in the implicit and informal curriculum, social relationships, classroom climate and the practices of equity, fairness, and justice in an overall school structure.

Unclear connections to PBSJ

Some students expressed that it was unclear how activities ostensibly supporting PBSJ were to affect real change— even those in which students could choose their own projects. As one student described of his Personal Project:

> Personally, I want to know why I'm doing something before I do it. "Oh, I'm going make a t-shirt to help people because I need to help people"— 'cause that's what the school is telling me to do. (Fadi-Y).

Fadi was not alone in his desire for a stronger theory of change. Another student suggested that the activities offered at JI were not clearly associated with transformative social justice:

> I never understood how these things make social change. I mean, you're on MUN where you go and apply for a different country and sit there. Yeah. I don't know, I think that ties back to our discussion on motivations. You don't know why you're doing this. They say it's good. And it *is* good for you. Obviously, it's not a waste of time. It teaches you something, it teaches you how to present yourself in front of someone. But I don't think it does anything for social change. (Qadira-Y).

Staff also questioned the extent to which activities ostensibly connected to PBSJ, such as service-learning, actually produced knowledge, skills, and attitudes conducive to social change:

> They play with the kids at the orphanage for a week and then we leave. I mean, what *is* that? I mean, you build a building, and you paint a building, and I don't know… We shouldn't do that. (Caroyln-WBS)

Given that staff themselves were unclear about the connection to PBSJ, they also questioned how students understood this process. They wondered "what our kids get out of (service-learning)" (Sue-WBS) and if the understandings went beyond "Oh cool, I don't want to live like that" (Bayan-S). Without explicit connections or at the very least intentions, these activities are unlikely to produce societal transformation. This disconnect is one of the largest critiques levelled against education for PBSJ. While the goal may be to change the will and hearts (Miall et al., 1999) of elite students so they can transform the world, Abelson (1988) and others (CARE, 2014; Seitz, 2004) describe the difficulty in conclusively evaluating any change that occurs as a direct result of an educational intervention.

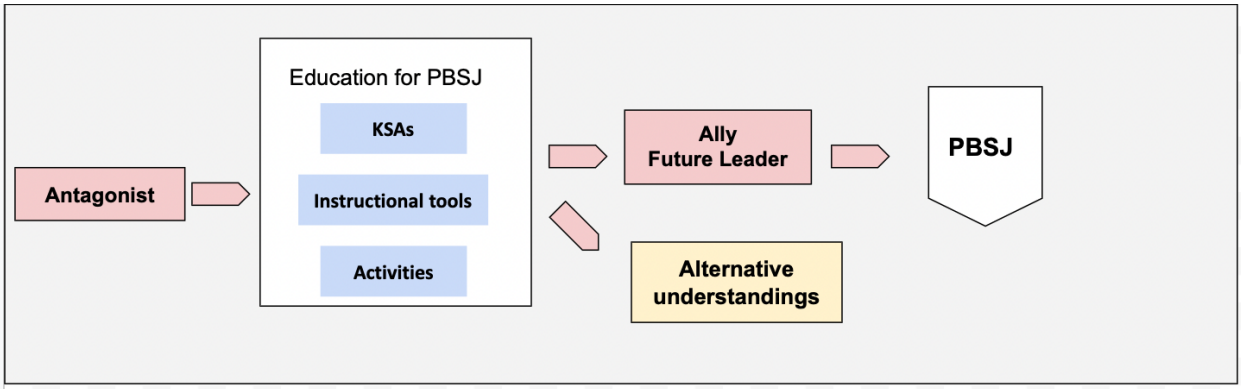
Moreover, a report by CARE (2012) cautions that when things do not work, it might take extra analysis to determine whether we are working on the wrong theory, or whether we are working on the right theory, but the programme is poorly implemented. With statements like "I'm not sure what I'm advocating for" (Caroyln-WBS), it appeared that staff at JI had not had opportunities for these types of reflections. While staff suggested elite students had a role in PBSJ and could provide examples of success stories, most staff members did not know if what they were doing was actually working. In fact, when a staff member learned about my plans to follow up with the NGOs with whom JI partnered with for intergroup activities, she requested that I ask them what they wanted as an outcome. One NGO representative appeared equally confounded when asked what she believed to be the intended outcome of the visitations:

> Uh, how much they have in common? I think bringing them outside of their comfort zone. Honestly, the super wealthy see the poor in a very specific place, sometimes in a

condescending or belittling light, and I think this is a great opportunity to put faces to the name and realise that life is a just a zip-code lottery. And they really do have a lot in common, which will make it easier to in the future to be friends with them, to respect them. And for people that are in positions of power to advocate for them, does that make sense? (Annelise)

As her response appeared to be a personal reflection, this suggests that the goals are not clear at an organisational level. It thus appeared that activities ostensibly supporting PBSJ did not always establish the desired outcomes nor explicitly describe how activities met these ends. In other words, it may be insufficient to add divergent groups and 'stir' and expect PBSJ, as these activities may lead to alternative understandings unrelated to PBSJ (see Figure 9 below). For instance, Kenway et al.'s (2017) study of elite students found that while service-learning activities were meant to help students understand how global inequality linked to their domestic help, they failed to do so. They noted that students who participated in hard labour in isolated regions of a foreign country simply aligned the act with "doing good" (p. 220) rather than critically examining their privilege.

Figure 9: Alternative understandings



Like Kenway et al.'s study, a lack of an explicit and well-communicated theory of change meant students and staff at JI sometimes entered into activities with divergent goals. For instance, for some participants, the MUN was key to creating Future Leaders and debating skills were essential to PBSJ; however, for students who had a penchant for becoming Allies, MUN debate was competitive and as it did not achieve their goal, it was perceived as ineffective.

This lack of nuanced consideration and planning appears to have contributed to students' scepticism surrounding the ability of the activities to support PBSJ and leaving these issues unaddressed may contribute to Bystanders' non-engagement.

Challenges related to individuality

While the challenges above focus on external conditions that could negatively impact students' engagement in PBSJ, it is once again important to recognise students as individuals. That is, they have a range of interests, perceptions, and understandings of their world that compete with or make education for PBSJ more difficult.

Competing interests

Just as staff had competing interests and limited time, the same could be said of students. In a global advocacy meeting, staff acknowledged the existence of competing priorities amongst students. In interviews, participants elaborated on this point, with some suggesting that students' apparent apathy was not due to a lack of motivation or empathy, but that current and future expectations were difficult for students to manage: "I think for many, it's important, but you also have to realise that students, seniors especially, have had a heavy homework load" (Yasmin-S). One staff member also asserted that many students just wanted to be kids who

could “play sports and hang out with their friends” (Gill-WBS). Students similarly described how PBSJ was not always a priority amongst other obligations and interests:

> So, the TEDx Talks, they were very important. But like, honestly, as teenagers, I don’t think we’re gonna take time out of our day to see it after school, when we could be finishing our homework or doing an activity that means a lot to us. (Salma-Y)

One staff member suggested that, with so much going on in a complex, globalised world, “I think they are anaesthetised, it’s just too much all the time to just find one thing and focus” (Caroyln-WBS), but also conceded that some students were “marshmallow busy”, suggesting that they had weak excuses for non-engagement in important social justice when “kids outside this Bubble have jobs, chores, and so on”. These factors were not problematic for most students at JI whose families were comfortable financially and able to employ maids, nannies, and drivers.

Although this suggests a binary between pursuing interests relating to PBSJ or not, the matter was not so simple. Some students demonstrated a favourable disposition towards engaging in PBSJ, but it was not the only thing they were concerned about. For instance, moments after Jamal was in tears about the war in Iraq, he focused his attention on stopping pollution in response to the writing prompt: “If you could solve one of the world’s problems, what would it be and how would you solve it?”. Likewise, another student engaged in issues relating to Palestine-Israel relations as well as poverty and inequality chose to do a Personal Project on sex education for youth with disabilities. As multiple interests emerged across a number of student interviews, it may suggest that students who care deeply about one societal issue (such as

conflict) may be students likely to care about a number of issues. Thus, a student may appear to be a Bystander in PBSJ but may be engaged in other matters that for some, do not clearly connect to peacebuilding.

Lack of vested interest

As suggested above, some students valued PBSJ but also valued other things; however, other students did not appear to have PBSJ on their radar. Most participants attributed this obliviousness to a lack of any vested interest in PBSJ as most families had not been affected by conflict or injustice. As two staff members put it:

> You [*indicates the researcher*] might look peace, but a lot of these kids are just tired of it. Yeah. They're tired of it because again, it's not impacting them… Look, if I have two Mercedes in the garage, a TV screen, and my kid in England for school, do you think I might go out and protest in the streets? [*shakes head*]. Those who protest have nothing to lose. (Caroyln-WBS)

and

> They don't really talk about the political things that are happening, they don't bring that up. It's interesting, you know, not because they don't want to, but I think they feel like these issues don't affect them in JI. Which is crazy, you know, we live in a Bubble. (Yasmin-S)

Likewise, students stated that more marginalised youth "actually have to deal with (the issues), whereas a lot of our students don't have to" (Nahla-Y). These examples appear to reiterate

Galtung's (1969) hypothesis that those 'at the top' are less likely to challenge the status quo. Unlike their less fortunate students who face 'waithood' (Singerman, 2007), youth at JI were largely able to seek opportunities elsewhere through studying abroad and dual citizenship. As such, they could avoid some of injustices and conflict—a finding echoing Gertel and Hexel's (2018) study of youth in MENA.

When prompted if there was a possibility that some JI students might have a vested interest in PBSJ given the conflicts in the region, staff named a few students who had come from regions experiencing conflict but did not seem to know what experiences they had and could not speculate whether these would translate into a vested interest. Staff members did not initially suggest that Palestinian students might had a vested interest in peace. When prompted, one staff member posited that given the territory, JI students would not actually move back to Gaza because the conditions were "below their current standard of living" (Laura-WBS) and suggested that even if peace was brokered between the two groups, students' lives would not change. This statement was supported by a Palestinian student who indicated that he'd stay in Jordan because "it's easier in Jordan, like going to a movie theatre, for instance, or go-karting and paintball… And it's more open-minded… like if you want to go out with a girl" (Fadi-Y). Thus, with little at stake, students like Fadi may not put in the effort to engage in social change.

Attribution of responsibility

Bystanders' non-engagement may be influenced by perceptions of societal responsibilities. The responsibility for PBSJ was predominantly shaped by perceived ability. For instance, students

expressed concerns over whether they were not positioned to properly advocate for the Other, given that they lived in a Bubble:

> Most often people in elite schools don't have enough experience within these aspects of life... Often, we believe empathy is enough to change problems we as a world have, yet I don't completely believe that. (Laith-Y)

Staff also indicated this limitation: that while the school was adamant that students empathised rather than sympathised, they may only be able to do the latter:

> **Carolyn-WBS**: They're never going to feel it. They're never going to know what it feels like. They're not going to be able to identify with (those of lesser-privileged backgrounds). They may sympathise, but they can't empathise.
>
> **Researcher**: What about Design Thinking? It is supposed to focus on empathy.
>
> **Carolyn-WBS**: I don't think that's going to have them *experience* it.

This understanding has been noted in Kenway et al. (2017), wherein elite students described "we have this urge to want to help people because this is what our education has taught us, but this education has also made us unable to really empathize with other people" (p. 222). One student went as far as saying that it would not only be more difficult to address PBSJ because elites were too far removed in their 'Bubble', but that it was "not right for those outside of this experience to help" (Sada-Y). In their analysis of the Arabic Spring, El-Baghdadi and Gatnash

(2019) similarly acknowledged that elites' demands for change and vision of a future may be out of touch with the larger population and, in fact, make the situation worse for others.

Because of this limitation, JI students pointed to the importance of people who have a voice but had closer connections with vulnerable groups who could act as bridges. They stated, "locals who are often somewhat less fortunate are able to relate to the ones needing the most help" (Laith-Y). By 'locals', students explained that these were people who worked with refugees and could speak Arabic (Laith-Y, Fadi-Y)— an issue discussed in Chapter 5. Other students held similar perceptions but invoked the term 'middle class' in lieu of 'locals'. As one student stated:

> In Jordan, the middle class would be pretty good activists because they'd be aware, they wouldn't be living in the Bubble like us, but they also wouldn't be like completely like damaged from the problems. (Farah-Y).

These perceptions reflect Miall's (1999) suggestion that 'middlemen' may be required to speak truth to power. Similarly, Lederach (1997) refers to as "middle range leadership": those who have contact with both those 'at the top' and those 'at the bottom'. Staff at JI also recognised the need to bridge this gap and expressed that they could take on the 'middleman' role as they "brought middle class values" (Laura-WBS) that sometimes challenged the perspectives and experiences of students.

Students also attributed the responsibility to engage in societal change to the "big boys" because "like, what are we going to do as a bunch of students?" (Fadi-Y). Fadi was not alone in this view. Another student lamented that what engagement they might demonstrate lacked

authority compared to adults: “being a teenager automatically decreases your credibility” (Hayley-Y). These perceptions of ineptitude echo Salomon and Cairns (2010) concern that, while peace education is so often targeted towards children as ‘they are the future’, the focus on children “ignores the fact that power is in the hands of adults” (p. 2). Some students expressed that they felt the need to hide their ideas for enacting change related to social justice, especially around adults who “are more intellectual for me. And I don’t want to seem too mature for my age” (Farah-Y). Students also expressed a sense of limited power in comparison to adult Influencers, such as “Arab moms” who are able to “spread things like wildfire” on platforms such as Facebook (Sada-Y).

Other students suggested that issues relating to PBSJ were better handled not simply by adults, but by government authorities:

> In terms of like Jordan specifically, a more like governmental approach would work better than like people because I feel like in Jordan specifically, people really respect like the police and all of those. So, I feel like once something is said by those people it’s like inherited throughout the entire country (Sada-Y).

Sada also posited that issues relating to social justice stemmed from a lack of quality education and subsequent unemployment. As providing education and stimulating job creation is a government responsibility, students like Sada might not see themselves as taking a role as a Bystander. Other students concurred that it was up to governments to “properly manage things” and sort out the ‘distressed’ countries (Nura-Y).

JI students are not alone in understanding social justice as the responsibility of the state. Von Hayek (as cited in Novak, 2000) notes that social justice is sometimes associated with social systems rather than an individual virtue. A similar perspective also arose in Kuttab et al.'s (2017) analysis of Arab philanthropy, in which SDGs Goal 1 (ending poverty) was viewed as a requiring government intervention. That said, Kuttab et al.'s study further found that participants took responsibility in other areas, such as supporting education through philanthropy—in contrast to Sada's opinion. As no common theme appeared to emerge regarding what areas of PBSJ were perceived to be government responsibility, responsibility for PBSJ may be influenced by individual perceptions rather than cultural values.

While the school attempted to cultivate a sense of responsibility amongst JI youth, students expressed that this power and its seemingly inherent responsibility was not a choice they made. One student described how he, like the lesser-privileged, could not control what family he was born in (Mohamed-Y). Likewise, students in Swalwell's (2013) study expressed an inability to shed privilege and did not feel it was their duty to "redeem the rest of society" (p. 97).

These perceptions of responsibility draw attention to an issue Arendt (1972) raises, "Where all are guilty, nobody is" (p. 162). In this case, if we attribute the responsibility of PBSJ to everyone, we run the danger that it will be the responsibility of no one. As such, it is vital for educators to ensure JI youth understand that they have some responsibility, lest they become Bystanders.

Stage of life

Developmental understandings were also used to explain the non-engagement of Bystanders. Students suggested the mandatory nature of service-learning was developmentally incongruent

with adolescence: “We really do not like being told what to do” (Hayley-Y). As one teacher noted, disinterest in helping others was likely common of all youth, not just students from higher socioeconomic positions: “They literally sometimes are not developed enough to have (empathy). And it’s a real thing for teenagers” (Craig-WBS). Another staff member reiterated this concern but as a barrier for collectivity, wherein some students struggled with “being able to see outside of themselves, you know, as a 14, 15-year-old” (Yasmin-S). Van de Graaf et al. (2013) suggest while youth are often in the midst of developing the cognitive empathy required to overcome this type of apathy, adolescents in this age group may also experience a decline in empathic concern.

The same may be said of their developmental understandings of PBSJ. As with Juhasz and Palmer’s (1991) study of eighth grade students from middle class Western schools, some students at JI associated PBSJ with ‘positive feelings’. For instance, students described ‘peace’ and ‘social justice’ as ‘inner peace’, ‘happiness’, and ‘calmness’—all of which do not clearly reflect any visible roles or actions students might take.

At this stage in life, students also expressed concerns with fitting in, which was sometimes prioritised over engaging in PBSJ (Qadira-Y). As one teacher put it, students in MS tend to focus on “being like everybody else and not standing out” because taking certain political and controversial positions could “basically destroy them socially” (Sue-WBS). Students indicated that they felt a need to protect their social image as some clubs associated with PBSJ were “not cool” (Qadira-Y). They also noted the need to involve ‘popular kids’ so that they are socially sanctioned, “Like some students won’t (join a club) if popular kids don’t join, or like a friend”

(Lila-Y). Similarly, another student posited the lack of engagement in formal clubs might be due to the socially perceived need for PBSJ activities to be 'underground' (Sada-Y). This argument may have some clout as some students described by staff as "airheads" were some of the most informed, like Jamal, who could discuss the politics of oil and war at ten years old. Similarly, a student described as "clueless" and had not completed their mandatory hours of volunteering was involved in an Arab women's empowerment group unbeknownst to the teachers (Fatimah-Y).

Other students specified that at this stage of life (end of secondary) "We're kind of looking towards our futures more than anything" (Hayley-Y). Consequently, even where students have personal connections to conflict, they may put commitments to PBSJ on hold. For instance, one parent described how her son was born in the middle of a conflict with bombs dropping around her and that her family was displaced and excluded for many years, yet her son did not engage with PBSJ:

> He's like, "I need to get my shit together. I need to go to college. I need to put blinders on and focus on me and then when I'm ready, you know, I'll think about the other things." (Deena)

Staff seemed aware of the potential lag for students in this stage of life. For instance, one teacher discussed how she did not always get to see the transformation in the classroom, but that "it's about planting seeds and exposing kids" (Caroyln-WBS). She gave examples of how one student ended up becoming an anti-World Trade Organization protester in the nineties and

how the “most selfish self-centred girl, arrogant, I have ever known” became a midwife serving an Indigenous community.

Thus, these findings suggest there is a myriad of age-specific reasons for non-engagement, and consequently, that there is reason to believe some students may not stay Bystanders.

Apathy?

It is perhaps unsurprising that students were able to identify all of the challenges above, given that these arose from experience. In contrast, staff responses were much more limited, with most relating to challenges specific to the elite, such as status, developmental ability, and a lack of vested interest. However, even more common was a general sentiment amongst staff members that students’ non-engagement was from ‘apathy’.

From the findings in Chapters 6 and 7, it appeared that staff tried to counter this apathy through appealing to the three types of motives outlined in Goodman’s study of privilege groups: moral/religious, empathy, and self-interest. As for the first, they attempted to instil a sense of moral responsibility for students to engage in PBSJ based on their position as the ‘one percent’. They also crafted numerous activities to trigger an empathetic response from students that they hoped would drive engagement. Although few (if any) staff members explicitly encouraged engagement through self-interest, some school rhetoric did so. However, as this chapter has suggested, motivating students was not always the solution. The reality was that some students were already driven by these motives, but a plurality of factors inhibited their participation. The solution, then, is not necessarily increasing motivation but addressing these challenges.

Given that JI had such an emphasis on problem-solving (e.g., through Design Thinking), had staff members specifically dedicated to service-learning and global advocacy, and had a focus on research-guided practice, it is worth considering why they had not looked into such factors. One of the root causes of this oversight may be an over-emphasis on viewing elite transformation as a linear process rather than as a dialectic (see Figure 2 in Chapter 3). That is, it was largely assumed that students would engage in activities for PBSJ and those who resisted were presumed to be unmotivated. In re-thinking students' engagement as a dialectic (see Figure 3 in Chapter 3), student agency is put at the forefront, which situates them as a Subject who makes informed choices.

Summary

This chapter has outlined numerous factors inhibiting students' participation in PBSJ, including social, political, and historical factors (status, gender, perceived risk to self, and family history); school-related challenges (nature of activities, abstract concepts, content selection and comfort levels, a need for modelling and accountability, and unclear theory of change); and challenges related to the individual (competing interests, lack of vested interest, attribution of responsibility, and stage of life). This chapter concluded with a discussion surrounding why many of these factors were overlooked by staff, positing that the oversight was due to assumptions regarding student motivation.

The following chapter offers an in-depth examination of the findings through this study's key theoretical lenses.

IX. Intersectionality and rigour in PBSJ programming

This chapter analyses the findings using the key theoretical lenses of this study. It first considers how students' intersectionality influences their engagement with PBSJ, Next, it evaluates the rigour of education for PBSJ, drawing on the concepts informing this study's definition of PBSJ, namely positive peace, transformative social justice, humanisation, and implication, and positive duties.

Elite Arab PBSJ?

This section considers the extent to which JI students' engagement in PBSJ is reflective of their demographic as 'elites' and 'Arabs'.

Privilege and peace

Emerging from Chapter 6 were indications that JI students' socioeconomic background played a significant role in how the school approached PBSJ and how JI youth engaged in PBSJ. This section synthesises and critically examines programming that appeared to be specifically focused on elite youth. It then draws out the reasons for being Bystanders that were specific to elite youth. Finally, it discusses a new theme arising from the data: that certain conditions of elite youths' lives meant they may be better positioned to engage in PBSJ.

Programming for elite youth

As previously discussed, much of JI's programming appeared to centre on students' roles given their socioeconomic background. JI youth were most commonly characterised as Allies, Future Leaders, Changemakers, and Antagonists— roles generally associated with elite students in the

literature. Programming for PBSJ thus tended to focus on conflict transformation as elite transformation or mobilising students' capital for PBSJ.

This economic capital, along with their *wasta*, also led many students to express an increased sense of responsibility for PBSJ. Peshkin (2001), however, argues that it is not appropriate to differentiate the effort required:

> The general point is about expectation. It is self-serving for those within the elite school fold to argue for expecting more from their students, relative to students elsewhere, because they are so privileged. This reinforces the chosenness-distinctiveness status of everyone in these schools, the setting-apart-from-others sense that already is entrenched in the structure of these schools. I would prefer that the argument for good citizenship be made of all students, rather than on the grounds of privilege. To do so would increase the probability of justice. (p. 106)

Thus, it may be better conceived not as a better ability to engage in PBSJ nor as requiring *more* effort, but *different* effort. Chapter 6 explored a variety of efforts, many of which did appear to be different from those found in the larger literature on peacebuilding education. These differences become particularly striking when compared with the counterfactual: Is it only 'peace education' and 'service-learning' when the rich play football with the Other? That is, is it 'peace education' and 'service-learning' for the Other or only the rich? Is it peace education if the Other volunteer to help the vulnerable and marginalised? Is it peace education if the Other learns public-speaking and debate skills? In asking these questions, we might make important improvements to the ethics, efficacy, and appropriateness of PBSJ education for elite youth.

Addressing challenges to engagement

Chapter 8 examined factors contributing to students' roles as Bystanders. Some of the factors inhibiting participation in PBSJ were more relevant to elite youth, namely status, competing interests, the nature of activities, and family history. This section considers the extent to which the school can, did, or should address these factors.

As for status, much was done at the school to emphasise equality, such as policies that ensured no special titles were used (e.g., Her/His Royal Highness). Even where the school tacitly communicating elite exceptionalism (see Chapter 6), it was with the sense of increased responsibility, not less. Where students resisted this, such as the youth who tried to get his driver to deliver gas, teachers like Craig ensured that the boy went on a bus to do it himself.

In terms of competing interests, the very fact that students could choose to focus on other things (i.e., value playing sports more than social justice) may be reflective of their position of privilege. In other contexts, youth affected by conflict struggle to simply go to school, let alone engage in PBSJ even when it is directly affecting them, balancing jobs, household responsibilities, and lack of transportation (Pereznieto et al., 2017). These factors were not problematic for most students at JI whose families were comfortable financially and able to employ maids, nannies, and drivers. Building in mandatory time for service learning, as questionable as it might be, was one way of ensuring commitment to PBSJ in the face of other interests.

Similarly, students were sometimes put off by the nature of the activity, with discomforts such as having to wake up early on a Saturday or play with others in the cold to engage in activities,

such as playing football with refugees. Once again, this reflects an element of privilege given that students chose to opt out. The school did not reschedule because of these factors, except when they also had difficulties recruiting staff to supervise. While the school could make changes to increase participation, doing so raises questions. First, if these changes were made, would motivation to engage in PBSJ increase or simply increase ease of use? For instance, if an activity was moved inside where it was warmer, would this change students' dispositions towards PBSJ or simply their willingness to complete an activity? Moreover, playing with marginalised children in the cold may be a necessary part of popping the Bubble as it exposes elite students to the realities of the Other world—one without, for instance, indoor gyms. These questions prompt wider questions, such as should we prioritise initial participation in the hopes that an 'easy' form of engagement might lead to a further engagement, or is this accommodation catering to those in power and, subsequently, implicitly communicating that the world will work around their privilege?

Another challenge, family history, is also perhaps more common amongst the elite as their ties to power may be closely monitored; however, this is not to say that those from poorer backgrounds may also face this issue. Challenges related to family history did not appear to be perceived by staff and, consequently, were not addressed by the school. Even if the school was aware of this challenge, a family's historic involvement in politics and/or conflict is not something that can changed. Students, however, stated that they worked around it by participating in less visible or controversial ways.

Conditions for understanding and engaging in PBSJ

Students indicated that their financial position made them more likely to help others. As one student put it: “You should give back. And I think that that’s something that everyone should do if they can afford it” (Aya-Y). This statement suggests that the ability to ‘give back’ is a luxury. Similarly, another student described how he could pay for a house for someone and contrasted this with those of lower socioeconomic positions: “Someone that’s less fortunate would be like, ‘no… why would I (help)? They didn’t help me’” (Fadi-Y). Kenway and Fahey (2015) point to the patronising nature of this perspective on benefaction. While they described the British aristocracy’s and gentry’s view that their social superiority arose from their moral superiority, it appears Fadi has reversed this understanding and positioned himself as having moral superiority because of his socioeconomic superiority.

Students also posited that their circumstances were associated with decreased levels of violence. One student said the violence in poorer refugee communities occurred “because they’re not very educated” and suggested that if they had facilities like gyms, “they won’t go to alcohol, drugs, raping people, assaulting people” (Salma-Y) to cope with challenges associated with being a refugee. She emphasised that the:

> Main point is, their parents and the people around them are suffering from not being able to buy anything, buy foods, provide for their families, so they have no other way to take it out.

While stressors such as poverty and conflict can contribute towards violence (Kara & Selçuk, 2020), these statements imply that those with resources are not violent, to which the literature

demonstrates is untrue (Saddyan, 2021). Nonetheless, the perception that more facilities and education could reduce levels of violence appear to have influenced students' engagement in PBSJ. That is, in providing these to the poor (e.g., building a basketball court, leading them through science lessons), students felt as if they were contributing to PBSJ and that having these things could help them be more peaceful.

A staff member also suggested that the circumstances of the elite could influence students' experiences of peace and justice. The staff member gave the example of how some JI bus drivers have nine children "so, there isn't a lot of room for democracy in that house" as opposed to parents "who have two kids, a nanny, and a cook" (Yasmin-S). She posited that elite families have the time to engage with their children, wherein parents in larger households may resort to more directive approaches in governing their families. This point touches upon what Agerbak (1996) describes as the politics of family, in which disputes are universal but that factors such as poverty can limit the ability to manage the dynamic of conflict more constructively. However, Yasmin also posited that such circumstances were a double-edge sword; that is, smaller elite family households with support staff might be detrimental to skill sets like compromise because "everyone has his own room" and students could do what they want because some parents offload parental duties to workers who are employed by the students and must listen to students. Thus, the luxury of space can create conditions that can both support and detract from PBSJ.

Arab PBSJ

Whereas students' socioeconomic background was commonly discussed in interviews and referenced in policies, there appeared to be less of a focus on their demographic as Arabs, perhaps because Arab students attending JI chose to attend a school promoting Western-style education with, amongst other features, a predominantly Western staff and a Western curriculum. Although the literature review indicated some synergies in Western and Arab conceptualisations of PBSJ, some tensions still persisted, namely what topics are highlighted and how PBSJ is 'done'.

What? Topical differences

One issue prevalent in this study that was not noted in elite school literature elsewhere was the Palestinian right to return. Perhaps because of this lack of familiarity with this sensitive topic, Western staff members were hesitant to discuss the occupation of Palestine (see Chapters 6 and 8). These concerns did not arise in Advanced Arabic classes, in which the teacher was Arab and nearly all the students were from the region.

Students also loosely affiliated a number of global advocacy issues with PBSJ, including social-entrepreneurship, animal welfare, women's rights, LGBTQ+ rights, and environmental concerns to vaguely suggest that good future governance across these different sectors might have some positive impact on PBSJ. These topics have also arisen in studies of social justice education in elite schools in the West. However, JI students tended to stress that, while these issues were important, these were not as pressing as other issues:

> Like, I don't want to say that the environment isn't important or anything, but it's a bit of a luxury to focus on things like recycling when here we have bigger issues like poverty and war. (Amani-Y)

A parent similarly described how concerns beyond the immediate, or what Hersh (2021) refers to as 'post-material issues' were for more privileged nations to consider:

> It's my understanding that in schools in Iraq— I've never heard from any of my friends or my relatives that they were really concerned with any global issues— local issues, maybe. But there wasn't this awareness of, you know, "We have to do something about the environment, too". I think also Iraq is a difficult example because of just the mayhem in the house right now. There's not really a government in place and of course, the political situation is very difficult. People are more concerned with everyday life and trying to survive. (Deena)

These statements indicate that because the MENA region is faced with urgent issues, there is a need to triage issues related to PBSJ. This need did not appear as prevalently in other studies of elite youth in more stable contexts.

Likewise, staff members described how Jordan had more NGOs in the country than most other places. As such, they tended to focus on issues related to refugees, whereas "if you go to anywhere else, like the Gulf states or even Europe, you're probably not going to have the same opportunities to do the work we do" (Cole-WBS).

How? Differences and synergies

When asked if any activities in the school or in the wider community reflected an Arab or Muslim approach to PBSJ (meaning both cultural understandings and how individuals act in the political context of countries in the Arab world), nearly all groups of participants initially expressed that they had never considered that there might be different approaches. The initial absence of cultural consideration in PBSJ programming amongst staff and students from the MENA region is in itself a notable finding as it may indicate that students had simply accepted whatever form of education for PBSJ was offered, without considering any cultural bias it may have (as they have already chosen to be in an international Western school). Alternatively, it may also suggest that few, if any, tensions between Arab/Muslim approaches and Western ones had caught their attention.

This latter point may be possible as rhetoric in school documents included "our deep interdependence"; "compassion is essential to human relationships and to a fulfilled humanity"; and "draw people into their circles who are often considered to be aliens or enemies", which reflects virtues found in the Quran, such as compassion (Moore, 2006) and learning from outsiders (Majālī, 1976). Given and that they may be guided by the same values found in the West and that no one had a clear theory of change of how education for PBSJ worked, participants may not have initially questioned the effort as long as it was rooted in the same beliefs.

Despite this overlap, noticeably absent from interviews, rhetoric, and documents were any references to Islamic laws or practices discussed in the literature review, such as those

pertaining to economic redistribution (*zakat, saqada, waaf, Wasiyah* and *usharakah*) (Abu-Nimer, 2000). Neither did participants bring up the links between hospitality, *sulha* (reconciliation), and peace (Fallon, 2020). These absences may stem from three reasons. First, religious activities were not supported at JI. That said, participants did not mention these when prompted to discuss engagement elsewhere (such as the mosque). Second, as indicated in Chapters 5 and 8, students tended to take on a cosmopolitan identity, referring to those outside the Bubble as 'locals' and 'Arabs'. While some students described themselves as slightly religious, they underscored that they engaged in PBSJ "for moral but not so much for religious reasons" (Nahla-Y). Thus, they may have drawn from more secular language. Third, and relatedly, many students did not have a strong grasp of Arabic and may be unfamiliar with these terms. Likewise, participants may have recognised my limited Arabic skills and may not have used the terms even if they did know them.

After some reflection, only two participants (both local staff members) could provide examples of a PBSJ approach that reflected Arab culture. One staff member described how Jordanian tribes needing to resolve a dispute feast together on the national dish (*mansaff*) in a tent (Nasir-S). Another posited that "I think it's more you protest on Friday after prayers in the mosque" (Iman-S). Neither of these examples were discussed or actioned at JI.

Many participants who did not see or know of an Arab approach suggested that its apparent absence may be due to a failure of leadership and/or the limitations of a complex socio-political context. For instance, one student indicated she had a "shallow understanding" of peacebuilding because of the "lack of peacebuilding around me" (Salma-Y), explaining that the

context “didn’t model peacebuilding” practices nor provide her with opportunities to engage in any way, let alone an ‘Arab’ way. Participants, particularly students, stated that what Arab leadership did exist was not necessarily the type they supported: “because, like the famous Arab leaders are known for being bad leaders instead of good leaders” (Nura-Y) and “Arab leaders just stay close minded and have traditional thinking. They don't want to change; they want to stay in their comfort zone … So, there is no Arab approach” (Salma-Y). These responses suggest that, to some extent, a lack of perceived leadership in PBSJ has limited students’ abilities to understand how Arabs could positively approach PBSJ. Such responses reflect Adeyemi’s (2017) study of crime after war in African nations, which suggested that youth are eager to become positive leaders but that their development is inhibited by leadership cultures characterised by corruption and cronyism.

Curiously, students like Nura and Salma exemplified behaviours associated with PBSJ, such as critical thinking skills and reflection (Lopes Cardozo et al., 2015). While some have argued these are Western understandings (Paul et al., 1997), others (Ayan Qadeer, 2017; Aziz, 2015) have made the case that these are central in Islam, thus these students could have made the case that *they* demonstrated Arab PBSJ. In addition to their overlooking their own engagement, they overlooked those of Arabs around them. Arab staff at the school organised or facilitated activities such as Student Voice, which was also dominated by Arab students. Arab peacebuilding was also modelled outside of the school. Arabs participated in number of protests during the school year, including protests in Iraq that killed over 200 people, protests in Lebanon, and Mohamed Ramzi (a prominent TV persona) speaking out against Egypt. More locally, there were protests at the Centre for Human Rights in Amman (regarding inadequate

service) and protests at the American embassy following the American policy relating to Palestine and Israel. Thus, in spite of being Arab themselves, they failed to recognise their and others' actions as an Arab approach to PBSJ or, alternatively, did not identify it as it was not perceived as uniquely Arab.

On the other hand, the notion that Arab PBSJ does not exist, in spite of the examples above, may be attributed to a lack of *achievement* in PBSJ. That is, literature would suggest that the actions described above are in line with 'peacebuilding', but that the actions have not resulted in 'peace' may have led participants to question whether they can be considered 'peacebuilding' or contributed to the sentiment that "Arabs don't care" (Salma-Y).

Other participants expressed that the absence of an Arab approach or Arab role models was not due to a lack of desire to change, as both Salma and Nura insinuated, but due to the precarious economic and political context. As for the former, Arabs who might be good role models for PBSJ may have moved to find work, just as many JI students were planning to do. In terms of the political context, it was risky to be visibly engaged in certain PBSJ practices, such as protests (see 'Perceived risk to self' in Chapter 8). Additionally, because of the fragile political context, some Arabs may resort to approaches like charity, as indicated by Aisha and evident in the literature (Hartnell, 2018), which participants did not consistently think of as peacebuilding.

Similarly, some students suggested that activities viewed as diametrically opposite to PBSJ may have been used to create future PBSJ. For instance, although highly critical of structural injustice and corruption, some students suggested that pursuing PBSJ in Arab countries may initially involve authoritarianism, but that once a leader established themselves, they must

adopt better political governance and not abuse their power. Jamal, for example, posited that ensuring justice in his home country may require force. He had ambitions of becoming a politician and stated that once in power, he would need to execute those who became corrupt "so that way, no one would corrupt themselves and nobody would be afraid. When that begins happening, everyone will be happy". Other students similarly suggested that negative peace was sometimes the only option:

> At the end of the day, you can't deny there was peace (in Saddam's Iraq). There's no way for a perfect rule. And people say, "Look what they are doing, it's bad!" because they aren't in a position to change it. They just call it out. And when (Saddam) was executed, it went really bad. (Aisha-Y)

Although this approach reflects negative peace and may be controversial, Aisha raises important questions that did not appear to be addressed at JI, such as whether those in positions of privileged safety (e.g., Western teachers) can adequately critique the means to achieve peace in a context characterised by risk to life.

The examples thus far tend to focus on the elite Arab adults rather than the elite Arab youth. When asked how the wider Arab youth might engage in PBSJ, a student described how students in Palestine throw rocks at Israeli Defence Front soldiers and pack onions in the event that they are tear gassed (see Box 11 below).

Box 11: Arab youth and PBSJ

Aisha-Y: Although, I'm not sure that (throwing rocks) is *peace*building [*laughs*]. More like retaliation or maybe resistance?

Researcher: Some people might see this as peacebuilding. But would students at JI do this?

Aisha-Y: Absolutely. My friend's brothers did that. *I* would have done that if I was there. I'm not even Palestinian, but it's a sign of solidarity…

Researcher: Would the school be ok with that, though? With throwing rocks?

Aisha-Y: [quickly] No.

Researcher: Ok, that's what I thought.

Aisha-Y: On a surface level, they can't support it, but I don't think they'd stop us if we wanted to.

Clearly, this practice was not taught at JI. If anything, the school environment fostered non-violent protests such as walkouts. However, one parent noted that some of these Western-democratic peacebuilding practices did not translate well in the MENA region:

> Not here, not in Jordan. If my kid decides to go and live in Canada or the West then she would be able to use this skill set, but it's not equipping her for living in Jordan or in Iraq. (Deena).

Other participants agreed. Students and staff described how walkouts "have *no* effect on their own" (Fadi-Y). Local staff held similar beliefs: "(Silent protests) don't work here… that's not part of the Arab culture" (Iman-S).

This misalignment between approach and socio-cultural context was not only limited to protests, but also in charity approaches. Aisha, for instance, criticised how those in the West sent donations to the MENA region: "We don't want your clothes— let (refugees) in!" She and a staff member also brought up soup kitchens, both rolling their eyes: "That's not how it's done here. If you want to do something like that, you do it more discreetly" (Bayan-S). Aisha went on to describe how people in the MENA region purchase food tickets and leave them at stores so that there was no "pageantry" around it.

Such public displays were critiqued by other students. For example, Sada expressed how activities such as debating and public speaking were Western approaches and seem to be more about "school spirit" than actual action. Thus, for her, it was "trying to be very American" rather than a peacebuilding act that could be applied in Jordan. It was not that people from the MENA region weren't 'public', as indicated by mosque protests and their "very passionate discourse style" (Chantelle-WBS), but that these 'American' approaches were perceived as less genuine. For instance, as indicated in Chapters 6 and 7, while many MENA students pointed to

the potential of the MUN to support PBSJ, they also expressed concerns about its cutthroat and competitive nature: “It's like who can win the most debates?” (Amani-Y).

In sum, participants appeared to have various intersecting thoughts on the matter, including: 1) that no Arab approach to education for PBSJ existed; 2) Arab approaches existed but could not be easily executed/were not included at JI; and 3) whether or not an Arab approach exists, Western approaches may not be appropriate in the MENA region.

Two points should be further noted. First, while some *approaches* to PBSJ were sometimes seen inappropriate, cultural distinctions in PBSJ *roles* did not seem to emerge. As indicated in Chapter 6, there was much overlap with all roles in the framework developed in the literature review. For example, even if soup kitchens did not make sense culturally, students took on Saviour-like roles by donating gifts to charity or raising money for marginalised groups through hobbies. Similarly, students could be Disrupters, but they may disrupt in different ways given the increased risks posed in the region. Students also aspired to be Future Leaders but had to navigate whether they would do so from abroad or in the MENA region, given the economic fragility in the region and may not lead in Western-democratic ways. Thus, while no new role emerged that was unique to Arabs, socio-political and cultural nuances may shape the way they are enacted.

Second, given that educational programming at JI was largely Western and did not fully translate to the MENA region, we might also ask whether elite schools like JI actually provide education for PBSJ? While it was evident from these findings that certain tools could not be used outside the Bubble, there may also be reason to understand the context not as statically

‘traditional’, but one in which these tools could possibly be used in the future. As one student put it, “Essentially, we’re just waiting for the old guard to die” (Farah-Y). That is, the education they are receiving may not seem appropriate for today’s context, but it may very well be preparing students for tomorrow’s.

Rigour of educational programming for PBSJ

The overarching ability of the school to contribute towards PBSJ can be examined for its rigour based on the degree to which it supports this study’s definition of PBSJ: *collectively reflecting upon and actively transforming sources of injustice to achieve positive peace*. This definition was heavily based on positive peace (Galtung, 1967), transformative social justice (Rizvi, 1998), and critical education philosophies, most specifically Freirean (1970b) humanisation. This section considers the findings through these theoretical lenses.

Education for structural transformation

As discussed in Chapter 2, Galtung (1969) associates positive peace with addressing structural violence and the unequal distribution of power, which was closely associated with transformative social justice (Rizvi, 1998). Many of activities that participants associated with PBSJ not only lacked transformation but were the manifestation of unequal power. In terms of the latter, in activities like BoB, Personal Projects, and charity drives, JI decides who gets what help and when (Choules, 2007b), promulgating dependency and encouraging paternalistic attitudes to develop (Wheeler-Bell, 2017).

As for transformation, these same activities focused on solving the *effects* of conflict and injustice and did little to actually transform the *seeds* of these. For instance, charitable acts

such as the Gift of Giving or raising money through a hobby are not redistributive in nature, and therefore, does not strongly support PBSJ (Fraser, 1996). As such, they were viewed as "band-aid and feel-good stuff" and that students were "not advocating for institutional change on any level" (Caroyln-WBS). Personal Projects offered more promise of transformation as there was a sense that students should work towards resolving issues. That said, while students often understood the root causes of an issue in their research, resolving issues was often limited to plugging gaps in a system. Students built a basketball court for the underprivileged or created a prosthetic for a war amputee rather than address the underlying injustice that led to their situation.

In this regard, those well-intended activities are much like the 'ineffective face of education' as they are superficial, short-term actions rather than sustained engagements in deeper issues. That is, they focused on "conflict manifestations rather than conflict causes" (Mac Ginty, 2010, p. 145).

Alternatively, these efforts could be described as 'indirect peace education' (Bar Tal & Rosen, 2009):

> Indirect peace education does not directly address the conflict (i.e., its goals, its historical course, its costs, or the image of the rival). Instead, it concerns itself either with very general themes relevant to peace-making—avoiding direct clashes with the culture of conflict, especially the ethos of conflict—or with an array of themes and skills that do not refer to the ongoing conflict at all. This type of peace education may focus

> on a choice of themes such as identity, ecological security, violence, empathy, human rights, and conflict resolution skills. (p. 563)

Many of these themes were evident at JI, particularly empathy and human rights. Conflict resolution was common at the primary level and was set to be addressed at the MS level, however, due to COVID, it was not completed. JI also cultivated skills such as public speaking that were loosely affiliated with advocacy for the Other. While these KSAs may have some impact, students' and staff's inability to communicate a lack of a clear theory of change may compromise their contribution to tangible, transformative PBSJ outcomes.

While this section may be highly critical of JI's efforts, it is worth noting that students and staff recognised that these activities lacked real transformation and were consistently adapting programming based on research it conducted and research administrators were able to access. Moreover, given the behemoth task of real transformation, the reality was that these students were 11-18 years old. Although not incapable of great things, it is worth repeating Salomon and Cairns (2010) concern that the focus on children "ignores the fact that power is in the hands of adults" (p. 2).

Education as humanisation

According to Freire (1970b), humanisation has three main components. First, it is operationalised through praxis. Praxis includes conscientization (a critical reflection of power, violence, and injustice—also referred to as 'critical consciousness') and action. Second, humanisation is dialogic in nature; that is, it emphasises the importance of relationships,

communication, and knowledge construction. Third, humanisation is a liberating process (i.e., individuals gradually realise their humanity as Subjects and recognise others as such).

As for praxis, JI strongly supported conscientization at every level. Administrators, for instance, critically reflected on the role of international schools in addressing issues of social justice. Staff members led movements aimed at examining how oppression might be operating in the school (elephant-naming) and circulated books and resources that tackled injustice for critical reflection. Lessons critically explored privilege and power (such as the privilege walk and plays on racial injustice). The school also encouraged a more general sense of awareness, both in rhetoric and action. Students studied the Other and went on field trips so that students could see poverty first hand (as controversial as these practices were) and reflect on what the saw.

Acting upon these reflections was another matter. Staff emphasised the need for action and students were often on board with the premise that they needed to go beyond reflection, but the actual actions were loosely connected to the reflections. That is, many students seemed to understand power, privilege, and injustice, yet, as discussed above, their projects and efforts focused more on the effects of these.

The second component, the relational aspect of humanisation, was also largely absent. Charity approaches, for instance, were largely impersonal in nature and lacked dialogue. As one MS student aptly commented: “When you donate, it's more like between you and your screen, you click a button. It's not with the people” (Aya-Y). Where charitable activities did involve engaging with others, such as the Gift of Giving, students were largely unable to communicate with other youth due to their limited Arabic skills. Even at the HS level, where students’ Arabic is

improved, there did not appear to be any dialogue *during* intergroup activities. Rather, staff consistently engaged students in reflection before and after these activities. These reflections thus relied on students' imagination and interpretations, thereby inhibiting shared knowledge production. Thus, these efforts and others (in Personal Projects and Compassion Conference activities) were 'segmented', with relationship-building, reflection, and action broken into different activities or different procedural steps.

Leadership-building activities, like TEDx talks also lacked conversations with those they were seeking to advocate for. The lack of dialogue in such activities is not conducive to PBSJ as it creates situations in which the elite are acting for and not with their fellow people. As Freire (1970b) asserts:

> To simply think *about* the people, as the dominators[6] do, without any self-giving in that thought, to fail to think *with* the people, is a sure way to cease being *revolutionary* leaders. (p. 132, original emphasis)

Furthermore, with the exception of some aspects of the Compassion Conference, students were expected to reflect upon and transform issues individually (for assessment purposes) rather than reflecting and acting as a community.

This lack of dialogue was not a complete oversight. Students and staff did seem to want more time engaging with those outside of their Bubble but struggled logistically to do so— which also contributed to concerns over the possible harm in short, superficial interactions. This situation

[6] Dominators are akin to 'masters', which Freire contrasts with 'comrade' or 'equal'.

raises an important question: If JI cannot do intergroup activities without causing harm, should it attempt to conscientize without relations? That is, the school could decide to stop intergroup contact activities, but then it would lose its potential for dialogical encounters and instead rely on tactics such as imagination and empathy, which the literature cautions against (Galinsky et al., 2006; Killumets, 2020). The answer to such questions lies perhaps not so much in how to adjust programming to better humanise, but in addressing the very system that creates the division and the need to schedule interactions – an issue discussed in more detail in Chapter 10 (see 'Final thoughts').

The third component of humanisation, liberation was not defined as an intended goal or motive but was consistently alluded to in interviews. Although students described how interacting with the Other made them happy and "love life" (Salma-Y), some staff members appeared to have a different goal: that students should "feel the guilt" (Yasmin-S). It therefore appeared that staff's emphasis was not so much on liberation, but of conscientization and responsibility, which prompted many of them to minimise the affective struggle of elite students (see 'Intergroup activities' in Chapter 7).

This desire to conscientize students and make them "feel the guilt" appeared to be based in assumptions of students as Antagonists in need of transformation, which pathologized students and resulted in their treatment as Objects rather than Subjects who "know that poor people exist" (Fadi-Y). This dehumanisation was not limited to staff members' treatment of elite youth. As discussed in Chapter 7, students and staff also exoticized the Other. These trends may be linked, for, as Roberts (2016) asserts, "in dehumanizing others, we also dehumanize ourselves"

(p. 886). Regardless of whether this dehumanisation began with Othering or whether it began with elite students, both appear to stem from the same ontological base.

Similarly, as discussed above, the segmented and procedural nature of intergroup activities, along with a focus on individual efforts and assessment is incongruent with cultivating an environment in which JI youth can see Others as Subjects and freely engage in PBSJ and express themselves. Thus, offering only structured, superficial, time-limited conversations, the drive to humanise JI youth may lead to dehumanisation as youth on both sides are forced into a situation wherein they are Objects, which are known and acted upon (Freire, 1970b) rather than Subjects who can make meaning out of social issues.

Fostering implication and positive duties

Given that structural injustice is embedded in unequal power and resources in complex ways that cannot always be attributed to specific individuals and that violence continues not because of a "restricted group of demonic individuals… but because most people deny, look away from, or simply accept the benefits of evil in both its extreme and everyday forms" (Rothberg, 2019, p. 20), this study emphasised the need to collectively work towards positive peace. This recognition of positive duties (Kant, 2017) draws more specifically on Rothberg's (2019) conceptualisation of the implicated subject, which as described in Chapter 2, refers to those who inhabit, inherit, and benefit from systems of power that they themselves did not create.

Rothberg and others (Robbins, 2017) assert that privileged groups may not be guilty of past injustices, but as beneficiaries, they are responsible for recognising and rectifying the situation. Examining exactly *how* their privilege was generated in relation to others was not a clear

focus at JI. That said, most participants appeared to appreciate and accept the concept of positive duties, many with the belief that it was the responsibility of the elite to engage in PBSJ because of their privilege and power. This understanding, also integral to implication, was clearly apparent in school documents and rhetoric as well.

That most students associated this responsibility with their privilege indicates that they did not appear to have adopted a market individualist understanding of PBSJ (Rizvi, 1998), in spite of the fact that JI is a private school, which is grounded in neoliberal principles underpinned by an emphasis on the individual (Robertson & Dale, 2013). In fact, many students held the opposite perspective: "How can societies grow if everyone is looking out for themselves and only themselves? It cannot, because societies are made of communities, and not individuals" (MENA student survey response) and:

> There are a few people who are born in such rich classes, or worked hard to earn it, but they should never abandon the world as that causes so many problems. Even though some people worked hard in order to become part of the elite, there are other people who are unable to do so, even if they work harder, due to all of the social boundaries that societies have (racial issues, gender discrimination etc.). (MENA student survey response)

These responses suggest that students viewed privilege as not necessarily earned and, consequently, gains by the rich are often perceived as tied to a responsibility for the wider community who may not be able to have the same fortune. For many students, this fortune meant they had a larger responsibility than others:

> Contributing and helping societies grow towards the direction of justice and peace should be something we all work on, no matter which class. But people who are more privileged and live more 'comfortable' lives need to put in even more effort. (MENA student survey response)

Such a sentiment was common amongst students, particularly those who saw themselves as Future Leaders; however, as discussed in Chapter 6, an acceptance of responsibility due to privilege walks a fine line with elite exceptionalism.

Some students, however, rejected responsibility and/or did not fully appreciate their status as beneficiaries. Perhaps the most notable quote in this line was a student who stated that he "didn't choose to be born into this social class" (Mohamed-Y) and expressed frustration over taking responsibility for something outside his control (i.e., his socioeconomic status). This disavowal of his status as a beneficiary can be described as "violent innocence" (Bramen, 2017). That is, even if an individual's socioeconomic position was not a choice, they are implicated nonetheless in the same systems as others and to ignore this is to be complicit with violence. The fact that students could ignore injustice was noted amongst staff who contributed students' non-engagement as a lack of vested interest: "it's not impacting them" (Caroyln-WBS).

Relatedly, some students located responsibility to address issues relating to PBSJ elsewhere ('locals', the government, the 'big boys', etc.). This in itself is not necessarily a rejection of implication, but Arendt (1972) cautions that it runs the risk that:

> When all are guilty, no one is; confessions of collective guilt are the best possible safeguard against the discovery of culprits, and the very magnitude of the crime the best excuse for doing nothing. (p. 162)

Salmi (2000) and Young (2010) similarly assert that the inability to assign responsibility to a source of violence enables that violence to continue.

Some students accepted that they were implicated but both students and staff pointed out the possibility that those in power could 'contract out' responsibilities; that is, they could "pay someone to fix it" (Qadira-Y) or have their parents write a check and get their driver to deliver it (Craig-WBS). Without the personal connection, accepting one's implication may be a superficial commitment that continues to allow the elite to distance themselves from the repercussions of their actions.

Even when participants acknowledged and accepted positive duties, it became clear that not all manifestations of positive duties contributed to PBSJ. As indicated above, in spite of their good intentions, many actions were not transformative nor relational. Moreover, participants expressed concerns that activities such as service-learning could cause harm— which is clearly not in line with PBSJ. Participants also indicated that while activities such as debate and public speaking could be used to advocate for the Other, these were sometimes co-opted for personal advancement, which is in opposition to the understanding of positive duties as acts an individual takes to improve society. These findings indicate the importance of critically examining the *how* and the *why* of positive duties in PBSJ.

That said, three examples illustrated a deeper sense of personal implication. In selecting the Philippines as a country for students to study as part of Connecting Through Art, the goal of the staff member coordinating this activity was to encourage students to reflect on the ways in which they exerted power over space. Alongside sketching portraits of Filipino children, her art students were asked to reflect on what having support staff meant (i.e., the manifestation and perpetuation of global power inequalities). A second example came from a student's TEDx talk. Farah spoke of how elite youth had all benefited from Jordan and its people, from the protection of the army to the land and farmers who fed them (see 'Trickle-down' in Chapter 6). Acknowledging these contributions, she implored her peers to come back and transform the country for the better. Third, the school recognised the possibility that it could be complicit in injustice in its reaction to the death of George Floyd, stimulating the email seeking elephant-namers.

Additionally, some students seemed to describe a sense of intergenerational debt. Qadira, for instance, attributed her engagement in PBSJ to her great-grandparents' battle for justice:

> Like my mother's grandparents, like… these people were killed and raped and used in so many ways… And so, for me to sit down and be like, "Oh, well, I don't want to say anything…" show(s) like they fought for nothing.

In this sense, students' implication comes not from being benefactors of an unjust system, but benefactors of a system that was made better by the efforts of others. For other students, their family's actions were not so much something they were indebted to, but something they

needed to right. Farah, for instance, lamented inheriting a system of corruption that she felt her family was implicated in and expressed her desire to change this situation.

Thus, it appeared that JI youth had various understandings of implication and positive duties: attributing their 'fortunate' position not solely to individual effort; feeling responsible because of their inherent capital; feeling indebted to those who have fought against injustice; and being driven to change injustice in systems they were directly implicated in and benefiting from.

Summary

This chapter examined the overarching findings through the lens of intersectionality by seeking to understand the extent to which the students' engagement in PBSJ reflected their demographic as 'elites' and 'Arabs'. It suggested students' socioeconomic background significantly influenced educational approaches, perceived roles, and motives to engage in PBSJ, as well as conditions supporting their ability to engage in PBSJ. Socioeconomic background also appeared to contribute to students' non-engagement in PBSJ.

Perhaps because of their enrolment in an international school and the fact that they lived in a cosmopolitan Bubble, many participants had not considered whether Arab roles or approaches to PBSJ existed. When prompted, some distinctions emerged, such as what PBSJ topics were highlighted— often those relating to conflict and refugees and, more specifically, Palestine. Additionally, while few cultural differences emerged, with the exception of certain practices considered strange (namely walkouts and soup kitchens), socio-political factors appeared to significantly influence roles and approaches in Arab countries.

The extent to which activities at JI reflected PBSJ was also analysed through the lenses of transformative social justice, and humanisation. This analysis indicated that many activities were not transformative in nature, but that the school continued to work towards improving these efforts, even though they demand much of youth. It also suggested that while the school offered many opportunities for conscientization, its activities were not dialogical and that in the pursuit of liberation, students were sometimes dehumanised. Lastly, the analysis indicated that the school appeared to foster a sense of positive duties and, to some degree, implication. Interviews with students suggested it was largely successful in these efforts. Though some students struggled with the notions of responsibility, others were able to recognise various forms of implication and willing accepted positive duties.

X. Conclusion

This chapter begins with some final thoughts on factors influencing PBSJ. It then outlines this study's contributions to knowledge and considers the generalisability of these findings across other elite schools in Jordan. It also proposes potential areas for further research and offers recommendations for practitioners and policymakers. The chapter and thesis conclude with a sense of hope.

Final thoughts

This study has examined educational factors that have potential to influence PBSJ. Two additional factors are worth highlighting: the positionality of educational stakeholders and the positionality of the school in the Bubble.

Socially situated stakeholders

The nature of student engagement in PBSJ laid in a myriad of factors, such as their socioeconomic positioning as well as their individual values, motives, and perceptions of their role(s) in PBSJ. While this research also considered the values, motives, and perceptions of staff members (amongst others), administrators, board directors, teachers, and support staff are socially situated individuals who may or may not express and pursue the same values and understandings they have outside of the space of the school (Parsons, 1964). That is, an administrator may be hired to maintain the elite nature of a school by a board of directors who have a vested interest in attracting wealthy clients as students. In the private school context, teachers likewise must consider the relationship between their personal beliefs, the beliefs of

their students/clients, and their precarious contracts (in a job that is not unionised). Individually, these stakeholders may all believe in equality and social justice, but professionally they may contribute to the reproduction of power. Consequently, although participants appeared to have offered honest insights and opinions and seemed to strive towards improving PBSJ practices, the extent to which these beliefs translate into their practice may be influenced by their professional roles.

Private schooling in the Bubble

The Bubble tended to have a negative connotation, and with due reason. As discussed in Chapters 5, the Bubble was an isolated space for elites. This has clear implications for PBSJ—most obviously that it segregates those with power from those with less. Similarly, the existence of a separate private education system enables this division as well as contributes to the reproduction of power wherein some students can access better quality education than others. Moreover, it means that youth in the country are not receiving the same education—in terms of content and language of instruction, contributing to the alienation of elite youth and creating a division in a state and education system that ostensibly support unity and social justice.

The resulting lack of interaction between different socioeconomic groups also makes it difficult to create 'collective hope' (Bar-Tal & Rosen, 2009). That is, visions of PBSJ remain in an "I and thou" relationship, existing on parallel tracks rather than merging into 'we' (Gill & Niens, 2014). Thus, unless efforts shift from helping the Other to imploding the Bubble, elite schools will

continue to be a divisive instrument that, for all its good will, inevitably serves a population and institution whose goals or motives not necessarily congruent with equality of power.

That said, what few positives the Bubble and JI created warrant naming. In some ways, it may be seen as a progressive space. Staff working at JI were trained in democratic and critical education pedagogies— approaches that, while growing, are still absent in many non-elite schools outside of the Bubble (Abu alShaikh & AlKhalailah, 2015; Bataineh & Alazzi, 2009). JI students therefore learned about issues that may not be discussed outside of the Bubble, such as LGBTQ rights, and were also encouraged to critique the school system. Students also posited that within the "kind" environment of JI, they developed conflict-resolution skills that were not violent, which they asserted were less common in spaces outside the Bubble.

Contributions to knowledge

While the literature pointed to the importance of including the elite in peacebuilding and recognised that education is a peacebuilding tool, few studies examined peacebuilding with elite youth. Existing literature focused on elite youth in the West or refugees in the MENA region. While some synergies existed across these two bodies of literature, the studies also suggested important differences based on socioeconomic characteristics and emphasised that the education for PBSJ was context specific. This case-study of an elite school in Jordan existed at the intersection of these two bodies of literature. It was deemed an important case as it was situated within a context where elites in the region had contributed to and been affected by conflict. In preparing for the case-study, engaging in fieldwork, and analysing the findings, this study has made several contributions to knowledge. These contributions are detailed below.

Empirical contributions: Understanding how elite students and schools in the MENA region engage in PBSJ

This study posed the question *How do elite students and schools in Jordan engage in peacebuilding and social justice?* filling an important gap in the literature. It offered a number of contributions to knowledge. First, it amalgamated the findings of different bodies of literature on roles and the education approaches in PBSJ to provide guiding frameworks and vocabulary. Second, although the literature suggested several roles of elite students in PBSJ, no studies had collected data on this demographic nor elicited students' understandings of their role. This case-study accomplished both. Third, and similarly, literature on education supporting PBSJ had yet to examine practices in elite schools in the MENA region. The findings of this empirical study filled this gap. This section reflects on the effectiveness of the frameworks and summarises key findings of the research questions.

RQ 1: What is the perceived role(s) of elite students from the MENA region in PBSJ?

Literature on roles within peacebuilding was divided into peace theory, youth in conflict affected contexts, and elite studies. Drawing these bodies of literature together, several roles relevant to this study emerged, including future Top Dogs (Antagonists and Leaders), Saviours, Influencers, Disrupters (Criminals, Troublemakers, Security threats; Activists; and Changemakers), Allies, Victims, and Bystanders. While the synthesised list helped categorise different types of engagement, I entered into the fieldwork prepared to adjust and/or add to the framework if new understandings, different language, or novel roles arose.

Most of roles found in the literature arose in this study unsolicited, with some emphasised more than others. All participants, but particularly staff, expressed concerns regarding the potential for students to be Antagonists. Though this terminology was not used, the description of this engagement reflected its characterisation in the framework, with many students, parents, and staff members discussing the need to prevent elite youth from becoming corrupt adults and leaders. This role was not evidenced, but because it was perceived as a potential role, this understanding appeared to influence educational programming.

Numerous staff members begrudged some students' non-participation as Bystanders, and students similarly conceded that they or their peers did not participate in activities relating to PBSJ. While staff members predominantly invoked the labels 'lazy' or 'apathetic' instead of 'Bystanders', their terminology did not adequately describe students' non-engagement, which stemmed from multiple factors beyond these perceived attitudes.

Participants also described students in a more positive light as having potential to be Allies, Future Leaders, and Changemakers. This terminology was invoked by the participants and in school rhetoric and was consistent with the characterisation in the framework. That is, Allies sought to support the Other; Future Leaders intended to lead their countries and make socially just decisions that could contribute to peace; and Changemakers endeavoured to take action on social justice issues. Although the extent to which these roles were evidenced was questionable, what is clear was that these roles were what most students were working towards and what staff were trying to encourage.

Other characterisations arose less frequently, including Saviours, Influencers, and Victims. As for the first, some students' responses indicated that they may see themselves as Saviours as they often described the need to help the Other. That said, no students explicitly described themselves as such. Thus, while students may have used Saviour-like language and may have given to charity, they saw these acts as 'one-offs' and often critiqued such an approach.

In terms of Influencers, though students had economic and political capital, they did not yet appear to have significant social capital. Consequently, they did not appear to be Influencers in PBSJ, nor was this terminology cited in interviews or documents. However, students were trying to influence the greater culture through blogging about issues in society and some alumni have had success in this area. On a smaller scale, those who held social sway at the school (i.e., 'popular' students) had the ability to create or detract from PBSJ activities.

As for Victims, most staff members were either unaware of students' experiences with conflict or minimised these as they perceived victims to be poor. Moreover, they frequently did not include Palestinian students when prompted with the role, despite their significant population at the school. Students who identified themselves as Victims favoured this term or, when appropriate, 'refugee', and shared stories that expanded upon the small subsection of literature regarding elite refugee experiences, which largely focuses on adults. They described the loss of social networks, despondency over the future of their country, and fear for the safety of friends and family. That said, there did not appear to be many avenues for them to share these testimonies, aside from essays posted in the hallways—most of which came from Palestinian students.

The role most commonly excluded in interviews, rhetoric, and representations was that of the Criminal/Troublemaker/Security threat (CTS). When prompted with this characterisation, participants preferred to describe students as Changemakers and contrasted this with those seeking to make change outside the Bubble who, for instance, engaged in protests in the streets, much like understandings of CTS in the literature. Though activities such as walkouts and opinion articles critiquing aspects of the school could be viewed as engaging in 'troublemaking', these acts occurred within the safety of the Bubble and were largely sanctioned— even supported. As such, JI students were not considered to be making trouble or acting like criminals and security threats.

As a whole, the roles described above appeared to mirror those in the literature review. That nearly all the roles arose in the study is in itself a finding as it points to the importance of students' intersectionality. That is, elite students from the MENA region identified with experiences of elite youth elsewhere as well as youth from conflict-affected contexts. That said, it did appear that the emphasis was on their elite demographic, given that the most common roles depicted in documents, described in rhetoric, and discussed in interviews were those found in the elite literature: Allies, Future Leaders, Changemakers, and Antagonists.

In the discussion of roles, two main points were highlighted. First, was the importance of context. Some themes appeared highly influenced by the MENA context. For instance, though participants characterised students as Future Leaders in the region, this study revealed a tension between this role and the proclivity of students to leave because of the current lack of opportunity in a number of MENA countries. It also indicated that students may become

Bystanders because of socio-political reasons unseen in Western literature on elites, such as belonging to families that have ties to former 'notorious' leaders in the MENA region, and the perception that engaging in activities related to PBSJ or advocating for things like re-distribution and freedom of speech could result in risk to personal safety. Second, the findings reiterated role fluidity. For instance, as was evident in Aisha and Deena's description of their family's displacement and difficulty engaging in PBSJ based on their reputation, they might be considered Antagonists, Victims, and Bystanders. This example also reveals not only the difficulties of engaging in PBSJ as former prominent Top Dogs, but how power may not translate well over space.

RQ 2: To what extent do elite schools in the MENA region offer programming conducive to PBSJ?

The literature review revealed several types of PBSJ approaches that were largely divided into different socioeconomic demographics. This study synthesised these approaches into a framework that included political apathy, charity and volunteerism, human rights, democratic citizenship education, and critical education. It also recognised the possibility that the terminology and characterisation of approaches in the framework may need adaptation and that novel approaches may emerge.

Several approaches from the framework emerged. Charity approaches, for instance, existed in the form of fundraising and activities such as the Gift of Giving. The critiques of this approach outlined in the literature review were also cited in interviews, with all groups of participants indicating that this form of engagement should be minimised as it was not sustainable. Many also suggested that it did not contribute towards a healthy form of relationship-building. That

said, a staff member questioned whether charity may be appropriate if it was the preferred form of engagement of the marginalised groups JI supported —a perspective reflective of Sen's (1999) work on capabilities. Though the framework grouped together charity and volunteerism as they had similar critiques and were based in similar ideologies, volunteerism tended to have less of a negative connotation amongst students, staff, and parents at JI as it had potential to 'pop the Bubble' (increase awareness).

Programming at JI also centred around fostering leadership skills such as public speaking and debate—skills participants saw as important in advocating for PBSJ and common in a number of approaches, including human rights and democratic citizenship education (Cislaghi et al., 2017). Democratic values were also highly supported in the overarching structure of the school and classroom, with youth included in decision-making processes and freely critiquing aspects of governance inside and outside of the classroom. Participants did not consistently invoke the same terminology as that in the framework (i.e., they did not label these activities as a 'human rights approach' nor 'democratic citizenship education'); however, this terminology was found in policy documents.

While there was a lack of consensus surrounding the terminology, other approaches listed in the framework were evident. For instance, in describing activities related to PBSJ, students, staff, and parents commonly referred to 'empathy' and 'compassion' —attitudes Swalwell (2013) has associated with critical education approaches. Empathy and compassion were driving factors behind JI's endeavours to conscientize students. This conscientization was not labelled as such nor was it always meet the rigorous standards outlined in the theoretical

literature, but the idea and language of 'raising awareness' was clear. Awareness-raising, or 'popping the Bubble', involved exposing students to the world outside of their Bubble to encourage allyship. It was thought to occur through activities relating to understanding the Other, volunteering to help the Other, engaging in intergroup activities with the Other, critically reflecting on power, fixing problems (often for the Other), and internal transformation.

That said, students and staff expressed concerns that JI's attempts to raise awareness was potentially harmful to others. For instance, while intergroup activities aimed to conscientize elite youth, students and staff were not sure always whether intergroup activities were in the best interests of the marginalised groups with whom they interacted, potentially violating the 'do no harm' principles (UNHCR, n.d.).

Absent from school rhetoric, documents, interviews, and observations was Fish's (2012) political apathy approach. As with critiques in the literature (Goodman, 2000; Wheeler-Bell, 2017), students and staff commonly expressed a need to go beyond discussion and effect change and were quite critical of simply studying issues.

The approaches described above were not only listed as occurring in the case-study or not, but were examined for the extent to which they aligned with PBSJ—that is, were they *conducive* to PBSJ? Chapter 3 suggested that these existed on a spectrum, with critical approaches being best aligned with this study's definition of PBSJ and political apathy the least. The findings problematised this spectrum. A distinction emerged in the findings between what the educational approaches aimed to accomplish in theory and what manifested in practice. For one, although JI endeavoured to undertake a critical education approach (as indicated in

rhetoric and policy), a number of latent outcomes subverted this aim: the co-optation of PBSJ activities for personal benefit; neoliberal motives of schools for providing education for PBSJ that detract from PBSJ; and a focus on the individual.

There also appeared to be a distinction between the recognition of the ideal and the means to achieve it. That is, what might be seen as conducive to PBSJ in the West was not necessarily conducive in the MENA region. Despite the fact that students and staff were drawn to democratic approaches and their values and beliefs aligned with this approach, they were sometimes constrained in their ability to action it properly in the given context. For instance, although students were attracted to activities such as protesting, expressing free speech, and challenging authoritarian rule, they recognised that in places like Iraq such actions would risk personal harm.

Similarly, wider discussion centring on the synergies and discrepancies between the MENA region and the West indicated that, while the values translated, not all activities did, including walkouts and soup kitchens. When asked whether a unique 'Arab' approach existed that may be more conducive, students identified rock throwing at Israeli Defence Front soldiers, which they recognised would not be encouraged. Consequently, JI students were literally between a rock and a hard place. That is, they could throw rocks (the single form of Arab youth engagement mentioned) or engage in superficial Western activities in a 'hard' (i.e., undemocratic) place. That said, JI students hoped that the socio-political environment would shift and that they may one day put the knowledge, skills, and attitudes they had learned into action— if they decide to stay. Aside from the dangers inherent in the political context, other

contextual differences emerged, namely the economic fragility of the region. This situation has caused many elite youths to leave. Nevertheless, students indicated that they might still be able to affect change in the MENA whilst living in a more global centre of power (i.e., in the West). As such, Western approaches to PBSJ may not be completely inappropriate.

RQ 3: To what extent do elite students from the MENA region participate in activities related to PBSJ?

This study suggested a range of student interest in PBSJ. For instance, some students chose to invest their time and efforts in other activities. Other students were keen on PBSJ, but their engagement was inhibited by social, political, and historical factors; school-related factors; and factors relating to the individual. Some students appeared to be Bystanders but were engaging in PBSJ activities outside the school. Many students were eager to participate in PBSJ activities and seemed to be driven by empathy and a sense of responsibility given their socioeconomic background. Others engaged in PBSJ activities but appeared to be driven by individual gain (e.g., resume-building).

Theoretical contributions

This study employed a number of theories to understand elite youths' and the school's engagement in PBSJ. While some conceptual frameworks had been used in previous studies with elites, such as Goodman's (2000) framework on the motivations of privileged groups and Wheeler-Bell's (2017) social justice education for the privileged class, a number of theoretical lenses had yet to be applied to the elite context or more specifically, elite youth in the MENA

region. These included Galtung's (1967) positive peace, Freire's (1970b) humanisation, Crenshaw's (1989) intersectionality, and Rothberg's (2019) implication.

The data and theories prompted more nuanced understandings of PBSJ. First, the findings indicated that positive duties do not always contribute to positive peace. Second, the findings suggested that implication must go beyond the acceptance of responsibility. That is, it must be personally actioned and not contracted out. Third, the findings highlighted the dehumanisation and pathologization of elite youth. Lastly, this study suggested that intersectionality influenced both the roles and approaches to PBSJ in significant ways. In this case, one of the most significant of which appeared to be not only in what role and approach was appropriate in the present, but also for different futures, given that these elite youths lived in a tumultuous and ever-changing region.

Methodological contributions

As indicated in Chapter 4, I presented interview participants with thematic cards to facilitate member-checking, prompted participants with omitted themes, and discussed reasons behind their purposeful omissions. To help ensure participants did not feel constrained by the themes, they were offered blank cards if they felt their thoughts were not reflected in the given themes. Participants not only read over the cards, but took ownership of them, sometimes moving them into self-made categories that grouped the themes or illustrated the relationship between themes, depending on their position to one another (e.g., some created Venn-diagrams to place them on). This exercise provided rich detail that may not have arisen in conversation.

In presenting the thematic cards, the directionality of the interview also seemed to change; that is, it literally put the research in the hands of participants as they were not simply responding to questions, but actively directing the conversation. Moreover, it seemed to remove the sense that I was the 'knowledgeable' one, as they had access to the same information and could challenge the literature. In this respect, it adds a novel tool for researchers to use to co-produce knowledge and reduce power relations.

The cards also moved participants' discussions from experiential and practical to theoretical. In doing so, many participants expressed that the interview gave them much to reflect upon. This outcome can be viewed both positively and negatively. Through one lens, it appeared to encourage critical reflection and further exploration. For instance, some staff members asked for more information about the literature from which the themes arose and went on to read up on these. Through another lens, this transformative outcome may be viewed as interference in the case-study. This latter limitation, however, may not be one that can be exclusively levied at this method, as participants could ask for this information without reading the cards (which included only a short description of a role or approach and did not cite authors).

Overall, this method was not only useful as a tool to elicit information and engage in thematic discussions, and one in which power dynamics were lessened, but participants indicated they enjoyed it. I believe this approach may be used with various types of participants. For instance, because information is presented both orally and in written form, it may help those who struggle with language or who have difficulty retaining information.

Generalisability

These findings reflect data from a single case-study; however, as outlined in the findings, interviews were conducted with students, staff, parents, and alumni from other similar elite schools in Jordan, who affirmed that these findings largely reflected their students and programming. Moreover, the findings of this study were presented to previous, current, and future staff at JI. Staff members who had taught in other elite schools in the region also concurred that the observations made here resonated with their experiences elsewhere. As a result of these presentations, these participants have requested future presentations, contributing to the sense that this research may be generalisable across the region for this demographic.

Areas for future research

While this research focused exclusively on elite schools, it was done in the hopes of providing a foundation for future research on the practical and theoretical distinctions between peace education for the elite and for the marginalised. Some questions arising from this study as well as posed by participants include a focus on best practices in vertical-relationship building: Given that elite youth are 'same but different', to what degree should peace education for the elite and non-elite be the same? How can schools facilitate dialogue and the collective efforts for PBSJ with youth from all socioeconomic backgrounds? At the root of these questions are theoretical and ethical issues; however, the resulting discussions also have important practical implications.

Other questions emerged during this research that went beyond the scope of this study. First, many participants discussed how elite youth often move away from the MENA region. Given that education for PBSJ often 'sows seeds', future research may look at where students go, what they do, who returns, and what impact they have on PBSJ. Second, given that JI students expressed fears in trying to enact PBSJ and did not feel that there was positive leadership in the MENA region, future research highlight achievements in this area to counteract the deficit-laden literature focused on corrupt Arab leaders.

Future studies may also examine gendered differences in PBSJ participation. As discussed in Chapter 4, more female students than male volunteered to be participants. However, it was not simply that male students were less engaged and thus less likely to participate, but that those who both were and were not engaged in PBSJ activities stated they were too busy, which may suggest that male students face more or different barriers to engaging, such as more responsibilities. It may also be due to competing interests or stem from difficulties with time management. This gender bias in participation may also be connected to the need for modelling. Chapter 7 suggested that students looked up to teachers and if there are fewer male staff members visibly participating in PBSJ, this may result in fewer male students becoming engaged. Future research in this area might also consider whether girls' apparent enthusiasm for engaging in PBSJ at JI may be related to the fact that some expressed that their participation in such efforts outside the Bubble may not be as easy.

On a more methodological front, as indicated earlier, it is my hope that this research will be taken up by an 'insider' who is more familiar with the region, culture, and language. Also, while

exploring literature on research ethics, there appeared to be a dearth of material relating to researching *elite* youth. Youth in general are often perceived as vulnerable and in need of protection, and indeed this was considered in my research; however, there did not appear to be any discussion surrounding the power they may have over the researcher—one in which I was fortunate enough not to have had any negative experiences but may be a consideration in other studies.

Recommendations for practitioners

This study offers valuable lessons that may be useful for practitioners:

1. Educational activities aimed at humanisation, supporting those in need, or 'Bubble-popping' necessitate the participation of 'beneficiaries' in the creation and evaluation for both ethical and practical reasons.
2. Collectively establish clear programme aims in activities relating to PBSJ, particularly those involving intergroup contact and volunteering.
3. Students expressed a desire for improved modelling from staff. As staff expressed that they did not have much time to support PBSJ activities, administrators might consider how best to balance teacher workload with opportunities to model PBSJ.
4. Facilitators might create PBSJ activities that are more appealing to introverts.
5. Activities should be created with developmental abilities in mind and be well-scaffolded.
6. If elite students who have experienced conflict are willing to share their stories, this may lead to less exoticisation of the Other and provide these students with a cathartic venue to share their testimonies. This opportunity to contribute to the dialogue should, however, assure that it is not supplanting those from more marginalised communities.

7. Because of the complicated political situation, there is a need to bridge the gap between what students are taught (understandings and practices) and what they can safely and realistically do in the MENA region. Therefore, educational discussions surrounding effective and realistic praxis in the region should involve planning with locals. Moreover, including and highlighting the work of Arab role models may increase students' commitment to the region as well as help them see themselves as a 'local'. It may also be helpful for schools to explore south-to-south practices.
8. Students displaced by conflict expressed a desire to connect with others from their home country and culture. Schools might help facilitate those connections.
9. Activities mandating that students research the Other should follow the same ethical standards as is required of researchers when working with vulnerable groups, including the humanitarian principle of 'Do no harm'.
10. In drawing on the nuanced language of implication, those working in elite schools may move away from unintended dehumanisation rhetoric in which the powerful perceived as 'guilty'.
11. In order to ensure students do not see refugees as 'service-learning hours', those coordinating this work might work with career counsellors to reduce this conscious or unconscious drive and strategize alternative ways students can improve their CVs without co-opting important PBSJ work.
12. Given that those who facilitate social justice work in elite schools appear to face many similar challenges in terms of logistics and tackling sensitive issues, they may want to create professional learning communities to work through these together.

13. Elite schools may benefit from examining how non-elite schools 'do' leadership as this may provide lessons to elite schools on how to move away from a rhetoric of exceptionalism.
14. Elite schools appeared to focus on studying the Other to help solve their problems. They may benefit from shifting the lens inwards, focusing on what JI called 'elephant-naming'; that is, how to dismantle power structures from the inside by the insiders of the Bubble.
15. Students were discouraged by a lack of peacebuilding in the MENA region. In this context, many faced emotional challenges relating to hopelessness and guilt. As such, elite schools may benefit from engaging in pedagogies of hope.
16. Elite schools may examine their programming for 'segmentation' of relationship-building, reflection, and action. For activities to be truly dialogical, these three components should be done with all stakeholders, rather than occurring separately or in different stages.
17. Ensuring students develop some sense of responsibility may involve probing students' understanding of how their specific society functions and their place within it and incorporating discussions on implication.
18. Given linguistic barriers prevented dialogue between JI students and other locals, schools should consider expanding the Arabic programme at schools.

Hope

As alluded to in Chapter 4, participants' interest in this research exceeded beyond expectations. Students, staff, and parents in the initial batch of interviews described their experience as "cathartic" (Iman-S, Ren-Y), "interesting" (Aisha-Y, Laura-WBS, Kate-WBS), and "easier than I

thought" (Iman-S), which seemed to ripple into the larger school community and contribute to interest. In fact, at one point, a staff member described how the research became a topic of interest amongst his high school football players. Interviews were originally scheduled to be 30 minutes, however, upon reaching this time, many participants chose to continue (often stretching between one and two hours), with some participants requesting additional interviews.

Though this interest is promising, an administrator stated that "the road to hell is paved with the best intentions" (Cole-WBS), acknowledging that interest was one thing, but good practice was another. In this area, there is also some promise. Although several quotes and examples used in this study were quite critical, these may be viewed positively. That is, students and staff were aware of many of the challenges discussed throughout this thesis and were driven to improve. In fact, upon presenting the findings to the head administrators, the school requested that I extend my stay in Amman and share these findings with staff in four additional presentations so that the school could reflect on areas for growth. Following these presentations, staff relayed how they were actioning some of the recommendations listed here.

Thus, while awaiting a more transformative change in the structure that allows elite private schools to exist, the desire of participants to change and their positive reception of this research provides hope that such schools will continue striving to contribute towards peace and social justice in the MENA region and beyond.

Appendix

Information form

Invitation to Participate in a Research Study

Research investigator: Carmen Pon
Contact details of research investigator: clp41@sussex.ac.uk

About the project

This project seeks to understand how elite schools and students engage in peacebuilding and social justice.

What is involved in the project?

You are invited to partake in a 30-minute conversation to take place in a location you are comfortable with.

What are the benefits for taking part in this study?

By participating in this project, you would be contributing to academic and practical work on peacebuilding and social justice.

What are your rights as a participant?

As your participation in the study is voluntary, you will have the right to pass on any questions and withdraw completely from the study at any point.

Your contributions will be confidential. Other participants will not have access to your information and your identity will be anonymized. Individual responses will not be discussed with other staff, including teachers, principals, owners, department heads or anyone in a position of power.

You will be offered the opportunity to read over or clarify information you chose to share. You will have two months from the date of your interview to decide if you would like to withdraw this information.

What are the risks involved in this study?

Should you have sensitivities towards discussions surrounding peace and conflict, you may not want to participate in these conversations. There are no other foreseeable risks in this study.

How is the data stored in this study?
Research records will be kept in a locked file and all electronic information will be secured using a password protected file and encrypted. The information gathered from the interviews will be saved in these secured locations until September 1, 2020. At this point they will be destroyed or erased.

About the researcher
I am a PhD candidate in the UK at the University of Sussex, Department of Education. My passion for this project has grown out of various experiences, including my master's research on the supports and needs of students in elite private schools in Jordan. I have a background teaching and consulting in Canada, Sierra Leone, Jordan, and Egypt.

For more information

If you have any further questions or concerns about this study, please contact me using the details listed above.

This project was reviewed and passed by the University of Sussex. If you are worried about this research, or if you are concerned about how it is being conducted, you can contact my doctoral supervisor, Dr. Linda Morrice, at l.m.morrice@sussex.ac.uk

Thank you for your interest in this project.

Sincerely,

Carmen Pon

Consent form

Consent to Participate in a Research Study

University of Sussex

Name of Researcher: Carmen Pon **Contact**: 0775805110 or c.l.pon@sussex.ac.uk

You are being asked to participate in a research study to understand the connection between peacebuilding, social justice, and elite private schools in Jordan.

If you have any questions about the study, at any time feel free to contact me. If you like, a summary of the results of the study will be sent to you. If you have any other concerns about your rights as a research participant, you may contact my supervisor, Dr. Linda Morrice, at l.m.morrice@sussex.ac.uk .

Your signature below indicates that you would like to volunteer as a research participant for this study, and that you have read and understood the information provided above. You will be given a copy of this form to keep.

Thank you for agreeing to participate. Please look over the details below to ensure you understand and agree to the research:

Please ti

	YES	**N**
• *I consent to being interviewed by the researcher*	☐	☐
• *I agree to allowing the interview to be audio-recorded (optional)*	☐	☐
• *I agree to making myself available for a further interview should it be required (optional)*	☐	☐
• *I understand that I will be given a transcript of data concerning me for my approval before being included in the write up of the research*	☐	☐
• I understand that any information I provide is confidential, and that no information that I disclose will lead to the identification of any individual in the reports on the project	☐	☐
• I have read the information sheet, had the opportunity to ask questions and I understand the principles, procedures and possible risks involved.	☐	☐
• I consent to the processing of my personal information and data for the purposes of this research study. I understand that such information will be treated as strictly confidential and handled in accordance with the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) 2016.	☐	☐

- I understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the project without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way. ☐ ☐

- I agree to take part in the above University of Sussex research project ☐ ☐

Participant's signature: _____

Parent/Guardian signature: _____

Interview questions

Questions for school staff

Introduce myself and describe the study: I'm a former teacher turned researcher and I'm interested in the stories of students here at the school and the potential role that schools like this might play in peacebuilding and social justice. (*Show them the information sheet again and ask if they had any questions about the study*)

Ethics*: (Remind participant about how the research will be used, their anonymity, and the right to refuse any question/discontinue the interview at any point.)*

Questions

1. Tell me a little about yourself
    - Where did you train?
    - How long have you been a (teacher, head, education assistant, etc.)?
    - Are you from Jordan OR What made you choose Jordan/JI?
2. How would you describe peacebuilding (PB)?
3. How would you describe social justice (SJ)?
4. Do you think schools like JI have a role in PB and/or SJ?
    - Why? Why not?
5. Does your school have any policies that might relate to PBSJ?
    - (If yes): What are they?
    - (If no): Would they have any value at an elite school in Jordan like this?
6. Does your school engage in any activities that relate to PBSJ?
    - (If yes): What are they?

    - (If no): Would they have any value at an elite school in Jordan like this?
7. Are there any curricular outcomes that support PBSJ?
    - (If yes): What are they?
    - (If no): Would they have any value at an elite school in Jordan like this?
8. Is there anything else you'd like to share that I haven't asked?
    - Are there any other questions should I ask?
    - What questions would you be asking?

Questions for students

Introduce myself and describe the study: *As above.*

Ethics*: As above and an additional reminder that despite working as a teacher, I would not share their responses with staff, nor would their participation influence their grades. I also ensured that they did not want a guardian present and that their guardians were aware of their participation.*

Questions:

1. Tell me a little about yourself
    - How long have you been at this school? And in Jordan?
    - What made you choose this school?
2. How would you describe peacebuilding?
3. How would you describe social justice?
4. Do you think schools like this one have a role in peacebuilding and/or social justice?
    - Why? Why not?
5. Does your school have any policies that might relate to PBSJ?
6. Have you had any lessons that relate to PB/SJ?
7. Does your school engage in any activities that relate to PBSJ?
8. Do you think your school could do anything else to support PBSJ?
9. Are there other places that support PBSJ that you engage in outside of the school (e.g., mosque, community groups, etc)?
10. Is there anything else you'd like to share that I haven't asked?
    - Are there any other questions should I ask?
    - What questions would you be asking?

Questions for NGO staff

Introduce myself and describe the study: *As above.*

Ethics*: As above and an additional reminder that despite working as a teacher, I would not share their responses with staff.*

Questions:

1. How long have you worked at your organisation? and in Jordan?
2. How did this relationship get started? Did JI contact you or vice versa?
    - What made your organisation want to reach out to (or get on board with) these schools? (motivation)
3. What's been your experience with it so far?
4. Do you partner with any other similar school?
    - criteria?
    - do these schools differ?
5. What demographic do you serve?
6. Types of activities:
    - Can you tell me a little bit about the types of activities you do with JI? What does that look like? Who leads it?
    - Would you say these are opportunities to critically engage with what it is to be a refugee and the reasons there are refugees?
7. How do the students at your organisation respond to these different activities?
    - Face to face
        - Before, during, after?
        - Is there any preparation for your kids?
        - What kind of preparation might you expect or want from JI?
8. Does this approach work in Jordan? (i.e., is it Western?)
9. What's the intended outcome of this partnership?
    - Directionality- do they only go to JI?
        - What do you hope JI students take from this?
        - Do your students gain anything?
10. If it could be improved, how?
    - Language as a barrier?
    - Time and exposure - how much and what nature if any?
11. Do you think schools like JI have a role in PBSJ?
    - If so, are the activities you do important for this role?
12. Do you think JI and youth from your organisation have different understandings of peace and social justice?
    - What would your kids want our kids to know or understand?
    - What might be a misunderstanding?
13. Anything else you'd like to share that I haven't asked about?
    - What about if you were in my shoes, what questions might you ask?

Questions for parents

Introduce myself and describe the study: *As above.*

Ethics*: As above, with an additional reminder that despite working as a teacher, I would not share their responses with staff.*

Questions:

1. How long have you lived in Jordan?
    - Where are you from originally?
2. Why did you choose JI?
    - Would you say this is the most common reason parents choose this school?
3. How would you describe JI and the students here?
4. How does JI compare to other elite schools?
5. Are you familiar with any of the programming aimed at addressing issues in society?
    - Do these activities work here?
    - Would you characterise any of the activities here as having an Arab approach?
    - Are there other places outside of the school doing these types of things?
    - Do you feel like these activities are important?
    - Do you wish there were any activities that addressed causes important to you and your family?
        i. Will anything your kids learn here help your country?
    - Would you say that any activities at the school contribute to social justice or peacebuilding?
6. Would you say your child has a role in PBSJ?
    - Is this role different than another student's? Say one in East Amman? What about in the UK or US?
    - Is it the place of the school to help foster this role?
    - Does your child participate in activities related to PBSJ?

Questions for alumni

Introduce myself and describe the study: *As above.*

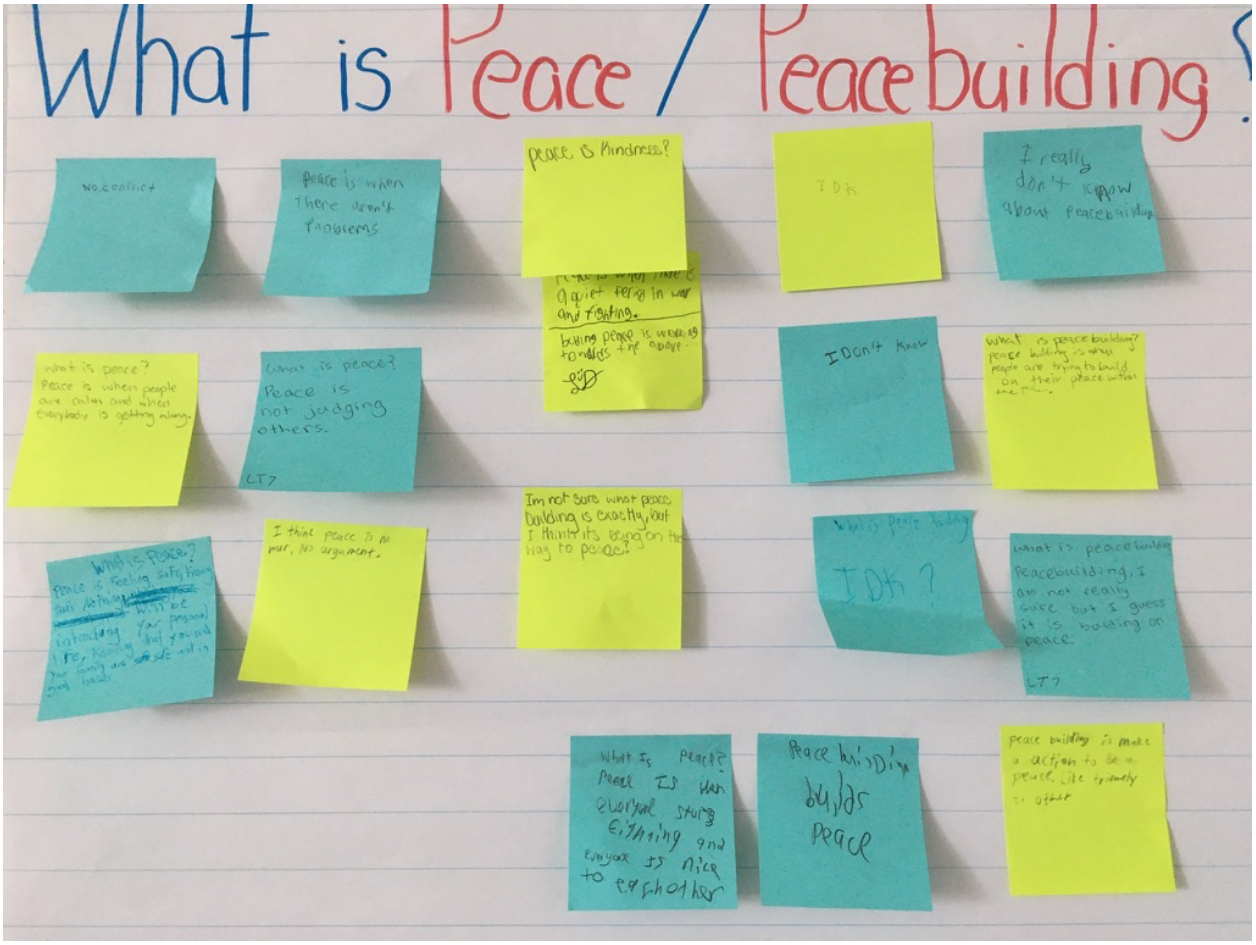
Ethics*: As above, with an additional reminder that despite working as a teacher, I would not share their responses with staff.*

Questions:

1. Tell me a little about yourself
    - How long have been in Jordan?
    - What school(s) did you go to?
    - What made you choose this school(s)?
2. How would you describe peacebuilding?
3. How would you describe social justice?
4. Do you think those schools have a role in peacebuilding and/or social justice?
    - Why? Why not?
5. Did your school have any policies that might relate to PBSJ?

6. Did you have any lessons that relate to PB/SJ?
7. Did your school engage in any activities that relate to PBSJ?
8. Do you think your school could have done anything else to support PBSJ?
9. Are there other places that support PBSJ that you engaged in outside of the school (e.g., mosque, community groups, etc)?
10. Looking back on your experience, did you feel it made any impact on your current level of engagement in PBSJ?
    - Would you say that is a common feeling amongst alumni?
11. Is there anything else you'd like to share that I haven't asked?
    - Are there any other questions should I ask?
    - What questions would you be asking?

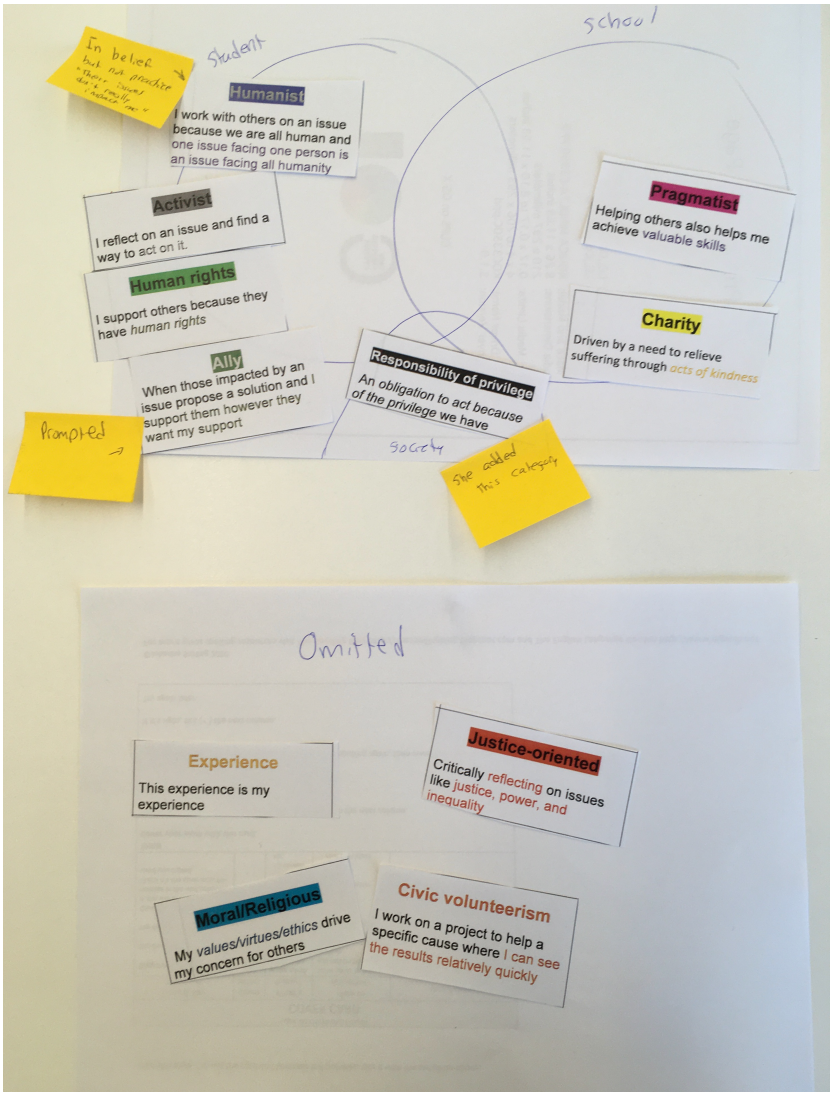
Sticky-note activity



Survey Questions

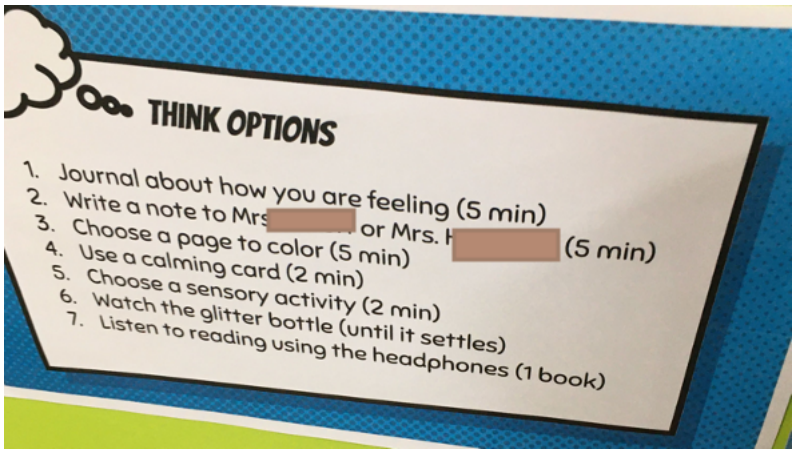
1. What country are you from?
2. Why did you or your parents choose JI?
3. What is important at JI?
4. Are there any local or global issues that are important to you? If so, please list these.
5. How would you define "peace"? (Please do not look this up online)
6. What comes to mind when you hear "peace-building"?
7. How would you define "social justice"? (Please do not look this up online)
8. Do you think there is a role for elite schools like JI in peacebuilding and/or social justice? Why or why not?
9. Do you think you have a role in peacebuilding and/or social justice? Why or why not?
10. Are there any places outside of the school where youth in Jordan can engage in activities relating to peacebuilding and/or social justice?
11. What knowledge, skills, and attitudes do you think support peace-building and social justice?
12. If you would like to chat about peace-building and social justice with Ms. Pon, please contact me using the email address at the beginning of the survey.

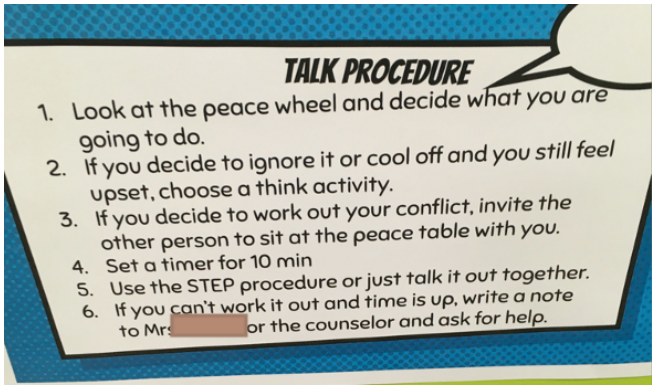
Thematic discussions



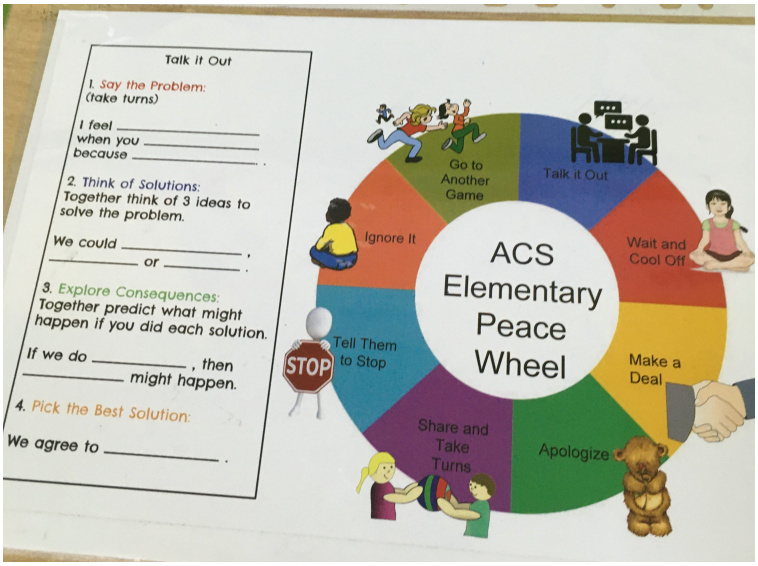
School photos

Peace Table


THINK OPTIONS
1. Journal about how you are feeling (5 min)
2. Write a note to Mrs [redacted] or Mrs. H [redacted] (5 min)
3. Choose a page to color (5 min)
4. Use a calming card (2 min)
5. Choose a sensory activity (2 min)
6. Watch the glitter bottle (until it settles)
7. Listen to reading using the headphones (1 book)

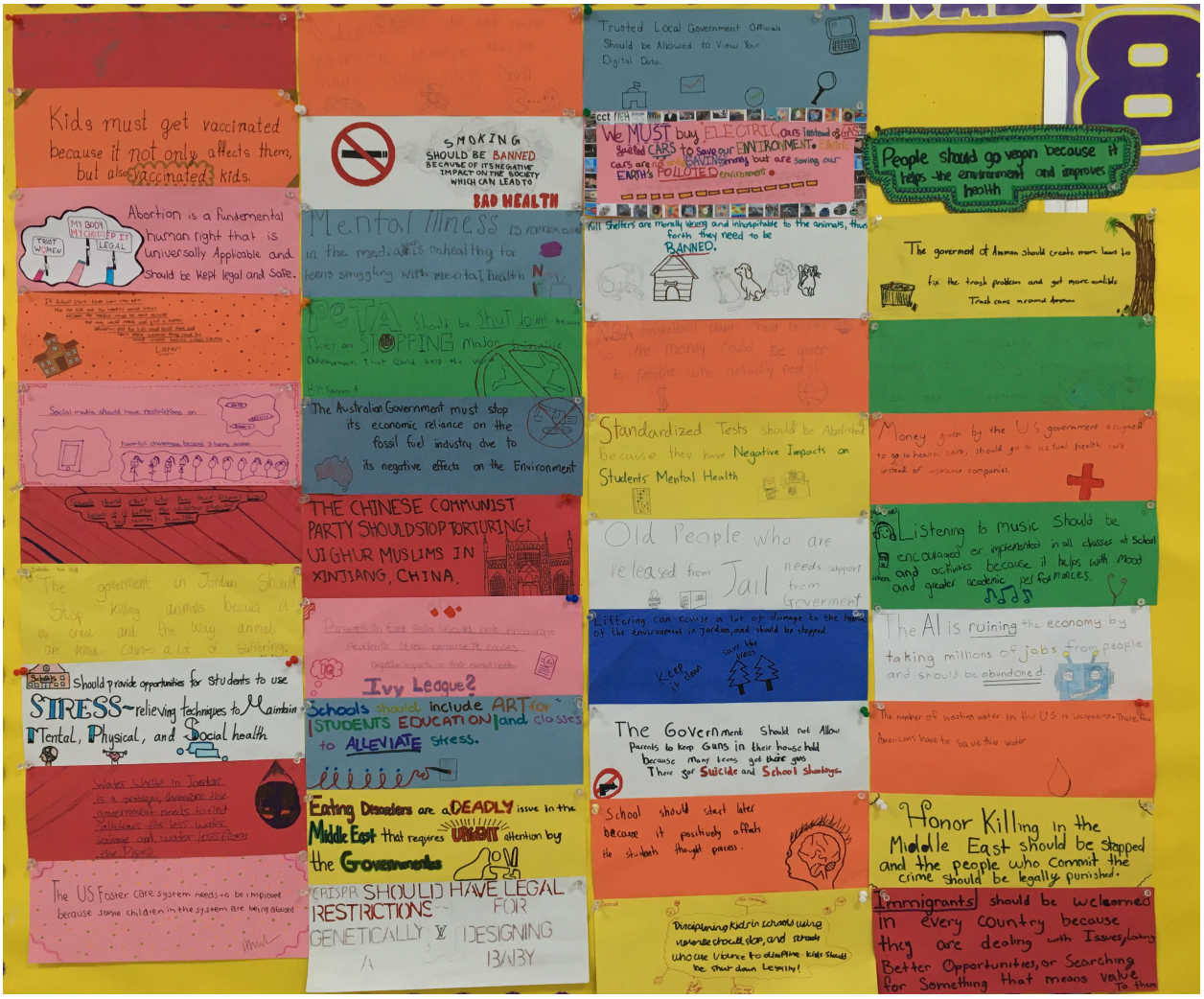

TALK PROCEDURE
1. Look at the peace wheel and decide what you are going to do.
2. If you decide to ignore it or cool off and you still feel upset, choose a think activity.
3. If you decide to work out your conflict, invite the other person to sit at the peace table with you.
4. Set a timer for 10 min
5. Use the STEP procedure or just talk it out together.
6. If you can't work it out and time is up, write a note to Mrs [redacted] or the counselor and ask for help.

Peace Wheel

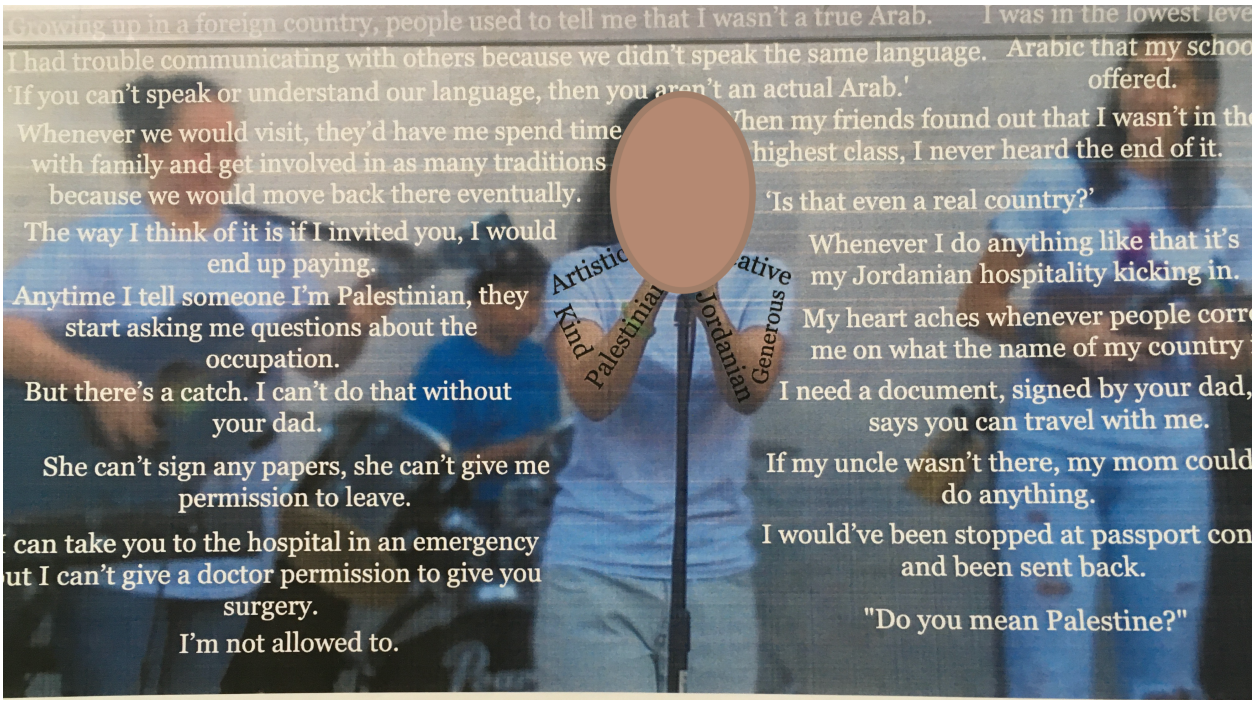

Talk It Out
1. Say the Problem:
(take turns)
I feel _____
when you _____
because _____.
2. Think of Solutions:
Together think of 3 ideas to solve the problem.
We could _____,
_____ or _____.
3. Explore Consequences:
Together predict what might happen if you did each solution.
If we do _____, then
_____ might happen.
4. Pick the Best Solution:
We agree to _____.
ACS Elementary Peace Wheel
Go to Another Game
Talk it Out
Wait and Cool Off
Make a Deal
Apologize
Share and Take Turns
Tell Them to Stop
STOP
Ignore It

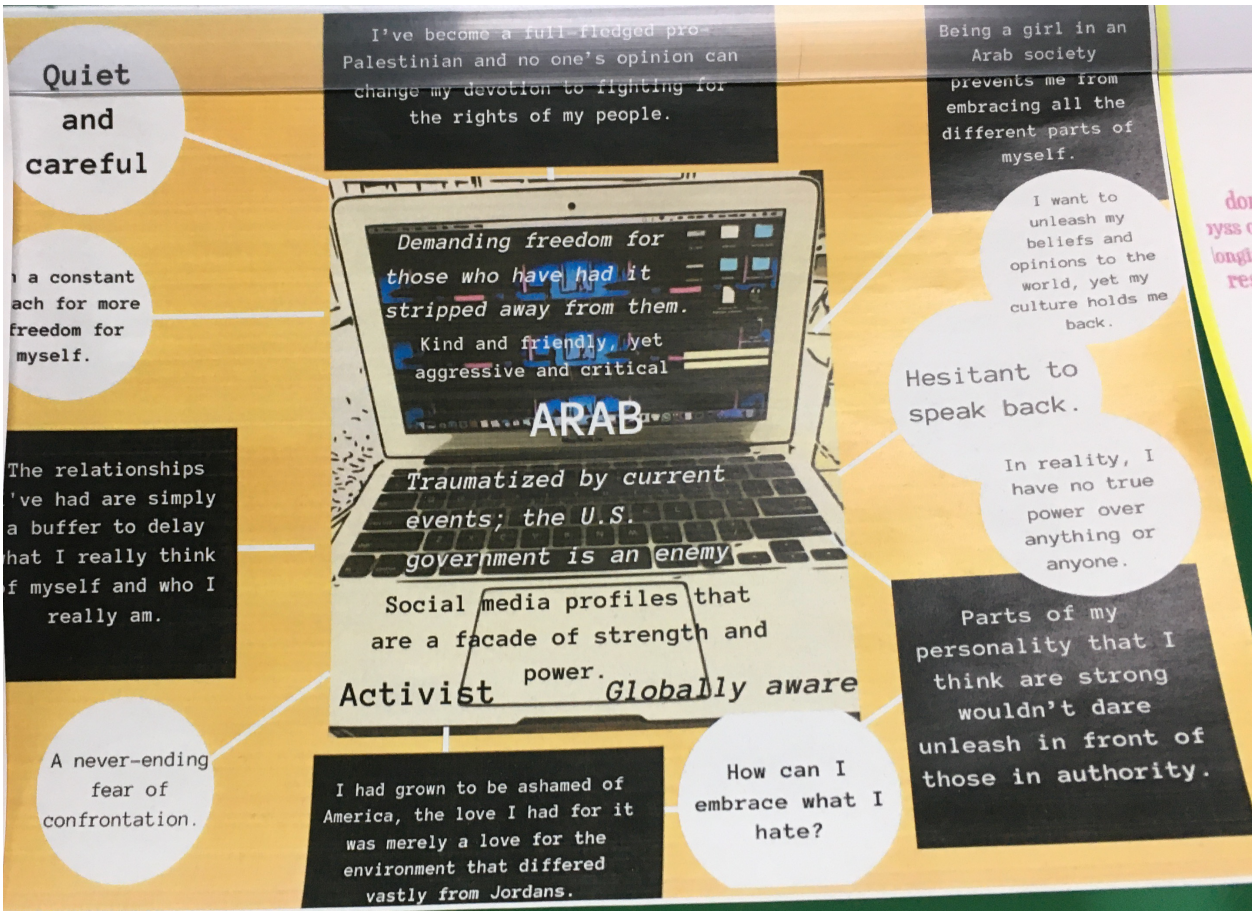
Student products

Personal Projects themes



Poetic essays on identity





Ren's Poem:

Whisper
Loud
Loud to quiet

He thought he could
kill
his own people but
will he make them
suffer?
(Shall we change the
channel?)
Click
Click
Clack
Clack
as we escape our reality with the

Click
of a button sounds of fear
interrupt
our false truth.
check the media;
you realize people's true identity.
When they take off their masks to (reveal) their true selves
"all Arabs are terrorists why help?" is what some want to say.
Although they cover that up a deep secret inside them and say
“Let’s try peaceful terms," they say instead of helping suffering Syrians,
what about the people who are meant to help
but instead, they’re trying peaceful terms
are we not worth your valuable men?
Men who joined to help right?
no, they joined to bomb Afghanistan's.
I’m sorry was that last line too dark but let’s be honest even the soldiers know it themself!
Because when they notice what they’re bombing, it’s Afghanistan children and families in poverty!

Note: Poem includes original punctuation and notes

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