# Educating Non-Traditional Students in Higher Education[1]

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**Introduction**

In our everyday and even in our professional conversations certain ideas are taken for granted: we live in an age of austerity; we must do more with less; we have to manage with scarce resources, and so on. Irish people are culturally predisposed to favour austerity: Crough Patrick, Lough Derg and Matt Talbot all come to mind. The problem with this is that in the world of our religious backgrounds we have to await reward in the 'next life.' In the economic and political world austerity does not work. My first comment today is about the macro level in our society. There are two reasons for this: Firstly, because so much of our work and indeed our good work is done at the mezzo level between the student and the system negotiating the 'must do more with less' mentality and secondly because so much of what I want to say today about teaching non-traditional students is about the micro level of the student experience. Therefore I want to say an introductory word or two about the big picture, the macro, the overriding economic and political policy of <u>austerity</u>.

Austerity is the transfer of wealth from the lower and middle classes to the classes above them. This is the capitalist class project we call neo-liberalism (Watson, 2015). The rules of the neoliberal game are about making sure that if conflicts arise between collective well-being and saving feral banks, we save the banks. But we could have resolved the problem differently by saving those who were lower down the social ladder by providing homes, health care and education and then go on to address the financial problems. This is what happened: loads of money was given to Greece, Ireland, Spain, Portugal, Italy and it was sent straight back to the German and French banks. It was the German banks that were bailed out by their government but the cost was paid by the poorer nations, peoples. These ideas are worked out in greater

detail in the work of Harvey (2015), Piketty (2014), Giroux (2014) and now in Ireland by the ESRI (Burke-Kennedy, 2015; Savage, Callan, Nolan, & Colgan, 2015).

**Austerity and Higher Education**
Public higher education has a noble history but today neoliberalism subordinates education to the markets and the economy and is shifting the burden of paying for education onto the student. Having its roots in addressing social inequality HE is now clearly asked to widen inequality and subordinate HE to the markets and the emerged "neoliberal knowledge regime" (Holmwood, 2014, p. 62). By creating a Bologna Process, now rebranded as the European Higher Education Area (EHEA), a European-wide university system is brought into being so that degrees and qualifications are made, along with European culture, more appealing for other (non EU) countries (Holford, p. 14). The EU Bologna Process is aimed at making HE an export business (Holford, 2014). These changes are not simply to achieve integration across Europe but so that global HE would be transformed in the image of the European model. The global market in HE has arrived. The Bologna process and the EHEA are "aimed mainly at promoting higher education as an export business." The often quoted but much ignored social dimension of both HE and lifelong learning fell short of the ambition and the practice never matched the EU rhetoric (Holford, 2014, p. 22).

This has a significant impact on what we are discussing here today and because of the framework provided by this seminar I want to both note this and park it for the time being.

**Honneth's Remapping of Critical Theory**
Honneth's recent work amounts to an ambitious project to reconfigure and reanimate critical theory. He clearly aligns himself with this tradition and argues that the purpose of critical philosophy is to investigate social problems in their historical context with emancipatory intent.

Honneth asserts that the project of emancipatory philosophy has to be entirely reimagined. His solution is to foreground a theory of intersubjectivity and the 'struggle for recognition' as the crucial mooring points for future efforts in critical theory. Honneth argues

the reproduction of social life is governed by the imperative of mutual recognition, because one can develop a practical relation-to-self only when one has learned to view oneself, from the normative perspective of one's partners in interaction, as their social addressee.

(Honneth, 1995, p. 92).

So in order for humans to achieve a productive relationship with themselves (an identity) humans require an intersubjective recognition of their abilities and achievements. This is the foundation of one's moral consciousness and of society as a whole;  and one develops a morality in the context of the reactions (positive and negative) one receives from other human beings in the struggle for recognition. Honneth argues that the struggle for recognition, based on the need for self-esteem and the experience of disrespect, also explains *social* development.

> It is by the way of the morally motivated struggles of social groups-their collective attempt to establish, institutionally and culturally, expanded forms of recognition - that the normatively directional change of societies proceeds.
> (Honneth, 1995, p. 92)

Honneth argues that there are three differentiated recognition orders in modern society the development of which are crucial to understanding the dynamics and historical evolution of capitalism and modernity. Each social sphere is defined by the different forms of recognition needs and expectations. Recognition, a simultaneously individual and social need, requires love in the immediate interpersonal sphere for the 'singular needy subject' in  order to  develop self-confidence; the recognition of the autonomous rights bearing person in law offers the basis for self-respect; and the successful formation of a co-operative member of society who efforts are socially valued is necessary to build self-esteem (Honneth in Honneth & Fraser, p 161).[3] The theory is layered, and also stripped of some of the metaphysical abstraction of German Idealist philosophy by an engagement with sociology and psychology. In particular, it relies on a reading of the work of George Herbert Mead, and the object relations psychology elaborated by Donald Winnicott and, less explicitly, a novel use of Foucault's genealogy of modernity.

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[3] These terms (self-confidence, self-respect and self-esteem) though related to the common sense understanding of the terms are given a more technical and nuanced meaning for the purposes of his theory of recognition.

The first of the three forms of relating is <u>self-confidence</u>, according to Honneth, and is established and developed in the relationships of friendship and love. If one experiences love an ability to love one's self and others is developed. One is then capable of forging an identity by receiving recognition from others. This is the process by which individuals individuate themselves as distinct from others. Without a special relationship with another person it is not possible to become aware of one's own uniqueness and special characteristics. In this way a positive image of one's abilities is developed. His concept of being 'reconciled with others' (Hegel) means that only by being recognised can we achieve an identity. This Hegelian concept of being reconciled with others was developed by both Dewey and Mead. This is also reminiscent of Bowlby's Attachment Theory (Fleming, 2008) which maps the relationships of trust that build a secure base for identity and are key to expressing one's needs without fear of rejection. In the language of Erik Erikson and Winnicott these are the relationships that create trust through being accepted, recognised and support the expression of ones' needs without fear of abandonment. These are also the preconditions for the formation of identity, morality and indeed involvement in a democratic society. If this essential ingredient of development is not available or a negative message about self-worth is given then the outcome is a potential hiatus or missing piece in the personality that may seek and find 'expression through negative emotional reactions of shame or anger, offence or contempt' (Honneth, 1995, p. 257).

The second type of relationship to self involves <u>self-respect</u>, when a person in a community of rights is given recognition as a morally and legally mature person. When a person is recognised at this level one is accepted as an autonomous person who has both a right and an ability to participate in the discussions and debates of the institution concerned, i.e. state or organisations. Respect is shown to other people by relating toward them as having rights. Without rights there is no respect. The self-relation that is gained from the experience of being treated as such a mature person is self-respect. The price paid for the absence of this recognition is the absence of autonomy. Again this is clearly linked to the development and growth of discourses and practices that are specific to modernity and were articulated differently in feudal societies. It is clear that the securing and development of the rights of the

individual are viewed by Honneth as an important social gain indicating that he holds a more optimistic conception of modernity than the first generation of critical theorists.

The third and highest form of recognition, according to Honneth is provided through work and the dilemma for the person is whether the community will honour their contribution through work. The experience of being so honoured leads to a form of self-relation that Honneth calls <u>self-esteem</u>. People with high self esteem will reciprocate a mutual acknowledgement of each other's contribution to the community and loyalty and solidarity grow from this (Honneth, 2007, p. 139).

> Only through self-directed and autonomous work can one perform one's freedom of will. And only when one begins to work out one's own free will for a common good can one become respected in a community (or the state in Hegelian terms). Self-esteem means that one sees one's work being acknowledged and recognised.
> (Huttunen, 2007, p. 426)

In this way the individual becomes 'recognised as a person whose capabilities are of constitutive value to a concrete community' (Honneth, 1997, p. 20). This reciprocal and mutual recognition of each other through work becomes a strong feeling of solidarity in the community and such well recognised people are capable of being, as a result, strongly motivated. People earn self-esteem from society if their activities are in tune with society and society provides the basis on which they can become worthy members of society.

It is not surprising to have three corresponding forms of disrespect, corresponding to the forms of respect. At an obvious level, if a child is neglected and humiliated they may loose self-confidence. If people are denied citizenship or denied rights their self-respect may suffer and finally if one's way of life is not recognised or respected then damage is done to one's self-esteem. For these reasons abuse, insults, ignoring people will not only be an injustice (it will harm people and deny their civil rights) but injuries are done to their understanding of themselves, their identity. If one, for instance, only receives feedback when a mistake is made, one's self esteem will not develop. Mudslinging or other forms of 'put down' are so often the result of low self-esteem from the source of the insult.

Honneth claims that the struggle for recognition lies behind all major social conflicts and that the conflicts over distribution of goods and wealth is (contrary to Fraser) 'locked into the struggle for recognition' (Honneth, 2001, p. 54). Fraser's response is that this is too monistic and too subjectivist and that social struggles are better understood from a dual perspective which includes both recognition and distributive elements. This 'dual perspective' position synthesises the models of justice developed by the workers movement and by the new social movements (feminism, the ecological and peace movement etc). Honneth replies that the model is too concerned with what has been made known already by social groups and ignores both hidden injustices and he is;

> convinced that the terms of recognition must represent the unified framework for such a project....Critical Theory, under present conditions, does better to orient itself by the categorical framework of a sufficiently differentiated theory of recognition, since this establishes a link between the social causes of wide-spread feelings of injustice and the normative objectives of emancipatory movements.

> (Honneth 2003, p. 113)

| Forms of relating to self | Forms of recognition | Forms of disrespect | Component of personality | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Self Confidence | Parent secure attachment & love and care | Neglect, abuse, emotional neglect | Physical integrity & psychological damage | |
| Self-respect | Legal rights | Violation of legal rights, civil and human rights and employment rights | Social integrity And treated as an object | |
| Self-esteem | Community of practice, respect & solidarity | Bullying, ignoring, excluding, constant negative feedback | Honour, dignity, | |

Table 2 Honneth on Forms of relating to self and forms of recognition

**What do students say?**
A great deal. But let me select one item that is right at the top of their concerns. As young people in the transition to adulthood we have in our higher education system tens of thousands of emerging adults preoccupied with many of the tasks that society is happy for them to be engaged with – what will I study, how will I emerge from this as a teacher, lawyer, etc. But the central and personal concern is this: who is my friend? who am I now in this environment? And who is going to be my ally in the new learning

and developmental trajectory? If the student finds it difficult to negotiate a satisfactory answer to these questions, it will be a dominating preoccupation. I suggest that if we ignore the centrality of this concern we will miss what is central to young people's concerns and what is key to their success. A university system is not accustomed to addressing these developmental issues and they are easily sublet to Students Unions and other social places. An enhanced and progressive policy and practice of creating, supporting and sustaining communities of learners will be a key intervention, I believe it will enhance the learning experience and retention.

In addition to this, when I talked to non-traditional students whether young or mature those who came through access programmes were eloquent, insightful and benefited hugely from the firm collaborations, friendships and networks of support they were encouraged to form as part of their struggle for retention in college and universities.

I am suggesting that each college could address this issues by restructuring either the first year or first semester so that those students who may feel less sure of the subject they have chosen and/or wish to move into the transitional space of higher education more slowly and pay greater attention to their developmental needs might be given an option to undertake a more general modular semester along the lines of a 'taster menu'. This would emphasise a range of liberal arts and sciences with the experiences of collaborative and cooperative learning activities as central to the provision.

If the system world has had some notable success in encouraging non-traditional, adult and other students to come to HE who now enjoy the benefits, this supply site of access and retention needs to pay attention not only to the demand side (student experiences) but also to those who inhabit and work in the 'fault lines between the system and the student world. Lecturing staff have done heroic (this is not a research finding) work with few additional resources to deal with a fast changing student cohort. But at least one more change is required. Though we might assume that all are qualified in their subject of choice, being excellent medical practitioners, nurses, economists, etc there is one area in which few are qualified and that involves the process educators call pedagogy – the art and science of teaching and learning. Though fewer staff are arrogant and careless today, stories and narratives of those who do not complete can focus on the very occasional careless or inconsiderate teacher. The impact of careless words and deeds is always out of proportion to their intention. Few in HE are qualified teachers and this needs to change by giving not only new teachers but all staff opportunities to learn about the activities that is better known as pedagogy. Better teaching is good for retention.

One finding that is emerging from the interviews with students who leave early and is in additional to the many complex factors that impact on their plans is that of mental health. It is a finding of our research in Irish higher education that we do need to pay attention to the numbers of students who do not complete and who identify mental health issues as part of the equation. Other disabilities have been resourced with supporting structures and staff but this is I believe a new finding and needs to be addressed.

In a world that values and prioritises the market and the economy as giving meaning to almost everything it would not be a surprise if interviewing students led to discussions finance, careers and the economic benefits of higher education. Let me get beyond this obvious agenda by saying that funding is a major (though not the top) priority for most students. In addition, having surveyed all the mature students who graduated from Maynooth and interviewed a sample from Maynooth, TCD and DIT it is clear that a better job is a more modest benefit of higher education. A highly paid deeply satisfying job with major advances through the socio-economic ladder is not the reality. The family is the major beneficiary and adults in particular tell of having more time for their family, less stress on children and the social and cultural capital dividend that students are well aware of as they graduate. Having done this research (Fleming, Loxley, Kenny & Finnegan, 2010) the Irish family (at least for those who are successful at university) is a fully functioning unit. It supports successful students both emotionally and financially. For those less fortunate in terms of family support they achieve success in spite of their families. If career or job prospects are now diminished in the current economic climate, the family is always the beneficiary.

**Access Stories – the family**

The most significant stories told by students were centered on their own family and childhood and were told eloquently and passionately. Stories were told about parents and the values of families. Access to books, television programmes, debates and discussions in the home are among the most widely experienced positive access stories. A large number of graduates traced their desire, ambition and ability to engage in HE back to those events. We call them access stories because they functioned as such, allowing people to 'gather' their strengths, abilities and interests and this contributed hugely to their later conviction that they could access HE and succeed:

> *I had a decent father … he inadvertently gave us all a gift, in that there were always books around the house. There were always books and we went to the library as well … My father had a great love for libraries and joined the library.*

Another student confirmed that:

> *My dad and mum would have got us sitting down, looking at science and nature programmes on TV when we were very small. I loved them, my brothers and sisters would all be the same, you know. So that formulated in my mind a bit without even realising it. I'd love to study something like this. You know, science.*

So many expressed these sentiments in powerful stories:

> *Oh yeah, Dad used to say to me 'Mary, you'll always be a learner.' I loved learning new things. I think back, and Dad and Mam set up that informal learning atmosphere in the house. That was there right from the beginning. I don't think you can pay for that. They were very curious people by nature. Dad would be a very intelligent man. Dad and Mam did their first year of secondary school. Then they would have had to have left because they didn't get scholarships. Dad knew an awful lot.*

When asked about how long they were preparing to return to education, one summed it up like this:

> *Years. I literally felt I'd been preparing for years. I reckon in my subconscious I was preparing for about 11 or 12 years. In fact, I'd nearly been preparing since the day I left secondary school.*

Family support continued through their student days, often through direct support (finance and child care) but also through support for the ambition of the students to better themselves. For those without such support the absence of family networks meant that the pressures of child minding and emotional stress were increased. In the interviews the vast majority also identified events in the family as potentially the most powerful barrier to completing their studies. The death or serious illness of a parent, child or partner was clearly identified as raising the real possibility of not completing a course.

On the other hand a significant minority of the interviewees said that the experience of poverty, lack of stability and the low expectations of their family had hampered them when they were younger and they now felt it was necessary to break away from this situation in order to get through Higher Education.

Arriving at the point in which they felt confident to make a break with the gravitational pull of difficult circumstances required both enormous effort and determination.

Those interviewed valued the opportunity to demonstrate to their partners and especially their children that university was a place that they could go to in the future. Some students even described how they studied alongside their own children. Most of the interviewees were emphatic that their personal 'learning story' was in a strong sense a family learning story that touched on their past, present and future. Support for students who have been successful at university comes primarily from the family and it confirms the importance and effectiveness of approaches to poverty that emphasize family support.

**Learning Stories – work**

In explaining their motivation for going to college both respondents and interviewees rejected the idea that it was a dichotomous choice between 'learning for the sake of learning' or creating career opportunities. It was about both of these things. The post-degree labour market destinations sought by graduates were bound up with how they envisaged these destinations in terms of status, security, and personal development rather than monetary reward. We discovered that salary was not viewed as the main priority for many graduates. One woman who worked in a routine administration job explains;

> *Well, I was earning about €40,000 when I left (work) … I could have gone up to even more, so I went down to a very modest salary, it would have been around €10,000 a year. But I was a lot more content in myself which was amazing. And I still am.*

Going to university was explicitly linked to the desire for qualitative changes in their working life. Those interviewed often wanted to escape a life of sometimes hard, and often boring work in which they felt pinched by routine. One graduate, a taxi driver who has since become a teacher, explained:

> *I was making money in the 1980s when no one was but I worked round the clock 80 to 100 hours a week and felt invisible, unstimulated and unfulfilled in this work.*

**Learning Stories – becoming teachers**

Most striking of all was how many graduates went on to become teachers or continued with their studies at a higher level after their degrees. This commitment to education is one of the most noteworthy findings of the research. Many of the interviewees had chosen to teach in schools or adult education after graduation and this allowed us to explore why so many graduates chose teaching. One typically explained:

> *I hold the position of teacher in esteem. It is a job of esteem and I still feel that. When you are working class, you look for esteem … we held teacher, priest and Garda Sergeant in esteem. I had the perception that these are positions of recognition. I was probably looking for that.*

Besides the status, relatively good working conditions, and the interactive richness of teaching, the graduates became educators because they wanted to give something back and bring people along. The idea that they were becoming a node in learning webs was a real source of pride for these teachers. Even those who were no longer involved in formal teaching all mentioned how their experience continued to be a positive resource for partners, children, neighbours, friends, workmates and even parents.

**Learning Stories – other benefits**

The overwhelming majority of graduates value their degree very highly. In general they agreed that going to university was important because it offered credentials, improved career opportunities and gave them the chance to prove their intellectual worth. They also spoke convincingly and unpretentiously of their love and passion for learning. In fact, the unanimity and depth of passion on this issue surprised us. As one graduate put it:

> *The experience of getting a degree has huge benefits. You feel physically better. You walk more confidently and your life is better because you feel like you have really achieved something … As a mature student you grow just as much [as younger students] just in a different way … I think you become more of yourself.*

A recurrent theme amongst the participants was of dealing with *unfinished business* by making use of educational opportunities that had been denied them earlier in their lives. As one graduate said:

> *All avenues were closed to you when you are from the wrong end of town.*

One interviewee explained that she left school early because:

> *I was terrified of it all the way through school, really terrified. Primary school was rather vicious, rather vicious lay teachers. Very vicious, yeah. It was only in secondary school … oh my God they don't hit you here … You know I wasn't a bad student. One of my friends actually changed school. She froze when she was asked anything, terrified. She got beaten for being late or misspelling an Irish word, I can still remember the word.*

Bad teaching, violence, financial pressures, low cultural and institutional expectations, poorly understood learning difficulties and family circumstances meant that for almost all they had no option but to leave school earlier than they wanted. Some were clear about the link between educational and social disadvantage in Ireland:

> *To me, you can talk about democracy and equal rights, but people are not getting the same opportunities. This is the thing that [has] most changed my life. I felt very frustrated. Ireland to me was a terrible, terrible place. It was demeaning to be from certain areas of society. You were held down … It was a great place for certain people…. But it has changed now. This country is now a different place … So how can you value that? You look on the country of your birth in a different way.*

This exclusion gave some of the interviewees, particularly the older graduates, a sense of being unworthy, leaving them with what Sennett and Cobb (1977) have termed 'the hidden injuries of class'.

For all, going to university was a long cherished dream, the realisation of which confirmed both their capacity to succeed and their intelligence. When asked when they first wanted to go to university interviewees said again and again: *Always*. Higher Education allowed them to finish their *interrupted learning stories*, gave them proof of their intellectual and human worth and marked for them the end to a certain form of social exclusion;

> *It is about acceptance and your worth being recognised. It was a chance to learn and to be on an equal footing with other people.*

Attending university also gave many of the graduates the confidence to be able to take part in public discussions and think critically in a way that seemed beyond them before:

> *I bring myself back to … listening to something on the radio, a political discussion or on history, and always having the feeling that this wasn't for me, that other people would understand it. I wouldn't … It sounded like a different language.*

Several ascribed their new-found confidence to seeing themselves as able to understand the world of power, politics and history and of being visible, included and respected.

**Meet Laura**

Consider Laura, a typical middle aged student in her final year of university. She told a story of significant disadvantage including long periods of institutionalization as an adult. Her childhood was of serious poverty. The concept of 'non-traditional' did not do justice to the life she had led nor did it capture the full colour, variety, range of events, accidents, tragedies, successes, achievements, experiences with drugs, the medical profession, attempts to take her own life and abuse.

Her journey to university commenced in a workshop for adults. A tutor encouraged her to return to education by recognising that she '*had something*.' The support though modest (a series of gifts that recognised her interests and her desire to learn) was experienced as recognition of her intelligence:

> *They were seeing something…I think my reaction to the books they gave me…I thought they were the mad ones. They could see me starting college, they told me this since. That's what they said anyway. You come across people who, no matter how stupid or unaware you are of your ability, they can see something and they point it out.*

The phrase '*they can see something*' was repeated a number of times in her narrative and it gave her the experience that '*someone might take me seriously*.' Such stories tell of moments of recognition. In spite

of thinking she was stupid she always *tried to fight the system* and when asked how she achieved her success she replied;

> *It was just my own will power, you come across people who, no matter how stupid you are or how unaware you are of your ability and they find space for you...and it's people in education too...They were saying I had what it takes [to study at university].*

However brief these stories are presented here, access students, current students and graduates are packed full of stories concerning respect, recognition and in the past, disrespect. In a field that is under theorized (Thomas & Quinn, 2007, p. 15) this finding deserves theoretical understanding. What are learners saying when they speak in this way? How can we understand the significance of the way they talk about self-esteem and self-confidence being enhanced in education? To make sense of these findings we turn to Axel Honneth the current and most important proponent of the critical theory tradition of which Jürgen Habermas has been the best known proponent.

> Books open in the newly wired kitchens.
> Young heads that might have dozed a life away
> against the flanks of milking cows were busy
> paving and pencilling their first causeways
> across the prescribed texts. The paving stones
> of quadrangles came next and a grammar
> of imperatives, the new age of demands.
> They would banish the conditional for ever,
> this generation born impervious to
> the triumph in our cries of de profundis.
> Our faith in winning by enduring most
> they made anathema, intelligences
> brightened and unmannerly as crowbars.
>
> Heaney, *Canton of Expectation*

**Summary of practical Implications for Teaching in HE**

Student resilience and determination is very high. They will stay and succeed;

Their determination is forged in their social experiences of school, work and family and emigration, etc. School continues to be cruel and brutal for a significant number of young adults (schooled in 1990s).

HE is an 'escape route' from boring, unfulfilling work;

Outcomes in labour market depend on degree taken [arts/social sciences v vocational faculties – business studies, etc).

Retention remains a problem;

Stress and mental health are growing concerns.

Misrecognitioin, slights, negative or off-hand comments all have disproportionate impact. Careless words and attitudes still exist. Non-traditionals are 'super-sensitive' to signals that they may not fit in after all....soooo.

Pedagogical practices (language, examples, subject matter, processes, assignments, examinations) must speak directly to the social and personal life experiences of non-traditional students.

Education is a learning relationship based on dialogue and respect.

The 'learner-identity' of non-traditionals is relational, contextual, situated in a lived and learned life experience of work and care and sometimes extraordinary courage, and success.

Clear and comprehensive feedback on all work done, assigned and evaluated is essential.......not filling out boxes in pro-forma invoice type feedback sheets.

Fostering peer support and friendships is crucial.

 'Failure' or dropping out may not often be experienced as such and many who leave early do so as a positive decision and they perceive it as such.

Institutional habitus – not to take it for granted either as barrier or advantage for students, all have a role in maintaining and changing HE.

Feral teachers have impact out of proportion to their numbers and the experiences of students.

Teacher/education 'training' of FE staff is mostly confined to technical, non-substantial topics.

Non-traditonal Graduates see themselves as 'pathfinders' . Tap into your alumni or in Irish your successful graduates. Important allies in teaching and retaining current students.

Graduates increase social and cultural and personal capital of their families....even if economic capital is not dramatically increased. AND all of these forms of capital are construed as recognition needs.

Even the most instrumentally driven students see the developmental dividend of HE.

If HE has this important role in both individual lives and society, What are the risks to this.....what would bring reputational damage? How have so many institutions lost credibility in this regard and HE remains among respected.... The struggle for this position can be lost too. The task is not to let the practices, policies and pedagogies congeal and sediment and become frozen in time. Or worse loose out to....what has eroded other recognition-giving institutions.

Education alone will not address inequalities in Irish Society but this recognition turn may provide critical insight and an antidote to the dominant preoccupations with austerity.

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