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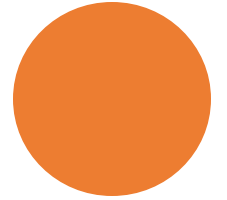
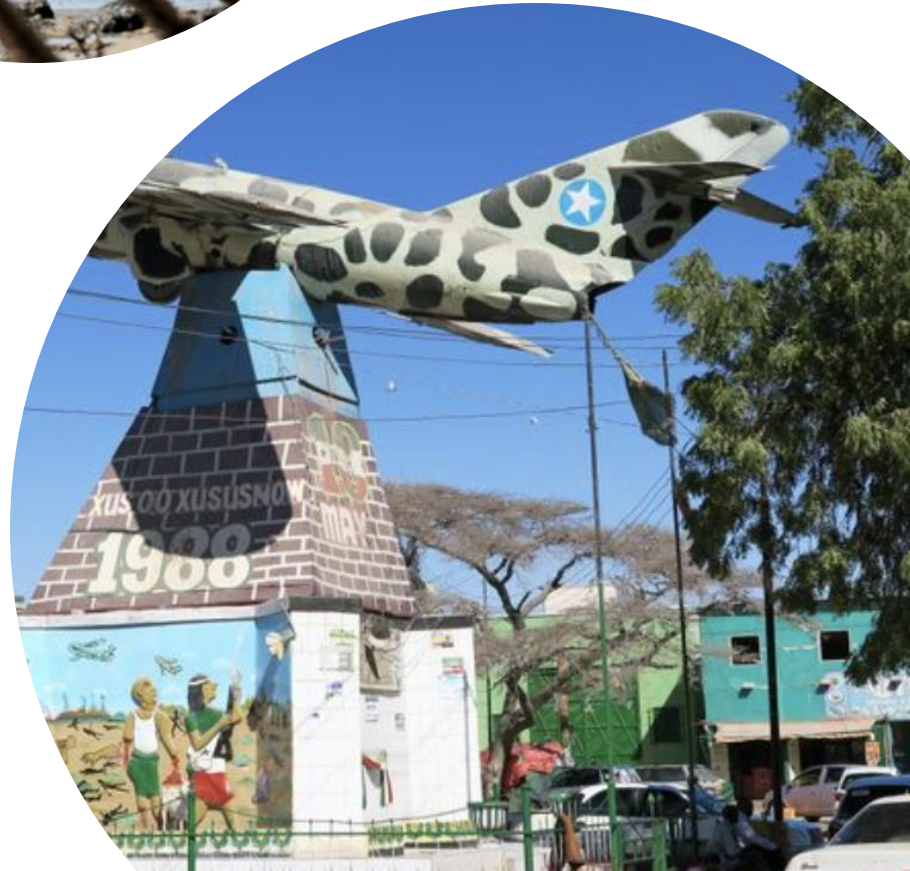
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# Peace Education as a Form of Global Citizenship Education in Universities in Divided Settings: Challenges and Prospects

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ESBB/KOTESOL Conference  
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# Overview of talk

- Background
- Research contexts
- Methodology
- Findings (3 key themes)
- Discussion
- Q&A



# Background

- This work begins with the premise of the local turn in critical international relations (IR) and peace and conflict studies (see, e.g., Cremin et al., 2018; Galtung, 1983; MacGinty & Richmond, 2013).
- Honing in on the university classroom and faculty practices as a site in which everyday interactions of conflict and peace take place provides insights into the role of higher education in perpetuating conflict or promoting peace.



## Wartime alert

Wednesday, May 31

[서울특별시] 오늘 6시 32분 서울지역에 경계 경보 발령. 국민 여러분께서는 대피할 준비를 하시고, 어린이와 노약자가 우선 대피할 수 있도록 해 주시기 바랍니다.

# RQs

- The research questions guiding the study include:
  - 1. Can peace as a form of global citizenship be taught in universities in settings where the legacies of war, division, and colonialism remain deeply rooted?
  - 2. How might discourses of peace and global citizenship in divided and conflict-affected contexts amplify or mitigate sentiments of disenfranchisement?
  - 3. How might education for peace and global citizenship engage productively with local and global dimensions of conflict?
  - 4. In what ways might peace and global citizenship education empower learners and communities?

# Contexts

- To be sure, university educators in the four contexts have much to learn from each other toward nurturing pedagogies for peace. Specifically, China/Taiwan, Cyprus, Korea, and Somalia have been chosen as they are contexts currently tackling issues of conflict and peace in diverse ways through HE. Each context faces social and political division. In each case, the division was the cause/consequence of a war:
  - the 1949 defeat of the Republic of China Army forcing the Kuomintang to retreat to Taiwan
  - the 1950-53 Korean War resulting in the Demilitarized Zone at the 38th parallel that divides the peninsula today;
  - the 1974 Turkish Invasion of Cyprus that led to the division of the island with Turkish Cypriots in the North and Greek Cypriots in the South (a UN Demilitarized Zone separates the two); and
  - the 1991 Somalian Civil War (ongoing) resulting in the self-declared state of Somaliland in the North.
- In each context, a de facto state was created following the conflict: Taiwan, Northern Cyprus, North Korea, and Somaliland. All were colonized in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and share historic, ethnic, linguistic, political, and economic similarities.



# Research design

- Methodology: Comparative case study
- Context: University educators in China/Taiwan, Cyprus, Korea, & Somalia/Somaliland
- Data collection methods: field visits between July 2023-February 2024, semi-structured interviews, document analysis
- Participants: 40 faculty members at multiple universities in different regions of each country

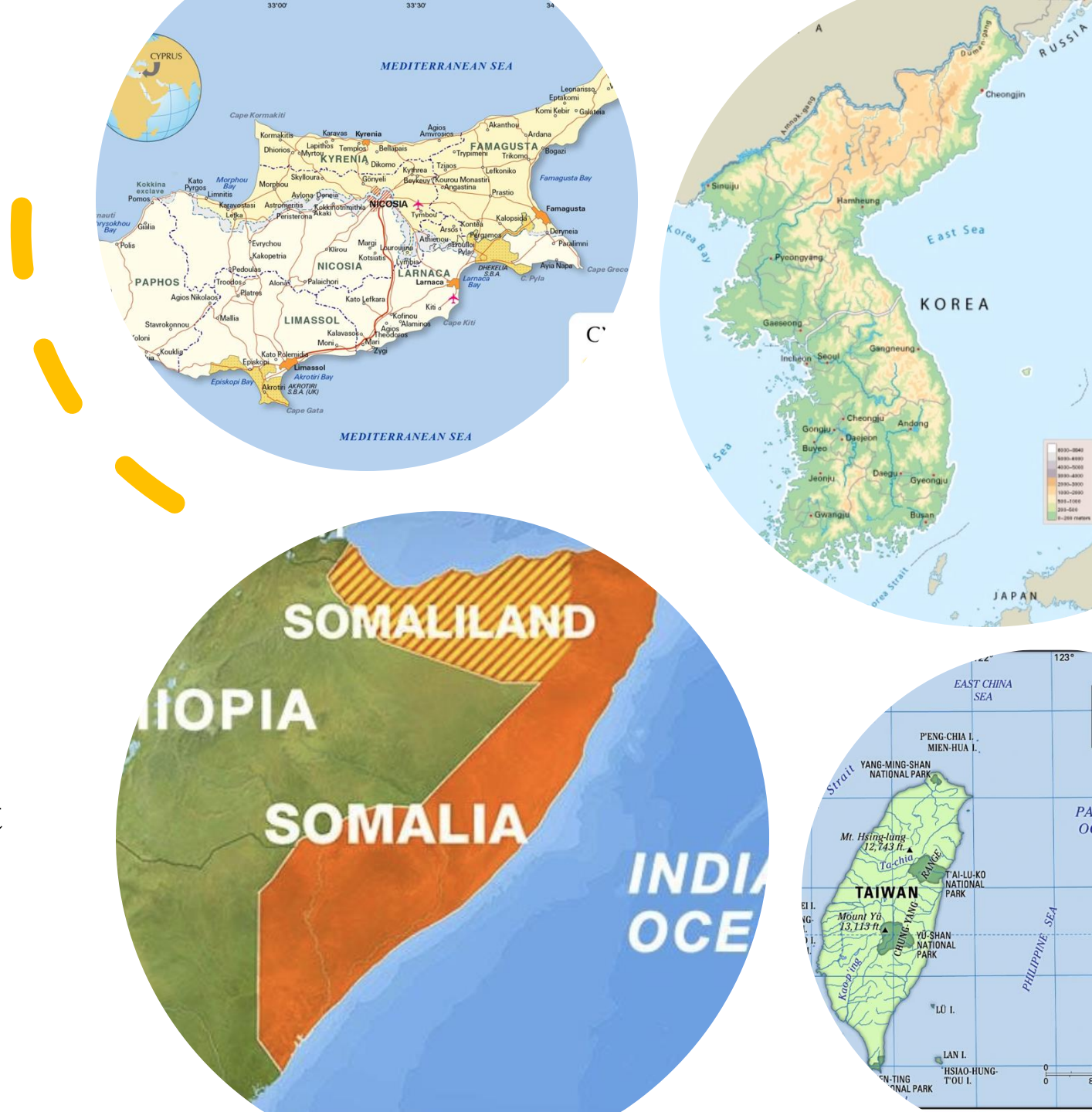


Table 1. Study participants

Participant	Nationality	Gender	Age	Region	Discipline	Highest level of education
P1 (CHN/TWN1)	China	M	50-59	Nanjing	History	PhD
P2 (CHN/TWN2)	China	F	30-39	Nanjing	Sociology	PhD
P3 (CHN/TWN3)	Taiwan	M	50-59	Taipei	Education	PhD
P4 (CHN/TWN4)	Taiwan	F	40-49	Jiayi	Anthropology	PhD
P5 (CHN/TWN5)	Taiwan	F	40-49	Kinmen	Asian Studies	PhD
P6 (CHN/TWN6)	Taiwan	M	50-59	Taipei	Sociology	PhD
P7 (CHN/TWN7)	Taiwan	F	50-59	Hsinchu	Sociology	PhD
P8 (CHN/TWN8)	Taiwan	F	60-69	Taipei	Journalism	PhD
P9 (CHN/TWN9)	Taiwan	M	50-59	Taipei	Geography	PhD
P10 (CHN/TWN10)	Taiwan	F	30-39	Taipei	Psychology	PhD
P11 (CYP1)	Cyprus	F	40-49	Nicosia	Education	PhD
P12 (CYP2)	Cyprus	F	40-49	Larnaca	Education	PhD
P13 (CYP3)	Cyprus	F	40-49	Nicosia	Education	PhD

P14 (CYP4)	Cyprus	F	70-79	Nicosia	Political Science	PhD
P15 (CYP5)	Cyprus	M	50-59	Nicosia	Anthropology	PhD
P16 (CYP6)	Cyprus	M	40-49	Nicosia	International Relations	PhD
P17 (CYP7)	Cyprus	F	40-49	Nicosia	Education	PhD
P18 (CYP8)	Cyprus	F	40-49	Nicosia	Sociolinguistics	PhD
P19 (KOR1)	Korea	M	40-49	Jeonju	Sociology	PhD
P20 (KOR2)	Korea	F	30-39	Seoul	Political Science	PhD
P21 (KOR3)	Korea	F	40-49	Seoul	Education	PhD
P22 (KOR4)	Korea	M	50-59	Seoul	Anthropology	PhD
P23 (KOR5)	Korea	M	50-59	Seoul	Education	PhD
P24 (KOR6)	Europe*1	M	30-39	Daejeon	History	PhD
P25 (KOR7)	Korea	F	70-79	Suwon	Education	PhD
P26 (KOR8)	North America*	F	40-49	Seoul	Education	PhD
P27 (SML1)	Djibouti & Somaliland	M	30-39	Hargeisa	Education	MA

P28 (SML2)	Somaliland	M	40-49	Hargeisa	International Relations	PhD
P29 (SML3)	Somaliland	M	30-39	Hargeisa	Liberal Arts	MA
P30 (SML4)	Somaliland	M	30-39	Hargeisa	Development	PhD candidate
P31 (SML5)	Somaliland	M	30-39	Borama	Education	PhD candidate
P32 (SML6)	Djibouti & Somaliland	M	30-39	Borama	Education	PhD candidate
P33 (SML7)	Somaliland	F	30-39	Hargeisa	English	PhD candidate
P34 (SML8)	Somaliland	F	40-49	Hargeisa	ICT	PhD candidate
P35 (SML9)	Somaliland	F	80-89	Hargeisa	Nursing and Politics	Hon PhD
P36 (SML10)	Somaliland & UK	F	30-39	Hargeisa	English	PhD candidate
P37 (SML11)	Somaliland	M	30-39	Erigavo	Business	MA
P38 (SML12)	Somaliland	M	30-39	Erigavo	Law	MA
P39 (SML13)	Somalia	M	30-39	Mogadishu	Global Health	PhD
P40 (SML14)	Somalia	M	30-39	Mogadishu	Business	PhD

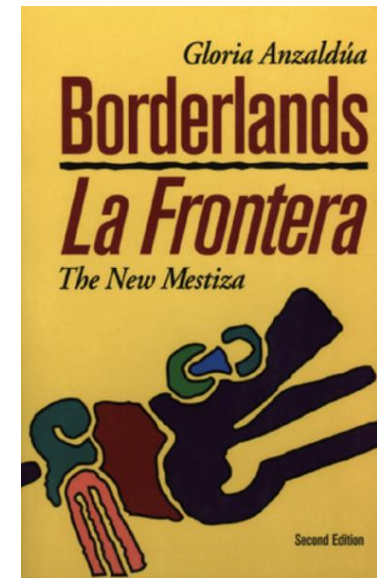


# Data analysis

- Inductive thematic analysis involving six stages (Nowell et al., 2017, p. 4):

Table 1. Establishing Trustworthiness During Each Phase of Thematic Analysis.

Phases of Thematic Analysis	Means of Establishing Trustworthiness
Phase 1: Familiarizing yourself with your data	Prolong engagement with data Triangulate different data collection modes Document theoretical and reflective thoughts Document thoughts about potential codes/themes Store raw data in well-organized archives Keep records of all data field notes, transcripts, and reflexive journals
Phase 2: Generating initial codes	Peer debriefing Researcher triangulation Reflexive journaling Use of a coding framework Audit trail of code generation Documentation of all team meeting and peer debriefings
Phase 3: Searching for themes	Researcher triangulation Diagramming to make sense of theme connections Keep detailed notes about development and hierarchies of concepts and themes
Phase 4: Reviewing themes	Researcher triangulation Themes and subthemes vetted by team members Test for referential adequacy by returning to raw data
Phase 5: Defining and naming themes	Researcher triangulation Peer debriefing Team consensus on themes Documentation of team meetings regarding themes Documentation of theme naming
Phase 6: Producing the report	Member checking Peer debriefing Describing process of coding and analysis in sufficient details Thick descriptions of context Description of the audit trail Report on reasons for theoretical, methodological, and analytical choices throughout the entire study



1 There are principles to defend. 2 Pedagogical hermeneutics. 3 From critical to post-critical pedagogy. 4 From cruel optimism to hope in the present. 5 From education for citizenship to love for the world.

## Manifesto for a Post-Critical Pedagogy

Naomi Hodgson  
Joris Vlieghe  
Piotr Zamojski

# Postcritical thinking and emergent themes

- Postcritical thinking

- 1) Embodiment in learning
- 2) A hermeneutics of faith
- 3) Plurality of the critical

- Emergent themes

- 1) Aspirations for international recognition combined with dissatisfaction with the language of 'peace'
- 2) Ambivalence toward the current status quo
- 3) Tensions over teaching peace through difference or commonality

# Seeking recognition and freedom

- Peace in conflict-affected states carries different meanings.
- In the case of Somaliland, it carries with it the idea of membership in the global community. SML11 emphasized that “Somalilanders have no global citizenship”; and SML4 stated that education (i.e., “to get a diploma”) is “not just to improve my country, but also to contribute to other neighbors and the global rest of the world.”
- The same goes for China where participants spoke of the peaceful rise of the country, particularly in counterpoint to the West. CHN/TWN1 said, “you know China is quite big, not only big for the territory but also the big population... when a big country is rising there happens to be a lot of conflict, sometimes war. I think a good education should be connected or related to peace.”

# Tensions with the language of 'peace'

- Yet, in Taiwan, educators were skeptical of the concept of “peace”. CHN/TWN6 was especially dubious of the word.
- He stated, “conflict is actually kind of a necessary process, so if peace is defined as the opposite of conflict, I would say that such peace will always be superficial [...] when peace is defined as the opposite of war, like especially when it comes to geopolitical conflict, I think it really depends on what you mean by peace. Because like we, Taiwan, we are facing an existential threat from China. China just wants to annex Taiwan. Everyone wants peace, but you want peace by actually surrendering?”

# Ambivalence toward the status quo

- CYP7 said, “I think what needs to be done at this time is to sort of destabilize the idea that this is how the situation is and this is how it will remain. So sort of destabilizing the idea of the status quo.”
- CYP2 pointed out “change is scary... people feel uncertain if we start to talk about, ‘Oh, what if we create a two state solution? What if we open up the border and let people go back and forth?’ So sometimes it’s easier to not to do anything.”
- Hence, Cyprus, like the cross-strait context of China/Taiwan, requires a kind of strategic ambiguity in regard to coexistence, where discussions of recognition and reunification are handled delicately in and beyond the classroom.

# Strategic ambiguity in practice





# Skepticism toward global citizenship

- Taiwanese participants were dubious of the capacity of peace discourse. Instead they felt it to amplify their disenfranchisement in the global community by obfuscating inequality and injustice inflicted upon them by China within the international community.
- SML11 was skeptical of the notion of global citizenship. He stated, as Somalilanders are not recognized: “the Somalilanders living in outside, they have no global citizenship. If the students of the Somali community understood the local citizenship, then they could understand the global citizenship.”
- Yet, SML13, who is from Somalia, embraced global citizenship: “Ultimately, my goal is to instill in [students] the values of empathy and global citizenship, preparing them to be active contributors to a more harmonious world.”

# Teaching for commonality or difference

- CHN/TWN1 spoke of the potential of global citizenship. He stated, “We are people in the globe, in one boat... We should focus on commonality.... Marxism, you know, China is Marxism. In the future of Marxism, I think, in the future, there will be no country.”
- CHN/TWN9, a professor from Taiwan, resonated with this. He stated: “I would say the strong sense of nationalism is common for ordinary people. I think there’s nothing wrong or bad or good with this. But the extreme nationalism could be really dangerous.... I also think that Taiwan could be neither nation nor state. Taiwan could be a kind of ‘experimental sovereignty.’”
- In this way, both scholars are *de-centering* the state: one a subject of a powerful nation-state and the other a citizen of a de facto country; yet, as educators concerned with peace they move in a similar direction.

# Re-centering the state

- SML2, on the other hand, *re-centered* the state. He suggested the importance of education to help establish a national identity, social cohesion and mitigate grievances.
- He stated, “I believe that education can play a very critical role when it comes to stability and social cohesion. And basically, not all the education, but the quality education can lead to social stability... So in Africa there’s a disconnection between the state and the citizen. So how can we connect again or reconnect the state with the citizens? We can reconnect by providing those services to the citizens. If we provide those services to the citizens equally, equitably, I think the peace and stability we are talking about will come.”
- This statement is in reference to the social contract between the state and citizens, a fundamental base for democracy and peace in the region.

# Discussion

- The findings indicate that peace is aspired toward as a form of global citizenship via recognition of difference in settings that lack statehood (e.g., Somaliland and Taiwan). Many educators in these de facto states wish to emphasize sovereignty. Yet, educators in settings that are globally recognized (e.g., China, Greek Cyprus, Somalia) emphasize commonality/unity.
- Hence, peace as recognition of difference or commonality are fundamentally different approaches to higher education peacebuilding.
- These competing interpretations of what peace is hold substantive implications for pedagogy.

# Postcritical implications

- Not surprisingly, this tension of (il)legitimate recognition taught in/through universities is deeply affective (Santos & Soler, 2023). Educators on both sides of the divide(s) argue *passionately* for their position and against the others.
- Leaning into the postcritical means acknowledging and working with these emotions and this discomfort through engaging *feelings*, the visceral *embodiment* and reproduction of the conflict in ourselves and in our communities (Boler & Zembylas, 2003).
- The second aspect of the postcritical is related to a hermeneutics of faith. This means trusting the wisdom of learners and communities.
- Important distinctions between a priori and a posteriori commonality.
- The third aspect of the post-critical in the data illustrates that there are multitude ways of practicing criticality in education and research, not simply through a critical theory that claims superior knowledge of the world.

# Conclusion

- All in all, the study shows how contextualized curriculum and pedagogical practices of university educators in contexts fraught with division and conflict function to produce particular ideas about peace and global citizenship.
- Toward a post-pessimistic ontology, hermeneutics of faith, and a plurality of criticalities.
- Thank you. 감사합니다!



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