# Policy & Practice

## A Development Education Review

*"The views expressed herein are those of individual authors and can in no way be taken to reflect the official opinion of Irish Aid."*

**Dedication**

This issue of *Policy and Practice* is dedicated to the memory of our sorely missed colleague and friend, Barbara Gill, who died tragically in April 2007. Barbara brought boundless energy, passion, immense skill and enthusiasm to all aspects of her work in education. We fondly remember her ardent support for *Policy and Practice* to which she was one of the first to subscribe and endorse through her work. Barbara is a great loss to the development education sector and will be remembered by colleagues for her ever-willing support, friendship and collaboration.

# Contents

## Viewpoint

## Resource reviews

# Editorial

## Stephen McCloskey

Over the past decade the development education (DE) sector has undergone a process of change that has strengthened its policy framework and consolidated its shift from the periphery to the centre of mainstream education provision. In the mid-1990s, practitioners debated development education's position in mainstream delivery and its capacity to address key learning needs within formal and non-formal education. That debate seems far removed from today's more dynamic framework for delivery.

Since 1997, the British government has published three White Papers on international development that made explicit reference to the need for strengthened awareness raising across civil society and, in 2006, the Irish government published its first White Paper on international development. Note the similarities in the messages contained in their policy statements on development education. The British government says that 'Every child should be educated about development issues, so that they can understand the key global considerations which will shape their lives' (DFID White Paper, 1997). The Irish government's White Paper (2006) says that 'Every person in Ireland will have access to educational opportunities to be aware of and understand their rights and responsibilities as global citizens and their potential to effect change for a more just and equal world'.

The two governments have produced strategy plans to deliver on their White Paper targets that provide for more strategic interventions in the education system through inter-departmental dialogue and co-operation. They have also increased their financial support for development education to build capacity in the British and Irish sectors and create new opportunities for the professional development of practitioners. *The Changing Landscape of Development Education* is the theme of Issue 5 of *Policy and Practice* and reflects on some of the new developments in DE practice that have sprung from the changed policy environment.

## DE and research

The Focus articles combine analysis of significant new initiatives toward research-based practice in DE with revealing insights into global issues that

have altered our perspectives on development – commerce in Fair Trade products and the emergence of popular movements and direct democracy in Latin America. Bourn and Khoo, Healy and Coate discuss the recent and rapid expansion of research activity in the DE sector in British and Irish contexts.

Bourn outlines the background and remit of an exciting new Department for International Development (DfID)-funded Development Education Research Centre at the Institute of Education in the University of London. He considers research to be central to the mainstreaming of development education in the tertiary sector but suggests that DE has had a limited academic profile at third level in the absence of an 'independent research focus' such as that found in citizenship or environment education. Bourn considers research in DE as essential in 'strengthening public confidence in, and support for the fight against global poverty' but is concerned with its 'minimal academic profile' which could impede momentum toward the continued mainstreaming of the sector. The new research centre will clearly have a pivotal role in 'raising standards in educational attainment' in DE.

Khoo, Healy and Coate approach the research debate from an Irish context and the establishment of a Development Education and Research Network (DERN) at the National University of Ireland, Galway, which aims to 'enhance networking between researchers and academics interested in development issues'. Their article considers the challenges and tensions that have arisen between teaching activities and the expanding research sector.

Khoo, Healy and Coate suggest that 'Proponents of DE as an emancipatory and humanistic educational project may be dismayed by the demands of the new research landscape and the instrumental view of knowledge embedded in the new research programmes'. With research funding becoming a dominant force for change in Irish tertiary education since the late 1990s Khoo *et al* ask how the 'narrow instrumental' approach to education found in 'academic capitalism' will co-exist and integrate with the more egalitarian and co-operative modes of working central to DE practice? This debate is timely as academics and practitioners alike will be developing new research projects to support and evaluate their practice.

## Fair trade as development action

One of the key characteristics of DE practice is its capacity to engender public action toward social and economic justice, and a totemic flag-bearer of the action impulse in development is the Fairtrade mark. Development educators regularly employ Fairtrade in training workshops as a practical

example of how consumer power can support local economies in the developing world. However, Penson suggests that facile consumerist solutions may over-simplify the fair trade debate and preclude deeper investigations and actions around the factors that make fair trade necessary.

Penson draws upon research in Rwanda and Uganda to show why some African coffee producers are exiting the Fairtrade network and establishing locally managed alternative organizations. He concludes that Fairtrade has overall positive outcomes for developing countries but should be subject to critical debate and analysis 'to ensure that the best possible outcome is attained' for developing world producers.

## Social change in Argentina

Sitrin presents an alternative vision of development from the streets of Argentina where she researched the impact of a national financial crisis in December 2001 that sparked social and economic upheaval, the mass mobilization of popular movements and the subsequent collapse of five governments in two weeks. Rather than aiming to seize power at a national level, the protestors created the greenshoots of new social movements at a community level described as *horizontalidad* given their non-hierarchical structure and practice of direct democracy.

The new structures reject party politics and are principally concerned with local issues like health, land and education in a similar fashion to the Zapatista movement in Chiapas, Mexico and the landless movement in Brazil. These movements have transformed the development landscape in Latin America and enabled indigenous communities to set their own agenda for change which in turn has created an individual and collective freedom of thought and action. The reclaiming of national and communal autonomy across Latin America is a significant shift in the development landscape that educators can draw upon as positive examples of societal change.

## Perspectives articles

The Perspectives articles in this issue reflect the full breadth of issues impacting on contemporary DE practice: from the relationship to other sectors of education like citizenship, community relations, human rights and humanitarian law to the portrayal of developing countries in print and television media. We also receive a call for DE to forge 'an adequate theoretical framework to explain globalisation' and engage learners in meaningful, strategic actions that will tackle persistent social and economic inequalities in the developing world.

Other perspectives on DE call for a contemplative re-examination of our contemporary practice in respect to issues like race, migration and identity in the context of enhanced social diversity and inward migration. While some development organisations have recently launched welcome initiatives toward establishing closer working links with black and minority ethnic and migrant communities, the sector could undoubtedly do more in this regard.

Although this issue of the journal is primarily concerned with the changing landscape of DE, Hainsworth reminds us that slavery has been a regrettably enduring contributor to social and economic inequalities both locally and internationally. He welcomes the opportunities afforded by the bicentenary of the abolition of the British slave trade to re-open the debate on contemporary forms of slavery.

In the review section we invited local educators to give us their thoughts on recent treatments of Africa on film from mainstream offerings like *The Constant Gardener* to *Bamako*, a film from Mali, in which the international financial institutions (IFIs) are put on trial in the courtyard of a house. The Viewpoint article considers the worrying trend of reduced support for DE among some of our leading development agencies and considers the implications of this trend for the sector. The Centre for Global Education welcomes a response to this article and the other contributions to Issue 5: please e-mail capacity@centreforglobaleducation.com.

Finally, I wish to pay tribute to Catherine Simmons, editor of *Policy and Practice*, who has moved on to a new position in Zambia. Catherine made an immense contribution in setting up the structures and processes that have underpinned the journal and made it an established part of the DE sector both locally and internationally. The Centre hopes to continue her good work in the current issue and those to come and wishes her well in her new post.

# Focus

## DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION AND RESEARCH AT THIRD LEVEL IN IRELAND

**Su-ming Khoo, Carol Healy & Kelly Coate**

This article opens up debates about development education (DE) within the third level context in Ireland. It focuses on the research landscape, specifically some impacts and contradictions brought about by the recent expansion of research activity and argues that there is a need for more critical debate on the consequences of this expansion. **Su-ming Khoo, Carol Healy and Kelly Coate** argue that changes in the research landscape push to the fore the wider debate and struggle over what research and teaching are **about** and **for**, and how the two should relate to each other.

**Introduction**

Research that relates to development education currently comprises a very minor part of the overall research landscape, with relatively little funded and published research on the area. There has been a recent expansion in research, mainly funded by Irish Aid in pursuit of a strategic development education programme. This article primarily overviews the more general trends in research, recognizing that these trends will have an impact on development education. At present, the emerging landscape is complex and research about Irish development education is at a very early stage. Our approach in this paper is to initiate critical debate by documenting some of the challenges facing all educators and researchers, including development educators.

From a DE perspective, education '...has a complex role to play in individual and community development and in the economy, environment, politics and society at national and global levels' (Faul, 2007: 9). This corresponds to a global vision of third-level education as part of

'...economic, cultural and social development' and contributing to '...shared values and ethics which are the foundation of social cohesion and nation building' (UNESCO, 2003:12-13). The expansion of research presents new opportunities for third-level educators, as **researchers**, to explore this complex role and develop new approaches to DE. Yet, our initial impressions of the Irish research landscape suggest that the expansion of research, when coupled with more intensive teaching activities, may lead to tensions and contradictions. There are now more opportunities to conduct research and improve teaching. However, proponents of DE as an emancipatory and humanistic educational project may be concerned at the demands of the new research landscape and the instrumental view of knowledge embedded in the new research programmes.

Research impacts on DE in different ways. On the positive side, it brings the promise of new, more informed activities and audiences, and may lead to new meanings of DE (Khoo, 2006). However, as research becomes more programmatic and policy focused, new constraints and unintended outcomes are also likely to follow. The current research funding mechanisms favour a narrow, instrumental view of knowledge production, and embed competitive processes that run counter to the more cooperative, egalitarian, 'sharing' modes of working that inform development education practice.

While third-level institutions continue to defend long-standing traditions of scholarship, marketisation is problematic for those who view knowledge as a public good. Economistic and instrumental goals and values have been consistently emphasised and successively re-affirmed in Irish and European education policy, most recently in the Lisbon Agenda and the Irish responses to it (*An Taoiseach*, Bertie Ahern, 2005).

Jenkins and Mackenzie (2007) review a similarly changing landscape in the UK and pose several pertinent questions: How should development educators deal with the 'marketisation' of education? In what way does the globalising economy impact on the content of DE? Should DE engage with business as well as trade unions? What is the 'skills and knowledge balance' needed for learners to become both social and economic actors on the global scale? These questions show how aware development educators are of the inherent tension between marketised understandings of education and the need to critique such understandings. The engagement with business and the focus on work and skills show how far the DE goalposts have already moved away from traditional preoccupations with radical and emancipatory critique. We take the debate about marketisation to be crucial and suggest that many other key questions are linked to it.

## The expansion of research

Before 1998, funding for research was comparatively limited and there was relatively little emphasis on it. Irish researchers mainly followed the 'lone scholar' model, with little strategic direction or programmatic funding (Forfás, 2007:12). A new phase of public investment at the end of the 1990s brought dramatic changes. Two new Research Councils were created to direct and channel research funding - the Irish Research Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences (IRCHSS) and Irish Research Council for Science, Engineering and Technology (IRCSET). In addition, Science Foundation Ireland (SFI) became a major research funding agency when it took over the research role of Enterprise Ireland in 2003. Its research budget grew rapidly from €11 million in 2003 to €114 million in 2004. Under the National Development Plan (NDP) 2007-2013, SFI will fund €1.4 billion of scientific research in two targeted areas – biotechnology and information technology.

The Higher Education Authority (HEA) runs the Programme for Research in Third Level Institutions (PRTLI), cross-cutting other dedicated research programmes by funding infrastructural development for research. Between 1998 and 2003 the PRTLI scheme committed three cycles of funding worth €604.5 million. Two-thirds of PRTLI funds were spent on buildings and equipment, the remaining one-third going to recurrent expenditure on research projects (HEA, 2004).

European research programmes add another layer of complexity. The Seventh Framework Programme 2007-2013 (FP7) will be a substantial contributor to Irish research. Over €50 billion will be available over the seven year period from the European Commission to develop a more integrated European Research Area. Most of the funding will targeted at creating collaborative pan-European research teams, with a broad focus on economic growth, employment, competitiveness and sustainability (Cordis, 2007).

The Irish Aid (IA) - HEA Programme of Strategic Cooperation and the Health Research Board's (HRB) Global Health Research Programme, are more specifically relevant to development cooperation. These research funds announced the provision of €12.5 million and €1 million respectively in 2007. Neither are designed for commercial advantage, both aiming to explicitly benefit disadvantaged groups on a global scale. Both programmes are based on Irish Aid policies, outlined in the White Paper on Irish Aid (Irish Aid, 2006). This policy emphasises poverty reduction, gender equality, good governance, and the environment, with special reference to Irish Aid's programme countries (predominantly the poorest African

countries).

A new institutional emphasis on research has developed, permeating the strategic direction and culture of the whole tertiary sector. In order to manage these changes, every university has made senior appointments (Deans or Vice-Presidents of Research). However, the research landscape still appears somewhat uncoordinated, with different funding bodies administering separate academic research schemes, each with its own criteria and deadlines. The number of overlapping research agencies and initiatives in Ireland is problematic because of the small size of the system, and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) has recommended more centralized and strategic research planning. One of their specific recommendations is that SFI's role should be expanded to cover the IRCHSS and IRCSET (OECD, 2006: 67). While the same report acknowledges the role of universities in promoting the 'intellectual and artistic life of the nation and…contribution to citizenship and civil society' (2006:24), the implications are that non-commercial research areas could get subsumed under the priorities of industry-driven science and technology research.

## Marketisation: Academic capitalism?

The growing influence of market rationality on the higher education systems has led some observers to coin the phrase 'academic capitalism' (Slaughter and Leslie, 1999). Academic teaching and research are pushed towards the realities of a global knowledge marketplace as institutions compete for fee-paying students and research funding. In national and regional fora, the tertiary sector is understood as a site of production for the growth economy - producing ideas and people to drive economic development and national competitiveness. While academia is still regarded as a site of traditional scholarship, teaching and learning have become somewhat 'marketised'. There is greater emphasis on graduate teaching and research, and evident bias towards specific areas of science, technology and engineering, as well as pro-market values. In PRTLI, biosciences accounted for half the research grants, while physics and environmental sciences accounted for a further 10% each. Social and information sciences research gained about 5% of research funds, while the least commercial humanities sector accounted for only 2.7% (HEA, 2004). A review of the PRTLI acknowledges that the primary goals for the PRTLI are not strictly market-led, however it openly and uncritically recommends the ultimate goal of 'embedding an ethos of commercialisation' (HEA, 2004:3).

Running somewhat counter to the rather narrow definition of science

and technology research, the recent Royal Irish Academy (RIA) Report (2007) defends the traditional importance of non-commercial research in a wide range of subjects for 'balanced development'. The RIA promotes a broader interpretation of 'innovation' and presents the humanities and social sciences as being '...integral to the development of culture, the economy, and society as a whole' (RIA, 2007xiii). However, even this report acknowledges the dominant logic of academic capitalism. It justifies humanities research as investment in the knowledge-based economy, highlighting the supporting role played by the arts and humanities to Ireland's economic growth. The proportion of research funding allocated to the social sciences and humanities shows a divergence between teaching and research priorities. 58% of undergraduates choose humanities and social sciences (HEA, 2007a). One challenge is the limited opportunity for progression to research in the humanities and social sciences subjects due to the small proportion of research funding that these subjects receive. As we write, a further €230 million of PRTLI funding has been allocated, with greater spending (18.7%) than previously on the humanities and social sciences (HEA, 2007b), which may offer better prospects.

Academic capitalism has led to a market rationality entering an essentially non-market landscape (Skilbeck, 2001). In the UK, this has led to some bitter comments about the negative effects on research quality and academic morale, as researchers and departments are ranked in a crude, materialistic and psychologically destructive way (Harley, 2002 quoted in Sidhu, 2006:121). However, the Irish tertiary sector is not very marketised in the literal sense. It is almost entirely government funded with the state contributing 85-90% of all funding in 2001-02. The sector became *less* private when the government moved to provide free undergraduate tuition in 1995-6 (OECD, 2004:15). Despite its highly public nature, the market language of the new research agenda seems to pull the sector in contradictory directions. The next three sections explore three areas of tension and contradiction before returning to discuss the prospects for DE. These are the public-private paradox, the demands and risks of research and the tensions between research and teaching.

## The public-private paradox

There appears to be a paradoxical public-private relationship when we examine funding vis-à-vis the benefits of research. Irish research for the 'public good' has been substantially financed by private and mainly *overseas* sources, whilst national public funding appears to be directed towards corporate profit and accumulation. International philanthropy has been a

major source of research funding in Ireland, especially in non-science and technology topics such as public service reform, children, young people, ageing, peace and reconciliation and human rights. One large single donor has predominated - Atlantic Philanthropies (AP). Between 1982 and 2004, AP awarded over US$1 billion in grants to the island of Ireland, US$666 million of which went to the Republic, largely to the higher education sector (AP, 2007). This included co-funding for the Irish Government's PRTLI scheme. Herein lies the paradox - a single private philanthropist has provided a large proportion of research funding to remedy the Government's historical under-funding of research toward the social and public good.

While the foundation will commit a further $250 million to Irish higher education between 2006-2008, the Irish government's implicit reliance on it to co-fund its tertiary sector is clearly not sustainable as AP has planned to spend its entire endowment by 2020. Philanthropic giving of this sort may, in some way, encourage governments to avoid full responsibility in respect to higher education. Issues of accountability and participation are also raised by this paradox, since foundations are mainly accountable to their donors and their investment in public oriented research is driven by their own agenda, rather than one decided by the electorate. On the other hand, their independence also means that they may be more prepared to fund contentious, critical and non-commercial research and that in itself strengthens and diversifies the public sphere.

In contrast, public funding has emphasised more narrowly defined and commercially oriented research. For example, SFI combines the national aim of scientific excellence with that of commercial relevance. Its policies for 2008 are to recruit 50 'top tier' researchers or research teams in biotechnology and information and communications technology, but also to deepen links between universities and 'at least 10 foreign owned multinational firms' and five indigenous companies. Scientific knowledge is seen as 'a technology transfer system that brings maximum economic benefit to Ireland through leading-edge intellectual property…' (SFI, 2004:4). Research success is measured in conventional scholarly terms - numbers of researchers, scholarly publications and membership of elite international academic bodies. However, success is also measured by the number of patents, commercial start-ups and linkages with foreign multinational companies.

The two national research funds that hold promise for developing public interest research, as discussed above, are the IA-HEA Programme of Strategic Cooperation and the HRB's Global Health Research Programme. Such initiatives reflect a new role for research in meeting Ireland's stated aspirations to become an exemplary aid giver. Irish Aid's policies are

comparatively progressive according to both official multilateral evaluations (OECD, 2003:11) and NGOs (Eurodad, 2006:20).

Research about development is central to DE, especially where it claims to conduct research for global public benefit and poverty reduction. The €13.5 million funding allocated for development-oriented research may be a relatively small proportion of all Irish research funding, but it represents excellent new opportunities to widen the scope of public-funded research to focus on issues of development cooperation. The success of these dedicated development cooperation research grants depends on how closely they fulfil their commendable policy aims.

## The demands and risks of research

The new research programmes and agencies also bring considerable additional demands and risks. One of the most problematic aspects of the new research landscape is the model of 'competitive collaboration' demanded by most of the research programmes. Competition is seen as a necessary logic based on the supposition that the best outcomes and 'value for money' arise from market competition. However, underdeveloped infrastructures and the small size of the Irish research sector mean that inter-institutional collaboration is essential to maximise outcomes, counterbalance limitations of scale and prevent replication (O'Sullivan, 2005). Institutions are required to bid competitively against each other for research grants; but they are simultaneously compelled to collaborate in order for their bids to succeed. The Taoiseach has criticised academic institutions for failing to work with each other (Healy, 2006), however the research funding mechanism itself precludes institutions from becoming fully cooperative to achieve win-win outcomes and fulfil the policy aims, as the process is predicated on only selected institutions winning.

So far, research funding processes have tended to be unpredictable and lacking in transparency, though the many commissioned reviews and evaluations may lead to gradual learning and improvement. They have taken a stop-start character, punctuated by long delays, 'pauses' and budget uncertainties. Researchers are expected to produce bids in rapid response to unpredictable processes and comply with demanding deadlines, complicated bureaucracy and shifting goalposts. The principal applicants for research funding are academics who are primarily engaged in teaching and this gives rise to tensions that will be examined further in the next section. If a research bid is successful, demanding administrative and managerial roles will immediately ensue. The processes of competitive elimination mean that discouragingly few researchers and a minority of institutions can succeed in

any given funding round. In Cycles 1-3 of PRTLI, less than half of the eligible institutions gained any funding (15 out of 35) and the three most elite institutions University College Cork (UCC), University College Dublin (UCD) and Trinity College Dublin received the largest grants (HEA, 2002).

## Tensions between research and teaching.

The growth of research activities has made tensions and compromises between teaching and research more starkly apparent. Academics are now expected to maintain their traditional roles as teachers, but also to be research entrepreneurs, attracting funding, managing research portfolios, supervising researchers, and producing copious evaluation and monitoring reports. Although there is not (yet) an Irish equivalent to the British Research Assessment Exercise (RAE) system, the metrics of academic success are following those of the UK and the rest of the world. What counts is the quantity of research funding awarded, participation in elite research teams and the number of prestigious publications. The embedding of a system based on these criteria has become inescapable as Irish institutions and academics are already part of highly internationalised labour and knowledge markets.

Evidence from the UK suggests that funding policies and management strategies are pushing teaching and research further apart (Jenkins et al 2007). The increasing importance of research means that attention is pulled away from teaching, the latter getting 'downgraded' as a less prestigious activity. The result is a tendency towards a two-tiered system, with research, market priorities and knowledge competition in the dominant position and teaching, social priorities and knowledge sharing relegated to a subordinate space.

Pressures within teaching are intensifying, due to larger student numbers, more courses and increases in higher level postgraduate courses. Participation in third-level education in Ireland has risen to become one of the highest in the OECD – at around 60% of school-leavers. The government's Expert Group on Future Skills Needs suggests that this should be increased by a further 15% by 2020 (Flynn, 2007). However, as universities constantly expand and take on a permanent growth imperative, there is an overwhelming concern to maintain increasing student recruitment. With new undergraduate entrant numbers remaining static for the past 3 years (HEA, 2007:5), institutions are increasingly competing against each other for school leavers and trying to broaden enrolment from more 'non-traditional' students.

Since the late 1990s, the sector has struggled to cope with a dramatic

increase in class sizes, which together with an increasing focus on efficiency and 'output' have tended to decrease contact time between teachers and students. This is not an ideal scenario for development educators who privilege critical engagement and individual learning which are better developed in smaller classes with more contact time. Modularisation and semesterisation have also led to more compact and intensive courses, though these changes also provide more flexibility to bring development education into, and make it relevant to, a greater number of courses.

The drive for student numbers has focused increasingly on the 'value added' of each student. There has been an increased focus on the 'fourth level', with postgraduate enrolments growing at a faster pace than undergraduate enrolments (HEA, 2007:6). More funding for doctoral students, with the national aim to double postgraduate student numbers by 2013, should mean better complementarities developing between research and teaching. However, the new research funding programmes have led to the establishment of a relatively large number of new Irish research institutes which face considerable sustainability challenges. So far these institutes have engaged in little or no teaching, but an interest in developing professional postgraduate programmes will increase as competition for funding intensifies. There are already significant pressures in terms of space and resources to accommodate research students and activities. For example, HEA and Forfás note that in sociology departments the 'infrastructural issues verge on the insurmountable in terms of the amount and quality of space available in the existing buildings' (2007:27).

These tensions between research and teaching pose a number of serious challenges. Since the new developments in research funding appear to prioritise marketisation, development educators need to engage more fully with the new research opportunities to drive research in more development friendly directions. Development research is becoming more policy driven, given that investment in research has itself become part of official development policy (DCI, 2003; Irish Aid, 2007). While policy-based research is crucial, there needs to be a balance between policy-based research driven by government agencies and critical engagement with policy that helps advance research, but is not tied to specific policy priorities or government agendas. The disciplines and areas where participatory research methodologies are being advanced may hold particular promise, but this requires an article in itself. The teaching landscape offers some avenues of hope that may complement the re-orientation of research towards a more development friendly direction.

# Pedagogies of hope and their complementarities with development education

DE shares common ground with other types of education that privilege egalitarianism and emancipation such as workers' education, feminist education, environmental education, intercultural education and peace education. The questions that are raised by the changes taking place in higher education also apply in these other fields of emancipatory education. As critical and emancipatory educators, the process of learning is as important as the content. The skills, values and outcomes promoted by development educators aim to counter passivity, encourage critical reflection and bring about emancipatory action and change. Given the ubiquity of marketisation and managerialism, is it possible that critical reflection might not lead to emancipatory change, but instead result in pessimism and a greater sense of alienation?

Hope for an escape from alienation lies in the possibility of creating greater complementarities between research and new teaching practices. New pedagogical spaces have emerged which make research more central to teaching (e.g. the Reinvention Centre at Warwick University in the UK) (see Jenkins et al., 2007). There are also newly-established centres promoting progressive and innovative learning and teaching practice within the universities previously associated with non-formal education. A familiar local example is the Community Knowledge Initiative/Centre for Excellence in Learning and Teaching at NUI Galway (see Khoo, 2006).

These spaces are useful for exploring the relevance of DE at third level and merit more detailed examination, but only a brief overview is possible within the scope of this article. There is significant advocacy for re-embedding teaching and learning in the wider community context, accompanied by efforts to revitalise the roles of universities as public institutions, embodying human knowledge and values essential to the civility of society (McIlrath and MacLabhrainn, 2007). Such efforts are essential if universities are to play their part in creating an educational culture that challenges pessimism, responds to the challenges of globalization and shapes it for the benefit of all (Leadbetter, quoted in Bourn, 2003, see also Edwards, 2004). An interesting example from the University of Essex shows how community engagement is central to the creation of alternatives to commodified conceptions of learning. The process of re-embedding the learner in the local community took local food and quality of life issues as a starting point. The use of local issues empowered learners to connect to wider environmental and justice debates by first addressing local forms of alienation (Strange, 2005).

While these initiatives may provide 'pedagogies of hope', the danger is that tensions may lead to an outright split into a two tier system, if efforts are not made to develop greater complementarities between research and teaching. Research is an important area of complementarity, linking DE to the wider body of educational theory and critique. Bourn (2003) maintains that we need more theory about DE and suggests that DE has tended to become somewhat self-referential. At third level, DE has yet to become central to both teachers and researchers. Development educators will have to work to highlight the opportunities for researchers to engage with issues of global justice and empower them to develop research that contributes to the theory and practice of critical education, and to the stock of knowledge that enhances the public good. DE for researchers involves the conscientisation and mobilisation of researchers to engage in research that can benefit the poor and enhance sustainability and justice. Research funding for public goods needs to be defended and expanded where possible, especially in the areas of science and technology where the dominance of commercially oriented research has been noted.

## Conclusion

The rich intellectual tradition of progressive and adult pedagogy places great emphasis on critical learning and the creation of open and democratic spaces of learning. Yet the transformation of the third-level landscape seems to be taking us simultaneously nearer and further away from those ideals. The expansion of research has driven third-level institutions towards a more complex set of aims and practices. The growth and expansion of higher education has provided new opportunities for development educators to communicate their ideas and values and find a place for them within research and teaching. However, these core meanings, values and practices are significantly challenged by the contradictions of academic capitalism, the demands and risks of research and the tensions between research and teaching.

Research intensification has been accompanied by many other new demands on those who play multiple roles as educators and researchers. The core values within development studies and DE are moving away from economism and increasingly towards humanism and ethics (e.g. Gasper, 2005). This contrasts with the marketised and managerialist concerns beginning to predominate within both research and teaching at third level. Capitalist education embodies competitive, monopolistic and inegalitarian ways of working that are deeply at odds with DE's traditional allegiances to democratising, inclusive and egalitarian values, practices and behaviours.

For development educators such as Bourn and Faul, the crucial and inescapable questions are about how development educators can respond creatively and innovatively to the processes of globalisation. Is education in this new era 'one of resistance/transformation/accommodation to globalisation or something yet to be defined?' (Bourn, 2006:5, 9).

Despite the tensions that might ensue, the evolution of third level DE and the incorporation of a DE research agenda is, on balance, a welcome set of opportunities for the third level sector. However, this development may also have unintended effects on the ability of non-governmental and civil society actors in DE to conduct their own independent and 'bottom-up' research as funding becomes more programmatic and oriented towards third level institutions. As research funding is further channelled through policy-oriented programmes and competitive bidding processes, it becomes harder for smaller organisations to compete for funding and this could lead to some tensions emerging between these smaller organisations and the universities.

In contrast to the tensions and demands of programmatic funded research, a 'barefoot' approach might seem attractive. Barefoot development practice is so-called as it signifies a back-to-basics, bottom-up approach. In the context of DE and research, it could signify a sense of academic freedom and freedom from frustrating forms of bureaucracy, managerialism and top-down control. Conversely, such an approach might lead to marginalisation and the lack of relevance, credibility and resources.

The scramble for research funding undoubtedly leads to narrowing-down and processes of elimination since research funding is an inescapably competitive process. It seems striking how little critical debate there is in Ireland about the new research funding and wider processes of marketisation and competition in higher education and research. Critical debate is crucial for development educators since the tendencies of funded research may not fit well with the open, critical and dialogic approaches favoured within DE. Critique is the essential tool for overcoming alienation, and for achieving the broader humanistic vision of education discussed at the beginning of this article. There is perhaps an inherent risk with any attempt to 'mainstream' DE as it places high hopes on emancipatory and resistive pedagogies that are innately sceptical towards the 'mainstream'.

Ideally, DE should aspire to 'cultivate humanity', producing well-educated citizens of the world who are able to place the needs of all humanity above their particular loyalties of nationality, religion, ethnicity, gender and class (Nussbaum, 1997:9). Such aspirations are not easy within a higher education system that arguably reproduces social divisions and works through exclusive and competitive practices. The challenge is to find a path through the contradictions in the everyday work of universities: the

teaching, research and public roles of academics need to be brought together in ways that complement each other rather than pull them apart.

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**Su-ming Khoo** is a lecturer in Political Science and Sociology, NUI Galway. She teaches and researches alternative development, postcolonialism, globalisation and public activism and is involved in mainstreaming development education at NUI Galway.

**Carol Healy** is the Research Associate for the Development Education and Research Network (DERN) in NUI Galway. She is involved in mainstreaming development education within NUI Galway.

**Kelly Coate** is a lecturer in higher education, and conducts research on contemporary changes in higher education policies and practices.

# FAIRTRADE OR FIFTY-FIFTY: THE CONSEQUENCES OF SHIFTS IN AFRICAN PERCEPTIONS OF FAIRTRADE FOR DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION PRACTITIONERS

**Jonathan Penson** examines the prized reputation Fairtrade has established among consumers for ethical trading, and finds that there is evidence that problems with Fairtrade institutions are encouraging some African coffee producers to exit the Fairtrade system, and that alternatives to Fairtrade are arising. Given that Fairtrade is so often and so successfully used as a synecdoche by development education practitioners for wider issues of advocacy around trade justice, this finding may have important repercussions for them.

## Introduction

The Fairtrade logo has become an instantly recognisable symbol on our supermarket shelves and cafés. Supported by impressive marketing and the moral authority of being the 'right thing to do', the sales growth of Fairtrade products far surpasses almost any other product range you could mention. Fairtrade sales grew by 46% last year alone, and now run in excess of £300m a year (Fairtrade Foundation, 2007). More than 50% of the UK population recognises the logo and many have made a strong connection between Fairtrade purchases and a positive impact on the global poor (FLO, 2006).

For some time now, the visibility and positivity of Fairtrade have provided global education practitioners with an apparently ideal entry point for awareness raising about numerous issues. Economics, trade justice, community values, global citizenship, the politics of aid: all these learning points and more come together in tangible and accessible products – products which everyone uses on a daily basis. In many ways Fairtrade is a global educator's dream: political action inherent in the purchase of a consumer product. The shortening of the value chain creates stronger relationships between consumers and producers, engendering the cross-cultural and international relationships which are the stuff of the best global education. Case studies of producers promote empathy and a sense of the

global community.  Awareness of the advocacy necessary to get our politicians to change unfair trade rules transforms our students into active global citizens.

But the iconic simplicity of what Fairtrade represents can lead us along some dangerous paths.  The principal peril is that we can think buying Fairtrade is enough.  Popping a packet of Cafédirect into the trolley once a week becomes the solution to global inequality.  Informed global educators, of course, will go beyond the goal of promoting the product to explore the global political conditions which make Fairtrade necessary.  But thinking of Fairtrade as a *solution* rather than a *symptom* remains dominant.  And this provides another entry point, but this one for free-marketeer detractors of Fairtrade.  This is best exemplified by the frequent criticism of Fairtrade in the *Economist*, by the Adam Smith Institute, or by WorldWrite, whose film, *The Bitter Aftertaste*, caustically deconstructs what it would call the myths of Fairtrade.  The core argument of the free-marketeers is that paying increased prices for primary commodities encourages increased dependence on them, preventing the diversification and modernisation of developing country economies which would provide the capital necessary to make real, sustained development possible, and augmenting the problem of over-supply in the world market which causes depressed prices in the first place (Thompson, 2005).  In this view, Fairtrade becomes a sentimental sop to guilt-ridden *Guardian* readers, and actually works against the interests of the poor.

As global educators, we need to be aware of this debate.  But what is happening on the ground, among the beneficiaries of the Fairtrade project?  In the summer of 2006, I returned to Uganda and Rwanda to find out.  I had lived in Rwanda before, when I found out about an inspirational Fairtrade coffee co-operative which was bringing real benefits to its community.  Together with a team of global educators, I was inspired to contribute towards a series of global education resources for teachers based on the co-operative, including PowerPoint presentations and a resource booklet (visit www.vso.org.uk/thecoffeeproject).  The co-operative itself was considered a model of good practice and being replicated throughout Rwanda.  And yet, on my return to Rwanda, I discovered that the co-operative was about to have its Fairtrade certification revoked, as it was failing to meet the required standards.  This coincided with the rise of an alternative model of ethical trading, initiated and managed by Africans in Uganda, which rejected Fairtrade as yet another inappropriate development project imposed by the West.  Were these two developments connected?

This article is about my findings, and aims to inform global educators about the shifts which are occurring in the Fairtrade debate. We will begin by looking at the global trading conditions Fairtrade is designed to circumvent.

## Taming 'the brutal restructuring': politics, premiums and redistribution

The basic premise of a capitalist trading system is that increasing demand increases prices, whilst increasing supply tends to reduce them. Similarly, increasing prices tend to increase supply. In the relationship between coffee supply, demand and price, however, there are numerous complicating factors. When prices rise - creating an incentive to plant more coffee to increase production - the coffee tree will not yield produce for three years, or reach peak levels for five. So when, for example, Brazil, the largest producer, is hit by a frost which reduces its production and causes a worldwide shortage (as happened in 1994), many other producers will plant coffee simultaneously, responding to the momentarily high prices. This causes the market to be flooded once the price peak has passed, creating a surplus which depresses the price (as in 2001). This results in a cycle of exaggeratedly high and low prices, creating instability for coffee farmers that make it difficult for them to invest.

Volatility is not the only problem, however; there has also been a long term decline in market value: 3% per annum for Arabica and 5% per annum for Robusta since 1970 (Lewin *et al*, 2004). The International Coffee Agreement, which attempted to control the amount of coffee on the market, ended in 1989. Since then, there has been a strong trend towards the concentration of value-retention and aggravitation of power to the retail end of the commodity chain (Ponte, 2001). In the late 1980s, the producer was expected to retain 30% of the retail price of coffee (Lewin *et al*, 2004). That share has fallen to 7% (Gresser & Tickell, 2002). This concentration of buying power explains the long-term fall in price paid to producers.

The reasons for this concentration are complex. The era of mergers and acquisitions of the 1980s and 1990s left a few large multinational corporations (MNCs) dominant in the coffee buying and roasting sectors. The five largest coffee buyers control about 46% of their market (Ponte, 2001), whilst the five largest roasters control between 44% (Volcafe, 2000, cited in Gresser & Tickell, 2002) and 69% (van Djik *et al*, 1998, cited in Ponte, 2001) of theirs.

It is this redistribution of value which the Fairtrade movement attempts to address. Fairtrade offers a guaranteed minimum price, long-term

buying contracts and 60% prepayment of orders. It also circumvents traditional purchasing routes, putting producers into direct relationships with processors, and aims to address the volatility of the market by allowing investment in quality coffee, that ensures producers receive a higher proportion of the value of their coffee, thus guaranteeing a basic level of employment conditions. As such it has both a 'developmentally specific goal' (Blowfield, 1999) and roles of regulation and redistribution, compensating for market failure (Raynolds, 2002). It should not therefore be considered a distortion of the market but a correction of a distorted market, re-introducing competition:

> "Fair Trade is a trading partnership, based on dialogue, transparency and respect, that seeks greater equity in international trade. It contributes to sustainable development by offering better trading conditions to, and securing the rights of, marginalized producers and workers – especially in the South" (IFAT, 2006).

Fairtrade is, then, primarily a mechanism for re-distributing value in the commodity chain, and thus its principal effect will be on producer prices. Milford (2004) has shown how the presence of a Fairtrade co-operative can improve prices not just for members but throughout the local market. Moreover, private firms paying an enhanced price can achieve the same effect in the local market as Fairtrade co-operatives. This is achieved through similar mechanisms – the shortening of the commodity chain and the use of consumer reputation – similarly mediated by ethical principles on behalf of the firm. This demonstrates that existing pricing mechanisms and levels can be used to achieve the same effect as the 'parallel market'. This counters a number of the objections to Fairtrade that paying a minimum price acts as an effective subsidy, encouraging the persistence of high-cost producers, lowering quality and competitiveness, and contributing towards a surplus – in short that Fairtrade is a 'sticking plaster solution'. If a private firm can have a general price-increasing effect and remain profitable and competitive, and its products clear the market, so too can the Fairtrade model.

However, there is the possibility that within Fairtrade's undeniable success there lay the seeds of its decline. Fairtrade expansion has mostly taken place within the context of an extended and particularly deep trough in prices, which meant that the Fairtrade guaranteed minimum price of $1.21/lb was frequently twice the New York market price. The world price has recently recovered somewhat and Fairtrade prices, although guaranteed to be a minimum $0.05/lb above the market price, no longer offer a significant

premium to growers above that offered by the market. Indeed, for some co-operatives in Rwanda Fairtrade prices are actually less. Moreover, the majority of the margin generated by Fairtrade still remains in consuming countries, and so its redistributive effect is beginning to be questioned (Ashurst, 2006). Thus Fairtrade faces perhaps its biggest test yet, and in the next section we will explore the possibility that some producers in East Africa may be turning their backs on it, and that alternative models are arising.

## The dilemma: the Abahuzamugambi co-operative, Rwanda

Both Rwanda and Uganda are heavily dependent on coffee. It forms the largest component of Uganda's exports – $100m in 2003 and 27% of export revenue (UBOS, 2003) with a similar scenario obtaining in Rwanda. In 1999, a co-operative called Abahuzamugambi was started in Maraba, Rwanda, which attracted the support of a USAID-funded non-governmental organisation (NGO) called PEARL (Fairtrade Foundation, 2006). PEARL, having identified Rwanda as having great potential in the speciality coffee market, concentrated on building the infrastructure and knowledge necessary to improve quality, particularly in the construction of a coffee washing station in Maraba. Abahuzamugambi became the first Fairtrade-certified co-operative in Rwanda in 2002.

Interviews with members of the co-operative held in October 2003 and July 2006 confirm that they have received substantial economic benefits from the co-operative. As well as the substantially higher price paid, these include the provision of healthcare and local banking facilities, improved diet and employment by the co-operative for some (the co-operative employs 48 staff). All the interviewees' school-age children attended school, and most spoke of improved living conditions such as new or renovated houses, new clothes and recently purchased land and livestock which they attributed to the increased income supplied by the co-operative.

These positive outcomes however are tempered by the fact that Fairtrade rules unintentionally mean that the co-operative has recently been faced with the choice between excluding the poorest of the poor and exiting the Fairtrade system. Some interviewees at Maraba reported that they were forced into pre-selling coffee to other local buyers, at a lower price, in order to address short-term cash-flow problems. They simply could not afford to wait until the co-operative paid them at harvest time, and either could not access credit to see them through, or could not afford interest on loans. Other coffee farmers were too poor to join the co-operative, which charges a membership fee, or did not have sufficient land to produce enough coffee

to meet the minimum requirements of the co-operative. The co-operative's response was to allow the poorer farmers to sell their coffee to it without holding full membership. But this transgresses Fairtrade standards of accountability and transparency, and as a consequence, the co-operative was warned that it faced having its Fairtrade certification revoked. The rules set by the Fairtrade Labelling Organisation, the international certification agency responsible for awarding Fairtrade certified status, which were designed to ensure that trade really is socially beneficial, were having the opposite effect. As Bihogo Etienne, the Director of the Rwandan Smallholders Speciality Coffee Company, which has taken up PEARL's role commented in July 2006, there seems to be a fundamental incompatibility between the Fairtrade concept of trade, which is still based firmly in the Western traditions of rule-based accountability and notions of universality, and African trading systems which are traditionally more contingent on circumstance, making them more flexible and accommodating of individual relationships.

## An African response: Rwenzori Finest Coffee Company, Uganda

Rwenzori Finest Coffee Company (RFC) is a private company founded in 2002 by Ugandan entrepreneur Andrew Rugasira. It aims to market quality African coffee in a way that contributes to sustainable development for all primary stakeholders, which it takes to be growers, employees, shareholders and the environment (RFC, 2005). It sources coffee primarily from Kasese District, Western Uganda, where farming and local market conditions are very similar to those in Rwanda. It operates in partnership with PrimeWest, a USAID-funded NGO. RFC's role is to provide a market for the coffee and to organise and train the coffee farmers to provide the necessary infrastructure and knowledge to bring quality coffee to that market. RFC works with over 10,000 farmers through Producer Organisations (PO), each comprising of 50 farmers, and claims to include all farmers in the district so that none is marginalised.

RFC intends to add and retain value in Uganda whilst paying farmers a fair price. It sells directly to the Waitrose supermarket group in the UK and the Shoprite chain in South Africa (UCTF, 2005). Despite only being introduced in 2005, RFC's brand, Good African Coffee, already accounts for 5% of Waitrose roast/ground coffee sales. There are plans to begin roasting the coffee in Kampala, to produce instant coffee and to open cafés. This shortening of the commodity chain allows RFC to pay producers a minimum 30% more than the market price for coffee. In addition, 50% of the company's profits are shared with the producers. The first full season's 50%

was used to offset training costs, but from the 2006 season this 50% will be distributed to POs through the Good African NGO, which advises on and implements social projects, although POs will have the freedom to choose how to spend the money.

All this means that the effect on local communities is very similar to that of Fairtrade. Since RFC started trading, new houses have been built, people's diets are better, more children are in school. As in Rwanda, other buyers in the local market have had to increase the prices they pay, even to non-co-operative members, if they are to secure their own supply of coffee, thus multiplying the beneficial economic effects in the community beyond the immediate members of the co-operative or POs. And yet this is a trade concept which has set itself deliberately outside the Fairtrade paradigm, believing that local, indigenous, free-market based ethical systems are more likely to meet with sustainable success.

## The implications for global educators

Some current academic research similarly points to a certain dissatisfaction with the Fairtrade system among producers beyond Africa. Anna Milford, for example, will show in a forthcoming publication that Latin American coffee producers are forming their own fair trade organisations, partly as a response to dissatisfaction with the FLO's award of Fairtrade status to some Nestlé and other major manufacturers' lines, believing that the ideological roots of the alternative trading organisations from which Fairtrade grew are being unacceptably compromised. Whilst the African case studies may express more economic and cultural dissatisfaction than ideological, it is clearly of no small significance when the intended beneficiaries of a system are rejecting that system.

This situation raises important themes for discussion for global educators. First, the simplistic dichotomy of 'Fairtrade good: Starbucks bad' can be usefully challenged. To see the world in this way reinforces restrictive, dualistic interpretations of the world, into black and white, good and evil. Reality is, of course, far more complex, but this simplification of the system to ease its understanding risks signing up to a world view understood only through Western-centric notions of 'with us or against us'. As global educators, we seek to break down these stereotypical, dualistic ways of perceiving the world, and by looking at the compromises and innovations coffee producers are making in order to take control of their own development, we can aim to engender a holistic and empathetic understanding of their dilemmas.

Second, looking at Fairtrade from an analytically critical viewpoint

forces us to re-examine the role and consequences of the West's developmental agenda. In particular, by seeing Fairtrade as a development intervention, we can understand its role not as an alternative to tradition interventions, but as an evolution of them. This is, after all, the way coffee farmers in Africa appear to view it. This opens the possibility of seeing the neo-imperialist cultural assumptions inherent in any Western development model, and, importantly, adapting them, or rejecting them, as necessary.

Few people would argue that Fairtrade is, overall, a positive thing. In order for it to continue to be such, we need to be aware of its weaknesses: treating it as an irreproachably positive initiative risks blinding us to failings which, if left unaddressed, could bring about its ultimate rejection and demise. We should be unafraid, therefore, to encourage debate about the negative aspects as well as the positive. Fairtrade should be the subject of analysis just as much as unfair trade rules to ensure that we advocate change with the best possible outcome for all those engaged in the global commodity.

But how can we integrate these themes into our classroom practice? First, we need to move beyond the issue of the price we pay for primary commodities. Whilst the clear injustice of the low prices paid for commodities can provide an easy point of engagement for young people, who tend to respond to injustice in open and concerned ways, we need to highlight the issue of value retention in developing countries. If we do not, our practice risks lagging a long way behind development theory, which has long recognised that one of the central problems for developing countries is their reliance on low value-added primary commodities.

Second, I think we need explicitly to recognise that even the most progressive development interventions are still designed according to Western models of understanding the world. We need to provide the space for other voices to be heard, and actively encourage voices from the South which do not simply provide feel-good marketing sound bites for the positive aspects of Fairtrade, but also those which fervently disagree with the premises upon which Fairtrade is based.

Lastly, we need to address our efforts at advocacy at not only those institutions which appear to have become demonised by many in the progressive development community, such as the international finance institutions or the members of Group of Eight leading industrialised countries (G8). In a world where many development NGOs – including those with very powerful voices in the public realm – have little real accountability, we need to ensure that we remain critical of their programmes, constantly comparing their claims with those voices from the South to which we have access.

## Conclusion

An excellent film called *Black Gold* is currently on release. The film tracks the efforts of Tadesse Meskela, an Ethiopian who represents coffee farmers in his country, to secure a better price for his farmers in the Machiavellian world of the hypercorporates. Beautifully photographed and passionate about trade justice, the film is moving and informative. And yet the film falls into some of the counterproductive dichotomies mentioned above. One editing decision sticks with me particularly. The film cuts straight from a gushing young American Starbucks manager effusing about what a people-oriented company she works for, to a feeding station in the area in Ethiopia from which Starbucks sources coffee. Not subtle. And problematic in all sorts of ways. But a powerful opportunity nonetheless. This film, together with the WorldWrite film *The Bitter Aftertaste: A Film About Fairtrade*, which gives the neoliberal response to Fairtrade, could form the basis of an excellent scheme of work on trade justice. But any analysis of Fairtrade needs to be informed by the framework outlined above: of genuinely trying to deconstruct the ideological positions of the 'sides', in order to ascertain what would really constitute meaningful action to reduce the poverty of commodity farmers; of examining how voices from the global South are mediated; and of allowing students the information necessary to form their own conclusions.

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**Jonathan Penson** is a Researcher/Consultant with the CfBT Education Trust, where he is currently researching education reform in fragile states. He has previously worked as a teacher and teacher trainer in the UK, Botswana, Nepal and Rwanda. He is on the DfID Global Educators Register. Contact jonathanpenson2000@yahoo.co.uk.

# BUILDING ACADEMIC SUPPORT FOR DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION

In this article, **Douglas Bourn** provides the context and rationale for the establishment of a Development Education Research Centre at the Institute of Education at the University of London, the main issues it aims to address and why such a Centre is important for all practitioners engaged in development education.

## Development education and higher education

Development education and its related terms of global education and global learning are becoming increasingly well supported by governments, policy-makers and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) across Europe. However, most of this activity has been based around the practice of a range of NGOs and, while there has been a greater level of activity within higher education linked mainly to teacher training or deepening the study of development issues across a range of degree courses, there has been no independent body of educational research in development education.

In the UK, there is a growing network of academics interested in development education and global perspectives, and a number of institutions have developed, or are considering initiatives, research centres or programmes that relate global perspectives to learning. These include a Centre for Human Rights Education at Roehampton University and one on Sustainable Development at Plymouth University. There are also a number of initiatives in Ireland and individuals and universities who have undertaken and are undertaking research under the heading of 'global education', including Bath Spa, Leeds, York, Bristol, Leicester and Exeter Universities (Hicks, Scott-Baumann, Clough & Holden, 2003). But there is no centre of learning that has focused specifically on the 'international development' aspects of education.

These trends are mirrored across Europe, although there are several courses and research groups at a number of universities, including University of Erlangen-Nurnberg, Vienna, Warsaw and Dublin.

The consequence of this lack of independent research focus on development education is that it has minimal academic profile. There is for example no academic journal for development or global education, unlike

areas such as environmental education or citizenship education. Where there has been research, such as Osler and Vincent, it has been looking at the relationship of global education to topics such as citizenship (Osler & Vincent, 2004). There have however been a number of conferences in recent years that have begun the process of engaging in debates on development and global education and their relationship to learning in a global society (O'Loughlin & Wegimont, 2002; 2003).

## Policy-makers and request for evidence

The growth in political and educational support for development education and global perspectives has posed the need for evidence to justify the value of the funding and its relevance. Development education throughout the 1980s and 1990s across many countries suffered from being susceptible to moods and changes in policies from governments. Elections of social democratic governments often led to increased resources whilst conservative governments led to reductions in funding (Bourn, 2003; Cronkhite, 2000; McCollum, 1996; Marshall, 2005).

Since 2000 there has been increased support across the political spectrum for development education but in most countries, funders have increasingly posed the need for broader educational support. In the UK for example the Department for International Development (DfID) has stated that one of the aims of its funding is to support proposals that 'embed' greater understanding of international development issues within mainstream education. To achieve this, the Department has recognised that there is a need to produce evidence that development education does contribute to the 'essential learning' of children and young people (DfID, 1998).

The Education Ministry in England, the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) in launching their International Strategy in 2004, 'Putting the World into World Class Education', made reference to the importance of promoting the global dimension within all sectors of formal education. In planning its implementation in the summer of 2005, DfES officials have stated that a priority has to be to demonstrate the value and impact of the global dimension and 'international experience' for young people. There is also a need to promote and publicise existing academic research in this field to the wider educational world.

Similar debates and initiatives have taken place in other countries such as Finland, Austria and Netherlands. The Peer Evaluation initiatives led by Global Education Network Europe (GENE) have started an important process of reflection, analysis and strategising. GENE also organised a

series of seminars and events on the need for evaluation and quality assurance strategies (North-South Centre, 2005;2006).

But there has been no mechanism or structure that can bring together, identify and promote outcomes of research and evidence on the impact and effectiveness of development education programmes. For example, despite work undertaken in the UK and Germany on evaluation there is still recognition amongst many NGOs across Europe of the importance and value of publishing evidence and research of work undertaken. The comments made by McCollum commenting on the challenges for evaluation of development education in 2001 are still relevant:

> "The key to moving forward is to identify ways for development education practitioners and organisations to work collectively to develop analyses of changes in the wider environment and their implications for their work" (McCollum, 2001).

Development education has therefore not been a subject of broader educational debate. A consequence of this is that it is vulnerable in terms of its long-term viability if it is not seen as part of mainstream learning. Without published bodies of evidence and research it is likely that development education and related terms will continue to remain on the margins of education thinking, policy-making and practice.

A comparison could be made with environmental education. That field has generated a well-respected international academic journal entitled *Environmental Education Research*. The editors of this journal are based at the research centre for environmental education at the University of Bath in UK.

There are a number of projects in many countries that engage individual academics and institutions in particular initiatives around development education. But unless evidence is gathered and learning undertaken which deepens understanding of what 'development education' means, there is a danger that initiatives around the theme of the 'global dimension' could be superficial and not grounded in understanding of international development issues (www.dea.org.uk/measuringeffectiveness).

A project that produced evidence of the need for more meaningful research initiatives was found in the Global Citizenship project at Birmingham University led by Professor Lynn Davies. The project report demonstrated the lack of clarity there is in the educational world about what is meant by 'global citizenship' (Davies, Harber & Yamashita, 2005). Professor Davies identified the need for more research on the long-term impact of global citizenship education. There is a need, she suggests, to

assess 'the impact of teaching and learning on young people's attitudes and dispositions to challenge injustice and violence' (Davies, 2005).

Harriet Marshall, author of a recently completed thesis on Global Education, in a review essay of this area stated that there are few contemporary books in this field, 'despite the burgeoning interest amongst teachers, NGO workers and research students'. She says that 'it is vital for a discourse to be developed in this area, particularly at a time when there is such a demand by young people to learn more about global issues' (Marshall, 2003). This means that few of the academic debates that have links to development education make the promotion of greater understanding and support for development central to their agendas.

## Creation of a Research Centre on Development Education

In recognition of these challenges, the Institute of Education at the University of London launched in autumn 2006 a Research Centre on Development Education with funding from DfID. The purpose of the Research Centre is to act as the hub for generating issues and areas for knowledge generation, new thinking and quality output on development education. An initial task of the centre is to develop a body of evidence that can demonstrate the value and impact of development education and to give it increased status and profile within higher education.

Its objectives are to:

i) promote the value of development education as part of the essential learning of the twenty-first century to the academically focussed educational world through the creation of a research centre;

ii) provide evidence to DfID as to where and how development education contributes to their strategy document 'Building Support for Development';

iii) promote and encourage critical reflective engagement with the meaning and effectiveness of development education programmes with the educational community in the UK and internationally;

iv) develop a community of researchers engaged in development education;

v) develop a body of evidence through a series of published monographs, academic articles and seminars on the contribution development education practice can make in building public support and understanding of international development;

vi)     develop the first ever Masters degree course in the UK on development education aimed at NGO practitioners, teachers and educationalists;

vii)    develop and embed development education principles and practices across teacher training and other educational courses and initiatives within the Institute of Education, and thereby in turn to other similar institutions.

## The need for published material within the educational world on development education

Very few publications on development education in the English language have been produced over the past decade. The only book produced to date with the title *Development Education* is that by Audrey Osler and that was first published in 1994 (Osler, 1994). There have been a number of books written by Pike, Selby and Hicks on this area over the past decade but they take a wider remit based around global education as it is defined within a UK or North American context (Hicks, 2005).

Perhaps the most significant of the recent publications has been Dave Hicks and Cathy Holden's publication on the 'global dimension' which includes essays by some of the leading writers and practitioners on development and global education in the UK (Hicks & Holden, 2007). There have been a number of other publications involving Osler but most of them are framed within a citizenship context (Osler & Vincent, 2002). There has been some valuable work published in development education in Japan.

There are of course journals such as *Policy and Practice* and ZEP in Germany, and up until spring 2007, the UK's *Development Education Journal*. But there has been little debate on development education within academic journals. The *Journal of International Development* had a special issue on 'Public Understanding of Development' (Smith & Yanacopolos, 2004) but elsewhere we have been limited to occasional articles covering areas such as global citizenship and global education (see Davies, 2005; Richardson et al, 2003; Holden, 2000; Smith, 2004).

This lack of material compares very unfavourably with areas such as environment education, human rights and citizenship education or even inter-cultural education. For example, in citizenship education there is now a considerable body of evidence based on research, published papers and books which demonstrate the desire and interest of young people to learn and engage more in political and social issues of today, including the importance of the global dimension (see **www.nfer.ac.uk/research/citizenship**, Osler & Starkey, 2005)

The reasons for this lack of material are in part due to the emphasis on practice within a context determined by NGOs as suggested by McCollum, Blum and Marshall (McCollum, 1996; Blum, 2000; Marshall, 2005). This point has also been underlined in the articles published in the *Development Education Journal* in the UK where academics tend to write the more reflective papers and the NGO workers the examples of practice.

## Why a Centre with a specific focus on development education

In developing the rationale for the Research Centre a question continually posed has been why use the term 'development education'. The North-South Centre's work in this area uses the term 'global education'. Terms such as 'global citizenship' and 'global learning' could well be argued as more often used in educational discourse than development education. In addition to an increasing number of practitioners the term 'development' is seen as problematic in presupposing a linear approach to human and social development. Debates in development education are also often framed within an 'international development' and, therefore, pre-determined NGO and government agendas. It has also been argued that because the world is more complex, one can longer see issues and debates within a North-South and 'developed' and 'under developed' context. Finally terms such as 'global education' or 'global learning' are used more than 'development education' in the majority of policy statements produced in countries such as Canada, Australia, Austria, Germany, Netherlands and Switzerland (Marshall, 2005).

However the following points could be argued as the basis for the need for a research centre specifically with the term 'development education':

- It has been a discrete body of practice with its own internal dynamic and approach to learning across Europe and beyond for over thirty years: there is for example a well respected European network of NGOs on development education.
- Government bodies that fund these areas of work are interested in initiatives that build greater public understanding and support for development.
- The linkages and roots in pedagogy, methodologies and perspectives from Southern countries have always been a key element of practice.
- Definitions of the term emphasise the relationship between learning and action for social change.

Using the term 'development' enables the debates to be framed within the policy agendas from both government and NGOs and this is likely to result in the outcomes of any research having a more receptive audience. For example central to the work of the Research Centre is the development within higher education of *knowledge and understanding of the major challenges and prospects for development, especially the poverty reduction agenda* (DfID, 1998). Also, if there is to be a greater understanding of *our global interdependence* within education and learning, then academic support is essential to secure recognition of its importance in the skills and knowledge people will need for the twenty-first century. Finally to *strengthen public confidence in, and support for, the fight against global poverty* requires leadership from educational thinkers and policy-makers. This requires the engagement and involvement in the debates from academic figures in the UK and elsewhere in the world.

## Research issues and themes

An early activity of the Research Centre was a seminar for 40 UK academics that identified the following key research issues and questions and from it the following themes as the basis for ongoing debate and dialogue:

- The relationship of policy and practice and to look at approaches in different countries as to what and how development education practice mirrors and reflects government and NGO policies.
- How greater understanding and engagement with the global dimension can be reflected within the training and education of teachers.
- Relationship between themes and perspectives of development education to the internationalisation of higher education.
- The concept of development education and its framework and relationship to other concepts.
- Partnerships and linkages between schools in the North and the South - value, influence and impact (see http://ioewebserver.ioe.ac.uk/ioe/cms/get.asp?cid=4381&4381_0=14597).

In assessing the first activities of the Centre, the following observations could be made:
- A key need is to encourage and support NGOs, practitioners and professional bodies to work with higher education institutions to ensure the outcomes of their practice are made more widely available.

- Different motives and agendas from governments, NGOs and practitioners have meant that in many areas of development education, the learning outcomes can appear to be confused and contradictory. An NGO might, for example, be looking for evidence to demonstrate increased understanding and support for their key messages, whilst an educational body would be seeking outcomes related to curriculum and personal development.
- Where there are initiatives that encourage greater public engagement in development, there is evidence to suggest that learning becomes secondary to giving money or demonstrating your support via some form of lifestyle action.

These are all areas the Centre intends to address in the future.

## International debate and dialogue

Key to taking forward these research ideas and themes is the need for debate and dialogue at an international level. The GENE network has been an important initiator of such debate as can be demonstrated by it support for the Global Education in Europe conference at Maastricht in 2002 and the Learning for a Global Society Conference in London in 2003 (O'Loughlin & Wegimont, 2002; 2003).

The network was also a supporter of the *Development Education Theory, Policy and Practice* conference organised by the DEA and the Institute of Education in November 2006. This event attended by over 150 academics, NGO practitioners and policy-makers from around the UK and elsewhere in Europe identified the need for more debate particularly around the areas of dealing with complexity, multiple perspectives and critical engagement. Presentations and comments from participants noted the need to move on from seeing development education as about responding to agendas of government and NGO needs to that of recognising the centrality of the learning process. Development education should not be about changing people's behaviour to pre-determined goals and aspirations, but opening up minds to enable them to critically re-assess their own views and perspectives on the nature of the world in which they are living (Bourn, 2007 for main papers from the conference).

As Morgan has commented, development education and its related disciplines need also to engage in wider educational and philosophical debates, particularly in the context of dealing with complexity and debates around place and scale (Morgan, 2004). These points have been reinforced by Andreotti who has stated that 'in order to understand global issues, a

complex web of cultural and material local and global processes and contexts needs to be examined and unpacked'. She goes on to suggest that the key to debates are notions of power, voice and difference: 'we need to engage with our own and other perspectives to learn and transform our views, identities and relationships' (Andreotti, 2006).

## Long-term benefits of a Research Centre

Establishing a research centre around a theme that at present has minimal academic profile is a great risk. But if it is successful it could play a major role in changing not only political and educational support for development education and its related terms, it will also provide evidence of its value to the educational needs of societies.

The following could be argued as the outcomes the Centre is working towards:

i)      Governments will have bodies of independent evidence and research that could be used to justify and support more resources and work on the 'global dimension' to education.

ii)     National organisations responsible for policy development on development education and related subjects will be more aware of development education through publications, events and engagement in strategic initiatives.

iii)    NGOs engaged in development education practice will be able to refer to independent research and publications that demonstrate the value of their work. A wider educational audience will know their work.

iv)     The educational research community internationally will be more aware of development education and the contribution it can make to learning. Those members of the academic community who are interested in development education will be encouraged to undertake more research work in this area and publish papers on these themes.

v)      The development studies community internationally will be aware of where and how development education links to public support and engagement with development. They will also be better informed as to the linkages between development education and development studies.

vi)     A learning community in development education will be created including academic staff, research staff, masters and doctorate students.

As one of the leading thinkers and practitioners on geography education commented in his support for the research centre, development education 'needs to build a body of evidence that can inspire and motivate and contribute to raising standards of educational attainment. It is likely that such evidence does exist in fragments, locked away in dissertations and the experience of individuals. Building academic support and understanding will enable greater communication and help bring development education into mainstream debates' (Lambert, 2005*).*

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**Douglas Bourn** is Director of the Development Education Research Centre at the Institute of Education, University of London.  He was Director of the Development Education Association in the UK from 1993 to 2006 and has written extensively on development education, global perspectives and education for sustainable development.  He has been a member of the Global Education Network Europe and advisor to UK government on development awareness, and sustainable development.  He is currently chair of the UNESCO UK Committee on the Decade on Education for Sustainable Development.

# Ruptures in imagination: Horizontalism, autogestion and affective politics in Argentina

## Marina Sitrin

In this article, **Marina Sitrin** will explore a new social creation in Argentina, sparked by a popular rebellion which began in December, 2001. Different from so many social movements of the past, this rebellion rejected political programs, opting instead to create directly democratic spaces. This new social relationship has become commonly known as *horizontalidad*.

## Introduction

A mass demonstration sings collectively 'Oh, que se vayan todos, que no quedan, ni uno solo' (oh, that they all must go, that not even one remains). Public art reads, 'Ni Dios, Ni Patria', 'Autogestion', 'La Solución: Autogestion', 'Nuestro Suenos no Caben en Sus Urnas', 'La Verdadera Democracia Esta En Las Calles', 'Nunca Mas, No Te Metas' and 'Ocupar, Resistir, Producir' (translated as 'Neither God nor Country', 'Self Management', 'The Solution: Self Management', 'Our dreams do not fit in your Ballot Boxes', 'The True Democracy is in the Streets', 'Never Again will I not be Involved', and 'Occupy, Resist, Produce').

These are expressions of grassroots mobilization and direct democracy from hundreds of thousands of middle class and recently declassed urban dwellers who have organized themselves into neighborhood assemblies in Argentina. This article will consider some of the stirring and enduring changes that have taken in place in Argentina in recent years, particularly in the period after December 2001 when a total economic collapse precipitated millions of people taking to the streets. Within two weeks, this popular response to macro-economic mismanagement resulted in the collapse of five consecutive governments, while simultaneously creating new horizontal assemblies designed to meet local community needs. The interview selections in this article are drawn from the oral history I published in Spanish and English (*Horizontalidad: Voces de Poder Popular en Argentina*, Chilavert 2005, and *Horizontalism: Voices of Popular Power in Argentina*, AKPress 2006). The vast majority of interviews are based on

relationships that I established, and maintain with participants in autonomous social movements and collectives throughout Argentina. Most interviews were conducted between 2002 and 2005.

These new assemblies rejected and reject hierarchical government and instead adopt forms of direct democracy and horizontalism. They enabled workers to take over and run hundreds of workplaces, from clinics and supermarkets, to print shops and daily newspapers. In addition, indigenous communities have been supported in reclaiming their land and unemployed workers have protested successfully in order to demand unemployment subsidies, while working together in their neighborhoods to feed the community through communal bakeries and kitchens, provide popular education and schools, and other essential services. These movements of resistance and solidarity relate to one another on a fundamental level, as they are not trying to take state power, but instead seek to create alternative ways of living.

Throughout history people have looked to one another when formal institutions are laid bare by reorganizing and reshaping their lives and communities. This is usually done in a way that is more caring and mutually respectful than was evident before. For example, in the immediate aftermath of September 11, 2001 in New York, individuals looked to one another for help and solidarity rather than looking to institutions. Parks were transformed into spaces for public conversations, and this form of mutually supportive behavior has repeated itself frequently throughout history (Solnit, 2005).

I am sure that each person reading this can think of instances when we have looked to one another for mutual aid and support in the absence of formal institutions. This is not how we are taught to behave, but this break between the perception and reality of human interaction can shift people's imaginations and ways of being so that they begin to organize differently as was the case in contemporary Argentina. For most people here it was not only the economic crisis that produced fundamental grassroots change, but a rupture in their relations with the state, and a period of reflection and understanding in which they viewed each other differently and helped to develop a new society. Severe economic troubles had affected the vast majority of Argentines for years before the period of total collapse. While the freezing of their bank accounts in January 2002 was a key moment for the middle class, workers in both the unemployed and indigenous communities had felt the effects of economic crisis for years, even lifetimes. The economic crisis served as a process of rejecting structures of power and antiquated ways of relating to one another. When people in Argentina spoke of what had so profoundly changed their society, most pointed to altered

personal connections, or *horizontalidad*, rather than increased economic distress. Similar processes of societal change have taken effect in other parts of the world over the last decade and they are considered in the next section.

## Contemporary rise of prefigurative politics

Over the past ten years the world has been witnessing an upsurge in prefigurative revolutionary movements: movements that create the future in the present. These new movements do not create party platforms or programs. They do not look to one leader, but make space for all to be leaders. They place more importance on asking the right questions than on providing the correct answers and resolutely reject dogma and hierarchy in favor of direct democracy and consensus.

Where are these new social movements located? They can be found in the autonomous Zapatista communities of Chiapas, Mexico, where indigenous communities organize autonomously from the state, working to meet their basic necessities while using consensus-based decision making to create themselves anew. They are also in the mass organizations in rural Brazil, where the landless movement (Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra - MST) has been reclaiming the land and reconstructing their communities. They are in the shanty-towns of South Africa, where 'poor' women and men use direct action and direct democracy to take back electricity, housing, water, and other resources denied them by corporations and government. They are in India too, where thousands of people are coming together to protect the environment and prevent the construction of dams, using mass direct action and participatory decision making. They are the indigenous groups in Ecuador and Bolivia that are resisting privatization and helping to prevent environmental destruction through mass blockades and mass democracy. They are in the social centers in Italy, providing direct services and meeting spaces for those involved in direct democracy projects. They are in the many direct action groups in Eastern Europe, working to abolish borders on the principal that no person should be considered illegal. They are also in the autonomous groupings around the USA and Canada, groups that begin with the assumption of consensus decision-making, anti-hierarchy, and anti-capitalism. These new movements are part of an international trend toward popular democracy and direct participation and yet operate at community levels.

The autonomous social movements in Argentina are yet another part of this global trend. They have constructed new types of networks that reject the hierarchical – 'power-over'- template bequeathed to them by established politics in favor of organization on a flatter plane, with the goal of creating

a 'power-with' or more egalitarian model. Embedded in these efforts is a commitment to value both the individual and the collective and simultaneously, separately, and together these groups are organizing in the direction of a more meaningful and deeper freedom, using the tools of direct democracy and direct action. Together, they are constructing a new sort of popular power.

*Horizontalidad* is a word that has come to embody the new social arrangements and principles of organization that have resulted from these movements in Argentina. As its name suggests, it implies a flat plane upon which to communicate. It entails the use of direct democracy and strives toward creating non-hierarchical and anti-authoritarian structures. It is therefore a break from vertical methods of organizing and relating. Horizontalidad is a concept embodying an ever-changing experience and months after the popular rebellion, many movement participants began to speak of their relationships as horizontal in describing how new forms of decision-making evolved. Years after the rebellion, those continuing to build new movements speak of horizontalidad as a goal as well as a tool.

Our relationships are still deeply affected by the power dynamics of capitalism and hierarchy, particularly in how we relate to one another in terms of economic resources, gender, race, access to information and experience. Until these fundamental social dynamics are overcome, the goal of horizontalidad cannot be achieved. In the face of these constraints, we need to pro-actively develop the networks and relationships that are required to achieve horizontalidad. While horizontalidad is the desired end, it also supports the process and provides the tools for achieving this ultimate goal.

I use the term autonomous to describe the social movements in Argentina because this is how they identify themselves. Autonomy distinguishes a person or group from the state and other hierarchical institutions, and is also used to reflect self-organization, autogestion, direct participation and democracy. This use of 'autonomy' is not meant to address, or reflect, any direct relationship to the autonomous Marxist currents.

The movements today are prefigurative and focus on social relationships in the present as well as the future. They differ markedly from past movements, which generally demanded reforms from the state or aimed to assume state power and introduce more enlightened government. The research and oral histories I conducted in Argentina showed that contemporary autonomous movements are placing their energies in enhancing their organizational structures and capacity, using horizontalidad and autogestion. Most of the movements are anti-capitalist, and some are anti-state, but their strategy for the creation of a new society is not grounded

in either state dependency or in assuming state control.

Over the past six years, the autonomous social movements in Argentina have begun to articulate new and revolutionary politics and engage in new forms of expression and organization. These movements comprise a mix of the political and anti-political with the former tied to the hierarchical structures attached to political parties making decisions for people and thereby taking away their agency. By comparison, Argentina's anti-political social movements are engaged in the politics of everyday life and have evolved more participative and horizontal forms of decision-making. These movements aim to create the future within the present, through new directly democratic relationships. They reject hierarchy, bosses, managers, party brokers, and *punteros* (leaders) and try to construct a better environment through *autogestionandose* (working together), in communities, neighborhoods, work places, schools and universities. While there are many differences in how campaigns are delivered here, I will focus below on some of the commonalities.

## Why Argentina? Why now?

Why have these new social movements emerged in Argentina over the past decade? Why the mediums of horizontalism or self-management? While there are many possible explanations, from the global context to the local, I will address one: the shift in people's individual and collective imaginations, a rupture that is part of a process of new understanding.

It is often argued, by social scientists, such as Immanuel Wallerstein and Charles Tilly, that there needs to be an economic crisis, famine, war, or other form of social upheaval to create a realignment in social relations, but it is argued here that this is not always the case. History has been littered with crises and traumas that do not result in prefigurative creation or forms of social rebellion. Sometimes there is a spark that helps begin the process of shifting ways of seeing and being. This was the case with the middle class in Argentina when, in December 2001, millions took to the streets and began to organize horizontally in response to the government freezing their bank accounts. However, this economic meltdown was not a catalyst for activism among unemployed workers' movements or the indigenous movements who had limited ties to the formal economy. These social groups were already engaged in actions designed to defend or retake their land that pre-dated Argentina's financial turmoil.

There are many similar examples of people changing their social landscape and organizing in prefigurative ways like the Zapatistas in Chiapas. The autonomous communities did not result from a moment of

crisis, but developed because people began to see the truth of their situation and organized themselves accordingly. Their break from the past was not due to a financial collapse but rather a change from within the communities themselves based on the process of changing their character and worldview.

## Rupture as a process in creating new relationships

In the oral history compiled as part of my research, I titled the opening chapter 'Context and Rupture' because it reflected how they had come to be involved in these new entities. The interviewees wanted to convey a background, a history or context to their involvement while also stressing the lack of a defining moment for their mobilization.

The term 'rupture' recurred frequently in my interviews, and I began to realize that this was one of the many new words and expressions - like horizontalidad, *afectividad,* and autogestion - coming from the movements to describe the disconnection with the past. Although it was not a commonly used word in Argentina, 'rupture' assumed a new meaning to describe a new circumstance or phenomenon much greater than just the 'moment' and all its implications. People spoke of rupture as a break, but also, and simultaneously, as a freeing or an opening thus capturing the new energy created by changed circumstances. This seems to be the case in Argentina in the context of the economic collapse on 19 and 20 December 2001 when a state of siege was declared and millions of people took to the streets in protest. The enduring nature of the protest suggested a rupture with the past given Argentina's comparatively recent history of brutal dictatorship (1976-83) when over 30,000 people (mostly social activists, students and trade unionists) 'disappeared'. In the course of this extended rupture with the past, five governments were toppled and protestors risked confrontations with police but, most importantly, people broke a history of silence - 'no te metas' (don't involve yourself) – a phrase often used during the dictatorship and the years after the so-called 'democracy' was restored.

The effects of this rupture extended beyond street action to a change in consciousness and in relationships with others. For example, Paloma, a woman in her 70s, described to me how she lost her fear, and recovered her memory, saying that 'now we are advancing. Our advances although small, go…little by little, but they go' (Sitrin, 2006:24). In the post-December 2001 period, people began to meet one another on the street and formed neighborhood assemblies. As Ezequiel, an activist in a neighborhood assembly, said:

"…What began angrily, with people coming out on the street in a rage, quickly turned joyful. People smiled and mutually recognized that something had changed…It was a very intense feeling that I will never forget" (Sitrin, 2006:26).

Carina, a university graduate student described what took place in the moments of the 19 and 20 December and what it meant to her:

"It was a reconnection with something that was lost. Many ways of being social had been lost...one of the first things we regained with the 19th and 20th was face-to-face interaction. We regained our community" (Sitrin, 2006:29).

Rupture is therefore not only a break in the sense of time and place, but a shift in people's imaginations from which new social relationships emerge that can be autonomous from forms of institutional power. This new way of perceiving and experiencing revolution is based in different conceptions and practices of power.

The new social movements created through the rupture with the past can not be defined in exact terms, precisely because of how they are organized and operated. For example, they do not organize on the principle of ends and means given the importance of adaptability of process which enables the movements to change their objectives. As John Holloway, author of *Change the World Without Taking Power* and *Zapatistas: Reinventing Revolution in Mexico*, writes:

"If the revolution is not only to achieve democracy as an end, but is democratic in its struggle, then it is impossible to pre-define its path, or indeed to think of a defined point of arrival. Whereas the concept of revolution that has predominated in this century has been overwhelmingly instrumentalist, a conception of a means designed to achieve an end, this conception breaks down as soon as the starting point becomes the dignity of those in struggle. The revolt of dignity forces us to think of revolution in a new way, as a rebellion that cannot be defined or confined, a rebellion that overflows, a revolution that is by its very nature ambiguous and contradictory" (Holloway, 1998).

Prefigurative politics, in the context of Argentina, involves creating horizontal relationships, actively organizing against oppression, and respecting diversity. It also means creating alternative forms of exchange, education, culture, art and medicine. Achieving these aims does not require

that we withdraw from society to create the perfect microcosm in isolation but rather that we open more spaces for debate and exchange toward organizing and transforming society. Therefore, the means are the ends as long as they are moving in the direction of social transformation and freedom.

Although prefigurative politics do not have a program they allow for the introduction of new practices as we have seen throughout history from the current autonomous Zapatista communities in Chiapas and the Regantes in Bolivia, to the Paris Commune and the Spanish revolution. There have been similar instances of labor and community driven initiatives, from the worker Soviets in Russia to the Shora in Iran, and previous labor movements in the history of Argentina and Chile. These examples have combined prefigurative politics, rupture as a timeless opening, and the formation of non-governmental, communal powers that have not aimed to assume control of the state or its institutions. Raul Zibechi summarizes this process in *Genealogía de la Revuelta* (Genealogy of a Rebellion), an analysis of the activities and politics in Argentina in the months following the popular rebellion of December 2001:

> "What really changes the world is to learn to live other ways, in a more communitarian way…Fraternity is what is key in social change, not war, not even class war" (Zibechi, 2003:18).

## Creating the new relationships

New social relationships have been formed as a part of this break with the past characterized by enhanced communications through horizontal structures. People broke with traditional forms of delegation and hierarchy; something that remains deeply entrenched in most societies and was particularly pronounced in Argentina with its profound history of clientelistic relationships (Auyero, 2001). This transformation in Argentinean society was described by a *compañera* in the unemployed workers movement of Allen, south Argentina, in the course of a discussion with other *compañeros*:

> "It's not just about moving from a position of powerlessness to one of power – at least in the sense that someone can start producing subjectively. The movement…or the spaces that the movement creates, are in some ways the spaces where you can transform your own existence and have another way of interacting with people" (Auyero, 2001).

Similarly Paula, a woman in her late 30s, who was exiled during the dictatorship and is now a participant in her neighborhood assembly as well as feminist and GLTTB (gay, lesbian transgender, transsexual and bisexual) groups, explains what she sees as important in the changes taking place; changes in people and how they relate to each other in their daily lives:

"The best part of the assemblies is that they let people do politics in a different, non-partisan way. This new relationship has given way to very deep changes in people's subjectivity. The way people get together in their neighborhood now and talk about things, the way they listen to each other and value every person's opinion equally, is profoundly important. … I believe we are constructing a new way of being political, which is really positive. If the assemblies disappeared, it wouldn't be so terrible. I say this because there is something happening in people right now – a real change" (Sitrin, 2006: 216).

The movements in Argentina today reflect how people's relationships and identities have changed in the process of this new social creation and popular participation in movements. Many people described the process as an almost circular change that goes from the individual to the collective, then to the changed individual and back to the changed collective. Individual and community reflection on what has been termed *subjectividad* (subjectivity) and *protagonismo* (protagonism) has revealed that people are regarding themselves as social actors for the first time in their lives and capable of agency as part of the new politics. Martin, who had not been politically active in the past, explained the political awakening generated by the assemblies:

"In different places – not just in this country, but throughout the world – I am thinking of people in movements in South Africa, Ecuador, all of us that were in Porto Alegre at the World Social Forum, and so many more in different places all over the planet. We all feel the simultaneous need to change the way that we exist in the world in relation to politics…We are creating new ways of relating to one another. No one knows exactly how to do it. It is a collective process. No one is going to come and tell us how to do it, and it's exactly this process that is so beautiful…This new political action is based on trust and it wakes up people's emotions. I believe that this is a revolution that is happening now. You can see it all over…" (Sitrin, 2006:218).

## Conclusion

The autonomous movements in Argentina, like so many emerging around the world today, are based on creating new social relationships and communities now, while simultaneously creating new societies and relationships in and for the future. They are movements with a different conception of time and place and see the individual and the collective as inter-connected. Individuals are free, autonomous and part of a collective. Relationships are created wherein people do not have power over others and decisions are made face-to-face. Needs are not only met, but new concepts as to what constitutes needs and how to fulfil them are created.

The autonomous movements in Argentina are profoundly inspiring and one of the lessons we can draw from this is in changing how we organize and become pro-active agents of change rather than waiting for domestic or external events to motivate us into action. We need to create the change we want to see in our day-to-day relations, with a vision and movement towards total social transformation. This means thinking about new relationships in all areas of our lives: in our neighborhoods, militant groups, workplaces and schools. Activists engaged in the social movements in Argentina are clear that they do not have a template or easy solution that can be passed on to others. What they do offer, however, is an opportunity to listen to their experiences, to become inspired, and to reflect critically on what that might mean in our own lives.

## Notes:

[1] To my knowledge the first person to write extensively on the use of this the term was Wini Breines in her writing on the politics of the 1960s and what she saw as a different way of thinking and organizing in part as a rejection of the centrism and vanguardism of the US Communist Party, as well as other vanguardist and centrist organizations. She writes: 'The term *prefigurative politics* is used to designate an essentially anti-organizational politics characteristic of the movement, as well as parts of the new left leadership, and may be recognized in counter institutions, demonstrations and the attempt to embody personal and anti-hierarchical values in politics. Participatory democracy was central to prefigurative politics…The crux of prefigurative politics imposed substantial tasks, the central one being to create and sustain within the live practice of the movement, relationships and political forms that 'prefigured' and embodied the desired society'. Breines, W (1989) *Community and Organization in the New Left*, *1962-1968. The Great Refusal*, Rutgers University, Piscataway, pp. 6.

[2] With Emilio Sparato, a participant in the movements in Argentina, we wrote an

article that dealt specifically with the use and meaning of new words and expressions coming from the new social relationships in Argentina (*Journal of Aesthetics and Protest*, web link: http://www.journalofaestheticsandprotest.org/new3/index.html).

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**Marina Sitrin** is a writer, teacher, student, dreamer and self-described militant, who has participated in numerous anti-capitalist and visionary movements and groups. She is the editor of *Horizontalism: Voices of Popular Power in Argentina* (Spanish edition Chilavert, 2005). She is working on a new book, *Insurgent Democracies: Latin America's New Powers* (Citylights Press, 2008). She is a professor at the New College of San Francisco in the Activism and Social Change Program.

# Perspectives

## 1807-2007: WILBERFORCE, HULL AND THE COMMEMORATION OF THE ABOLITION OF THE BRITISH SLAVE TRADE: PAST, PRESENT, FUTURE

## Paul Hainsworth

The name of William Wilberforce is associated with the campaign and legislation to abolish the British slave trade in 1807. The bicentenary of this legislation in 2007 has provided an opportunity to commemorate it and to highlight the unfinished business. Given his birthplace in Hull, this has encouraged the city to organise a programme of events to mark and commemorate the above. Inevitably, in highlighting the iconic role of an individual in the anti-slavery process, there is always the potential danger that 'the big picture' can suffer and the contribution and sufferings of many people over many years can be overshadowed (Adi, 2007). However, the bicentenary has created new opportunities locally and beyond to recall and promote historical episodes of slave resistance and emancipation and remind us that Wilberforce's campaign was an important part – but not the beginning or the end - of the global movement against slavery. The city council and local organisers and participants have aspired to utilise their 'ownership' and narrative of Wilberforce to act as a catalyst for civil society, politicians and others to continue the struggle against all forms of slavery at home and afar. Indeed, the considerable public and media interest generated by the Wilberforce events help to illustrate the global resonance retained by the campaign and its association with human agency as a vehicle for wider social justice and equality.

  The programme of events has been quite ambitious, incorporating a wide range of initiatives (see http://www.wilberforce2007.com), including music, theatre, dance, storytelling, lectures, workshops, exhibitions, marches, readings, carnival, film, fair-trade festival, community initiatives and other social and cultural activities. Development education has figured prominently in the events. For instance, the Development Education Centre (Hull) (Dechull@dechull.karoo.co.uk), an educational charity, which specialises in diversity, social justice and fair trading issues aimed, through

its Young Campaigners Project, to link Wilberforce's campaign to modern campaigning issues such as trade justice and modern slavery. Indeed, this has been the approach of prominent NGOs such as Anti-Slavery International, the Refugee Council and Amnesty International, with the emphasis on the reality that slavery of different kinds is a feature of contemporary society, for instance in the form of trafficked sex-slaves and bonded labour. The Development Education Centre (Hull) hopes to encourage young campaigners to develop skills to enable them to become the seasoned campaigners of the future in order to contest contemporary injustices. Development education projects include the Schools Video Project, designed to encourage secondary school students to engage creatively and audio-visually with the issues of the bicentenary such as modern slavery, social justice and campaigning for change, and the Citizenship and Diversity Project aimed at engaging post-16 educational providers and young people in student-led initiatives under the rubric of citizenship. Hull Museum Education too has been at the forefront in creating 14 new learning programmes for schools in connection with the bicentenary of the abolition of slavery legislation. These programmes, aimed at embedding the study of slavery (past and present) into the curriculum, have had a big take up within local schools and are also supported by online learning.

Unsurprisingly, music has featured too in the overall programme of events, including performance and workshops by African musicians, the London Gospel Choir and Rock Against Racism performers. In one workshop project for instance, the focus is on music from West Africa, with the intention of bringing together refugees, asylum seekers, young adults and secondary school pupils – under the musical guidance of Gambian-born tutor Seikou Susso – in order to learn how to play and perform with African musical instruments. Another workshop sought to bring the same target groups together in order to focus on choral music and share performances with renowned opera singers of African/Afro-Caribbean origin. Also on the music front, a poster and postcard initiative sought to recall Hull's grassroots contribution to Rock Against Racism, twenty-five years ago. This particular initiative, in August 2007, was part of a diversity and resistance weekend of live music linked into the broader Love Music Hate Racism movement. In addition, a publication associated with these particular projects contained moving accounts by contemporary political asylum seekers in the city and those facing racism on the streets, including members of the local Kurdish community. Theatre too has made contributions to the programme, including contributions from the well-known Hull Truck Youth Theatre, street theatre activity and an ambitious multi-media theatre event focused on

criminality and slavery across the globe.

The events have provided the city with an occasion to develop its longstanding links with Freetown, Sierra Leone, with which Hull is twinned. For instance, a photography project emanating from Hull Women's Centre involved visits to Freetown with the aspiration of strengthening links and solidarity between the two towns. Another initiative aimed to deliver to Sierra Leone five four-wheel drive vehicles equipped to provide humanitarian relief. The city council, in fact, points to over twenty-five years of linkage with Freetown and claims to have been the first European city to have constructed such a twinning relationship with a city from the developing world.

Also of note is the work of the Wilberforce Institute for the Study of Slavery and Emancipation (WISE) (http://www.hull.ac.uk/wise), a new (2006) institution attached to the University of Hull, located off campus in the old town, adjacent to the revamped Wilberforce House (birthplace, educational centre and museum). The Institute is dedicated to the study of the history and contemporary manifestations of slavery and emancipation. For instance, in 2007, a group of researchers from WISE combined with others from Anti-Slavery International to produce the Joseph Rowntree Foundation funded report *Contemporary Slavery in the UK: Overview and Key Issues*. As the title illustrates, the report focuses on the existence of slavery in the UK today, and it reviews the forms this modern slavery takes, such as trafficking of women and children for sexual or domestic labour, forced labour or debt bondage. WISE Patron Archbishop Desmond Tutu further highlighted the theme of modern slavery in his keynote lecture in Hull in May 2007. The authors of the above report contend that, despite the legal abolition of the slave trade, thousands of people are working in the UK at present in enslaved conditions. These include migrant workers working in highly exploitative conditions, one of the most notorious examples here being the Chinese cockle pickers who died in Morecambe Bay in 2004.

An informative article by Emily Dugan (2007) picked up on themes outlined in the above report. According to Dugan, recent studies had outlined the extent of child trafficking yet, contends Debbie Aroyo (Africans Unite Against Child Abuse), convictions of perpetrators have not been forthcoming. Home Office minister Vernon Coaker accepted that the Government still had a long way to go in tackling the issue of trafficked children, despite a UK Action Plan on Tackling Human Trafficking – and the creation of the UK Human Trafficking Centre in 2006. Part of the focus of human rights campaigners in 2007 – including a coalition of organisations such as Save the Children and the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty against Children (NSPCC) - has been upon getting the UK

Government to up the *ante* in this respect. The campaign to get the Government to sign the Council of Europe Convention on Action Against Trafficking in Human Beings succeeded on 23 March 2007. The next stage though is ratification in order to enhance provision of (at least) minimum standards of protection for victims of trafficking, including for example access to specialist and adequately resourced support services, such as counselling, medical help and legal advice. Again, as with all legislation and action plans, the proof of the pudding is in the eating, the implementation.

A key message of the 2007 commemoration then is that very much remains to be done, locally, nationally and globally to address legal shortfalls and enhance the enforcement of existing legal protections in respect to exploitative labour practices and slavery. Like elsewhere, events in Hull will have played their part and will have contributed hopefully to the eradication of some negative attitudes towards migrants, refugees, asylum-seekers and minority ethnic people within the city. In this context, in 2005, another report (written by one of the authors of the above mentioned Rowntree report) had offered sobering thoughts for the city, pointing *inter alia* to 'casualised acceptance of racist behaviour and language among a significant part of the population, which occasionally becomes very explicit, violent and offensive' and to the failure of agencies to sufficiently address problems of racism. On the positive side, the report also claimed that the situation 'was being addressed and is beginning to be turned around' and that significant developments had taken place recently in this respect (Craig, 2005:18-20). The 2007 programme of events therefore can be seen as a welcome, laudable, landmark - a continuation and acceleration of this process of coming to terms with the past, present and future.

Slavery is an issue that, given its prevalence, can and should form part of development education practice. The Wilberforce programme of events has challenged the notion that slavery is an issue consigned to our past and re-opened the debate on contemporary forms of slavery and how they should be challenged. Integrating slavery into development education practice can support further learning on the issue and encourage action that strengthens the legislative and enforcement frameworks for its eradication.

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**Paul Hainsworth** lectures in Politics at the University of Ulster.

# The visual representation of developing countries by developmental agencies and the Western media

## Shahidul Alam

## Perceptions of the developing world

I was staying with friends, Paddy and Deborah, in Newry, Northern Ireland who had kindly made their five-year-old daughter's room available for me. Corrina was friendly and curious and would spend a lot of time in the room. One day as I was clearing my pockets of change I had accumulated, she suddenly remarked, 'but you've got money, but, but you're from Bangladesh'. The family had just returned from a trip to Bangladesh where Paddy was a development worker and they had visited many development projects. At the tender age of five, Corrina knew that Bangladeshis did not have money.

## Who portrays whom

A recent fax from the National Geographic Society Television Division, to Drik's picture library - dedicated to promoting the work of indigenous photographers and writers - asked if we could help them with the production of a film that would include the Bangladeshi cyclone of 1991. They wanted specific help in locating 'US, European or UN people...who would lead us to a suitable Bangladeshi family'.

The situation is not unusual. Invariably films about the plight of people in developing countries show how desperate and helpless the people are but those who realize their plight and step forward are usually white foreigners. In some cases local people are seen to be helping, but invariably it is a foreigner who has enlightened them about the way out, and it is always a foreign presenter who speaks out for them. The foreigner is so strong and forthright and so caring. She could almost hand over the microphone to them, if only they could speak for themselves, if only they understood.

## The construction of a stereotype

Wide angle black and white shots and grainy, high contrast images characterize the typical Third World helpless victim. Huge billboards with a dying malnourished child in a corner with outstretched arms. A clear message in polished bold font in the top left corner cleverly left blank. The message reads 'we shall always be there'. A reality constructed for and by those who want us to forget the implications that you (the developing world) shall always be there. In that role (a passive existence necessary to be maintained) those who receive aid, the 'client group', remain.

## The assumptions and how they are validated

The end product in all these cases is the same. The Western public sees a distorted view of the developing world - a situation for which the public in question can hardly be totally free of blame. School children in the United Kingdom (UK) think 50-75% of the world's children are visibly malnourished (the real figure is less than 2%), and that only 10-20% of the world's six to twelve year olds attend school (the real figure is almost 90%), and that the rate of population growth in the developing world is increasing (it is decreasing in every part of the developing world including Africa). The fact that a high proportion of the information about the developing world for the average western reader comes from fund raising campaigns is another cause of this gross distortion.

There is of course the other tack where 'Third World Participation' is created in the form of guided tours to paid Third World journalists who are given what amounts to a censored view of wealthy countries. In a recent tour of the United States of America (USA), organized by the United States Information Agency, I was accompanied by a State Department employee who denied my request to visit Harlem for 'security reasons'. My report on the trip - suggesting that people from the developing world who go on these trips and cater to these forms of tokenism are slurring their own professionalism – was never made public. Organizations like the World Bank sponsor study tours by people known to have mildly critical perspectives on development, with the proviso, that the World Bank decides if the work will be published thereby retaining ultimate control.

## The business of development

Every organization has a goal, a means and a method. The apparent goal of

donor organizations is to make the recipients self-sufficient and for this purpose they use taxpayers' money, usually a fraction of a percent of the Gross National Product (GNP). Genuine aid also constitutes a tiny fraction of the recipient's income and while the method varies, it normally involves inputs like personnel and materials from the donor country which is paid for by the same money that was given out as aid.

An organization's growth depends on its ability to generate more work and there are a limited number of recipient countries, a restricted market, with all donor agencies competing for this small market. A recipient country that truly becomes self sufficient (unheard of in the history of development) no longer needs a donor, and therefore in fulfilling its manifesto the donor agency would make itself redundant. The same maxim applies to development workers. The myth of humanitarian aid, however, has long been discarded, and the donors are now openly more concerned about governance - how we spend their money - as part of a discernible shift towards administering the flow of funds rather than the humanitarian utilization of funds. Moreover, donor agencies invariably declare themselves to be non-political and, yet, the very act of giving money, or other forms of aid, to people who are badly deprived is strongly political. Similarly, the development worker is in a very powerful position in this regard through the capacity to dispense loans, or provide access to education or food.

The reality of how development NGOs operate is that, despite all their claims about delegation, local people play a marginal role in decision making even if overseas experts often lack in-depth local knowledge. It would be hazardous for these foreign experts to permit the infiltration of people who could penetrate their information chain, something that photographs are particularly good at doing. Culture, which was once considered a hindrance to development, has now become fashionable to promote although it has to be a particular type of culture packaged in a particular way.

The 'image business' is inextricably linked with the 'development business'. From slide shows in remote villages to slick exhibitions in posh hotels, from A5 flyers to coffee table books, from fund raising campaigns to annual reports, image hungry developmental agencies depend heavily on image makers. One feeds off the other thus it is unsurprising that the image producers - mostly white male photographers - produce images that are good for business for both industries. Development or fair representation generally does not enter the equation.

## The marketing strategy

There is of course the need amongst industrialized nations to show the results of donor aid. For example, the UK newspaper the *Observer* newspaper recently featured a Poverty Supplement on Oxfam, stating, 'The main aim of the Poverty Supplement was to persuade our readers to support Oxfam's work financially. This was obviously successful'. The supplement was in fact an advertisement in the *Observer* to the tune of about £25,000 and pledges from *Observer* readers amounted to a third of the annual budget for Oxfam's development partnerships in Zambia. When a similar proposal was made for Concern's projects in Bangladesh, Concern proposed using a local photographer of international standing who had been working on the projects for over six years, the *Observer* initially agreed but backed out at the last minute and ultimately used a British photographer instead. Although they used stock photographs from the Bangladeshi photographer they were only interested in the slum and poverty pictures which were a small part of the total work.

## The power of images

A camera can be a tool of extreme sensitivity or no sensitivity at all. A photograph can: be an eye check on memory; give detailed information; show what we cannot see; and store away complex data for future analysis. More importantly the camera can influence people and create powerful emotional responses. We are aware of the meaning of words, but forget that images may have different meanings to different people, and that the meaning of a photograph can depend to a large extent on the context in which it is used. 'The camera never lies' is the biggest lie of all.

## The need for a different type of education

In order to genuinely work for social change, development organisations need to examine other options besides aid. In the context of Bangladesh, they could create role models by providing Bangladeshis with the support and clout necessary for them to succeed in running international development organizations. Moreover, development NGOs need to be more sensitive to local cultural needs in developing countries. For example, overseas workers could try to learn Bangla, and veer away from the policy that directly correlates success in the development ladder with competence in English. Cultural sensitivity should also inform the use of images that

show a positive aspect of the developing world rather than the use of damaging negative stereotypes. Photo captions should not be distorted by substituting them with dramatized, orientalist plethora. In a macro context, this involves working in partnership with host country governments rather than creating what is in effect a parallel government.

The credit lines in articles dealing with poorer countries often lack indigenous names. When questioned as to this practice, picture editors and development workers often claim that there simply are not sufficient numbers of people in these countries qualified for the positions. Their reliability, their professionalism and their ability to understand the brief are often questioned. By way of a response, Drik began to survey indigenous photographers working in their own countries. The response, both in terms of numbers and the quality of the work was overwhelming. If a small organization based in Bangladesh armed with no more than contacts obtained from interested friends can pool together an impressive list of talented indigenous photographers working locally, why has it been so difficult for the development agencies to 'discover' them? Discovery is of course a key word when photographing indigenous peoples and can be insensitive to the history and cultural practices of host countries. Yet there are local agencies and activists who know indigenous people, understand their language, are respectful of their culture and are aware of the underlying causes of poverty. There are indigenous people with the requisite skills available to carry out work on behalf of development agencies who are often overlooked for positions in development.

The photographic work of indigenous photographers in poorer countries is often neglected in historical collections and reviews. While the heroic feats of Hill and Adamson are extolled, the photographers who had to import their equipment and materials from wealthier countries and documented their cultures for marginal financial gain have rarely been registered in photographic archives. Most of those that have been recognised, like Indian photographer Din Dayal, who was given the title 'Raja' by the British for services to the crown, played a role in legitimising colonial exploits. Other much more important names in the field from the same period, like Ali Ahmed Khan, rarely get mentioned because they were activists in anti-colonial causes.

In five years of operation as a picture library based in the developing world, we have had many requests for images of Bangladesh by publishers, NGOs, donor agencies. The most frequently requested pictures to date have focused on floods, cyclones, and slums. We even received a request for images of a flood inundation of Dhaka in 1993, which the client insisted had taken place. We have not for instance yet been asked for more positive

images of a person working at a computer terminal, a very commonly stocked photograph in Western libraries, and one to which we have ready access. In one instance the client, an educational publisher in the UK insisted that our photograph of a tila (little stupa in the middle of a pond, used as cyclone shelters) was much too small and that they knew of giant stupas, which local photographers and community workers who had extensively combed the cyclone affected areas had never seen nor heard of.

The danger of being excluded from the work of development agencies and publishers is not as great as the danger of being nullified. For example in literature on successful photography - those that teach you the secrets of the trade – the essential focus is on how to become occidental. Since the individual making the most important decisions regarding the usage of a photograph is invariably the person most distant from the event itself, the photographer's 'formula' for producing acceptable pictures is to regurgitate editorial policy regardless of what is observed. That is what the indigenous photographer must produce if he/she is to progress and secure employment. The danger therefore, is of becoming a sheep in wolf's clothing, and eventually of becoming a wolf.

Most development NGOs seem to have the usual 'income generating activities' in the developing world such as the savings groups where the villagers gather round in a circle and sign the passbook, or the functional education classes where village folk are taught urban middle-class expressions that even in cities only get used in formal situations. As a result, the photographs compiled by different NGOs are very similar and lack insight into the situations being observed or the factors that perpetuate poverty in developing countries.

In a recent effort by an independent agency to install e-mail in Bangladesh to facilitate international and South-South dialogue, it was discovered that many development NGOs already had their own dedicated e-mail line, but had not offered the service to others, even to other NGOs. Information appears to be a resource that is selectively denied to developing countries. The nature of the images representing developing countries is an index of the media control that will prevent developing countries from developing.


A former president of the Bangladesh Photographic Society, **Shahidul Alam** set up the Drik Agency, the Bangladesh Photographic Institute and Pathshala, the South Asian Institute of Photography. He has been a recipient of the Mother Jones,

Howard Chapnick and Andrea Frank awards. Alam is an Honorary Fellow of the Bangladesh Photographic Society and the Royal Photographic Society and is the Capacity Development and International Ambassador for Majority World CIC.

# Even wars have limits: Educating on International Humanitarian Law

## Orla Devine & Deirdre Coffey

> "We have a choice today. We can either sit back, watch the devastation wrought by war and try to make our children look the other way; or we can choose to tell our children that what they see – or what they are themselves experiencing – is not acceptable, that this is not how it is supposed to be, and that they can behave differently, in ways inspired by deep-rooted respect for human dignity, both in peacetime and in the midst of armed conflict" (Jacques Forster, Vice-President of the International Committee of the Red Cross, ICRC).

This article presents an overview of why and how educators can respond to the changing nature of conflict and young people's increasing exposure to it through the media. It highlights the need for and importance of educating young people on International Humanitarian Law (IHL) as a means of dealing with such changes and demonstrates how it can make a significant contribution to meeting the requirements of the various United Kingdom (UK) schools' curricula.

Armed conflict has been a prevalent feature of human existence for thousands of years. It may manifest itself in various forms such as large-scale warfare between nations, internal conflict between different ethnic groups or civil unrest. The key trait these various forms of conflict have in common is the devastating impact on humankind. It was this human cost of conflict, witnessed by Henry Dunant at the Battle of Solferino in 1859, that led to his revolutionary idea of establishing an impartial and neutral body of helpers during peace time that could be mobilized to provide protection and care to the wounded and sick on all sides in times of conflict.

His idea led to the establishment of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and the adoption of the Four Geneva Conventions of 1949. It is within these Conventions and their Additional Protocols that a major part of IHL (otherwise known as the laws of war) is contained. IHL is a set of rules that exist to limit the devastating consequences of armed conflict for civilians and non-combatants by restricting the means and methods of warfare. In relation to educating young people on IHL, it is not the actual word of law that is important, rather the exploration of the spirit of the law. It is important that young people understand the reasons for

adopting IHL and the consequences of non-adherence during armed conflict on human life and dignity.

Given the importance of humanitarian law, all States party to the Geneva Conventions have an obligation, both in times of peace and war, to spread knowledge of IHL to those for whom it is intended to protect. As guardian of the Geneva Conventions, the Red Cross is well placed to help the 194 State signatories meet their international obligations by providing training on the laws of war to their military personnel and public officials. In the next section, we examine why it is important to educate young people in IHL.

## The relevance of IHL for young people

The nature of armed conflicts around the world is ever changing and as educators we need to be equipped to address these new scenarios. Tawil (2000) argues that:

"… it is becoming ever more difficult to distinguish between armed conflict and non-conflict settings, as all societies appear to be increasingly prone to various forms of violence. It may be more appropriate to situate all societies on a continuum of levels of violence ranging from school-based and street violence to social unrest, internal disturbances and armed conflict".

Some people may suggest that education on IHL has no relevance in a society where armed conflict has not or is not taking place. However, even if a country is not involved in an armed conflict, whether internal or international, it is likely to be affected by conflict somewhere on the continuum of levels. For example, although the UK does not have an armed conflict within its own boundaries, it is involved in international conflicts, under threat of terrorism and grappling with increased instances of gang and street violence. These permeating forms of violence and conflict highlight the need to deal with issues of conflict and IHL in the classroom.

In countries not involved in armed conflict, young people may be unaware of what it is like to be caught up in the midst of armed conflict. They may only ever witness images of war and conflict through the media or video games, neither of which enables young people to fully understand the causes and consequences of conflict. A recent poll carried out by the volunteering agency v (2007), found that when young people were asked what global issues they were concerned about, the top response was 'terrorism' followed closely by 'war'. In their research on learning needs

within global citizenship education, Davies et al (2005) found that war was the dominant global issue that both primary and secondary students wanted to learn about. The study also found that many teachers felt their pupils could empathise with the suffering produced by war as a result of their own personal experiences of conflict. Moreover, consultations carried out by the ICRC with young people in over ten countries around the world found that they were eager to explore ethical issues related to IHL and armed conflict (Tawil, 2000).

In the UK, media coverage of global issues has increased young people's exposure to conflict and some have experienced the direct or indirect effects of conflict situations. It is important, therefore, that young people understand the complex nature of conflict and its implications for human dignity, whether for detained prisoners or civilians. Moreover, education on humanitarian law can result in other beneficial pedagogical outcomes including attitudinal change and opportunities to explore issues of respect for life, human dignity and civic responsibility. Young people also derive the knowledge and skills necessary to critically reflect on armed conflicts and their consequences, and effectively interpret and question sources of information like the media so that they can recognise violations.

Increased understanding of humanitarian law and interest in international current events can encourage young people to view conflict situations, both in their own lives and further afield, from a humanitarian perspective. They can then be motivated to take action through involvement in school or local community activities that aim to protect and promote humanitarian attitudes.

## Links to schools' curricula

Many schools' curricula across Europe now place greater emphasis on skills, attitudes and values, and therefore offer considerable scope for introducing IHL into classroom learning (Smith & Vaux, 2003). IHL can support the development of communication, media literacy and critical thinking skills as well as challenging young people's attitudes and values.

Education on IHL is particularly well suited to the delivery of citizenship education and its learning outcomes. Indeed the British Red Cross has been working for several years towards getting IHL on the citizenship curriculum in England and these efforts finally came to fruition in mid-2007. There is now reference to International Conventions at Key Stage 3 of the National Curriculum and specific reference to IHL at Key Stage 4 (see www.qca.org.uk).

As the British Red Cross is unique in its position as a provider of IHL

resources and training, these curriculum changes can only strengthen its position as a provider of teacher training and educational resources within the UK. However, opportunities to study IHL have opened up in other curricula: for example, Modern Studies in the Scottish Curriculum for Excellence, local and global citizenship in the Northern Ireland curriculum, Personal and Social Education (PSE) in the Welsh curriculum and as a cross curricular issue that can be explored in many subject areas.

It is the ICRC's strategic aim for IHL to become a statutory element in the formal curricula of secondary schools around the world. In order to strengthen the dissemination and implementation of IHL, the European Council pledged on behalf of the European Union to raise public awareness of IHL through a wide range of measures at national and international level including the Exploring Humanitarian Law (EHL) programme (Dec 2003). In May 2006, educational authorities and National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies from over 20 countries gathered in Vienna to examine these pledges and discuss ways of working together with a view to including IHL/EHL in formal secondary education, and to exchange information with countries currently working with EHL. Member states of the African Union and the League of Arab States have also reviewed the EHL programme and recommended its official adoption.

## Supporting teachers in exploring issues around conflict

As the promoter and guardian of IHL, the ICRC holds a unique position in disseminating knowledge and understanding of these humanitarian rules of conflict and in encouraging their full implementation. The Red Cross Movement is therefore perfectly placed to offer specialist support to educators who recognise the importance and benefits of discussing conflict and IHL within the classroom, particularly the fundamental principles governing the entire Movement, such as impartiality (being guided by needs alone) and neutrality (not taking sides in hostilities or engaging in controversies). By focusing on the human cost of conflict rather than on its causes, educators can discuss controversial situations without taking a position, thus avoiding bias and politicisation. This provides space to generate discussion with sensitivity to the needs and experiences of learners.

A number of different methodologies, teaching resources and techniques have been developed by the ICRC, IFRC and several national societies to enable young people to explore potentially controversial issues that often surround conflict.

Exploring Humanitarian Law (EHL) is one such project, which was established by the ICRC in 1999, with the aim of developing an international

education programme for introducing young people, aged 13-18, to the basic rules of IHL. Initial research for the project was carried out in 20 countries (including Northern Ireland) and included partnerships with Ministries of Education, National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies and other education experts. Consultation with groups of young people found 'that ethical explorations of humanitarian law and the experience of war are perceived as relevant and meaningful learning, regardless of the local experience of conflict' (EHL Project summary, 2006).

The first module of EHL enables students to examine the role of bystanders in conflict, the nature of humanitarian acts and how individuals can act in various ways to protect the life and human dignity of others. Other modules explore the basic rules of IHL and specific issues such as child soldiers, landmines and internally displaced people. Finally, the need for enforcement of IHL for trying and punishing perpetrators, the importance of humanitarian action in armed conflict and the issue of reconciliation are explored.

Teachers can currently get support through the EHL virtual campus (www.ehl.icrc.org), which has a discussion forum for teachers delivering IHL in the classroom. Here they can interact with other EHL practitioners from around the world, share experiences and ideas, and raise questions or concerns.

RAID Cross (French/Belgian Red Cross and World Scout Movement 2005) is a role play activity designed to introduce young people, aged 13 - 18, to difficulties faced by a range of people involved or caught up in conflict: prisoners of war, humanitarian workers, combatants and civilians. They move around a series of posts at which they face various obstacles, enabling them to develop decision-making, negotiation and teamwork skills. It has been run in a number of schools throughout the UK and has been positively received by both teachers and students as a valuable educational experience. One citizenship co-ordinator commented that the reason they chose to participate in the Raid Cross activity was 'to extend the learning opportunities of students around the issues of the 21st century', adding that 'the activity enables the students to consider and respond to critical issues'.

Global Lines (British Red Cross, 2003) is a citizenship teaching resource for secondary schools that uses images and case studies from Northern Ireland, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Rwanda to enable young people to explore conflict situations in local and international contexts. The aim of the resource is to increase young people's awareness of the world around them and their place within it and to allow them to explore the difficulties and dilemmas faced by people confronted by conflict. It also looks at the role of the media in influencing public perceptions and questions

our own perceptions of victims, perpetrators and bystanders in conflict situations.

Support is also available to teachers in the UK through the British Red Cross Humanitarian Education Programme which was developed in response to the Department for International Development's (DfID) Enabling Effective Support strategy and follows recommendations proposed by research projects throughout the UK on the delivery of the global dimension in schools. In Northern Ireland, for example, 22 teachers completed a Continuing Professional Development (CPD) course from December 2006-May 2007. An important aspect of the course was to build the confidence of teachers in tackling difficult and sometimes controversial topics through training in participative and student-led approaches to learning. Support was also provided through the distribution of authoritative resources on topics such as disasters and emergencies, conflict and humanitarian action. A substantial amount of the course was centred around the teaching of conflict and IHL. The course will be delivered again in the 2007-2008 academic year in both Northern Ireland and Scotland and will be accredited to Open College Network (OCN) Level 3.

## Conclusion

The increase in young people's exposure to conflict through the media and their desire to learn more about conflict-related issues underlines the need for education on IHL and emphasises its relevance and importance for young people in our own society as well as those living in conflict situations. The curricula throughout the UK provide an opportunity and scope for the introduction of IHL to pupils through citizenship and other relevant subjects. However, teachers will require support to help them meet the demands of teaching IHL and the global dimension in general. Support is at hand from the Red Cross for teachers throughout the UK who recognise the value of education on IHL and who require further training and resources.

*For information on CPD training, EHL, the humanitarian education programme and teaching resources, see the contacts below.*

Scotland, Northern Ireland and Isle of Man:
Catherine Anderson
canderson@redcross.org.uk
+44 28 90 246 400

Wales and Western England:
Gill Allbutt
gallbutt@redcross.org.uk
+44 0121 766 5444

Other areas:
Karen Moore
kmoore@redcross.org.uk
+44 0870 170 7000 ext. 7262

*To join the EHL Virtual Campus and to explore the range of teaching materials, lesson plans, discussion activities, video clips and more, visit: www.ehl.icrc.org*

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**Orla Devine** is a Humanitarian Educator with the British Red Cross in Belfast. She has a Masters in Development Studies at the University of Glasgow and previously worked as Youth Co-ordinator at the Wah Hep Chinese Community Association in Craigavon. She currently develops and delivers training in

Humanitarian Education to teachers through the Red Cross Continuing Professional Development and Initial Teacher Education project.

**Deidre Coffey** is an Education Officer for the British Red Cross. A former teacher and Head of Department for 17 years, she currently supports delivery of the British Red Cross Humanitarian Education Programmes in the UK. These include the DfID supported 'Institutionalising Development Education' programme. Her work involves co-ordination of the programmes, training and development of education staff, project evaluation and production of resources.

# *E Pluribus Unum:* Unifying the development education sector

## Neil Alldred

## Introduction

'Development' has become a major theme – even an industry – since the late 1950s, but the quest for social justice has been a major social preoccupation for far longer. This article suggests that social justice is an important yardstick for determining what we do and aims to examine some of the current failings in development education as well as to map out areas where we can move the agenda forward.

In 1957 – the year Ghana became independent from Britain – its national income was the same as South Korea's; but 50 years later, South Korea generates 20 times the wealth of Ghana each year, and sends development aid to its West African partner. As the development process has clearly stalled for so many poor people, in rich countries as well as poor, so the social justice agenda has moved centre stage. Development NGOs recognise that a rights-based approach is essential and all development work - the 'software' that is development education as well as the 'hardware' that is a well, a school, a clinic in a rural community in Africa - has to reflect a more critical stance of current inequalities and injustices.

In the changing landscape of development education, the question of focus becomes key. 'Development educators have merely explained the world; the point is to change it', to paraphrase Marx. Is the role of development education the neutral one of explaining inequalities in today's world? And if yes, is development education then in danger of legitimising strategies and processes of active *under*development?

As the sector becomes more professional and increasingly aware of the requirements of funders, so we concentrate more clearly on outcomes. Is the main outcome of the development education process a clearer understanding of what happens in poor countries? Or are we aiming for a values-based engagement with policy-makers, business people and politicians in order to effect change? Is our focus to be a clearer understanding by rich people in rich countries of international realities or, rather, an improvement in the real-life circumstances of poor people in poor countries? It is only when we address this fundamental issue of perspective

that we can assess to what extent development education is effective or not.

## 'Globalisation': do we understand what we are living through?

Development education analyses globalisation and seeks explanations as to why so many people remain poor in a rapidly enriching world. In the 1970s and 1980s, Japan's unparalleled development model was preached as the paragon of all development strategies. Since then, Japan's star has faded – and its stock index halved. Currently, accepted wisdom holds that China and the East Asian dragons are successful models of development as they have traded their way out of poverty. 400 million Chinese have been brought into the labour market since 1990 and lifted above the extreme poverty threshold of $1 per person per day income.

But the 'miracle' is perhaps partly mirage: in the decade 1995 to 2005, a staggering 59 million jobs were lost from state enterprises (42.5% of their total payroll), to be compensated by only 16 million new jobs in private companies – a net loss of more than 40 million jobs. Between 1996 and 2001, formal employment in Chinese towns and cities fell from 149 million to 108 million – a 28% reduction, involving 41 million personal tragedies. (See ICFTU (2005)). Botswana grew its economy by 9% per year for 30 years, whilst respecting human rights, but why do we choose to fall for some development myths whilst ignoring important truths?

Development education has to explain the *economics* of poverty – but there is a startling dearth of intellectually coherent theories of development and underdevelopment. In the 1960s and 1970s, Latin America produced some impressive thinkers on the causes and conditions of poverty, inequality and development, including Frank, Cardoso, Prebish, Furtado, Andrade, Freire and Camara. Africa, which was just as cruelly exploited and subject to inhuman trading relationships, produced many intellectuals (including the Caribbean-born Fanon, or Julius Nyerere, or Ali Mazrui), but only managed to produce robust and coherent theory from the work of Samir Amin. We should examine what conditions produce useful and helpful theory, and seek explanations as to why development education practice currently offers no convincing theoretical framework or model that explains either persistent poverty or continuing immiseration in so much of the world. We would also do well to ask ourselves why such a theoretical paucity is not widely seen as a major problem for the sector.

Gross Domestic Product and Gross National Income are economic terms used as shabby shorthand for development – but perhaps we do not pursue alternatives with sufficient energy and rigour: what of Bhutan's 'Gross National Happiness' or, more rigorously, 'Green Net National

Product (NNP)', or even the United Nations' Human Development Index (HDI)?  The accepted view of development as a concept essentially rooted in economics limits our understanding of poverty and its impact on the poor. We need a much more rigorous understanding of 'development' as encompassing notions of empowerment and disempowerment that can address the needs of marginalised communities, ethnic groups, social classes, castes, sexes and occupations.

The current perspective on globalisation gives the impression that economics is key.  But the *politics* of globalisation needs to be assessed, too. The voting rights in such fora as the International Monetary Fund have favoured the United States of America for 60 years: its 17.1% of the voting power ensures that the 85% ratification threshold will never be met without USA approval.  Even in the World Trade Organisation (WTO), where everything proceeds on the basis of one country, one vote, we have the unedifying sight of – for example – the sixth Ministerial Conference in Hong Kong in December 2005 having 832 European Union accredited delegates, and the Central African Republic none at all.

Just as democracy in these institutions appears flawed, so are the voting systems of major nation states.  In the USA, elections are decided by which candidate and supporting party can wield the most amount of money for advertising, lobbying, influencing and generally promoting that candidate's prospects.  Cash for honours in the United Kingdom and cash for planning decisions in Ireland are equally problematic.  In the words of sceptic Greg Palast, they offer 'the best democracy money can buy'.

*Legally*, too, we have difficulties with a rapidly globalising world: the selling off of Russia's huge state assets and natural resources, after the fall of communism in the late 1980s and early 1990s, was 'legal' in the sense that it was carried out with the support of the Duma, the Russian legislature.  It is legal to exploit an area's natural resources and then walk away without paying any of the clean-up costs involved, as Diamond (2006) demonstrates so convincingly.  It is legal for foreign oil companies to export $250 billion worth of oil from Nigeria over the last 30 years, knowing that the Nigerian people will scarcely benefit from those sales but that people in the rich world will have the use of the resource as well as the profits of the traded commodity.

Development education should not take at face value many of the widely accepted notions of the politics, economics and legality of globalisation but should seek to be more actively critical – more intellectually suspicious – of definitions put forward by people and organisations with perhaps a vested interest in the outcomes.

## The personal *is* the political

Many development educators will have returned to Europe from their work experiences in Africa, Asia or Latin America, aware that value judgements about development need to be made explicit. When good Christian explorers 'opened up' Africa, they took with them the European languages, with their notions of black as signifying sins and evil, and white as implying purity and angels. Two centuries on, interactions with black people may have helped recent returnees to learn that a self-reflective critical stance is a necessary tool of the contemporary citizen keen not to be hoodwinked by simplistic media reports, advertising or the communications of self-serving interest groups.

Back home, too, that self-reflective approach is necessary. The average trade unionist or citizen in Ireland reads *The Sun* or the *Daily Mail*, and gets her television news from Radio Telefis Eireann (RTE) or the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). But what about alternative media voices? How many development education practitioners read on a daily basis *Terraviva* or *Pambazuka News* or *Panos* or many of the other alternative media outlets? How can we offer a critical perspective on development issues if we choose to source all our information from the same narrow band of Western media outlets?

It is not just the language and the perspective that strongly influence the delivery of development education. The value set that forms the ethical context of development education is also important. As development education becomes an increasingly mainstream professional sector, and busies itself with continuing professional development and other worthy considerations of internal structure and legitimisation, so the question of ethics becomes more pertinent. We should be clearer about the moral and ethical issues that surround and define our subject matter, and the personal choices which compel us to address them in any particular manner.

## Ethics and the professional development of the sector

Development education is faced with moral judgements. We can dispassionately – and 'objectively' – detail the statistics of hunger, poverty, disease and hopelessness; or we can click our fingers every three seconds to remind ourselves of the death of yet another child from purely preventable causes. We can adopt an ethical framework and practice development education because we feel anger at the immorality of policies and actions that lead to poverty and injustice; or we can choose a career that appears comfortable whilst 'doing something good'.

Urging a moral commitment and an ethical orientation in development education may well seem perilous. None of us wish to see Irish Aid or the Department for International Development (DfID) frown at our avowedly 'political' stance on a given issue and perhaps it is not prudent to bite the hand that feeds us all. Maybe we should limit our criticisms to the corrupt dictators of Africa, or the arrogant multinational corporations, or even the policies of the latest USA administration, rather than critique particular aspects of Irish or UK government policy.

This is not to argue for a raucous anti-capitalist rant. Instead, development education should surely seek to present a picture of the wider world in all its dimensions, capturing the colour, vibrancy and hope that so much of humanity shares, but not flinching from describing the pitiless mechanisms that drive billions of people to an early grave without ever achieving their potential as people.

We should quickly establish a consensus on our vocabulary – when will we ditch the outdated term of 'Third World' when the Cold War is over, or even 'developing world' when we know that many countries are not making progress but actually deteriorating? Do we not recognise that the term 'developed countries' implies a stasis, a fulfilment, which is surely nonsense? When will we agree among ourselves that underdevelopment is an active process, created by definite mechanisms and structures and driven by responsible individuals at all levels? When will we begin to teach, in our modules on globalisation, that each resident of Ireland contributes to the injustices of the world every time she makes an unthinking purchase, every time he pays money into his high street bank account, every time she sets money aside for her decidedly unethical pension, every time he drives to work in his car with its four other empty seats?

## Realigning theory and practice

Development education needs to forge an adequate theoretical framework to explain globalisation as the latest phase of the evolution of capitalism. We need to learn far more from colleagues in the global South of its causes as well as of its effects, and we need to source our information from a much broader range of outlets. We need to clarify the concepts and terms with which we shape our development education practice to avoid ambiguity and to hone intellectual rigour. And we need to anchor that sharper approach in a value context that is ethically robust and morally justifiable before *all* our peers.

That implies radical action and a radicalisation of development education as it is practiced today. But it also implies a greater personal

commitment to social justice and equality by each of us. And the greatest challenge will be, not to the sector as a professional field needing to be more effectively structured, but to our own selves and our own lifestyles, because – essentially – 'development' is not about 'them', there; it's about 'us', here.

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**Neil Alldred** is currently the Global Solidarity Officer for the Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU), based in Belfast and working across the island on awareness-raising and activism in areas such as social justice, ethical trade and sustainable development. He worked for well over 20 years in Africa, initially in teaching and lecturing and then in development programme management for agencies such as Oxfam and ActionAid as well as for a number of indigenous NGOs.

# Common ground: Connecting community relations, development education and human rights

## Helen Henderson, Grainne O'Neill & Audrey Guichon

"The thinking of those at the broad focus of each field (development education, human rights education, peace education and environmental education) is increasingly marked by a shift away from a compartmentalized view of reality to an acceptance of the interconnectedness of all things and what has been called the permeability of boundaries" (Greig, Pike & Selby, 1997:30).

This article aims to initiate a debate to help practitioners map out the common ground and connections between community relations, development education and human rights. The investigation is based on conversations from a seminar that invited key practitioners from relevant fields to discuss what these concepts meant from their perspective, what the underpinning values were and where the connections were placed. Input was given to the group from three different perspectives: community relations practice in Northern Ireland (NI), the trade union global solidarity movement and the formal education system in NI. Key findings from the discussion will be documented below, however, no names will be provided.

The speakers gave a range of examples that demonstrated how the three concepts of community relations, development education and human rights are connected in practice. The trade union movement was highlighted as a case that can be connected to all three concepts as it is an international movement that promotes global solidarity and shared values between people all over the world. The Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU), for example, provides training courses for its members in the areas of human rights, trade, poverty, community relations and women and development. Unions affiliated to Congress also promote international linking and exchange to tackle common issues faced worldwide and share ideas and experiences. The boycotting of South African goods during the apartheid era by local Dunnes Stores' workers in Ireland was cited as local example of global solidarity.

Community relations work in Northern Ireland previously focused on promoting good relations between the two main traditions in NI. Seminar

delegates discussed how issues such as globalisation, war and increased migration have widened the remit of community relations work and recently there has been a deliberate inclusion of issues around gender equality and racism.

Within the formal education system in NI, the local and global citizenship curriculum is constructed around the following core themes: equality and social justice; diversity and inclusion; human rights and social responsibility; and democracy and active participation (CCEA, 2003). The revised curriculum at Key Stage 3 has mutual understanding, cultural awareness, ethical awareness and education for sustainable development as key elements. The attitudes and dispositions to be developed through the revised curriculum include personal responsibility, concern for others, community spirit, tolerance, respect and integrity. All three concepts - community relations, development education and human rights - share values and feature prominently in the revised curriculum.

Other examples of connecting themes included trading patterns, economics, climate change, migration, war and the notion that the world is a shared space where we are all dependent on each other. An analogy of a boomerang was used to highlight the role of individuals as global citizens living in an interdependent world.

The seminar participants raised many dilemmas:

- The different language and terminology used in the three sectors was a major barrier and there was a lack of a shared definition for each of the concepts. For example, the term 'development education' was perceived as being misleading and did not represent what it actually was about. This can lead to misunderstandings when debating these issues.
- The compartmentalisation of concepts and practice can leave room or gaps for the avoidance of contentious issues. The specific case of community relations work with victims and survivors of the conflict in Northern Ireland was raised. Human rights and justice are perceived as very contentious in this context and have often been avoided as a result. It is unclear what category the work with victims and survivors falls into and it is at risk of falling between concepts and not being addressed.
- It was recognized that there were huge benefits to be gained from working across these fields and sharing learning, and as one participant suggested:

"We have an enormous moral responsibility to join up thinking in order that what we are trying to do has a context and a bigger picture…and is grounded in the global human well-being and dignity of all".

However, the challenges of developing links between the sectors is not to be underestimated given that many individuals and organisations work in isolation and the practical problems that operating outside a specialist field can sometimes present.

The practitioners present were asked to explore the concepts (human rights, development education and community relations) by articulating their underlying values and identifying common areas/themes. Please see the vend diagram (Fig. 1) for findings:

**Fig 1. Vend diagram of development education, community relations and human rights.**



The diagram contains the following text:

HR circle:
Legal aspect/framework & possibility of enforcement
Direct State involvement
Product oriented
Individual focus
UN Declarations
Concrete structures/ systems

CR circle:
Building trust
Building relationships
Local practice/focus
Re-humanising

HR/CR overlap:
Justice for Victims/Survivors
Rights are for everyone

Central overlap:
Interdependence
Equality, Diversity, Justice, Inclusion
Solidarity
Education
Citizenship
State involvement/responsibility
Respect
Responsibility
Connecting the local & the global
Respect for different cultures
Common audience/ methods

HR/DE overlap:
Basic human needs
Justice
Ethical Actions
Political education
Climate change /environment

CR/DE overlap:
Sustainable development
Building relationships
Process oriented: process is an end in itself & it is ongoing
Developing skills

DE circle:
Questioning and critical citizens
Global focus
Challenging the legal framework

After this exercise the participants were surprised at how much these concepts had in common and how difficult it was to find values and issues that were unique to each concept. There was a strong recognition that these concepts were inextricably connected while retaining varying degrees of emphasis on different aspects of practice.

The central area of the Vend diagram contains some of the overlapping areas or 'common ground' between all three concepts. Interdependence was a recurring theme throughout the debate, emphasising the mutual dependence of the concepts and the fact that they can not be viewed in isolation. For all three concepts a core set of underlying values were visible, including: equality, justice, diversity, inclusion, respect, solidarity and responsibility. These common values form a solid foundation for further debate and practice in this area with the seminar participants recognising the common methods employed in all three fields. These methods and pedagogy may be informed through the underlying values of group learning/sharing, participation, action, reflective practice, inclusion and respect.

Citizenship was included in the middle of the Vend diagram and could be viewed as an umbrella concept that includes human rights, development education and community relations. The model developed by the Council for the Curriculum, Examinations and Assessment (CCEA) (2003) for 'local and global citizenship' could be used as a theoretical template to connect community relations (via diversity and inclusion), human rights (via human rights and social responsibility) and development education (via equality and social justice, and democracy and active participation). A model of citizenship that creates informed, critical, empowered citizens who have the confidence, skills, values and will to participate in positive change processes is vital to reach the common goal for all three concepts.

The seminar and this article aim to initiate a debate on the interconnectedness of the concepts and to identify a common goal or aim for the three sectors. How can we include other related concepts such as citizenship education, education for sustainable development, education for mutual understanding and community development into this debate? What are the practicalities of working holistically and joining up practice as well as thinking? Is there a natural order of practical steps that we can follow for this work? Should the journey start with the self, challenging one's values, beliefs and actions? As McCully suggested, for this debate to develop:

"There is a need to challenge one's own vested interests. For example, community relations, citizenship and human rights practitioners will be

labelled as such and will start to defend [their] own territory without realising that we are moving in the same direction" (McCully, 2004).

Should you wish to respond to this article or contribute to this debate please contact Helen Henderson at helen.henderson@childrenincrossfire.org.

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**Helen Henderson** is the Development Education Co-ordinator for Children in Crossfire.

**Grainne O'Neill** is the Development Education Project Worker for Children in Crossfire.

**Audrey Guichon** is the Training and Outreach Officer for the 'Making a big difference' project at The Junction in Northern Ireland.

# THE CHANGING LANDSCAPE OF DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION

## Jaya Graves

## Introduction

All activity takes place within a social context that fluxuates as it is influenced by a range of events, which can be exhilarating or frightening. I examine here both the changing context in which development education (DE) takes place (i.e. the social and political landscape) and the themes and issues that comprise DE. So the article falls neatly into two sections.

## The changing social and cultural landscape

The changing demographic profile is a major factor throughout Europe. After World War II, many African and Caribbean people were invited to work in the United Kingdom (UK). Later, in the 1950s and 1960s, more immigrants, mainly from South Asia, were invited to undertake work that British people did not want to do. Today, many new arrivals are refugees, asylum seekers and migrants from the newly enlarged European Union (EU) and the developing world. These demographic changes have had, and will continue to have, a significant impact on the EU, its discourse and policies, its ethnic composition and its image of itself.

In the UK this discourse has been in process since the end of World War II. Early immigrants were subjected to policies of assimilation and integration, some of which were later discredited. For example, assimilation failed and was rejected in the 1960s, and integration was similarly discarded on the basis of its assimilative tendencies.

45 years later the situation is different with Black communities a visible and articulate part of our society but questions of identity continue to dominate the debate on race in the UK and Europe. For example, I have a Black (to mean people of Asian, African and African-Caribbean heritage) friend who identifies herself as European to make people aware of the assumptions they make about what it means to be European. Black people have been in Britain for hundreds of years and, in that time, Europe has been a continent of different cultures, colours and belief systems. So there has been some negotiation and reassessment of the notion of 'Britishness' and while immigrant British people expect to change they also reasonably

anticipate some change within the host culture. Many of us argue that this has happened to some extent but the concepts of integration and assimilation as they are now used by politicians, journalists, commentators and even educationalists, seem to make assumptions and tendencies of the sort rejected in the 1960s.

Some of the current stimulus for the re-emergence of integrationist policies comes from within the EU. For example, the Maastricht Treaty which 'addressed political and economic harmonisation and integration between European nations and the rights and responsibilities of European citizens'. The treaty may have been thinking in terms of *indigenous* (i.e. 'born in or natural to a country') Europeans but there now seems to be an attempt (or hope) to integrate *different* communities into a cultural norm - an acceptance of one historical perspective. Think, for example, of citizenship tests for newcomers. Will they include questions on the Indian uprising of 1857? Or Bloody Sunday? The slave castles in West Africa? These are parts of British history after all, albeit a contested area.

There has been some insistence within the gender debate that equality must respect women's specificity; that they should not be expected to function as their male counterparts. This has lessons for the debates around integration. *Immigrant* Europeans want to see some reflection of their specific cultures in the countries in which they now live.

Alongside the debate on integration is the backlash against multiculturalism, condemned by many (especially government) as another failed policy. There has been some debate as whether the French model, which sees everyone as equal under the law and in public life, is better suited to engendering social equality. French law is secular and blind to colour and ethnicity, in principle and philosophy with quality, therefore, premised on adopting a pre-existing set of norms and values. However, in practice the model has not guaranteed equality between social groups and it is difficult to envisage how this can happen in societies where the balance of power is skewed in favour of a particular group. Immigrants from former colonies may have rights to citizenship but new cultures have not been assimilated on the basis of equality and justice which consequently fosters dissension and social unrest.

An assimilative model is unlikely to be acceptable in a society, like the UK, that recognises the existence of inequalities and need for consequent action, and where a mature discourse on the value and need for diverse perspectives and experiences exists. It is reasonable to expect that immigrants should not be adapted into an existing norm and that host societies will encourage discourse on the issues of race, identity and social integration that will benefit from the engagement between different peoples

# The changing landscape of DE: Themes and content

Interdependence is a term commonly used to describe relationships in a globalising world, whether it is in business, government, the statutory and voluntary sectors or among charities. The term implies that we are *co-dependent* and sweeps the dynamic of power relations that are *fundamental* to relations between North and South under the carpet. The concept of interdependence needs to be deconstructed and examined carefully by education policy-makers and practitioners. While we are locked into a common economic and political system and, therefore, inter-connected, this does not equate to *co-dependence*. This is similarly the case with groups within national boundaries and it is not only erroneous but counter-productive and dangerous to suggest otherwise. Without addressing the imbalances of power at national and international levels, resentments will grow and social and economic problems will become more acute.

Our differences are as significant as our similarities and we should respect the rights of nation states and their citizens to opt out of the neo-liberal panacea of choice, economic wealth and over-consumption. Wealth can be measured in terms of family, friendships, support networks and sufficiency rather than the limited financial classifications of inter-government organisations. Moreover, economic poverty exists in the North as well as the South and DE practitioners know that materially poor people may be wealthy in other contexts – family and community structures, life-styles and values - and have much to teach us in respect to current urgencies like climate change and land degradation. People in the South have been feeling the impact of colonial industrialism for generations which is now extending across the world in the form of floods, freak weather patterns and water scarcity.

We *all* collude in the actions that produce climate change and inter-governmental initiatives such as the Kyoto protocol are only a *starting* point. Governments may need to take radical steps toward reducing carbon emissions and addressing climate change, but *we, the citizens,* need to recognize our rights and responsibilities in this area as well. Children have to understand the urgency of this and educators and parents need to reinforce the messages.

In respect to issues like climate change and fair trade, and development education practice in a broader sense there is an overarching question: 'How do we move people from feelings of empathy to a quest for justice?' Here are some suggestions:

- Support people in the global South as agents of their own change by challenging the notion that Southern people are disempowered and incapable of their own agency.
- Reclaim the history of developing countries and raise awareness of the freedom struggles and personal sacrifice that secured independence from colonialism. For example, The Abolition Act legislated for the inevitable as slaves made slavery impossible through their own activism and sacrifice.
- Challenge yourself to faithfully represent the oppression and emancipation of peoples in the global South as part of your own practice.
- Involve Southern people as *equal partners* in DE and development. An informed perspective from Southern activists can be a meaningful contribution to DE practice and *demonstrates* that people are involved in their own struggles at different levels – as activists, analysts and researchers.

## Future opportunities and challenges

I have proposed below some of the challenges for DE organisations in involving Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) groups in their work:

- There needs to be more genuine partnerships between long-term resident Southern and Black people and DE groups. There appears to have been less progress in this respect in the DE sector than in other sectors of our society. However, there are a greater number of Southern and Black groups that have DE as part of their activities. This will mean looking at areas where seemingly different agendas can overlap.
- Greater engagement with new immigrant and BME communities within the development education and development sectors. We need to ensure that DE is delivered in a way that helps to meet the needs of these communities and supports their contribution to development education.
- Even with the best intentions, campaigns like 'Drop the Debt' and 'Make Poverty History' can compound stereotypes of the global South. Campaigning needs to become more subtle and campaigning methodologies and images need to complement the aims and methods of development education. The messages often contradict each other so there is a case for discussion between the DE and charity sectors.

- Different sources of information need to be explored, particularly from the South, to provide a more comprehensive overview of development.
- The contrasting agendas of agencies and groups that fund DE organisations can have a detrimental effect on practice. It is important that DE practice supports the needs of target groups and is not compromised by the competing demands of funders.

## Conclusion

I believe that the urgency of change in all contexts is a defining feature in DE. The future may sometimes look bleak or unmanageable. but the changing landscape also presents huge *opportunities* – the world on our doorstep. As educators, it is our responsibility, our rationale for existence, to engage with the challenges presented by contemporary issues like social inequality. There is a need to develop *real* partnerships, i.e. processes seasoned by dialogue and engagement between people willing to disagree, take risks and negotiate. In our personal lives the increasing diversity of cultures offers a huge and salient pool of wealth to dip into and leave undepleted. It offers deeper understanding, complex and nuanced friendships that teach us, not only about other groups and individuals, but also about ourselves. Astonishingly this is a wealth that renews itself. It never needs to end.

**Notes**:

[1] My organisation, Southern Voices, uses the terms inter-cultural, cross-cultural or trans-cultural. All terms imply engagement between peoples. The last (trans-cultural) implies a unifying set of values, something that holds us together. By 'multicultural' we mean a multiplicity of people from different backgrounds, sometimes engaging with each other, sometimes not but, sharing, learning and increasing our understanding, developing new creative forms from this engagement as well as valuing what is specific to our source cultures.

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*Two documents that will be important to us are the new National Curriculum and the Report from the Commission for Integration and Cohesion that was launched on 14 July 2007 to which the Government has yet to make a response.*

**Jaya Graves** trained as a Steiner teacher. She has worked for an organisation called Southern Voices (SV) since it was founded in 1992. SV was set up to make the perspectives of the South more visible in the processes and policies that affect us. This is how SV describes its learning process: 'We are agents for and objects of change. Our practice and perception owes much to the Southern notion of education for development where it is necessary to be within the development process and change with it'.

# Viewpoint

## Are development agencies disengaging from development education?

**Stephen McCloskey**

In the emergent period of development education (DE) practice in Ireland and the UK, development agencies were the mainstay of the sector. Most development education centres (DECs) - NGOs entirely focused on the delivery of development education services - were largely sustained with support from agency grants. Indeed, many DECs were set up by development agencies in the 1970s and 1980s as necessary agents of awareness raising and social change at a time of limited public engagement with development issues.

My own organisation, the Centre for Global Education, is an example of a DEC established twenty years ago by eight development agencies in the aftermath of the Ethiopian famine of 1984-85. The founders of the Centre recognised how negative stereotypes of developing countries dominated discourse on the developing world at that time, especially countries in Africa. The founding agencies resolved to challenge these stereotypes by creating an NGO in Belfast that engendered a more positive and informed perspective on poor countries. This decision was also partly based on the lack of capacity within some agencies to deliver development education as part of their own work.

In this formative stage of development education delivery, the policy and funding framework for the sector was extremely weak and the British and Irish governments were less engaged with public awareness work at home. Indeed, in its 1999 strategy paper *Building Support for Development*, the UK's Department for International Development (DfID) candidly accepted that:

> "For much of the last 20 years, the UK government has attached little importance to development education work in the UK, leaving others, particularly the network of Development Education Centres and others in the voluntary sector, to take the lead in promoting greater awareness

and understanding".

In the case of the Centre for Global Education, most of our funding between 1986 and 1999 came in the form of grants from development agencies with limited and irregular support from the two governments.

That situation has changed dramatically over the past decade with the Centre, like many NGOs in these islands, receiving a sharp increase in government support. In the south of Ireland, the development sector is largely resourced with grants from Irish Aid (the department responsible for overseas aid and development education) and in the UK there is a similar scenario with increased grant support from DfID. Moreover, both governments have delivered their financial support within a policy framework backed up by strategy documents that have served to further mainstream development education practice within the wider formal and non-formal sectors.

Since 1997, the British government has published three White Papers on international development that make explicit reference to the need for strengthened awareness raising across civil society and, in 2006, the Irish government launched its first White Paper for the development sector. The two governments now have a shared policy commitment to awareness raising work across society, recognising the capacity of development education as an agent of change through active citizenship.

This newly strengthened policy environment for development education has given renewed vigour to the sector and given it a statutory platform from which to build links across civil society. However, this period of increased governmental engagement with development education has regrettably been characterised by a gradual disengagement by many of the NGOs that were the mainstay of the sector.

In the south of Ireland, for example, a recent membership survey by Dóchas (April 2007) - the Irish national platform of non-governmental development organisations - revealed an alarming picture of under-investment in development education activities. Almost half of the 35 (out of 37) members surveyed (49 per cent) spent less than one per cent of their 2005 income 'on development education activities' and almost two-thirds of members (69 per cent) spent less than 5 per cent. In real terms, development education expenditure by Dóchas members in 2005 amounted to €3,363,297 from a total expenditure of €257.84m in the same year.

Although the survey concerns agencies based in Ireland, a similar scenario appears to have taken root in the UK within organisations that were traditional carriers of the development education sector either as donors or deliverers of practice. Moreover, those agencies that continue to provide

development education grants to external organisations have increasingly gravitated toward conditional terms of support. In essence this means that applicants are required to deliver projects, often within a year, focusing on areas of education specified by the donor.

The implications of the grant relationship for applicants include adjusting their work to meet funding criteria rather than pursuing strategic organisational objectives. Similarly, applicants may have to further diversify their work to deliver a new project rather than consolidating their existing activities. Most importantly, however, is the reduced level of core support given to development education organisations in a sector with extremely limited funding options. Without core support from their traditional funding base – development agencies – many DECs and other small NGOs are operating within narrow financial margins that often prevent forward planning and create constant insecurity.

Despite funding constraints, development education organisations deliver professional education services to a wide range of target groups within civil society. Maintaining the quality of these services will not only benefit learners but the development sector as a whole through increased public engagement with development issues. Development agencies would strengthen the development education sector if they supported groups on the basis of their overall operational performance rather than encouraging a further dilution of their output by only supporting new projects. There is ultimately limited added value for a small NGO taking up an agency grant if it adds to the workload of staff and draws the organisation into a new area of activity. Most agencies are reluctant to support DECs for the work that they are currently delivering and require them to create something new. This approach is detrimental to the sector when funding could be better spent in strengthening the organisational base of development education providers.

In the context of declining agency support an increasing number of DECs are seeking either DfID or Irish Aid funding for development education projects. The sector has welcomed the steady increase in government funding and many DECs have successfully bid for grants. However, the increasing reliance on government support and imbalance in government/NGO funding could signal further problems for the sector. There is the possibility of self-censorship in carrying out our role as government partner and critical friend. Grant recipients may, even sub-consciously, adopt a less radical and progressive approach to development education to offset the possibility of failure in the bidding process or hinder the success of future bids. Moreover, it is structurally dangerous to rely heavily on one funding partner of any description no matter how secure future support may appear.

This is not to criticise governments for increasing their development education budgets! We have long sought a scenario where government agencies would become leading players in the policy and funding framework for development education. What is advocated here is a restoration or enhancement of development agency support for DE both within their organisational structures and in regard to development education budgets. The sector needs lead development agencies to resource their own development education work to a much higher level and to enhance their grant support for external groups.

It is fully recognised that development agencies have a broad remit including humanitarian aid and relief, campaigns, fundraising, emergencies/appeals, advocacy and development education. Moreover, agencies are often competing with each other and other charities/NGOs for public money which can result in fluctuating incomes and reduced departmental budgets. But all too often development education has been an easy target for reduced expenditure – attitudinal change induced by DE can be difficult to quantify and evaluate, and outcomes are not always tangible as they can be in areas like fundraising.

But the level of public engagement in recent years with development issues should trigger an increase in DE budgets not a further retreat in expenditure. The level of public interest and active engagement with development issues has never been higher as evidenced by the growth of 'do-it-yourself NGOs' - small initiatives aimed at linking groups in Ireland with villages and communities in the global south - and the myriad of 'direct aid' initiatives which target specific humanitarian needs in the global south.

In 2005, we witnessed a magnificent public response to the Make Poverty History (MPH) initiative and the global clamouring for action on trade, debt and globalisation. What became obvious during the MPH campaign was the need for a stronger DE component to sustain the involvement of the public and deepen their knowledge and understanding of the issues. Agencies should not regard DE as a separate strand from their other activities but an integral, interweaving element that will sustain momentum behind all their work.

The Dóchas survey shows that in 2006 the total membership of the network could call on 850,000 supporters. But to what extent are these constituents in receipt of DE and being encouraged to engage with their organisations beyond donations and postcard campaigns? Development education can foster the deeper engagement that Ireland and its European partners need to ensure that governments and inter-governmental bodies respond to the needs of the poor.

But part of the process of re-engaging development agencies with DE

requires development education organisations to question their own effectiveness in pressing the case for increased support from agencies and promoting the effective work that they are delivering throughout the island. The recent emergence of the Irish Development Education Association (IDEA) may provide a more unified voice in the sector that can more forcefully articulate the needs of its members.

We need IDEA (and other development networks) to enter into dialogue with lead agencies and identify the factors that are squeezing development education budgets. This will require all practitioners, possibly through IDEA, to better promote the effectiveness of their work, spell out the need for DE, and present development agencies with a realistic, timetabled proposal for increased funding for the sector. This proposal should include the provision of core funding rather than a requirement to deliver new projects.

If current trends continue development education will become increasingly marginalised within lead agencies and DE budgets steadily diminished. The sector would not only lose a valuable source of financial support but the considerable expertise and resources that development agencies bring to development education. Many agencies have a long and distinguished association with development education and the sector as a whole needs that to continue.

# Reviews

Africa on film:  We invited education practitioners to review recently released films on Africa to  assess their value in an educational context and approach to issues currently impacting on the continent.

## *The Constant Gardener*
Reviewed by Alan Britton

Based on John le Carré's novel of the same name, *The Constant Gardener*, set in Kenya, seeks to expose the dubious ethical practices of 'Big Pharma' in Africa.  The fictional plot about a corrupt drug company touting a supposed cure for tuberculosis (TB) anticipates the recent lawsuit brought by the Nigerian Government against Pfizer alleging that an experimental antibiotic to treat meningitis led to death and disability in a group of children ('Nigeria sues Pfizer for $7bn over drug tests', 2007).

In the real world, the pharmaceutical giant denied any wrongdoing. However, in a classic case of unintended consequences, the controversy over the trial increased the general mistrust of vaccination programmes in Nigeria, seized upon by Islamic state authorities, which in turn inhibited long term polio vaccination programmes in the region.

In *The Constant Gardener* we are introduced (in flashback) to the passionate and wilful activist Tessa (played by Rachel Weisz), who embarks on research that leads to her being silenced in a brutal fashion.  Her husband Justin (Ralph Fiennes), who hitherto has been more preoccupied with tending plants, gradually picks up the baton of her crusade after her death, as much to discover whether she betrayed him in life as to explore the corruption and malpractice (both commercial and political) behind the drug trial.

There is a familiarity in this notion of the naïve character embarking on a reluctant voyage through Africa revealing the darkness of the human soul, like Marlowe's journey in Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*. Through Justin's eyes we witness the corruption of the pharmaceutical industry, as well as the complicity of the UK Government, represented by both High Commission staff and the shadowy reaches of the Foreign and

Commonwealth Office. Any notion of an 'ethical foreign policy' is replaced by a cynical pragmatism that makes a calculus of British jobs versus African lives. These African lives are, with one or two exceptions, depicted as passive, voiceless, and dependent on the agency of other, white characters. This may be a conscious and deliberate decision on the part of the director, although it would be worthy of exploration in the classroom.

Justin's investigation reveals his wife's 'innocence' of personal betrayal, whereas the evidence of corporate and political culpability becomes overwhelming. Justin finally arrives at an understanding that he could have shared with his wife as he retraces and re-enacts her ultimate fate. Justin's crucial, concluding insight is that individual lives matter, and that action has to take the place of introverted passivity, exemplified by his previous horticultural obsession. Departing from the ambiguous ending of the book, the film allows some form of justice and comeuppance to be visited upon the senior UK government official implicated in Tessa and Justin's investigation.

The film is visually engaging: full of impressionistic bursts of colour and scenes of contemporary Kenyan life; of sumptuous landscapes, modern cityscapes and rural poverty, and the quirks of post-colonial life; cricket matches and a lush golf course a stone's throw from a sprawling shanty town. There is a particularly heartbreaking glimpse of a feeding station in remote and war-riven territory. It also notes implicitly that while there is low level political corruption in Kenya, the apparatus of state security in the UK (through closed-circuit television, or CCTV) is a much more sophisticated tool for control and potential corruption in its own right.

Benjamin Barber notes that films such as *The Constant Gardener* 'hint at a wish to honour the standards Hollywood boasts about but rarely lives up to'. He further suggests that the film itself is 'political and original (if also predictable and formulaic)' (Barber, 2007). Despite these partial misgivings, the issues it raises have clear relevance for development education in the upper secondary classroom, and are unusual in a mainstream cinematic release. The experienced practitioner will no doubt consider whether it is appropriate to show in its entirety (running at just over two hours) or in several sittings. Some pupils, used to standard Hollywood storytelling, may struggle with the complexity of the plot and narrative structure, as well as the relatively downbeat conclusion and underlying sense of powerlessness. Teachers should be aware of some nudity, strong language and violent and harrowing scenes (the BBFC rating is '15').

*The Constant Gardener* provides a compelling and emotionally challenging starting point from which older pupils might begin to consider a number of global development and justice issues, as well as depictions of

Africa and associated media stereotypes. If it is to be used in this way, additional resources are available on the website established by the film's Production Company. The company also provided for the establishment of a trust to support practical development in lieu of location fees, which will go towards building new schools and water and waste infrastructure in Kenya. See: http://www.constantgardenertrust.org/

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**Alan Britton** is the Deputy Director of the Education for Global Citizenship Unit, University of Glasgow Faculty of Education.

## *Bamako*

Reviewed by Yvonne Egan

A shot rings out across a dusty wasteland. The shot ends a wasted life. The driver of a luxury car passing by hears the bang, halts his car, and checks his tyres, so oblivious is he of the desolation of his surroundings and so protective is he of his acquisition.

A Malian bride gasps for breath as she is trussed into an ill-fitting, white lace bridal gown, as she sits beneath a Tannoy relaying an impassioned voice bemoaning the crushing of the African by the white world economy.

The words of a young man relating the loss of his journeymen as they crossed the Sahara to enter Europe are interspersed with the blood-red run-off from newly dyed sheets spiralling down a drain.

These are the images which remain with you from *Bamako*, a new film by the Mauritanian director Abderrahmane Sissako. The film is set almost entirely in a typical Malian courtyard – the same courtyard where Sissako grew up. In the yard people come and go, fetch water, celebrate a wedding, chat, argue, children play. In the rooms on its fringes, a couple are breaking up; a man is dying; a child lies ill with fever; a woman chats on her mobile with her mother. Intermeshed with these tableaux of ordinary Malian life are court proceedings which, despite their extraordinariness, are enmeshed with these lives just like another storyline, treated with the same amount of concern to some and indifference by others. The International Finance Institutions (IFIs) and the Group of Eight leading industrialised countries (G8) are on trial, accused by African society of being the cause of its woe.

Dressed in full regalia, a judge hears evidence against the IFIs from Malian intellectuals, writers, peasants and activists. As one would expect in a courtroom, where the machinations of persuasion frequently eclipse truth, the testimonies are eloquent, passionate and convincing. Yet the arguments are most powerful at the points where language breaks down. A former teacher, his school closed by the World Bank's policies, is rendered literally speechless at the witness stand, his *raison d'être* taken from him by the loss of his vocation. And by far the most powerful moment in the film – of almost any film I have seen – is where Zegué Bamba, an aged chief, half-sings-half-speaks his testimony: a lament for Africa. This extraordinary moment is not subtitled, as the rest of the film is. Instead, one is forced to focus on the emotion, not the words: the grief, the anger, the bitterness, the passion, the love for his homeland, the sense of loss, the resentment. The sense of injustice. It is by far the most eloquent statement on Africa I have heard. It spoke to me as no words could have done. The film is worth

seeking out if only for this one moment.

This, then, is a film about the power of images over word. In some senses, the film thus undermines its own conceit. Despite the passion and righteousness of the rhetoric, in the end, convoluted arguments rehearsed in cloistered courtyards, relayed through tinny loudspeakers to an indifferent audience only in the immediate vicinity, are meaningless. The wrangling of Western-style legalese is made irrelevant even at its most relevant. Lives lived out in poverty in the periphery of the courtyard take centre-stage in the moral landscape. As Zegué Bamba says, 'Words are something that can seize you in your heart. It's bad if you keep them inside.'

How can this film be used for global education? My first reaction is, with difficulty. The film is long, and paced according to African conventions of narrative, a long way from Hollywood formulas (a distinction cleverly made explicit in the film, by the interjection of a Spaghetti Western style intermission, Death in Timbuktu, in which African cowboys kill meaninglessly, catching civilians in the crossfire). I feel the average school-age audience would struggle to engage with the film. Moreover, the court-room discourse requires a high degree of familiarity with IFI policy, and the sophisticated language comes at you quickly. So I would tend to use extracts from the film as a springboard for other activities. The film's website (http://www.bamako-themovie.com/home.html) has some excellent ideas, and includes Zegué Bamba's lament (click 'open testimony click' at http://www.bamako-themovie.com/fe_05_legal.html). Opening a lesson with this clip, asking students to write down adjectives which describe the testimony and then asking them to speculate on what he is speaking about, would be a powerful introduction to a class project staging its own trial of the IFIs.

*Bamako* (2006) [Film]. Sissako, A. Paris: Archipel 33.

**Yvonne Egan** is a Development Education Officer at EIL Ireland, which is the oldest education exchange organisation in the world.

## *Shooting Dogs*

Reviewed by Catherine Simmons

In spring 1994, almost one million Rwandans were murdered in a well planned genocide that was initially overlooked by the western world. *Shooting Dogs*, a British-German co-production, part-financed by BBC Films, was directed by Michael Caton-Jones and looks at events that took place during those '100 days'. *Shooting Dogs* was inspired by producer David Belton's own experiences covering the Rwandan genocide for BBC's Newsnight in 1994. Filmed on location in Rwanda and using Rwandan extras, many of whom were genocide survivors, the film's principal characters are based on people he met at that time. The main storyline is inspired by what happened at the Ecole Technique Officielle (ETO) in Kigali from 6 to 11 April 1994.

The school is a perceived safe haven due to the presence of Belgian United Nation (UN) peacekeepers stationed there. Civilians flock to the school sure that they will be safe behind the gates with the will and force of the UN in front of them. However, the troops' mandate was limited to peacekeeping and the evacuation of expatriates, which meant that they failed to intervene in the massacre of thousands of Rwandans. In *Shooting Dogs*, a Catholic priest, Father Christopher (John Hurt) and a young idealistic English teacher, Joe (Hugh Dancy) have to decide whether to leave the Rwandans and save their own lives or to stay with the refugees. The story also hinges around Joe's promise to one of his pupils, Marie, that they will be kept safe.

*Shooting Dogs* (released as *Beyond the Gates* in the United States) joins the films *Hotel Rwanda*, *Sometimes in April* and *100 Days* in addressing the 1994 Rwandan genocide. Each of these films presents a different view of the genocide, ranging from the retrospective of *Sometimes in April* to the exploration of individual motivation in *Hotel Rwanda*. *Shooting Dogs* also concentrates on a specific timeframe in the first few days of the genocide. Filmed with a modest $6 million budget and visually stunning, the film avoids the traditional Hollywood treatment of storytelling (more evident in *Hotel Rwanda*) and employs a neo-documentary-style that unfolds slowly and yet adds to the weight of the narrative. The viewer knows that terrible things are going to happen, but like the characters in the film is powerless to control the pace of events and can only await the contagion of conflict that gripped the country. Like *Sometimes in April*, the fact that filming took place in Rwanda is a credit to the film-makers.

This film could bring up many issues for discussion in an educational context: what is historical truth? Is this the only way we can relate to the

Rwandan genocide?  What role did the United Nations play in the genocide?  How does this film encourage critical thinking?  How many acts of murder does it take to make genocide?  What do we feel and think when the character of the British journalist Rachel compares the difference between her experiences in Bosnia and Rwanda and says '...over here, they're just dead Africans'?

These are complex questions that resonate with past events such as the Bosnian conflict, the Cambodian genocide and the Holocaust as well as current events, such as Darfur in Sudan.  The very concept of genocide is horrific and incomprehensible and daunting as subject matter.  How do you start to look at the issues underpinning the planned extermination of an entire ethnic group?  Whether you have an in-depth knowledge of the events of 1994 or have never heard of the Rwandan genocide, this film will certainly act as a catalyst for discussion and critical thinking on many levels.

*Shooting Dogs* does not provide all the answers but, as with development education, can be used as a starting point that enables learners to begin engaging with these difficult issues that we often avoid because of their complexity and sensitivity.  This film can be used as an entry point to many different themes ranging from the individual (the power of self-preservation and choice) to the global (the role and responsibilities of inter-governmental agencies like the UN).

It raises questions of historical truth and stereotyping – is it 'true' that all Rwandans were only either victims or perpetrators?  Is it easier or more effective in development education practice to engage with a fictionalised 'reality' rather than actual documentary footage or testimony of the genocide?  Due to its basis in historical events and documentary style of filming, it becomes difficult to remember that whilst *Shooting Dogs* is based on fact, the story is fictionalised on many levels.  For example, UN troops were not ordered to shoot the dogs feeding on the bodies outside the school gate, and 2,500 people were not massacred at the school but instead led on a death march to be slaughtered by machete and dumped in gravel pits.  While the film was not totally faithful to the facts of the ETO incident, it still retains the capacity and power to encourage and support further learning about the Rwandan genocide.

The film has been criticised, along with other recent productions on African themes and countries of using fictional white leading characters to tell an African story, implying that this is the only way Western audiences can relate to the subject.  However, I think we should be wary of assuming that the presence of white characters is always a negative thing.  We cannot erase the impact and attitudes of colonialism from the history and stories of Africa just as it should not be erased from this story of Rwanda.

*Hotel Rwanda* has been praised by Western audiences for telling a Rwandan story through a central Rwandan character. But the perception that this is automatically a good thing is challenged by some Rwandans who dispute the validity of events as portrayed in the film. Perhaps viewers will be more preoccupied by the truthfulness of the film and its sensitivity to the issues and countries portrayed than the race or gender of the leading characters. Films that support learning and spark our interest in the situations they portray, particularly issues that are sidelined by mainstream cinema, can be useful educational tools in the development sector.

*Shooting Dogs* (2006) [Film]. Caton-Jones, M. London: CrossDay Productions Ltd.

**Catherine Simmons** previously worked as the Editor for *Policy and Practice*. She has a development and development education background and also spent two years working in the education sector in Rwanda.

# Tsotsi

Reviewed by Christine Patterson

First premiered at the Edinburgh Film Festival in August 2005, the film *Tsotsi* provides a rich stimulus for discussions on masculinity, poverty and crime, and the challenges facing post-apartheid South Africa. Adapted for the screen by South African film director Gavin Hood, the film is based on Athol Fugard's novel *Tsotsi*. 'Tsotsi' is a term used in townships in Southern Africa to describe someone who steals, frequently with violence. A Tsotsi will strike ruthlessly and without warning motivated by a love for violence, like Butcher, one gang member in the film, or because they can, and have no reason not to. The killing of a man on the train early in the film, is exactly the sort of crime that currently terrorises South African society and is carefully captured and recreated in the film. But the film also presents in some detail the desperate social conditions in the squatter camps where the gang members live, in which residents survive on less than a dollar a day, and have daily concerns about having enough food for their families, the safety of their children, or the ever present danger of becoming swept up by the violence around them.

The background to the novel is apartheid, Sophiatown's imminent demolition, and the attempts by the authorities to suppress anti-apartheid activists by dispersing its inhabitants further from the city centre, into the South Western Township or Soweto. Apartheid meant that men frequently came on their own to seek work in the cities, and women went into domestic service, leaving their families in the 'Reserved Areas' which disrupted family lives and had disastrous consequences for children.

The legacy of such family separation continues. Save the Children currently works with children in QwaQwa, a township high up in the stunningly scenic Drakensburg mountains, which had been the 'Reserved Area' for the Sotho people. Today, there are over 200,000 people living here, in poor quality housing, with limited basic services. Unemployment stands at around 60%, and levels of alcohol and drug abuse are high. Parents still travel to Johannesburg for work, at least a four hour drive away, and children are often left for months on end with grandparents, or by themselves. For those children living in the squatter camps life is just as hard and included on the DVD is a short piece about the real lives of three boys in Soweto. It is extremely moving, and without words, speaks volumes about the reality and deprivation of these children's lives.

The film's action centres on a dark, wet night, when Tsotsi steals a car from a woman as she stands in the rain at the gate intercom to her house. She sees him at the wheel of her car and challenges him, screaming. He shoots

her and speeds away.  Only later, when he stops the car, does he realise that her baby is in the back seat.  He abandons the car, and takes the baby with him.  By introducing a middle-class black family into the story, and making it their baby that is kidnapped, Hood is able to draw painful comparisons between Tsotsi's childhood, and that one from which he has plucked the baby.  The story is not centred on a conflict between people of different races, but on the consequences of conflict and poverty.

Tsotsi is a young man without a past or an education.  He viciously beats his friend, who asks him if he understand the word decency.  Nor does he know his real name.  Much later he meets some children living in empty sewer pipes, just as he did.  A flashback reveals a violent father, and a sick mother – and his name, David.  The novel allows the reader to follow David's journey as he rediscovers the part of himself that feels through his thoughts and emotions.  The cinematography in the film allows the viewer to do this too, with Hood's close-up facial shots cutting to wider shots revealing the vast wasteland still separating the squatter camps from the city.

The DVD offers three endings to the film, and in doing so, Gavin Hood is allowing his audience to ask what do you want to happen to David?  Is there hope in the not-so-new South Africa for him?  In real life, projects like Engender Health's 'Men as Partners' project are reaching out to men like David and finding strategies to support them.  The South African government has an ambitious house-building programme, to bring an end to the squatter camps, but what are the long term solutions for the cities, and for places like QwaQwa?  Can that many people continue to live there?  And in what conditions?  The film offers a great starting point for looking at projects like this, and considers afresh discussions on gender, justice, development and sustainability.

There is an additional gem among the DVD extras in the form of the short film *The StoreKeeper*.  This is an earlier, award-winning short film by Gavin Hood and really captures rural South Africa.  It tragically underlines a quotation by Eglantyne Jebb, founder of Save the Children, which I frequently cite: 'Children are the first and most vulnerable victims of war', which on reflection, probably applies to the whole DVD.

*Tsotsi* (2006) [Film].  Hood, G.  Johannesburg: The UK Film & TV Production Company PLC.

**Christine Patterson** is the Global Dimension Co-ordinator for Save the Children in UK, and manages global campaigns and

development education activities. Initially a drama graduate, she has taught in Zimbabwe, and as part of her current work with Save the Children visited various projects involving children and young people in South Africa last October, including the Men as Partners project in Johannesburg.

## Sometimes in April

Reviewed by Patsy Toland

In 1994, almost 800,000 Rwandans were massacred over the course of 100 days. It has been called a purge or act of genocide by Hutu nationalists on their Tutsi countrymen and their Hutu supporters. These terrible events have been captured in two recent films – *Hotel Rwanda* and *Shooting Dogs* – so is there need for another? The answer is yes: *Sometimes in April* is the most provocative of the three and a stunning film.

The title refers to the onset of the rainy season in April which now serves as a reminder of the beginning of the 100 day genocide. The film brings us into the life of Augustin (Idris Elba), a Rwandan soldier, married to Jeanne (Carole Karemera), a Tutsi woman, whose normal, secure life crumbles as he realises that nowhere is safe and no-one is spared as the Hutu massacres unfold. The outside world is aware of the events, but fails to intervene in the ongoing genocide seemingly more preoccupied by the death of Kurt Cobain or debating the subtle differences between 'acts of genocide' and 'genocide'.

The film certainly leaves the viewer with a desire to learn more about the situation in Rwanda, and provides additional benefits as a resource for development education. It briefly reviews Rwanda's history of European colonisation, and addresses the controversial issues of inaction on the part of the United Nations and the world as a whole during the events of 1994. The DVD's extra features contribute to its educational value. Director Raoul Peck's commentary allows us to learn his political motivation for this project and offers insights into his craft. There is also an excellent 'Making - *Sometimes in April*' feature which allows us to listen to the main actors and their motivation for getting involved in the film and playing the characters who bring the story to life – an excellent resource for film study as well as insight into the Rwandan people. The film was made in Rwanda and derives greater authenticity and poignancy from the use of locations where human rights abuses were perpetrated in 1994.

The story is observed through the relationship between Augustin and his brother Honore and their roles on opposite sides of events during the genocide. The film opens with the United Nations' trial of Honore for his part as a radio journalist in provoking the Hutu massacres and is contrasted with Augustin's efforts to come to terms with his personal loss in events supported and incited by his brother. Honore's journey is also witnessed by Martine, a teacher from his daughter's school, who now lives with him. Her physical and emotional journey carries us through much of the horror of the events culminating with her participation in the Gacaca (open community

trials) of those accused of participating in the massacre at her school.

The role of the USA and echoes of the war in Iraq are pointedly drawn in a telephone conversation between Colonel Bagosora (Abby Mukiibi Nkaaga) and Assistant General Secretary to President Clinton, Prudence Bushnell (Debra Winger). When threatened with the might of the US army he replies 'We have no oil here, no diamonds, we have nothing you need in Rwanda – why would you come?'.

This is a film that strives to be honest in its portrayal of the Rwandan genocide, not just through the feature itself but through the additional information on the conflict and making of the film provided by the extra features. When you get the DVD - watch it all!

*Sometimes in April* (2005) [Film]. Peck, R. Languedoc-Roussillon: Cinéfacto.


**Patsy Toland** is the Development Education Coordinator for Self Help Development International.

# Contributions to Policy and Practice

The Editorial Group invites readers with experience of development education and related areas to contribute:
- suggestions for future themes or Viewpoint topics
- articles for submission to any section of the journal
- suggestions for resources of any type to be reviewed
- letters.

Submissions are welcome from development organisations and activists, academics, formal and non-formal educators, statutory policy-makers in education and development and civil society groups in Ireland, Europe and the Global South.

## Types of Articles
Readers have a choice of article to submit from the following types:

## Guest Editorial
The Guest Editorial is usually 800 -1000 words and allows a personal reflection and comment on the issue's main theme whilst highlighting and linking key points and arguments from the Focus articles. Personal interpretation of the theme and articles in the Editorial is important and this may range from an overview of the issue, to a challenge for readers or a projection for the future.

No editing duties are required.

## Focus articles
The Focus section contains articles that relate to the theme of the issue and are usually between 2,000 - 4,000 words. These peer-reviewed articles should examine the key debates and issues relating to the main topic. As these articles will be reviewed, these articles should be of a good standard of English with a well-structured argument and demonstrate a clear understanding of the key issues under discussion. It may be the case that occasionally articles may not be of a suitable standard for the Focus section, but are still of interest to readers and will appear in an alternate section of the journal.

## Perspectives articles
The Perspectives section contains articles that are usually between 800-1600 words. These articles may or may not relate to the main theme of the journal.

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## Viewpoint articles

This section allows two authors to examine and debate a different particular point of view, issue, or policy development in the development education sector. These contributions are usually between 800-1000 words.

## Resource Reviews

A variety of types of resources are reviewed by readers in this section. Each review is usually 750 words.

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If you wish to submit an article or review to Policy and Practice, please contact the Editor at the address below. Detailed submission guidelines for each type of article are available on request. The Editor reserves the right to edit all submitted articles for space, content or grammar.

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## Editor Contact Details:

Stephen McCloskey
Centre for Global Education
9 University Street
Belfast BT7 1FY
**Tel**: 02890 241 879
**Fax**: 02890 244 120
**Email**: capacity@centreforglobaleducation.com

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The journal is published twice a year. It aims to facilitate reflection and discourse on development education practice in the island of Ireland and to help support capacity-building and communications in the development education sector. The journal features a range of in-depth contributions from within the development sector and mainstream education on aspects of development education practice such as methodologies, monitoring and evaluation, the production of resources, enhancing organisational capacity,

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