

# Policy & Practice

## A Development Education Review

ISSN: 1748-135X

Editor: Stephen McCloskey

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# Editorial

## FINDING THE ‘HISTORICALLY POSSIBLE’: CONTEXTS, LIMITS AND POSSIBILITIES IN DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION

**Fionnuala Waldron**

“Throughout history one does what is historically possible and not what one would want to do” (Freire, 1985: 171).

One of the characteristics of development education (DE) which makes it a complex and multi-layered area of education is that the contexts it engages with are multiple, diverse and sometimes contradictory. This diversity is evident in the range of target groups and sectors with which DE programmes engage and the multiplicity of settings in which DE occurs, settings which range from the high visibility of public billboards to the intimacy of classrooms, from settings that are constrained by the demands of state curricula to those that are premised on the more open spaces of informal education. Development education can also be differentiated by its providers (non-governmental organisations [NGOs]/formal education), its sources of funding and by its geographical location, all of which can serve to limit or expand its possibilities, depending on how it is defined and what its purpose is perceived to be. Given this level of differentiation, it is perhaps not surprising that questions have been raised regarding its coherence with its core mission in different contexts. Some have questioned whether the project of education for transformation which lies at the heart of development education, can retain its integrity in the context of a dominant and all-pervasive neoliberalism (Bryan, 2011; Selby and Kagawa, 2014). Does the policy environment in education, for example, which is seen as increasingly instrumentalist, inevitably compromise DE as a radical, political project? Does dependence on state funding inexorably lead to the individualisation and domestication of the concept of social action in development education contexts? McCloskey (2014: 6) suggests that while state agencies might

envision social action as the desirable outcome of DE, it is likely to be conceptualised as individualised consumer-oriented responses such as fair trade rather than the potentially radical responses envisaged by Freirean pedagogy.

Others have questioned whether NGOs themselves are unavoidably compromised by the environments in which they operate, particularly in relation to their capacity to critique the role of transnational corporations (TNCs). In this issue of *Policy & Practice*, Lynda Sullivan traces the convergence of the neoliberal agenda of the Peruvian state and the interests of TNCs, and demonstrates how the cynical co-option of development discourse to support modernisation recasts vulnerable communities fighting for their rights as impediments to national economic progress. In an earlier issue of *Policy & Practice*, Andy Egan forcefully argued the need for DE to 'question and challenge the hegemony of corporate power' (2011: 12). Yet, as David Monk suggests, also in this issue, when it comes to challenging corporate power, are NGOs silenced by their dependence on state funding? Like Egan, Monk asserts the need for development education to engage with the pervasive influence of corporations on the lives of people, including the power of corporations to determine state policy through close cooperation with governments and through mechanisms such as international trade agreements.

Given its counterhegemonic and transformative potential, development education inevitably works within environments that are in many ways hostile to its underpinning philosophy, regardless of whether it is at the level of public awareness or as part of formal and informal education. Within formal education settings, bringing development education closer to the mainstream involves negotiating the constraints imposed by formal curricula and by state agendas around national priorities and accountability at all levels of education. Can development education maintain its critical stance and its focus on transformative social action in the light of such constraints? Or is this asking the wrong question? Freire's argument that rather than give in to 'annihilating pessimism' where contexts are hostile,

educators should do ‘what is historically possible’ is relevant here. Although education cannot be seen as ‘independent from the power that produces it’, educators should seek to reach their goals ‘according to the concrete historical conditions under which they live’ (1980: 170-171). Bourn takes a similar view, and argues that development educators should seek to identify and maximise the possibilities for DE in any given learning environment. DE he argues ‘is not about identifying one universal approach but about clarifying what is feasible and possible’ (2014: 61). Part of that analysis and clarification includes ongoing critical reflection on development education itself and the assumptions that underpin its practice, along with analysis of the constraints, pedagogical challenges and opportunities which different contexts present.

There are a number of articles within this issue of *Policy & Practice* that demonstrate the ‘possible’ and illustrate what can happen when development education seeks to leverage the opportunities presented by the system. Likewise, opportunities to extend and deepen our understanding of development education are evident across the issue but explicitly addressed in the Focus section where articles by Vanessa Andreotti and David Monk and by Murphy, Ozawa-de Silva and Winskell present a range of theoretical perspectives informed by context and practice.

In the first Focus article in this issue, ‘Critical Literacy: Theories and Practices in Development Education’, Vanessa de Oliveira Andreotti engages in a conscious process of theory building, drawing on her earlier work in critical literacy to extend the conceptual map of how we understand development education. In the first half of the article, de Oliveira Andreotti uses examples from her work to illustrate how critical literacy can enable students to engage with issues in ways that are open to a range of possibilities, challenge dominant and/or fixed narratives and bring to the surface difficult questions relating to historical and ongoing complicity in perpetuating systems of oppression and inequality. The author builds on her earlier analysis of the distinction between ‘soft’ and ‘critical’ approaches to global citizenship, which hinged on whether the approach went beyond the

humanistic towards a justice-oriented perspective and the recognition of ‘complicity in harm’. Premised on the power of critical literacy to unearth the root narratives that underpin collective, individual or systemic ideologies, assumptions and worldviews, Andreotti presents a ‘new conceptual cartography’ which builds on that earlier analysis. Emphasising that mapping in itself is not a neutral exercise, de Oliveira Andreotti deconstructs the root narratives of four orientations: technicist instrumentalist; liberal humanist; critical and postcritical and ‘other’ narratives of society, education, development and diversity. De Oliveira Andreotti argues that the first three, in different ways, present routes towards social change through social engineering premised respectively on human capital theory, human capabilities and social transformation. With their origins in the ideational and material bases of European movements such as the Enlightenment, colonialism and anti-colonialism, these anthropocentric narratives represent the ‘frames of reference we have become used to’. The author illustrates the fourth orientation, that of ‘Others’, through presenting the principles underpinning the work of the global education centre in the Peruvian village of Pincheq and argues that this fourth orientation offers a plurality of narratives which are ‘non-anthropocentric, non-teleological, non-dialectical, non-universal and non-Cartesian’.

The second article in the Focus section, ‘Introducing Corporate Power to the Global Education Discourse’, by David Monk, discusses the need for critical development education to unveil the exercise of power by corporations and the silencing of critique by governments, and calls on educators to engage in action as a necessary component of praxis. Monk’s analysis draws on the work of Egan (2012) to address the Canadian context. Locating his work within a critical frame, he outlines key features of the dominant ideology of neoliberalism and argues that the concentration of power in corporate hands enables TNCs to hold economies to ransom. Referencing human rights violations and environmental damage attributed to Canadian mining corporations, examples are presented which illustrate how the work of NGOs and state aid agencies can be subsumed by the corporate agenda. Monk concludes by arguing that development educators need to

embrace both critique and action, marrying critical engagement with corporate power with grassroots action ‘completing the link between critical awareness and action to catalyse change in this world’.

In the final article in the Focus section, ‘Towards Compassionate Global Citizenship: Educating the Heart through Development Education and Cognitively-based Compassion Training’, Caroline Murphy, Brendan Ozawa-de Silva and Michael Winskell argue that global citizenship requires both the capacity to engage critically with the world and a level of emotional literacy that enables compassionate action while supporting resilience in the face of injustice. The article focuses specifically on the TIDAL programme (Teachers in Development and Learning) developed by the NGO, Children in Crossfire (CIC), which seeks to integrate Cognitively-Based Compassion Training (CBCT) with DE through a pedagogy entitled ‘Educating the Heart for Compassionate Global Citizenship’. Inspired by the philosophy of the Dalai Lama and, in particular, by his understanding of the role of compassion in overcoming self-interest and promoting altruism, CIC seeks to explore whether compassion, if developed intentionally, and integrated with critical DE, will support the development of a more proactive global citizenship. The authors disregard the idea that an appeal to compassion suggests a voluntaristic approach to world poverty, i.e. that its solution is dependent on changing the values and attitudes of individuals and hence their actions. Recognising the structural and political genesis of global inequality they argue instead for an approach which sees the kind of values and attitudinal change that a programme in emotional literacy would support interacting with the critical literacy developed through DE to develop ‘compassionate global citizen[s]’. Murphy and colleagues distinguish between the type of compassion developed through CBCT and a more common-sense understanding of compassion, which could be seen as ‘pity’. They argue that CBCT cultivates a compassion that is ‘unbiased’, ‘engaged’ and ‘built on inner strength and critical thinking’, ultimately motivating the global citizen to act against injustice and inequality rather than accept it.



The Perspectives section presents a range of articles, the first three of which provide good examples of the kinds of opportunities presented from within the system to open new spaces for engagement with global justice issues. The final article of the section offers a compelling case study which anchors a number of the themes raised elsewhere in the issue in the lived realities of people of the Cajamarca region of Peru, including the power of transnational corporations and neoliberal economic agendas to determine those realities and the politics of knowledge, language and signification.

In her article ‘Integrating Development Education into Business Studies: The Outcomes of a Consultative Study’, Siobhán McGee reports on an initiative which seeks to build awareness of African business and knowledge of African economies among students studying business at third level in Ireland with a view to ensuring that future business leaders understand how their choices can impede or support poverty reduction in developing countries. The initiative arose in response to a perceived need to counter bias against African suppliers and products on the part of buyers and suppliers which was identified by the social enterprise group Value Added in Africa (VAA). In the article, McGee presents the findings of an initial study undertaken by VAA which prompted an intervention called the Proudly Made in Africa Fellowship in Business and Development, developed in partnership with the School of Business in UCD to support the integration of DE into business education programmes. While some resistance is evident from within business education to the need for a development focus, early evidence suggests that the initiative is gaining ground, with students showing a growing interest in the area.

Access to appropriate resources has been identified as a key issue in the integration of DE across formal education and the creation of good and appropriate resources provides an important pathway of influence for DE. In ‘Twelve Years in the Making: An Audit of Irish Development Education Resources’, Tony Daly and Ciara Regan present key findings from the first systematic review of DE resources in Ireland commissioned by Irish Aid. In addition to identifying 236 resources, the audit categorised them by sector

and thematically; this allowed for the identification of gaps in provision, such as the dearth of resources available for the primary sector in general and for Irish medium education. The findings also indicate the continued reliance on NGOs for resource development, many of which are produced primarily for advocacy and fundraising rather than specifically for educational settings. As Daly and Regan indicate, this is an initial audit which needs further and ongoing development. Nonetheless, it identifies gaps in provision and opportunities for development. Studies such as those by Murphy (2014) and Tallon and McGregor (2014) suggest that fundraising materials created by NGOs can reinforce rather than challenge stereotypes relating to the global South, suggesting the need for greater involvement of development educators working in the education sector in the creation of resources. In addition, consistent with findings elsewhere, studies suggest that Irish children internalise prejudice against the other and stereotypical views of life in the global South from an early age (Connolly, Smith and Kelly, 2002; Ruane et al., 2010); more emphasis on developing age appropriate resources for younger children would therefore seem to be advisable.

In ‘Opening Eyes and Minds: Inspiring, Educating and Engaging Third Level Students in Global Citizenship’, Joanne Malone, Gráinne Carley and Meliosa Bracken present an evaluation of the global citizenship programme developed for Irish third level students by Suas, an NGO founded in 2002 by students committed to progressing a social justice agenda locally and globally. Informed by de Oliveira Andreotti’s conceptualisation of critical literacy (2006) and premised on a critical global citizenship approach, the programme facilitates students to reflect on their own assumptions and complicity in perpetuating global inequality and to recognise the need for collective and individual action in ways that are accessible and take account of their interests. The findings suggest a strong demand from students for global citizenship education and support from the sector in general. There is compelling evidence that the programme is effective in building students’ critical understanding, skills and knowledge and that students maintain their interest in development issues beyond the initial engagement. The article usefully outlines the evaluation approaches and tools developed by the

researchers. While Malone et al. acknowledge the complexity of capturing the changes in student learning that occurred on foot of the programme, they argue that a robust process to monitor and evaluate the programme on an ongoing basis is essential.

In the Perspectives article, 'Getting to the Bottom of Extractive Capitalism: A Case Study of Open Pit Mining in Cajamarca, Peru', the power of corporations to influence state policy explored by David Monk is compellingly revealed in Lynda Sullivan's cogent case study of one community's struggle against open pit mining in Peru. Sullivan's case study focuses on the resistance of local communities to the plans of the Yanacocha mining TNC to implement the Minas Conga project in the region of Cajamarca. Described by Sullivan as a 'mega mining project', the Conga project has received government approval despite its potential to inflict catastrophic damage on key water sources. Sullivan's case study outlines the extent to which the Peruvian state and its agencies have acted to suppress dissent through enacting laws which limit the right to protest and through using the police and the courts as coercive forces, resulting in violence against protesters and their incarceration on spurious charges. Even more sinister is the use of the media for pro-mining propaganda and the co-option by the state and by advocates of mining of the language of development. Protesting communities are characterised as anti-progress and as holding back the economic development of Peru. As Sullivan points out, this identification of neoliberalism with development devalues the knowledge and the environmental values embedded in traditional Andean ways of living and recasts social rights as obstacles to progress. The author argues that such cases can be the stimulus for global activism, an activism that recognises the interdependence of global communities and the power of ethical consumerism in the fight against extractive capitalism. Sullivan argues also that case studies such as this can be powerful sources for development educators to draw on to exemplify the power relations that underpin global inequalities.

Finally, Stephen McCloskey's Viewpoint article, 'Foodbanks are an Important Barometer of Contemporary Poverty: Development Educators Should Take Notice', returns to a question which has been raised repeatedly since the onset of the current global economic crisis, that is whether and how DE should engage with local manifestations of structural inequality and poverty (see, for example, Issue 14 of *Policy and Practice*). McCloskey addresses the phenomenon of foodbanks as a response to the financial crisis in the UK and the Republic of Ireland. The foodbank, he notes, has a long history rooted in the voluntarism of civil society. In the current context, while governments in both jurisdictions have heralded the advent of economic recovery, the continued need for foodbanks demonstrate the ever-increasing gap between those who benefit from the existing economic order and those who struggle to survive in a climate of benefit sanctions, reductions in family budgets, rising debt and the persistence of low paid jobs. McCloskey argues that foodbanks, which represent 'an important element in the narrative of contemporary poverty', provide an opportunity for development educators to challenge current models of economic growth and development and suggest alternatives.

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# Focus

## CRITICAL LITERACY: THEORIES AND PRACTICES IN DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION

**Vanessa de Oliveira Andreotti**

**Abstract:** This article explores the idea of critical literacy in development education, used here also with reference to global education and global citizenship education, recognising multiple orientations, theories and practices of critical engagement within these related fields. Critical literacy, as defined in this text, emphasises the need for a careful examination of different ‘root’ narratives as a practice of responsible intellectual engagement across all sectors. In the first part of this article, I review the idea of critical literacy in the context of development education offering examples of my own academic and pedagogical practice in this area. In the second part I expand on the idea of soft and critical approaches to global citizenship and development education by presenting a new conceptual cartography with four different ‘root narratives’ as a critical literacy stimulus for dialogue and analyses that may open new possibilities of thinking and practice in development education.

**Key words:** Critical literacy; global citizenship; development education; power; postcolonialism.

### **Critical literacy in global citizenship and development education**

*Critical Literacy: Theories and Practices* is the title of an academic open access journal I founded with Lynn Mario de Souza in 2006. When we first started the journal we were aware that different groups in education used the term in different ways, which is evident in the wide variety of articles we have received and published so far. Therefore, as an editor, I have used a very open and general definition of the term as ‘an educational practice that emphasises the connections between language, knowledge, power and subjectivities’. Authors have traced the origins of the term to different

sources and associated critical literacy with different traditions, including critical pedagogy (e.g. Paulo Freire), the New/Multi-Literacies groups (e.g. Brian Street), discourse analysis (e.g. Norman Fairclough), and poststructuralism and postcolonial studies (e.g. Michel Foucault and Edward Said). The way I use critical literacy in my own work has been informed by the latter. In this article, I intend to outline some of the ways I have used this concept in research and teacher education related to global citizenship and development education as a strategy of examining the politics of knowledge production and the limits and possibilities of different knowledge systems.

In the article ‘Soft versus Critical Global Citizenship Education’ (2006), drawing on the works of Dobson (2006) and Spivak (2004; see also Andreotti, 2007, 2011, 2012), I stated that there were at least two common trends in educational initiatives that promoted concern for others (especially distant others). The first was based on the idea of a common humanity. I represented it as a ‘soft’ approach to global citizenship and development education. The second was based on the idea of justice and complicity in harm. I represented it as a critical approach to global citizenship and development education. I argued that ‘soft’ approaches based on a modernist understanding of linear time, progress and development, although productive in certain contexts, tended to close down the possibility of more critical approaches, particularly of approaches that offered alternative ways to conceptualise development, knowledge and solutions from the perspective of historically subjugated peoples (see also Bryan and Bracken, 2011; Bourn, 2011; Martin, 2011; Andreotti and Pashby, 2013). I asserted that ‘critical literacy’ as an educational practice that critically examines origins and implications of assumptions as well as other possibilities for signification, could be a viable way to address this problem.

The conceptualisation of critical literacy I used in that article combines questions within two orientations. The first orientation challenges imbalances in power and representation. This can be illustrated in questions such as: who decides (something is true or ideal), in whose name and for whose benefit? The second orientation challenges the notion that meaning is



objective and self-evident. It emphasises the social, cultural and historical ‘construction’ of realities and highlights the limits and blind edges of any system of signification, promoting openness to suppressed knowledges and subjectivities and to what is unknown. This orientation is illustrated in questions such as: where is this understanding coming from (in terms of collective ‘root’ narratives), where is it leading to (in terms of social, cultural, political and environmental implications), and how can this be thought ‘otherwise’ (what possibilities of signification have been ‘forgotten’ in this context)?

Within the multiplicity of critical literacy traditions, this approach differs slightly from critical engagements based on other orientations. Cervetti, Pardales and Damico (2001), for example, establish a distinction between traditional reading, critical reading and critical literacy, emphasising that each orientation of ‘reading critically’ will result in different questions being asked. Using their framework, I illustrate these differences through the scenario of a teacher and a student in a classroom, where the teacher is telling the student that s/he needs schooling in order to ‘be somebody in life’. Within the framework proposed by Cervetti et al., a traditional form of reading would enable ‘decoding’ questions such as: what did the teacher say, how did she substantiate her arguments, is what she said true or false? A critical form of reading would look further into the context and political framework of the scenario: where was this school, when did it happen, what was the socio-economic situation of the teacher and student, what was the motivation and political orientation of the teacher, what power relations are reproduced in the teacher’s statement, how did the teacher’s views affect the student and his/her family? A critical literacy approach would focus on the production of knowledge/power and enable questions like: who decides what ‘being somebody’ means, in whose name, for whose benefit then, and now, how do we come to think about the ways we do, who makes choices about understandings of reality, whose interests are represented in these choices, who benefits or loses with them, what choices are forgotten, how do people in different contexts understand the idea of ‘being somebody’?

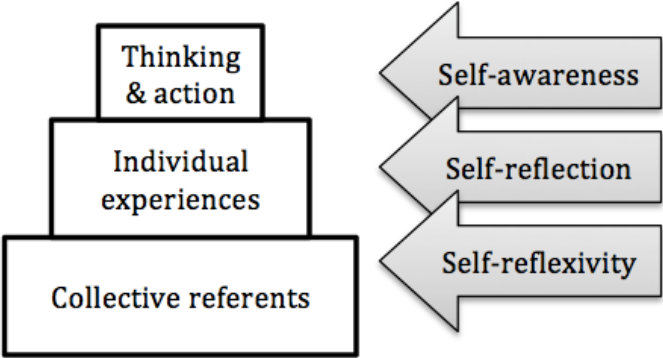
When introducing critical literacy in development education, I choose scenarios that make evident dominant (taken for granted) perspectives about the benevolence of progress, charity and schooling in international engagements. One of the scenarios I use is a poster with pictures of children in need with the title 'education for all can solve all problems'. I use the idea of 'critical reading' to explore the context of production of that poster: what is the purpose of the poster, who created it and with what motives, where was it placed and why, how and why were pictures and words chosen, how is the reader manipulated through the language? I use the idea of 'critical literacy' to start to open up questions related to complicity in harm at a very basic level, such as: who decides what problems and solutions are (in the poster, historically and in 'our' context), what assumptions inform these decisions, how are unequal relationships between donors and recipients reproduced through these significations, what other conceptualisations of problems and solutions could be designed by communities that have been historically subjugated in these relationships, and so on.

I also usually emphasise a strategic distinction between reflexivity and reflection in the practice of critical literacy in teacher education. 'Reflection on practice' in teacher education has been mainstreamed as a form of thinking that looks at individual processes of meaning and decision making in order to improve educational practice amongst teachers. I suggest the term self-reflexivity to contrast the practice of reflection (thinking about individual journeys, assumptions and decisions), to the practice of tracing individual assumptions to collective socially, culturally and historically situated 'stories' with specific ontological and epistemological assumptions that define what is real, ideal and knowable (i.e. 'root narratives'). This highlights that possibilities for thinking available to individuals, and individual 'choices' are never completely 'free', 'neutral' or only 'individual', as the things we say, think and do are conditioned (but not necessarily determined) by our individual *and* collective contexts and histories (see Andreotti, 2010a; 2010b). Self-reflexivity also challenges the assumption of the self-evident subject - the idea that there is a direct correlation between what we say, what we think and what we do. It draws

attention to the complex constitution of subjectivities, to the interdependence of knowledge and power, and to what is sub- or un-conscious in our relationships with the world.

I have used the metaphor of a three-layered cake (Figure 1) to illustrate these differences. At the top layer there is what we say, what we think and what we do, which are generally perceived to be directly related. A ‘Cartesian’ understanding of subjects states that we say exactly what we think and that we can describe objectively exactly what we do. However, our capacity to describe what we think is limited by what can be said: what is appropriate and intelligible to both ourselves and to others (e.g. we can think things that are not appropriate to say in specific contexts, or that we cannot articulate, acknowledge, or make sense of). Our capacity to describe what we do is limited by what we can notice and by what we want to present to others (e.g. we can say we are open and flexible, but fail to notice that we act in a contradictory way). This recognition of the limits of language is part of critical literacy practices.

**Figure 1. Awareness, reflection and reflexivity**



The second layer of the cake is that of individual experiences. It acknowledges that what we say, think and do are based on our individual journeys in multiple contexts. They are rooted in our unique ‘baggage’ of concepts and traumatic, inspiring and ordinary learning experiences, and dependent upon what we have been exposed to. The third layer of the cake recognises that our experiencing and interpretation of these experiences are conditioned by collective referents grounded in the languages we have inherited to make sense of reality and communicate with others. These languages have specific criteria for what counts as real (ontology), what can be known and how (epistemology), what is ideal and how to get there (methodology). These collective criteria are socially, culturally and historically ‘situated’ - they depend on a group’s social, cultural and historical background and therefore they change (slowly) over time, as contexts change and criteria of different groups intersect and contradict each other. Therefore, there is always diversity within a group of same criteria, as things are never static, but there is also always a dominant set of criteria that represents the ‘common sense’ of a group or groups. I suggest that an analysis of the first layer could be named ‘self-awareness’, an analysis of the second layer ‘self-reflection’ and an analysis of the third, ‘self-reflexivity’. All three are important for development education.

In order to address some of the pedagogical challenges of introducing this conceptualisation of critical literacy in the classroom context in my work as a teacher educator, I created a matrix of the relationship between knowledge, power, the construction of realities in the classroom, and ideas about the control of pedagogical outcomes (see Andreotti, 2008). I illustrate this matrix with examples from development education, as the practice of critical literacy in this area is sometimes accused of either ‘indoctrinating’ or ‘paralysing’ learners (see Vare and Scott, 2007 for a similar discussion on Education for Sustainable Development). Critical literacy is perceived to indoctrinate learners when a specific critical analysis of injustice and position on justice are presented as the only morally justifiable path. Critical literacy is perceived as paralysing learners in questioning everything, when it emphasises a multiplicity of perspectives, the

limits of knowledge and the complexity and context dependency of positions on justice. Thus, the matrix helps think through these issues and present these perceived problems as part of a more general discussion on the role of education. This matrix combines two ways of thinking about education (i.e. ‘think as I do and do as I say’ and ‘think for yourself and choose responsibly what to do’) and two ways of thinking about knowledge (i.e. ‘there is one right answer independent of context’ and ‘answers are socially constructed and context dependent’).

Therefore, there are (at least) four different possibilities for thinking and action. The first possibility is ‘think as I do, do as I say, there is only one right answer’. The example from development education I use is a quote from a teacher: ‘I teach my students that people in poorer countries lack technology, education and proper work habits. I make sure my students understand that we have a moral obligation to help them by providing assistance through charity and expertise.’ The second possibility is ‘think for yourself and choose responsibly what to do, but there is only one right answer’, which is illustrated in the quote: ‘I teach my students that they need to be critical thinkers – to separate facts from opinions and to search for impartial, objective information to construct their arguments. I believe rational and scientific reasoning is the only way to achieve a just and prosperous society.’

The third possibility is ‘answers are context dependent, but in my class (i.e. in this context), you should think as I do and do as I say’, illustrated in: ‘I teach my students that textbook history is always told from the point of view of the winners and that the perspective of the oppressed peoples are seldom promoted. I teach my students the perspective of the oppressed because I want them to be willing to fight for social justice.’ Last, the fourth possibility is ‘answers are context dependent, you should learn to think for yourself and choose responsibly what to do’, exemplified in: ‘I teach my students that there are always different perspectives on any issue, that these are grounded in social, cultural and historical processes, and that whatever choice they make will have systemic implications. My job is to

create spaces for students to engage with the ethics of global challenges, processes and dilemmas in ways that create a sense of interdependence and responsibility for themselves and towards the world.’ I emphasise that decisions about possibilities are also context dependent (a teacher may legitimately choose the first under certain circumstances), but that the fourth possibility has not been common in formal Western schooling where the first and second possibilities have been dominant and also imposed or exported all over the world.

In terms of engagements with historically subjugated communities who may offer alternative perspectives on international development issues, in the Through Other Eyes Initiative (TOE), Lynn Mario de Souza and I developed a resource and framework of a critical literacy practice based on Spivak’s ideas of learning to unlearn, learning to learn, learning to listen and learning to reach out (see Andreotti, 2011a; Andreotti and Souza, 2008; Souza and Andreotti, 2009). I also framed this kind of practice of critical literacy as a response to increasing complexity, uncertainty, diversity and inequality in contemporary societies related to two different conceptualisations of the ‘post-’ in postmodernism (i.e. post- as ‘after’, and post- as questioning) that could prompt an educational process to enable students to move from the desire for absolute certainties, fixed identities/communities, and predictable and consensual futures towards being comfortable with contingent and provisional certainties, complex and hybrid identities/communities and open co-created futures in the context of global education (Andreotti, 2010b).

I have used insights from postcolonial theory both to articulate a critique of soft approaches to development and global education and to tentatively propose possibilities for more ethical educational possibilities that (Andreotti, 2011b). It is important to note that it is theoretically contradictory to expect a clear set of normative values or ethical principles from a postcolonial critique where the benevolence of every attempt to ‘make things better’ is suspect of reproducing unexamined colonial practices. However, it is precisely this suspicion of the benevolence of benevolence (see Jefferess,

2008) that can create the possibility of self-reflexivity, humility and openness that ground ethical forms of solidarity ‘before will’ (Spivak, 2004), where historical imbalances related to distribution of resources, value and knowledge production are kept firmly on the table. Postcolonial theory subtly implies a set of ethical practices that render it impossible to turn our back to difficult issues, such as our complicity in systemic harm, the persistence of relations of dominance, complexities and paradoxes of crossing borders, the gap between what we say and what we do, or our own sanctioned ignorances.

If one is looking for a ‘feel good’ recipe for how to make things better, postcolonial theory is not the place to search for it. Looking at one’s own historical and systemic legacy of oppression might involve a stage of guilt – of realizing that one’s positive self-image does not hold when looked at from the perspective of those more severely affected by the systemic violence that we benefit from. However, guilt is only an issue when we are attached to specific desires which are constantly emphasized in the architecture of modernity. Three of these modern collective desires are key to the inequalities in North-South relations that are constantly reproduced in education: 1) the desire for seamless progress in linear time epitomized in science, technology and middle-class metropolitan lifestyles; 2) the desire for this progress to be achieved through innocent human protagonism (human agency focusing on solutions and forgetting how it is part of the problem); and 3) the desire for totalizing forms of knowledge production grounding this process (i.e. knowing the world in order to control it). (Andreotti, 2014). In North-South encounters, these desires translate into patterns of engagement, flows and representation that are:

- Hegemonic (justifying superiority and supporting domination);
- Ethnocentric (projecting one view, one ‘forward’, as universal);
- Ahistorical (forgetting historical legacies and complicities);
- Depoliticised (disregarding power inequalities and ideological roots of analyses and proposals);

- Salvationist (framing help as the burden of the fittest);
- Un-complicated (offering easy solutions that do not require systemic change);
- Paternalistic (seeking affirmation of superiority through the provision of help) (Andreotti, 2012a: 2).

The first letter of each pattern makes up the acronym ‘HEADS UP’. I have put together a checklist of questions to help to identify each pattern in education (see Andreotti, 2012a) and also a list of questions that complicate further common/easy solutions for each of the patterns (see Andreotti, 2012b). At the heart of this work is the idea that education is about preparing myself and those I work with to enlarge possibilities for thinking and living together in a finite planet that sustains complex, plural, uncertain, inter-dependent and, unfortunately, deeply unequal societies. In order to do this, perhaps what is needed is an attitude of sceptical optimism or hopeful scepticism (rather than naïve hope or dismissive scepticism) in order to expand our inherited frameworks in terms of four educational priorities. First, it is necessary to understand and learn from repeated historical patterns of mistakes, in order to open the possibilities for new mistakes to be made. Second, we need to recognise how we are implicated or complicit in the problems we are trying to address. Third, we need to learn to enlarge our referents for reality and knowledge, acknowledging the gifts and limitations of every knowledge system and moving beyond polarised antagonisms towards agonistic solidarities (Andreotti, 2011a, 2014). Fourth, we must engage with more complex social analyses acknowledging that if we understand the problems and the reasons behind them in simplistic ways, we may do more harm than good.

In relation to the latter, it is also important for the field that these analyses are accessible and available to different discursive communities (e.g. academics, non-governmental organisation (NGO) practitioners, teachers and students). Therefore, work that translates and synthesises discussions in different fields (e.g. politics, development, sociology, social



movements) can be very useful and important in moving the debate in the field forward in a more organic way (see for example Andreotti, 2011b). The downside of translations and syntheses is that they simplify complex discussions and can create seemingly fixed distinctions that are always more complex and fluid than their representations. Nevertheless, if used as a starting point for discussion (that is also open to critique), they are necessary tools in the creation of a tradition of responsible, non-exclusive, critical intellectual engagement in the field (see also Evans, Ingram, McDonald and Webber, 2009; Khoo, 2008, Marshall, 2011; Richardson, 2008). It is in this spirit that, in the second part of this article, I offer a new conceptual cartography which represents a revision of the popular distinction between soft and critical approaches to global citizenship education (Andreotti, 2006).

### **Mapping narratives as a key critical literacy exercise**

Tracing individual or institutional narratives to collective 'root' narratives (or meta-narratives) is a central exercise of the kind of critical literacy I advocate in this article. As an intellectual exercise, mapping discourses helps people clarify their own positions by making evident the ambivalence of signification (the fact that words mean different things in different contexts), and by promoting the productive identification of inherent assumptions, patterns, trends, differences, similarities, paradoxes, and contradictions between and within different worldviews. Mapping exercises can also help people to explore the problem spaces that generated the questions they are seeking answers for in order to check if they are still relevant or if questions have already changed (Scott, 1999). However, each mapping exercise is not neutral or transparent: as all interpretations are socially, culturally and historically situated, so is the 'picture' presented in a map by a map-maker. Therefore, it is important to remember that maps are useful as long as they are not taken to be the territory that they represent and are used critically as a starting point of discussion.

The mapping exercise I present below establishes distinctions between a) technicist instrumentalist, b) liberal humanist, c) critical and postcritical, and d) 'Other' narratives of society, education, development and

diversity. Root-narratives a, b, and c reproduce similar characteristics of privileging: anthropocentrism (putting ‘mankind’ at the centre); teleology (aiming for a predefined outcome in terms of progress); dialectics (expecting a linear progression towards a synthesis); universal reason (the idea of one rationality); and the Cartesian subject (who believes that he can know himself and everything else objectively). I propose that these basic characteristics should not be seen as all good or all bad, but as historically situated, and potentially restrictive if *universalised as a single story* through social, political or educational projects, as they prevent the imagination of other possibilities.

The technicist instrumentalist root-narrative frames *social engineering as economic rationalisation decided by experts*. This narrative can be seen at work in educational and development initiatives concerned with the creation of human capital for national economic growth in knowledge societies. From this perspective education is perceived as a way to maximise the performance of individuals in global markets driven by services and innovation, in order to improve their employability or entrepreneurial capacity with a view to contribute to their country’s competitiveness in global economies. Economic growth is associated with the acquisition and accumulation of universal knowledge (in contrast, for example, to the explanation that economic growth is based on hegemonic control of means of production) and poverty is defined as an individual or a country’s or an individual’s deficit of knowledge, competencies and skills to participate in the global economy. The rationale for education is presented as a business case, as an individual responsibility of lifelong learning and adaptation to ever-changing economic contexts. From this perspective, global/development education, often associated with ideas of ‘social responsibility’ involves the export of expertise from those heading the way in terms of economic development to those lagging behind. Engagements with other cultures are defined in relation to national interests, such as the protection of national labour markets, the expansion of consumer markets, and the perceived threat of unwanted immigration, creating a need for

controlled and market oriented internationalisation based on nationally defined objectives.

The root-narrative of liberal humanism frames social engineering as *human progress decided by national representatives*. From this perspective, education serves as enculturation into a national culture defined by its political or intellectual representatives, as well as an international culture perceived as an encounter between nationally defined groups of individuals primarily concerned with a combination of individual, national and humanitarian interests. What human progress looks like is decided by national representatives in supranational governance institutions like the United Nations, through a process of international consensus on key universal aims to be delivered by nation states, generally focusing on human rights, substantial freedoms or human capabilities. From this perspective, education should disseminate the international consensus on universal human progress defined in terms of access to education, healthcare, democracy and economic development. In this sense, obstacles to human progress become the focus of government agreed targets (such as the Millennium Development Goals), campaigns (like Education for All), and other charitable and humanitarian interventions which generally define help as the moral responsibility of those who are ahead in terms of international development.

Poverty is explained as a deficit in terms of human progress, thus education becomes a vehicle for poverty eradication through partnerships between donors/dispensers and receivers of aid, knowledge, education, resources (e.g. books, computers, etc.), technical assistance, human rights, or volunteer labour. From this perspective, education is a means to prepare world leaders to bring order and progress for all (generally through education itself). Engagements with difference are also defined in national or ethnic terms: global learners are encouraged to acquire knowledge about different cultures/nationalities, including different perspectives, in order to be able to work with diverse populations towards common/consensual goals (predefined by national or supranational governance institutions). Therefore,

different perspectives and critical engagement are welcome within pre-defined frameworks (i.e. as long as there is acceptance of specific ideas of development, progress, human rights, governance, etc.).

Critical and postcritical root-narratives frame *social engineering as fair distribution done by ordinary people* (rather than experts or representatives). These perspectives are based on a critique of both technicist instrumentalist and liberal humanist root-narratives highlighting injustices and inequalities created or maintained by their ideals and means of implementation. In terms of state governance, critical and postcritical narratives emphasise the complicity of initiatives based on economic or humanist ideals in the creation and maintenance of poverty and marginalisation in order to sustain exponential compound economic growth and/or improvements in quality of life that benefit only small sections of the world population. A critical narrative (still drawing on humanism) focuses its critique on the primacy of economic growth imperatives in nation state agendas, as well as the erosion of autonomy and accountability of governments to their own populations due to lobbying and increasingly closer relationships with corporations. This type of critical humanism attempts to expand the notion of consensual human progress to include the rights of those who have historically been marginalised working against patriarchy, sexism, class divisions, racism, ableism and/or heteronormativity.

Post-critical narratives claim that the consensus on human progress, based on modern development, is manufactured by elites and imposed around the world as a form of imperialism that eliminates other conceptualisations and possibilities of progress and development, therefore, they challenge the idea of social engineering. Post-critical narratives will tend to focus on relationality, complex subjectivities, difficulties of representation (of hybrid and fluid communities/identities), intersectional violence, and agonism (rather than antagonism) in politics. Education, from critical and postcritical perspectives, is concerned with the transformation of society and the creation of a new social order more inclusive of or led by those who have been

silenced or exploited by the current dominant system - it involves an emphasis on critical social analyses of unequal power relations, distributions of labour and wealth (emphasised in critical narratives) and the politics of representation and knowledge production (emphasised in post-critical narratives).

Education, therefore, from this perspective, is about the creation of a critical mass of people who could see and imagine beyond the limitations and oppression of the current system in order to bring a different reality into being. Engagement with difference involves listening to and empowering those who have been marginalised and insisting on the need for spaces of dissent where other alternatives can emerge. The World Social Forum, the Occupy Wall Street Movement, the Idle No More Movement in Canada, and the occupation of Syntagma Square in Athens are examples of initiatives based on critical narratives in civil society. Several educational initiatives inspired by anti-colonial, feminist and anti-oppressive movements since the 1960s also enact critical humanist ideals.

Through education in contemporary metropolitan and industrialised societies people are exposed to different degrees to the three configurations of thinking described so far. The common theme of social change as social engineering in the three configurations is also not a coincidence. All these narratives can be traced to common roots in the Renaissance, the Industrial Revolution, the Reformation, European colonialism and resistance to colonialism, and, particularly, the European Enlightenment. However, since these cultural, social and economic transitions have framed our ideas of what is good, ideal and normal, it is important to acknowledge our constitutive blindness (Santos, 2007) to other forms of seeing, knowing and being in the world that do not fit what we can recognise through the frames of references we have become used to.

For this reason, I presented the fourth option 'Other(s)' as a question mark: non-anthropocentric, non-teleological, non-dialectical, non-universal and non-Cartesian possibilities. For people over-socialised in the first three

options (i.e. most of us who have been schooled), these possibilities would be extremely difficult to even begin to identify or to experience. Thus, it may be more useful to present them as absences rather than categories. The closest and most intelligible example that I have of an ‘Other’ narrative is that of a global education centre in Pincheq, a tiny village between Pisac and Cuzco in Peru (see below). Even though their principles for global education may seem self-evident and understandable, a deeper experiential cognitive-relational engagement with the metaphoric ontologies of that region would be necessary to unlock contingent meanings that are not obvious in what we can represent in writing (see Andreotti, Ahenakew and Cooper 2011, 2012). I use this here to illustrate the limited nature of our interpretations (that always rely on inherited concepts) and the complexity and difficulty of translating and representing these worldviews outside of their contexts (e.g. if you think you ‘understand’ this, think again), both of these preoccupations are key to critical literacy.

The Apu Chupaqkata Global Education Centre’s ‘Global Education Principles’ (2012) are:

1. The entire planet Earth (i.e. Pachamama) is my home and country, my country is my mother and my mother knows no borders.
2. We are all brothers and sisters: humans, rocks, plants, animals and all others.
3. Pachamama is a mother pregnant of another generation of non-predatory children who can cultivate, nurse, and balance forces and flows, and who know that any harm done to the planet is harm done to oneself.
4. The answers are in each one of us, but it is difficult to listen when we are not in balance, we hear too many different voices, especially in the cities.

5. The priority for life and education is balance: to act with wisdom, to balance material consumption, to learn to focus on sacred spiritual relationships, to work together with the different gifts of each one of us, with a sense of oneness. Our purpose is to learn, learn and learn again (in many lives) to become better beings.
6. There is no complete knowledge, we all teach, learn and keep changing: it is a path without an end. There is knowledge that can be known and described, there is knowledge that can be known, but not described and there is knowledge that cannot be known or described.
7. Our teachers are the Apus (the mountains-ancestors), Pachamama, the plants, what we live day by day and what has been lived before, the animals, our children, our parents, the spirits, our history, our ancestors, the fire, the water, the wind, all the different elements around us.
8. The serpent, the puma and the condor are symbols of material and non-material dimensions, of that which can be known, of that which cannot be known or determined, and of the connections between all things.
9. The traditional teachings of generosity, of gratitude, and of living in balance that are being lost are very important for our children – it is necessary to recover them.
10. The world is changed through love, patience, enthusiasm, respect, courage, humility and living life in balance. The world cannot be changed through wars, conflicts, racism, anger, arrogance, divisions and borders. The world cannot be changed without sacred spiritual connections.

## Conclusion

I started this article with an overview of the ways I have used critical literacy in global citizenship and development education, particularly in the context of teacher education. I offered examples of how critical literacy may trigger new questions and directions in relation to global and development education in terms of how we can move beyond repeated problematic patterns of thinking and engagements and how we can start to approach increasing complexity, uncertainty, plurality and inequality in contemporary societies. I emphasised the importance of intellectual depth, of multiple and complex social analyses and of making these analyses accessible to different communities in order to build a strong foundation for the field. In the second part of the paper, I presented a new conceptual cartography that traces assumptions in three common sets of narratives in education and that frames a fourth set of narratives as a question mark, something that the related fields of global and development education could further engage with to pluralise knowledge in the present in order to pluralise the future.

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# INTRODUCING CORPORATE POWER TO THE GLOBAL EDUCATION DISCOURSE

**David Monk**

**Abstract:** This article asserts through a discussion on corporate power that the fundamental causes of sustained poverty and injustice in the world are centred in existing power structures, and until we address them, all attempts to improve the world will remain unsuccessful. The paper draws on a study by Andy Egan (2012) which identified a deficit in critical development education practice in the public sphere in the UK. It points out that in Canada, civil society organisations (CSOs) with a critical voice are systematically silenced and argues that education must, to use a Freirean term, *conscientise* individuals about the power structures in the world, empowering them with a sense of agency and active participation. It concludes by calling on global educators, in Canada especially, to engage more firmly in the action component of praxis, claiming that in this dark age of speech repression it has become much more necessary to unite and speak out collectively.

**Key words:** Development; education; critical; power; action; transnational; social; movements.

In an era of increased globalisation it is difficult to ignore the growing divide between the rich and the poor. The 2002 Maastricht Global Education Declaration recognises that ‘The fundamental transformations of production and consumption patterns required to achieve sustainable development can only be realised if citizens, women and men alike, have access to adequate information and understand and agree to the necessity to act’ (North-South Centre, 2003: Appendix 1). This article suggests that not only is there inadequate critical information available about the causes of global inequality, but that the current Canadian government actively hinders the capacity of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to voice critical content through taxation laws on charities and funding regulations on NGOs. It

asserts through a discussion on corporate power that the fundamental causes of sustained poverty and injustice in the world are centred in existing power structures, and until we address them, all attempts to improve the world will remain unsuccessful. The paper draws on a study by Andy Egan (2012) which identified a deficit in critical development education practice in the public sphere in the UK. It points out that in Canada, civil society organisations (CSOs) with a critical voice are systematically repressed and argues that education must, to use a Freirean term, *conscientise* individuals about the power structures in the world, empowering them with a sense of agency and active participation. It concludes by calling on global educators, in Canada especially, to engage more firmly in the action component of praxis, claiming that in this dark age of speech repression it has become much more necessary to unite and speak out collectively.

### **Critical development education and power**

Inequality in our society is largely a consequence of power relations and is often reproduced and reinforced tacitly through dominant culture. French philosopher Michel Foucault (1965) believed that dominant power is often maintained under the guise of humanitarian causes. Foucault traced current power structures back to the mad who ‘required’ treatment and help. He pointed out that the mad were placed in insane asylums and effectively separated from society under the guise of helping them. Likewise feminist scholar bell hooks (2000) pointed out that dominant power often *claims* to right an inequality while further entrenching unjust power structures. Antonio Gramsci (1971) popularised the term *hegemony* to explain the tacit nature in which power is reinforced by deliberately mainstreaming a dominant ideology and culture.

This elusive nature of power structures in our society is exactly why it is fundamental for development education to adopt a critical lens and expose power structures that inhibit freedom and empowerment. Paulo Freire spent his life working in the development field, empowering people through education. Freire (1970) believed that education was a political act, which began with a conscientisation of one’s social position as being

moulded by hegemonic forces. Stephen McCloskey (2009) has suggested that greater awareness of the world and the conditions in which poverty arises is fundamental to achieving real change and must be central to development education practice. This is not an uncommon position among development educators: Murray (2006) advocates for awareness of global social responsibility; McDonnell (2003) proposes the inclusion of human rights in education and Andreotti (2006) advances that development education should include education about underlying global issues.

For critical theorists, clarifying these underlying issues requires an understanding of power structures and dominant ideology. Foley has posited that, 'critical education makes judgements about injustices and attempts to rectify them by addressing their fundamental causes, their deeper dynamics and determining factors' (2001: 2). Kincheloe (2004) argues that education should help to recognise the hegemonic forces and tacit power structures of our society. Hyslop-Margison and Sears argue that 'the moral imperatives of education within a democratic society require students to be provided with the necessary knowledge and dispositions to make informed choices about current political and social conditions, and entertain possible alternatives to improve these conditions' (2008: 34). Giroux (2002) has suggested that education should develop political agents aware of the struggles over politics, power, and democracy with the skills, capacities, and knowledge to act, and believe that these struggles are worth taking up.

It is therefore essential that global education conscientises people to their role as political actors in a global world. Feminist scholar Judith Butler (2012) interprets power relations through vulnerability. Butler suggests that vulnerability is subjective, and she defined the vulnerable as those who require aid from the invulnerable. In this way, the invulnerable *depend* on the vulnerable to sustain their aid efforts. Critical development education should use Freirean cognition to empower people as responsible agents of change in a global world. The next section will briefly investigate the dominant neoliberal ideology and the ever increasing power of corporations within the neoliberal economic system.

## **Neoliberalism and corporate power**

Jim Schultz, Director of The Democracy Centre suggests that there are two fundamental challenges that we face in the world today: ‘One is to enable billions of people across the world to lift themselves from the sufferings of poverty and the other is avoid pushing the planet off a cliff toward dangerous and irreversible environmental changes’ (2013: iii). He goes on to clarify the difficulty of achieving such a task because of the imbalance between powerful international corporations with legally binding trade agreements seeking profit at any cost, and citizens, social movements and non-binding international agreements.

Rowlands (1997: 3) states that neoliberalism is associated with a loss of faith in the state and growing privatisation. Banya (1998) argues that in neoliberalism market forces are seen as supplanting national economies. Noam Chomsky asserts that current conceptions of the free market are rooted in Adam Smith. He has distinguished that, ‘the version of him that’s given today is just ridiculous’ (1997: 19), admonishing that Smith would be appalled by our current system, and even warning that the consolidation of power through policy by merchants and manufacturers would be used to ensure that their interests were attended to, no matter what the impact on others. According to Chomsky, Smith specified that equality of condition – not just opportunity – is what we should be aiming at, warning that the state needs to ‘take some measures to prevent the division of labour from proceeding to its limits’ (ibid). Chomsky ascertains that corporations were consciously designed through the courts and worked as Adam Smith said whereby, ‘the principal architects of policy consolidate state power and use it for their interests’ (ibid: 23). He asserts that corporate power is a major part of twentieth century history.

Clover (2002) has exposed a more ominous facet of neoliberalism whereby transnational corporations cooperate with governments. She points out how governments support corporations through international trade agreements against the will of the majority. Clover refers to the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) between the United States,

Canada, and Mexico as an example, but more recent examples include: the ‘below the radar’ (and democratically questionable) negotiations on the Comprehensive European Trade Agreement (CETA) between the European Union and Canada (Patterson, 2014a); the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) between the United States and Europe (McKeagney, 2014); and the twelve nation (and counting) Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) (Council of Canadians, 2014). These deals threaten to step up the deregulation of trade, privatise public services, encroach even further on rights to public health and access to medicine, erode environmental protection measures, and undermine access to knowledge and the open internet. The Council of Canadians (2014) has exposed an investor rights chapter of the TPP deal that would extend, beyond NAFTA limits, corporations’ latitude to sue governments over policies that get in the way of their profit-making.

Vandana Shiva notes we are ‘seeing the replacement of government and state planning by corporate strategic planning and the establishment of global corporate rule’ (1997: 22). Andy Egan (2012) has outlined the intricate role that corporations play in all aspects of our lives from what we eat, to our health, the environment and even the subjects taught in schools. He explains that ‘Global corporations and national governments are often working closely together to shape the lives we lead and the world in which we live’ (2012: 45) and suggested that often corporations have more control than governments, especially in the global South, where governments ‘are often more accountable to global corporations, international financial institutions (IFIs) and even development non-governmental organisations (NGOs) than their own people’ (ibid: 46). To illustrate this problem of accountability and thus dependency, he exemplifies Mozambique where foreign sources make up half of the national budget.

Egan also demonstrates the dependency of Western governments on corporations as neoliberal economics drive politics. A 2013 report, *State of Power 2013*, by the Transnational Institute (TNI) identified that forty of the top one hundred economies in the world are corporations. The report is



based in part on 2011 quantitative research conducted by Stefano Battiston, James Glattfelder and Stefania Vitali, which maps out ownership of the top Transnational Corporations (TNCs). They use a rather complex series of mathematical formulae which determine ownership of companies based on percentage of shares owned. Their research showed that 737 TNCs control, through both direct and indirect ownership, 80 percent of the value of the 43,000 TNCs included in the study. They further refine this group to 147 companies with near complete control over themselves plus 40 percent of all the TNCs studied. Fifty of these corporations are identified as ‘knife edge’ that could send the world economy into a major recession if they were to fail (George, 2013). The forced bailout of major financial institutions and large corporations such as General Motors in the United States is a good example of this (Amadeo, 2013).

Not only do these corporations wield immense power, but they directly contribute to the human and environmental rights abuses that international development seeks to address. I have selected a few recent examples of social and environmental injustices below, documented by independently funded organisations and campaigns that have greater liberty to blow whistles because they are not limited by funding conditions. I have chosen these examples because they are recent, have at least passed through the public eye, are specific to Canada, and urgently require attention. The 2001 tripartite Declaration of Principles Concerning Multinational Enterprises (MNEs) and Social Policy of the International Labour Organization (ILO) states rather delicately that MNE operations may lead to abuse of concentrations of power, conflict with national policies, conflict with the interests of workers, and sometimes give cause for concern. The language used by the ILO is careful not to state the problem outright, but only gently suggests alternative options for MNEs that would improve the social impact of their work. While it may not be explicitly stated, the declaration by virtue of its necessity inherently bares the discrepancies in social justice of MNEs, and the current campaigns displayed on their website against child labour and for the rights of indigenous peoples to free prior and informed consent demonstrate some the urgency of some of the negative

impacts of MNEs. Chomsky (1997) is more direct in stating outright that many large corporations are neither socially or environmentally responsible. Indeed, groups like MiningWatch and GRAIN document atrocities and the exploitation of peoples and the environment all over the world through land grabbing, seed patents, large scale agriculture, and extracting resources to name a few. Oxfam Canada has a current campaign about land grabbing and groups such as Avaaz.org and Sumofus.org try to raise awareness about fair-trade and human rights.

The entire garment industry is an example that has finally caught some public attention internationally in the wake of the April 2013 Rana Plaza tragedy in Bangladesh that killed 1,138 people and severely injured another 2000. However, despite mounting international pressure some major clothing retailers such as Walmart and Gap have refused to sign an international, UN endorsed accord to ensure worker safety in the garment industry in the wake of Bangladesh (Clean Clothes Campaign, 2013).

Canadian mining corporations are especially well known for their poor social and environmental policies (MiningWatch, 2013) and therefore represent a strong example of exploitation both environmentally and socially. The Canadian mining industry has one of the worst reputations in the world for exploitative trading policies, with little transparency and few regulations holding them accountable (Publish What You Pay, 2012). For example, The UN Special Rapporteur on Indigenous Human Rights James Anaya (2011: 2) has expressed his ‘grave concern at the situation [in Guatemala]’. His report specifically referenced the Marlin mine, owned by a Canadian mining company and documented human and environmental rights violations:

“The repercussions include numerous allegations concerning the effects on the health and the environment of the indigenous people as a result of the pollution caused by the extractive activities; the loss of indigenous lands and damage to indigenous people’s property and houses; the disproportionate response to legitimate acts

of social protest, and the harassment of and attacks on human rights defenders and community leaders” (ibid: 1-2).

Likewise Ward (2012) has called attention to 2012 human rights reports published by the UN and Amnesty International which suggests that Canada has stonewalled human rights for international trade, stating that ‘There are no binding legal standards for the conduct of Canadian companies operating overseas and human rights standards are seldom written into trade deals’.

In *Paved with Good Intentions*, Barry-Shaw and Ojay (2012) argue that NGOs are often subject to corporate power. They posit that NGOs often work through international organisations such as the World Bank and the IMF and in so doing uphold dominant power structures in international development. They point out that development aid has been tied to privatisation policies and the reduction of public services. This creates a void in public services, which is filled by NGOs and in turn develops dependency on foreign aid. Similarly Choudry and Kapoor (2013) explain that NGOs often function as a soft arm of foreign policy, essentially fulfilling the responsibility role in corporate responsibility, often openly lobbying foreign governments on behalf of corporate interests. In her article ‘Canadian Development No Longer Tied-Just Shackled to Corporate Mining Interests’ Moore (2014), from MiningWatch, identifies the direct and open role of the then existing crown corporation responsible for development aid in Canada, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), in sponsoring a project aimed at ending a moratorium on mining in the Honduras in 2012. Moore has also traced \$6.7m allocated to World Vision, Plan Canada and World University Services Canada (WUSC) for partnership projects with Barrick Gold, IAMGOLD, and Rio Tinto Alcan in 2011, and another \$20 million committed to foster mining-NGO partnerships in Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia. The 2013 Canadian budget went so far as to merge all international development initiatives (and funding for NGOs) into the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFADT), effectively declaring that all international development projects supported by Canada will be tied to Canadian business interests (Leblanc, 2013). There have been

attempts to alter policy in Canada: John Mackay an independent MP tried to introduce bill C-300 in 2009 as an attempt to hold Canadian mining companies to Canadian standards overseas (MiningWatch, 2009) and New Democrat Party MP Peter Julian tried to introduce a similar bill (C-323) in 2011 that would hold Canadian companies operating overseas accountable to Canadian human rights standards by allowing foreign entities to sue Canadian companies in Canadian courts for breaking Canadian laws. (Openmedia.ca, 2013). Both were unsuccessful, but with greater understanding of these issues initiatives like these could become successful.

### **Deficit in critical development education**

Chomsky (1997) has suggested that people have largely become ignorant to the injustice and imbalance of power. He contends that educational systems and media induce this ignorance. Egan (2012: 57) suggests that the value of our efforts to create global citizens will amount to very little 'as long as the DE sector remains largely silent about corporate power in both its discourse and practice'. He identifies some inconsistencies in current development education in the UK and provides a framework for UK NGOs to include corporate awareness in their education and promote active participation to resist injustices caused by abuses of corporate power. NGOs questioned by Egan nominated corporate power as the most important of twenty-seven global issues, while development education centres (DECs) ranked it 18th. Egan has identified that there are only a handful of smaller organisations whose principles of transformation and supporting action for institutional change are generally superseded by larger groups. He asserts that those who are interested in the role of corporate power do not produce many educational resources on the matter. Some constraints identified by these groups included: a lack of capacity and expertise; school agendas; funding; and politics (ibid: 54).

In Canada, we face similar problems as the limited development education activity is staunchly restricted by government through funding and taxation policy. Joseph Ingram (2012), CEO of the North South Institute (NSI), a renowned international development research institute, has pointed

out that Canada's poor record in international development is linked to a lack of public engagement. In 2009, Michael Stephens compiled a comprehensive report on the state of public engagement by CSOs in Canada for the Canadian Council for International Cooperation (CCIC), an umbrella organisation representing 100 Canadian CSOs. It arrived at conclusions similar to those in Egan's article, noting that CSOs in Canada do not have the capacity to speak out on corporate issues, and are severely limited by threats of diminished funding to engage the public. This is a strategy that has taken the bottom away from many Canadian CSOs, which are largely dependent on government funding, and by removing resources, or threatening to do so, has effectively silenced most critical voices.

The author has researched the role of Canadian civil society organisations (CCSOs) in engaging the public about the fundamental causes of poverty. He notes that CCSOs identify with the role of global education but 'Unfortunately, the current Conservative government severely restricts any criticism of its foreign policy creating a catch 22 situation, whereby Public Engagement becomes more urgent for greater citizen engagement, but this very engagement is being reined in more than ever' (2013: 53-54). The author's research examines the case of several larger CCSOs like Kairos and CCIC, both of which lost all of their funding as a direct result of criticising foreign policy, sending a message to other CCSOs. Reilly-King sums it up well in a report as a consultant for CCIC:

"In recent years, the space available to civil society to discuss and debate government policy and positions has shrunken considerably. A number of organizations who have critiqued the government's positions, including Alternatives, Climate Action Network (CAN), CCIC, and KAIROS – Canadian Ecumenical Justice Initiatives, as well as countless women's groups, have seen long-standing core and project-related government funding drastically cut or cancelled" (2011: 4).

The McLeod Group (2010, 2011), an independent group of international development policy experts in Ottawa, points out that the government issued a clear public warning not to criticise government policy. Human Rights Watch (2014), a respected independent international human rights organisation, has revealed that in Canada ‘Recent federal government actions undermining the ability of civil society organizations to engage in advocacy impede progress on a range of human rights issues’. The actions to which the report refers are likely to be the 2012 amendments to the Income Tax Act, which have severely inhibited charities’ ‘political activities’. This extended governmental control of critical education beyond government funded projects and, as Fitzpatrick (2012) points out, represses freedom of speech. It is not surprising, then, that critical development education is available on a severely limited basis in Canada.

### **Active critical development education as a solution**

This article has argued that a critical understanding of corporate power is an essential component of development education. In the section on critical development education it argued that a critical understanding of power structures and positionality increases agency and inspires action. It has also pointed out that the task in Canada is difficult because the Canadian government appears to have a corporate agenda, and is working hard to silence any groups who speak out to deliver a critical message against corporate power. In this section I would like to argue that in this time especially, as the Canadian government is shifting its development assistance policy to a model that is tied to Canadian economic interests, it has become ever more important to raise a critical voice and develop public awareness through development education. Development educators and NGOs need to conscientise themselves, become aware of their own agency for change, and speak out rather than allow the status quo to proceed unchallenged. In doing so educators will be living the active component of critical development education and thus practicing what they preach. There are a plethora of grassroots organisations in Canada like the Council of Canadians and the Mining Justice Action Committee that provide excellent examples of what this can look like.

There is certainly a stage set with a receptive audience for a critical voice, evident in a growing wave of indignation around the world whereby citizens have taken to the streets to protest against inequality and stand up to power. Initiated in Tunisia with the 2011 Arab Spring, protests quickly spread across Europe and the world through the Occupy movements. In Québec this was called the *printemps érable* (maple spring) and came hand in hand with the 2012 student strikes in Québec which mobilised hundreds of thousands of people (not just students) on to the streets and forced out of power the then Liberal (provincial) government which was attempting to raise tuition costs. The Idle No More movement is the latest wave of activism in Canada, initiated in 2012 by Aboriginals in Canada standing up for their rights, largely against the development of the Canadian tar sands. This has quickly been supported by a wave of environment groups who have allegedly been muzzled and spied on by the current Canadian regime that is intent on pursuing an agenda of resource extraction at all costs (Miller, 2013; Patterson, 2014). People are tired of their democratic rights being infringed on, and there is a sense of change on the horizon with protests and public rallies taking place all over the country. The value of social movements has been well documented by adult educators as important spaces for challenging dominant power and catalysing change in society (Clover, 2002; Crowther & Shaw, 1997; Foley, 2001; Hall, 2009; Hall, Clover, Crowther & Scandrett, 2012). This is the forum that development educators need to join. There is space to include a global connection to local questions, and this is where development education needs to take place.

## **Conclusion**

In conclusion I would like to draw attention back to the goals of development education and point out that there is a strong link to be made in terms of what is advocated for and how to break the hegemony of power addressed in this paper. The 2002 Maastricht Global Education Declaration suggests that global education is ‘education that opens people’s eyes and minds to the realities of the globalized world and awakens them to bring about a world of greater justice, equity and human rights for all’ (North–South Centre, 2003: Appendix 1). Likewise Cabezudo has linked transformative learning with

global education, suggesting that it create citizens who take on the responsibility that cannot be left to governments. She argues that global education ‘involves a deep structural shift in the basic premises of thought, feelings and action’ and must challenge the dominant discourse, envision an alternative and process a change. It must bring people to understand their real power to influence the future and act on it. Participation and partnership are central to Cabezudo’s vision (2010: 9-10).

Egan (2012: 51) posits that a challenge for DE is to juxtapose learning with action, asking: ‘How can DE develop processes that link critical understanding of corporate power to collective action as citizens to engage with and challenge global corporations identified as contributing to global injustice, inequality and poverty’. The answer I think is clear: development educators need to think critically about their own positionality, develop confidence in their own agency, join the wave of indignation and speak out against abuses of power despite the possible repercussions. In so doing we can become active proponents of our own philosophy, inherently completing the link between critical awareness and action to catalyse change in this world. This is not easy, but it is possible; and indeed it is essential, for if we don’t, then who will?

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# TOWARDS COMPASSIONATE GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP: EDUCATING THE HEART THROUGH DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION AND COGNITIVELY-BASED COMPASSION TRAINING

**Caroline Murphy, Brendan Ozawa-de Silva and Michael Winskell**

**Abstract:** The authors present an argument for developing emotional literacy which can be applied to critical development education to bring about active citizens who have capacity to take compassionate action for global justice. It is argued that both emotional skills and critical thinking skills are mutually essential, and in fact it is only by cultivating a symbiosis between these, can pedagogy be developed that presents a true transformational agency to people. The paper attempts to synthesise development education (DE) with Cognitively-Based Compassion Training (CBCT), and argues that these are potentially compatible to acquire such pedagogy. While DE can provide individuals with the skills to think critically and react to injustice, CBCT can provide the skills and emotional capacity to intervene for change, without giving in to despair, anger, or burnout. In short, it is argued that DE and CBCT can provide the emotional and intellectual skills necessary for productive social activism and change.

Throughout this article it is highlighted how the international development organisation, Children in Crossfire (CIC), has been grappling with the above mentioned and related disciplines, and how it has been working, in partnership with researchers from Emory University and Life University's Center for Compassion and Secular Ethics, to evolve its DE teacher training practice, Teachers in Development and Learning (TIDAL), towards such a transformative pedagogy, entitled 'Educating the Heart for Compassionate Global Citizenship'.

**Key words:** Compassionate; training; critical; literacy; citizenship; education; global

## **Background to CIC**

Children in Crossfire (CIC) is an international development non-government organisation (NGO) based in Northern Ireland. It supports partner organisations in Ethiopia and Tanzania, to help build their capacity to deliver interventions for children in relation to healthcare and education. It has developed a strategic focus on promoting services for young children aged up to eight years, especially those with malnutrition, disabilities and cancer. Internationally, CIC works to make a significant and lasting contribution to the fight against world poverty, and provide opportunities for children to reach their potential and make the world a better place.

CIC also engages the Irish/UK public in education that explores the injustice of poverty. Through its development education (DE) programmes, it works with teachers, youth workers, young people and the wider community to promote the importance of active global citizenship for addressing the underlying causes of poverty, and bringing about a fairer world for everyone. CIC is committed to the practice of DE because, being an organisation rooted in justice and fairness, it believes it has a responsibility to engage the public in looking at the complex structural causes of injustice which are tied up in many factors such as trade, debt, and global corruption. Injustices inherent in these factors make it more difficult for developing countries to work their way out of the cycle of poverty. For example, CIC believes that the problem of hunger and malnutrition associated with its international projects must not be simply seen as coming from *out there* in the developing world; rather, the people and communities involved in CIC projects are at the receiving end of a problem that has many of its root causes fuelled by wider social, political, cultural and economic structures. CIC therefore sees DE as an important practice to introduce people to these underlying causes. Through DE, CIC also explores with people how we all, however unintentionally, might be complicit in the reproduction of poverty and injustice. People can thus gain a wider understanding of their interconnectedness with the rest of the world whilst understanding that longer term change for the developing world will depend



on people taking action to address the complex underlying structural causes of poverty.

### **TIDAL as social change pedagogy**

CIC has built considerable expertise in delivering DE through its teacher training TIDAL programme. TIDAL has reached over 800 teachers and teacher education students in the past five years, and is firmly situated within the concepts relating to the ‘Local and Global Citizenship’ strand of the Northern Ireland curriculum. These are:

1. Human Rights and Social Responsibility
2. Diversity and Inclusion
3. Equality and Social Justice
4. Democracy and Active Participation

TIDAL is also designed to address a number of key elements within the ‘Big Picture of the Curriculum’ at Key Stage Three. These include: mutual understanding, cultural understanding, media awareness, citizenship, ethical awareness, economic awareness and education for sustainable development. By using active participatory learning methods, TIDAL addresses all of the above whilst also meeting the demands of the required Learning Experiences highlighted in The Big Picture. Moreover, all of the methods are underpinned by Paulo Freire’s vision of education as a process of liberation using methodologies of problem-based learning, dialogue and participation. In this respect, TIDAL also meets the demands of the required thinking skills and personal capabilities also outlined in The Big Picture (Appendix A).

As just mentioned, CIC’s TIDAL, and indeed wider DE work, is rooted in Freirean liberation theory and critical pedagogy. Critical pedagogy is the label under which much social change education locates itself (Choules, 2007: 160). In essence, it encourages thinking critically in relation to socio-political lived experiences, and is grounded ‘in the moral imperative

of exposing systems of oppression' (Alexander, 2005: 425). Similarly, Freirean theory believes education that promotes critical thinking has a role to play in liberating people from oppression, and bringing about social transformation. Teachers, according to Freire, should inspire emancipatory knowledge that will enable students to better understand the world, and equip them to transform socio-political injustices. They should pose authentic problems to their students, and subsequently enter into a dialogue with the students on how to solve such problems. Hence, 'students, as they are increasingly faced with problems relating to themselves in the world and with the world, will feel increasingly challenged and obliged to respond to that challenge' (Freire, 1973: 54). In other words, this 'problem posing method' facilitates a critical consciousness that challenges and encourages children to question their socio-political world, and take action for change. As Freire would argue, such a critical consciousness means reading the world as well as the word.

Through its DE TIDAL programme, CIC has a strong emphasis on building the skills of teachers to utilise active learning methods in the classroom to apply such critical pedagogy. Evidence to date indicates TIDAL's success as a capacity building course which provides teachers with the knowledge, skills and confidence to use participatory methodologies to engage children and young people in global education to enable them to become active citizens working towards a more just, equal and sustainable world.

### **Educating the Heart**

Inspired by its patron, His Holiness the 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama of Tibet, CIC has recently been considering if and how the notion of compassion may enhance its current TIDAL programme, and if it is an important variable to bring about global justice. Thus, in 2013, CIC launched its Educating the Heart initiative when the Dalai Lama visited Northern Ireland, and addressed a private audience of educators, students, policy makers, and researchers to explore the theme of compassion and educating the hearts of ourselves and our young people, specifically, within education. For the Dalai Lama, true

compassion can be developed by accustoming our minds to the common humanity and equality of all people, eventually leading to a sense of universal altruism that compels us to take actions for the good of all (see Dalai Lama, 2011). He argues that those we consider strangers or even enemies or ‘oppressors’ are equal to us, and like us, they have a desire to overcome suffering and have genuine happiness. Therefore, if we cultivate our minds to develop true compassion, we will respond to others’ needs more productively, and may even reach the point where instead of hating our enemies or oppressors, we desire to help them overcome their own suffering. The Dalai Lama acknowledges that practicing compassion at this level is not easy, but argues that given patience and time, we all have the ability to develop a more universally altruistic attitude towards others. Altruism, in this sense, means weakening and eventually eliminating our strong in-group/out-group biases and tendencies to be self-centred, as well as overcoming negative feelings such as hatred and anger which serve to overwhelm our minds and stifle our ability to take compassionate action.

This is highly relevant to DE, because it can be argued that self-centeredness is a major cause of poverty and injustice in the world. CIC works to expose such self-centred motives, which are tied up in complex issues surrounding aid, trade, debt and global corruption. However, through the Educating the Heart initiative, CIC further asks: can the cultivation of compassion through DE result in a compassionate active citizen who has the necessary emotional and critical literacy to challenge the structural causes of poverty and inequality? Can compassion actually be taught and practiced as a skill as an essential foundation or building block for DE? Is emotional literacy, such as the cultivation of compassion, actually necessary for engaging young people in global citizenship, or is DE, as already delivered by CIC and without the intentional cultivation of emotional literacy and compassion, adequately preparing young people for participating as global citizens? CIC wishes to explore if combining elements of these disciplines will advance endeavours to bring about global justice.

## **A word on the compassionate active citizen**

In its endeavour to cultivate the compassionate active citizen through DE, CIC wishes to clarify how it situates itself in relation to voluntaristic and deterministic theorising. For instance, it might appear that setting out to cultivate compassion and other positive values in subjects, suggests that global injustice and inequality persists simply because people lack the necessary values, beliefs and attitudes to recognise everyone on the planet as equal. It might suggest that global justice solely depends on addressing such abnormal or problematic values and beliefs, so that people can begin to think more universally, and develop values located in secular ethics. Indeed the Dalai Lama has articulated his vision for the term secular ethics in numerous talks and writings, most notably in two books *Ethics for the New Millennium* (2001) and *Beyond Religion: Ethics for a Whole World* (2011). In these writings, the Dalai Lama has advocated the view that basic human values need not be based on what separates us, such as religion or culture, but can be established on the basis of common experience, and common sense. Our common humanity and our interdependence, the Dalai Lama has argued, are the two foundational principles for this model of secular ethics. A core aspect of that humanity is the fact that we all desire happiness and do not want suffering; therefore questions of how we treat one another become of paramount importance. For this reason, the Dalai Lama makes the argument that compassion should be one of the core values for secular ethics, since compassion is the wish to see others relieved of suffering, and is therefore also the opposite of the wish to cause others suffering or of tolerance of their suffering, the root of violence and other social ills. Once agreement is reached on the importance of basic human values, he goes on to argue, such values can then be taught as skills in educational settings.

However, although CIC wishes to explore the whole notion of teaching compassion and other human values as skills that can be applied to DE and active global citizenship, it does not situate itself solely within voluntaristic theorising. In other words, it is not suggested that global justice depends solely on changing the values and attitudes of people, who will then have the capacity to ‘behave’ more ethically, or more compassionately, as if

unconstrained by systems and structures that perpetuate inequality and injustice. Such a perspective would ignore the extent of the deep-rooted structures that fuel inequality, and imply that justice can be actualised if individuals simply learn to be more compassionate. Fundamentally, such a theoretical notion would fail to acknowledge that global injustice has become deeply embedded within broader political and economic structures, which can be argued to have evolved from colonial exploitation, and continue today through 'globalisation (the integration, to varying degrees, of all countries into a single world system) which shows remarkable continuity with colonialism...the attempt of the great powers to take over the wealth and raw materials of the world' (Seabrook, 2009: 63), or, as Asante puts it, 'the globalizing ethos of white corporate capital that leads ultimately, it seems to me, to another form of enslavement and domination' (Asante, 2006: 654). Subsequently, global injustice is not simply a consequence of a lack of individual compassion, but is rather a result of the oppressive economic control of rich countries which is manifested and reproduced through unfair trade laws, tax avoidance, debt and other structural causes. Thus, whether or not an individual is compassionate, they may be located in specific Western contexts, political situations, and economic structures that by their very nature discriminate, and reproduce global poverty whilst promoting white cultural supremacy.

On the other hand, however, it is not the intention to imply that individuals, despite developing as compassionate global citizens, are destined to collapse under such structures. This indeed would give supremacy to notions of determinism, and fail to acknowledge that human conduct and agency have the capacity to bring about change. Rather, it is argued that through the cultivation of compassion, within critical DE practice, individuals are better able to both emotionally and intellectually recognise structures of oppression that they may participate in. Because of CBCT's emphasis on emotion regulation and the cultivation of impartiality (breaking down in-group/out-group bias), compassion training therefore builds up the capacity to acknowledge and then work to transform unjust social, political and economic structures. It is therefore argued that rather than simply

perpetuating structures of injustice, individuals gradually become empowered to make better choices and engage in more productive action. Since such structures are neither immutable nor impervious to human decision-making, the transformation of values on a large scale can eventually lead to positive transformations even on a structural level, giving rise to social, political and economic systems that are more just and better reflect the values of our equality and common humanity regardless of geographic location, class, or race.

Thus for CIC, giving supremacy to either the structures of inequality or the compassionate global citizen as the key site for bringing about global justice, is not necessarily useful within the context and settings of its DE programmes. For CIC, and indeed its colleagues at Emory University and Life University, change is conceptualised through a dynamic process involving both human agency and structures. The authors of this paper recognise that it is very difficult to adequately address the complicated dichotomy between structure and agency in this short article. Basically, however, we position ourselves around the following:

- Situating compassion solely within voluntarism does not recognise the extent to which dominant structures of inequality have become embedded into time and space as powerful institutions;
- Compassion should be situated within critical DE analysis to reveal the dominant structures and levels of social, political, and institutional changes required for social justice to be fully realised;
- Compassion applied to critical DE analysis, at an even deeper level, should recognise that such structures are also perpetuated by the beliefs, values, and actions of collections of individuals. Therefore, if the consciousness of those individuals is raised, if their perspectives are changed, if their values are transformed, then they will start to behave differently, even working to overthrow, undermine, or transform the structures they perhaps once viewed uncritically.

Ultimately, CIC, Emory University and Life University see it as an important breakthrough in knowledge to explore together the integration of CBCT, or compassion training, into DE and vice versa. We wish to explore whether the teaching and practice of compassion and other values can become cultivated as skills, and how such values and emotions underpin and drive an individual's desire to take action. Basically, if by cultivating compassion, will individuals develop a more sophisticated emotional literacy in duality with critical literacy which might impel them to intervene more rigorously for social change as a compassionate global citizen? It is possible that emotional literacy combined with critical literacy will give rise to increased courage, patience, and the empathic concern necessary to work to change structures of inequality? Will it result in increased motivation and emotional skills applied to the analytical ability to tackle the complexity of global inequality and injustice in an effective manner?

Indeed, CBCT, as of yet, has primarily been carried out as a stand-alone personal development exercise, whereas the authors believe that it may be even more powerful when applied directly to DE and active global citizenship. This is also considered relevant in relation to locating CIC's TIDAL programme more firmly within the curriculum. In short, through integrating compassion training into DE, can the Local and Global Citizenship Strand of the curriculum become closely synthesised with the Personal Development strand (Appendix B)? Furthermore, if this synthesis is made tangible through methods and tools, then might the requirements under Attitudes and Dispositions within The Big Picture (Appendix A) be fully realised?

Overall, it is recognised that the above endeavour is something new and exploratory which will hopefully break new ground in developing pedagogy for meeting curriculum demands and bringing about a better world. The next section considers the origins and aims of Cognitively-Based Compassion Training.

## **CBCT, compassion and pity**

Geshe Lobsang Tenzin of Emory University, located in greater Atlanta in the US, developed CBCT in 2005 as a protocol for the systematic cultivation of compassion. Unlike other practices, meditation in CBCT is not merely a practice for stress-reduction or achieving a calm mind, but rather an active process of restructuring cognitive frameworks that are seen as problematic in order to achieve a healthier, more productive, and more ethical subjectivity. This can be argued to be a more encompassing use of meditation than that employed in some other meditation modalities, and it is also important to stress that it stands in contrast to religious uses of meditation, since it is based on secular reasons and analysis (see Ozawa-de Silva, 2014).

Nonetheless, the practice of CBCT intends to develop ‘emotional awareness and intelligence, emotion regulation, self-compassion, interdependence, appreciation, empathy, non-discrimination, equanimity (understood as impartiality), and compassion (understood as the wish to relieve others from suffering)’ (Ozawa-de Silva & Dodson-Lavelle, 2011: 12). Recently, there has been an emerging body of evidence demonstrating the benefits of CBCT. These include research studies suggesting that individuals who actively seek to cultivate compassion through CBCT show improvements in empathic accuracy and activation in brain regions associated with empathy (Mascaro, Rilling, Negi, & Raison, 2012); a healthier response to psychosocial stress (Pace et al., 2008); increased hopefulness (Reddy et al., 2012); and other salutary effects (Ozawa-de Silva, Dodson-Lavelle, Raison & Negi, 2012). CBCT has recently been adapted as an age-appropriate pedagogy for compassion education in schools, and research suggests that it increases friendship networks and speeds the development of more sophisticated reasoning and decision making among children (Dodson-Lavelle et al., n.d.).

Ultimately, the type of compassion that CBCT seeks to cultivate, and that CIC sees as appropriate to be integrated into DE, is an unbiased, engaged compassion built on inner strength and critical thinking. It is important to point this out, since compassion might be considered as pity,



condescension and an unequal power relationship informed between two parties. In other words, compassion could be viewed as a value for the western citizen, whose business it is to feel and 'act for' those in developing countries who are simply bystanders or victims of global injustice. Indeed, such a notion of compassion runs counter to the endeavours of CIC to develop its DE critical pedagogy, and would simply serve to promote a two-world concept of 'us and them', which would actually work to position the compassionate active citizen in a hierarchical role. Hence, this would reinforce notions of dependency and helplessness, which people in the West are often exposed to through charitable representations of the global South. Indeed, research recently conducted in Ireland has found that Irish NGOs are in fact reinforcing the notion of dependency and helplessness through public communication materials. Drawing on the work of Darnton and Kirk (2011), *Finding Irish Frames: Exploring how Irish NGOs Communicate with the Public* (Murphy, 2014) found that NGOs in Ireland largely portray people from the global South as reliant on charity, with messages framed under the dominant narrative of 'help the poor', 'poverty' and a moral order of white above black and rich above poor.

In cultivating compassion, CIC does not seek to simply situate people from the global South as objects of study who ultimately rely on white Western compassionate action. Rather, in developing the compassionate global citizen, CIC seeks to increase understanding of the interconnections between lives here and the lives of those in developing countries, in order to create a sense of shared citizenship and solidarity rather than an 'us and them' narrative, which only serves to disempower students relative to the rest of the world. The compassion CIC strives to cultivate is an unbiased, engaged compassion built on inner strength and critical thinking, which is neither rooted in pity, passivity nor weakness. Rather it is a motivating force involving standing up to injustice in solidarity with people. Ultimately, pity in the face of injustice cannot be seen as true compassion, because failing to seek to end situations of inequality and violence allows for the continuation of exploitation, and true compassion is the motivation to end the causes of

injustice and promote more equitable and non-hierarchical relations for the sake of all parties.

Social activists such as the Thich Nhat Hanh (2013) have argued that when the motivation for social justice is compassion for all — rather than anger, bias, or self-righteousness, which can easily creep into efforts to effect social change – such compassionate action is much more likely to yield a positive result, is less likely to result in furthering conflict, division and enemy images, and is less likely to lead to burn-out, frustration and despair. Here, if anywhere, is where CIC wishes to explore the whole concept of the compassionate active citizen. It aims to investigate whether cultivating compassion and other human values results in subjects intervening more rigorously and consistently for global justice, on the basis that they have a more advanced emotional literacy working in duality with critical literacy.

### **Compassion for social justice**

“Compassion demands, not that we accept injustice, but that we take a stand against it. It does imply that such a stand should be nonviolent. But nonviolence is not a sign of weakness, but rather one of self-confidence and courage...it shows the confidence that comes from having truth and justice on one’s side” (Dalai Lama, 2011: 58).

It can be argued that fighting for social justice requires great courage, determination, perseverance and inner strength. The first three topics of CBCT are oriented towards developing these capacities through mindfulness (topic one), introspection (topic two), and self-compassion (topic three). Since burn-out, fatigue, frustration, anger or being overwhelmed by the scale of suffering in the world can undermine efforts at social justice, these stages prepare the individual for dealing with such emotions. Through mindfulness, individuals learn to calm and focus their minds (topic one). This calm and focus is then used to watch and learn about emotions, thoughts, and behavioural patterns (topic two). Through this process, individuals determine for themselves, through critical analysis, which perspectives, emotional

reactions, and behavioural patterns are problematic and which are beneficial to their wellbeing.

Additionally, by learning that emotions can be regulated and thought patterns can be transformed, individuals gain confidence and skill in emotion regulation and resolve to build inner strength and resilience in this way (topic three). The intention is that they thereby become less subject to frustrations, anxieties, and empathetic distress. As individuals learn to catch emotional ‘sparks’ before they become full-fledged ‘forest fires’, their increasing self-confidence should lead to a greater sense of inner peace, which can then serve as a strong basis for cultivating compassion towards others.

It is the intention of CIC to explore such elements of CBCT and integrate these into DE themes and activities, in order to investigate if a contemplative process that begins with oneself can then turn outwards to the global community. In fact, one of the reasons why compassion training may be especially important for DE is its emphasis on cultivating equanimity (topic four). In CBCT the term ‘equanimity’ refers specifically to an evenness of feeling towards others. This does not come naturally for most people, but rather is cultivated through critical reasoning that leads to a recognition of our shared humanity, and the fact that all people want happiness and justice. On this basis, all human beings have basic rights that must be acknowledged, and these rights apply regardless of whether that individual is a loved one, a stranger, an enemy, or located either in the global North or South. Cultivating equanimity, it might be argued, will work towards countering the two-world concept of global development, which often reduces relations between the global North and South to an ‘us and them narrative’. Overall, cultivating equanimity and emotional regulation, together with critical literacy, might give individuals critical skills to counter bias, acknowledge the two-world narrative, understand the underlying structures of injustice, whilst providing them with the emotional capacity to work for positive change without giving in to despair, anger, or burnout. In fact, equanimity serves as the basis for the remaining steps of CBCT, which include unbiased appreciation for others (topic five), empathy (topic six),

aspirational compassion, or the heartfelt wish to see others relieved of suffering (topic seven), and ultimately engaged compassion, or taking responsibility for relieving others of suffering or injustice (topic eight).

### **Towards a model of practice**

CIC has yet to explore fully how all of the above CBCT steps might be integrated into its DE practice. What can be said, however, is that each of the steps will be fully explored with both DE and CBCT practitioners, to design a model that is specifically applicable to DE themes and pedagogy with the intention of piloting this model early in 2015. The key intention of the model will be to cultivate critical awareness together with emotional strength for a DE pedagogy that grants true transformational agency to individuals. Without critical skills, individuals may not even see or acknowledge structures of injustice; without emotion regulation skills they may not be able to deal with the consequences of recognising those structures and how their lives might be implicated in them. Nor, it might be argued, do they have the emotional capacity to work to change them without giving in to despair, anger, or burnout. For CIC, and indeed its colleagues, advancing its DE pedagogy to address all of these elements is what it means to educate someone fully as an active compassionate global citizen.

Overall, CIC recognises that Educating the Heart may appear an insurmountable task, and will require more than the efforts of a few organisations to pilot and test a model. However, to date, CIC has already built an enthusiasm for this initiative amongst the local Education and Library Board, schools, teachers, DE practitioners, community educators and various research institutions. Hence, CIC and its colleagues at Emory University and Life University, will continue to explore the possibilities which we see existing in combining DE with CBCT to Educate the Heart for a more engaged and compassionate global citizenship that works to transform the structures of injustice and inequality.

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## Appendices

### *Appendix A*

The Big Picture of the Curriculum at Key Stage Three  
[http://www.nicurriculum.org.uk/docs/key\\_stage\\_3/BigPictureKS3.pdf](http://www.nicurriculum.org.uk/docs/key_stage_3/BigPictureKS3.pdf).

### *Appendix B*

Learning for Life and Work: Local and Global Citizenship

[http://www.nicurriculum.org.uk/docs/key\\_stage\\_3/areas\\_of\\_learning/statutory\\_requirements/ks3\\_citizenship.pdf](http://www.nicurriculum.org.uk/docs/key_stage_3/areas_of_learning/statutory_requirements/ks3_citizenship.pdf).

Learning for Life and Work: Personal Development

[http://www.nicurriculum.org.uk/docs/key\\_stage\\_3/areas\\_of\\_learning/statutory\\_requirements/ks3\\_personaldev.pdf](http://www.nicurriculum.org.uk/docs/key_stage_3/areas_of_learning/statutory_requirements/ks3_personaldev.pdf)

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# Perspectives

## INTEGRATING DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION INTO BUSINESS STUDIES: THE OUTCOMES OF A CONSULTATIVE STUDY

**Siobhán McGee**

**Abstract:** Value Added in Africa (VAA) is a social enterprise working to help build incomes and secure livelihoods through increased value addition in African trade. In the course of their work they uncovered a marked reluctance on the part of buyers and suppliers in Europe towards doing business with African companies. This article captures the outcomes of a study undertaken by VAA in response to this problem of bias towards African suppliers and products. The study engaged with the business sector, business students, development education practitioners and academics. The study concluded that an intervention in third level business education was warranted to inculcate improved awareness and understanding of the impact of business on development, and to build awareness among business students of their potential as future business leaders in making choices which affect poorer people.

The Fellowship in Business and Development was established in 2013 as a partnership between VAA and UCD School of Business, to work across all business schools in Ireland. This paper relates the study's findings, how the Fellowship was designed, and the early experience of implementing the programme in 2013/2014.

**Key words:** Business; trade; Africa; development; education; tertiary.

This paper captures the early experience of Value Added in Africa (VAA), a UK and Ireland based non-profit social enterprise, in introducing a development education initiative into Ireland's third level business schools. The education system currently offers young people the opportunity to consider development issues and the interdependency between 'developed'

and ‘developing’ countries as part of their primary and secondary education, however they lose the opportunity to continue to apply these theories as they move into third level education, and begin to forge ideas about their working lives. The initiative stems from a recognition, gleaned from VAA’s experiences of working on trade, that development matters are generally overlooked in business. This in turn means the potential for business to impact positively on poverty reduction is largely unrealised.

VAA was founded in 2008 with a mission to open channels for African businesses into European markets. The objective is to alleviate poverty among communities in Africa through helping the development of sustainable livelihoods. VAA acts as a ‘trade facilitator’ between African producers of shelf-ready products and retailers based in Europe. The focus is to help build incomes and to secure livelihoods through increased trade of African value-added goods.

VAA’s experience of bringing competitive, high quality African products to the attention of European buyers uncovered a marked reluctance on the part of retailers and buyers to doing business with African companies. Even when presented with a compelling business case, the former appeared to shy away from dealing with the latter. On probing this further, it was found that buyers lacked confidence in the reliability or dependability of the supply chain, the stability of factories and the production environment, and in quality, even where the requisite industry standards were being met. In short, VAA found evidence of wariness among business people towards doing business with Africa.

This paper charts VAA’s response to the problem that businesses are overlooking genuine opportunities to grow their business and to impact positively on poverty. A consultative study examined the influences business people experience in relation to business, development and Africa. The study included a stakeholder consultation (business people, business educators, development educators and students), a curriculum review and a survey of third level students’ knowledge and attitudes to business and Africa.

Following the study a model of intervention in third level business education was developed and is currently being deployed as the Proudly Made in Africa Fellowship in Business and Development. The aim is to build the capacity of business lecturers in terms of incorporating content on business and development, with a focus on Africa, into their current courses.

This paper shares the main findings of the study and how the resulting Proudly Made in Africa third level development education fellowship was subsequently designed and implemented in its first full year of operation in 2013/2014. The paper aims to build knowledge and understanding of the initiative among the development education practitioner and research community.

## **Analysis**

The consultation study engaged with business people, development and business educators, and business students. This section outlines the findings which resulted.

### ***Business sector***

Interviews were held with business people and business representative organisations to explore their perceptions and experience of doing business with African companies, or on sourcing products originating in Africa. A number of lessons emerged including: lack of understanding of Africa as a set of markets; poor previous experiences in terms of reliability of sourcing from Africa; and an overall bias against looking to Africa as a source of finished products. Business actors displayed a high degree of comfort and familiarity with sourcing from other emerging markets (Southeast Asia in particular) and were content to minimise their exposure to risk by staying with known suppliers and markets.

These factors combine to an avoidance of change, and consequently a reduction in business potential for African producers, leading to genuine business opportunities being overlooked, and creating additional barriers to improving the supply chain from African sources.

## ***Education***

### **Business educators**

The consultation with educators in schools of business, alongside a curriculum review, found that business modules, including on international or global business, marketing, cross-cultural management and supply chain management, generally do not include African cases or experiences. Despite the pervasiveness of globalisation and the focus on emerging markets, business courses pay scant attention to the role of business in development. This is despite the fact that inclusive or sustainable business, maintaining its for-profit nature, can contribute to poverty reduction through the inclusion of low-income communities in its value chains. Inclusive business is about including the poor in the business process, be it as producers or consumers. However, the curricula and course content of business schools in Ireland rarely feature such content or examine Africa, whether as a set of markets or as a source of competitive resources. This means the potential for business to impact positively on poverty reduction is largely not realised (Cowzer, O’Caoimh and Pacteau, 2013).

However, the initiative relates to recent movements in the third level business education sector such as Principles for Responsible Management Education (PRME). RRME arose from the UN Global Compact and has since 2008 been adopted by more than 500 business colleges worldwide (University College Dublin (UCD), Dublin City University (DCU) and the University of Limerick in Ireland). Of the six PRME principles, three support the notion of content on sustainable and inclusive business, with a focus on Africa.

**Table 1. Extract of PRME principles ([www.unprme.org/about-prme/the-six-principles.php](http://www.unprme.org/about-prme/the-six-principles.php))**

<p>Principle 1   Purpose: We will develop the capabilities of students to be future generators of sustainable value for business and society at large and to work for an inclusive and sustainable global economy.</p>	
<p>Principle 2   Values: We will incorporate into our academic activities and curricula the values of global social responsibility as portrayed in international initiatives such as the United Nations Global Compact.</p>	
<p>Principle 6   Dialogue: We will facilitate and support dialogue and debate among educators, students, business, government, consumers, media, civil society organisations and other interested groups and stakeholders on critical issues related to global social responsibility and sustainability.</p>	

Development educators

The study examined the experience of development education promotion more generally up to now, looking specifically at the Development and Inter-Cultural Education (DICE) initiative in offering some insights into the task of mainstreaming at third level. The DICE project provides support to the five primary sector teacher education colleges to integrate development and intercultural education into existing initial teacher training programmes. The goal is to equip student teachers with the skills and knowledge necessary to introduce these issues to relevant areas of the primary school curriculum.

DICE adopted a ‘champions’ approach by identifying interested individuals within the teaching colleges that could act as advocates for the initiative and provide an access point to the school. A one year pilot (2003) included giving presentations and providing teaching resources. Between 2004 and 2007 DICE worked with all five colleges of education. DICE project workers carried out visits to training colleges and delivered sessions to student teachers on development issues. A staff network was built in the colleges, by working with the champions and organising events. This greatly

facilitated the engagement of the colleges with the DICE project and its aims (Cowzer, O’Caoimh and Pacteau, 2013: 14).

The DICE project secured Irish Aid funding in 2007, enabling the appointment of dedicated staff to provide specialist DE and intercultural teaching at each of the five colleges. The role of DICE’s work in addressing some of the issues of Irish Aid’s Development Education Strategy was an important factor in securing this funding. The provision of funding for part-time lecturers was reported as contributing greatly to the further engagement and cooperation of the colleges at this time, providing the project with an attractive burden-sharing capacity.

Among the key lessons from the DICE experience for VAA were: the importance of establishing viability and demand for the project at an early stage; identifying champions within the target institutions that can act as entry points; building these contacts into a network of interested educators and decision makers within these institutions; and helping to share the burden of developing resources and knowledge to enable ‘insiders’ to take up the issue and get it incorporated.

### Business students

As part of the study VAA implemented a baseline survey of the knowledge and attitudes of business students in Ireland in early 2013. Students of business were considered to be a stakeholder group as they are likely to be in positions to engage in trade in or with African countries in the future. A total of 1,654 students were reached through an online survey, of whom 418 (25 percent) were business students. Of the business students surveyed, 92 percent were full-time and 8 percent were part-time students. Thirty-six percent of business students attended a university, 48 percent attended an institute of technology and 16 percent attended other educational institutions, predominantly private colleges. There was a 50 percent male and 50 percent female split among the business students (Alken, O’Caoimh and Pacteau, 2013).

The survey found very low levels of knowledge among business students of the business environment in Africa. When asked to self-assess their knowledge of the business environment in Africa, 58 percent of business students said their knowledge was 'poor'. The respective figure for all other students was 68 percent. Therefore business students felt only marginally more knowledgeable about business in Africa compared to other, non-business students. The survey revealed that students' key associations with Africa were 'wildlife', 'famine and poverty' and 'charity/volunteering' (ibid).

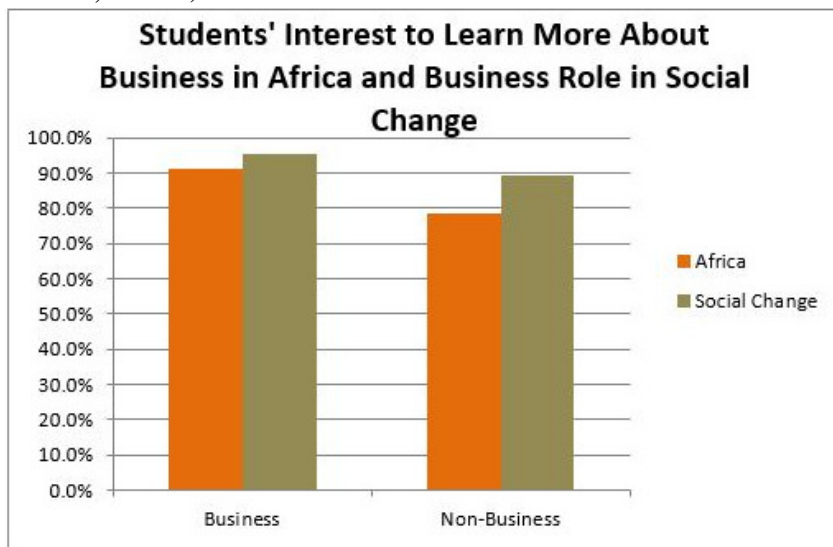
**Figure 1. Students' self-assessment of knowledge of business environment in Africa (Alken, O'Caomh and Pacteau, 2013: 6)**



On the other hand, as demonstrated by Figure 2, business students displayed a very high level of interest in learning about business in Africa (91 percent) and in learning about business' role in creating positive social change (95 percent). VAA's survey outcomes support findings in a Suas (2013) commissioned survey, conducted by Amárach, which found that although 85 percent of 1,000 third level students feel it is important to 'do something to

improve the world’, nearly half of the students (45 percent) agreed with the statement that they ‘feel helpless in bringing about positive change’.

**Figure 2. Students’ interest to learn more (Alken, O’Caoimh and Pacteau, 2013: 6)**



### African students in Ireland

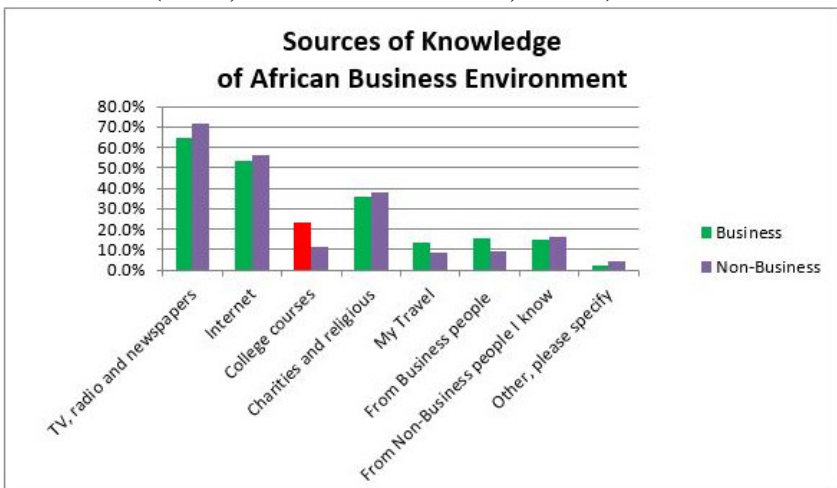
Interviews were carried out with representatives of African students studying in Ireland, by meeting with representatives of the society of African Students in Ireland and with Dublin City University’s (DCU’s) Africa Society. African students are acutely aware of the negative image of African countries that persists within wider Irish society (and also reported this negativity as existing within the African student community itself). The students expressed significant support for the aims of the project. The wider impact of presenting Africa as a destination for business and investment rather than for aid alone was keenly welcomed by those interviewed. Business school courses that offered wider, global perspectives was seen as particularly attractive to international students, and predicted to become an important factor for Irish universities.



### Students' sources of information

Students were asked about their main source of information on the business environment in Africa. College courses ranked as the fourth source of information through which business students learn about the business environment in Africa. The media, internet and charities, all ranked as more important sources than colleges for business students.

**Figure 3. Students' sources of knowledge of the African business environment (Alken, O’Caoimh and Pacteau, 2013: 8)**



### ***Study findings***

There is a track record of commitment to development education by practitioners (NGOs, educators, funders) at primary and secondary levels in Ireland. However there is very little development education content at third level; this was certainly found to be true for business and commercial courses (Cowzer, O’Caoimh and Pacteau, 2013). This means that young people who have had the opportunity to consider development issues and the interdependency between ‘developed’ and ‘developing’ countries lose the opportunity to continue to apply these theories as they begin to forge their

ideas about their working lives. The study found high levels of interest across business, educators and students in changing this state of affairs.

The viewpoints gathered from business lecturers, business representative groups, and those in development education were consistent; the curricular content of business and development education ought to incorporate content on the following critical dimensions:

- The role business can play in contributing positively to development;
- The role business can play in meeting the market opportunities and needs that arise in a rapidly growing and changing Africa;
- The particular responsibility of business to respect human rights and the rule of law;
- Legal frameworks (ranging from International Labour Organisation standards to anti-corruption international law) and the need for regulatory frameworks to promote business practices which are ethical and in keeping with local and international law (ibid: 21).

The study concluded that an intervention in third level education, based on the above criteria and focused on business students, was warranted in order to build capacity among business lecturers on the topic, to inculcate improved awareness and understanding of the impact – positive and negative – that business has on development, and to build awareness among business students of their potential as business leaders in making choices which considerably affect poorer people – again either positively or negatively.

### **Introducing development education to third level business colleges**

To create those new opportunities for business students to learn about how they can positively support trading links in Africa, the Proudly Made in Africa Fellowship in Business and Development was initiated in partnership

with UCD School of Business in early 2013. The objective is to work with educators to build their capacity and to support them to incorporate material and research on sustainable business, with a focus on the role business plays in development. This impacts on business students, as the future business leaders, to build their knowledge and inform their practices in doing business in and with Africa in the future. The message to business students is that the choices they make in business will (positively or negatively) affect the poorest people on the planet. In this increasingly globalised world it is possible to make an informed choice to conduct business sustainably and profitably, and doing so has the potential to transform the lives of some of the poorest people on the planet. One such decision is where and how to source products and raw materials. Managing sustainable supply chains is more vital than ever. For instance, following the tragedy in Rana Plaza, in Savar, Dhaka, Bangladesh in April 2013, when 1,134 people lost their lives, consumers became more highly sensitised about how their products are made and now wish to be assured that the clothes they wear are produced ethically. Fashion companies are increasingly aware of the risk to their reputation when it comes to human rights, health and safety standards, and the working hours of suppliers. Consumers are increasingly conscious of these issues and are demanding that companies be transparent and sustainable in their operations.

### **The Proudly Made in Africa Fellowship in Business and Development**

Development education aims to raise public understanding of the complex causes of poverty, and increase understanding of the interconnections between lives in the West and the lives of those in developing countries. Further, development education seeks to expose the West's structural relationship with developing countries, and to show how this relationship is directly linked to global inequalities. Overall, the aim of development education is to encourage people to engage in personal and socio-political actions that are intended to bring about positive global change. Development education also sets out to counter stereotypical assumptions, based around dependency and helplessness, which people in the West might draw upon to construct their relationship with the global South. The Proudly Made in

Africa Fellowship in Business and Development initiative seeks to broaden that engagement to strategically engage business education to reach the business sector, not previously a focus for development education.

### ***Phase One 2013/2014***

The Proudly Made in Africa Fellowship in Business and Development was established by VAA in partnership with UCD School of Business in mid-2013 with the aim to work across all business schools in Ireland so that all accredited third level business courses include a global perspective of business' role in stimulating development. University College Dublin (UCD) School of Business was one of four third level colleges who actively engaged with the consultation and piloted seminars, (the others being National University of Ireland [NUI] Maynooth, DCU and Griffith College Dublin). UCD School of Business offered to partner and host the initiative, to work from a base at UCD to reach out to all third level business colleges. The rationale was that placing the fellow's role within the university setting would enhance the chances of getting traction and engagement in the wider third level sector (it had originally been envisaged that the position would be placed within VAA).

### ***Pedagogic approach***

Following on from the study, which included a stakeholder consultation, a curriculum review and a students' survey, the following model of intervention was developed and is currently being deployed.

**Table 2. Model of intervention (extract of Fellowship Implementation Plan, VAA internal document, 2013)**

<p><b>1. Introductory Stage</b>          Demonstration and Awareness Building          Phase 1 - 2013/2014</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Build awareness among college personnel and students in four institutions</li> <li>• Demonstrate how the issue can be treated</li> <li>• Equip educators with materials for teaching an issue: Develop learning materials, sample workshop plans, modules, case studies</li> <li>• Build networks of engaged educators “champions”</li> <li>• Engage with students through courses</li> </ul>
<p><b>2. Build a Critical Mass of Good Practice</b>          Phase 2 - 2014/2015</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Build a wider cohort of champions: lecturers and colleges with skill and practice</li> <li>• Continue to develop lecture materials</li> <li>• Enable web access to materials</li> <li>• Formalise networks</li> <li>• Reach out to more institutions to build critical mass</li> <li>• Initiate curriculum formalisation process with a lead college</li> </ul>
<p><b>3. Mainstreaming: Integration into College Curricula</b>          Phase 3</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To measure impact via repeat survey of student knowledge and attitudes</li> <li>• Move towards formal integration in curriculum of colleges</li> <li>• Target programme review boards</li> </ul>

Unlike at the primary and secondary levels of education, there is no centrally developed curricula at third level, so each school and each course represents a separate target. The initiative has focused on working with interested lecturers by offering to contribute a guest lecture to their existing course and to add value to their courses through the introduction of concepts on business’ role in stimulating development. The input went further, in some cases contributing exam questions, Africa related project topics, and case studies. The education initiative aims not just to change the behaviour of individual lecturers – although individual lecturers are the first priority – but to change the behaviour of a wider group of business lecturers over time, by building their capacity to incorporate development education themes into their core content. The particular approach draws on Field theory to identify and understand the forces impacting upon the group to which the individual

belongs, and also draws on Group Dynamics theory to understand why members behave the way they do (Lewin, 1947).

Building on that, the approach taken is to apply a three step process to achieve change. The first step involves working with lecturers who are open to questioning the status quo and who already perceive, or have a ‘felt need’ for, change on the subject, targeting them initially in order to model and build experience and learning. Lewin referred to this as ‘unfreezing’ in his Three Step Model for successful change. From that, lessons are being learned, and the initiative will adapt by taking those lessons on board, with the aim of reaching a wider cohort of business lecturers at the institutional level. According to Lewin, planned change is difficult to achieve because of the complexity of forces; therefore the initiative will work on a trial-and-error basis, or in other words, adopting a ‘learning approach’. This is the ‘moving’ or second stage of Lewin’s Three Step Model and equates to phases one to two in Table 2 above. The final stage will be ‘refreezing’, or establishing the practice of input on African business as a regular or normal feature of third level business courses in Ireland. Broadly this refers to phase three in Table 2 above.

### ***The experience so far***

In phase one (2013/2014), the initiative’s first year of full operation, the initiative engaged with seven business schools, 2,300 students and a range of other stakeholders. The project was reviewed at the end of the year and lecturer feedback gathered. Levels of interest and participation in the initiative were positive, and feedback offered valuable insights as to how to deepen engagement next year, moving beyond individual lecturers to engage across business departments. Overall the response and participation levels exceeded expectations, and set a good foundation to build on in the coming years. The specific objectives and outcomes for phase one are outlined in Table 3 below.

**Table 3. Phase one objectives and outcomes (Cowzer, O’Caoimh and Pacteau, 2013: 23)**

<b>Objectives Phase One</b>	<b>Outcomes Phase One</b>
<b>Build Awareness among 3<sup>rd</sup> Level Business Colleges</b> (lecturers and policy makers) of the opportunity for them to offer better business courses by integrating to their courses the issue of business’ role in stimulating development in Africa.	Engaged with: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 7 higher education institutions</li> <li>• 23 lecturers (direct participants)</li> <li>• 40+ other lecturers (a number of whom have committed to engagement in 2014/2015)</li> <li>• Admin and support staff</li> </ul>
<b>Equip Educators</b> to incorporate this development issue into their business courses through building up the stock of appropriate education materials and case studies.	Delivered: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Class content and teaching notes x 5 subject areas</li> <li>• 75 percent of classes at under-graduate level</li> <li>• 25 percent of classes post-graduate level</li> <li>• 3 x case studies</li> <li>• 3 x published papers</li> <li>• Built online site of relevant materials</li> </ul>
<b>Engage Business Students</b> in learning activities about business role in stimulating development	Reached: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2,300 students with information and content on the role of business in development</li> </ul>
<b>Network the Stakeholders and Foster Champions</b> so that learning about the issues in one college enhances learning in the others; and to initiate the process of mainstreaming this topic into 3 <sup>rd</sup> Level Business Education in Ireland.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Delivered an input to the Teaching and Learning Symposium at UCD School of Business.</li> <li>• Engaged with Enactus Ireland to input in 2014/2015 programme.</li> <li>• Plans to develop school wide approach in two Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) in 2014/2015.</li> </ul>

***Lecturer feedback***

Feedback was gathered from nine of the participating lecturers by way of a number of face-to-face interviews and an e-mail questionnaire in May and June 2014. All expressed satisfaction with their engagement and interest in working with the initiative in 2014/2015. Along with suggestions for improvement, some admitted to not feeling hugely competent to teach on topics relating to Africa, on the basis of personal lack of knowledge with the subject matter or of African-related case studies. This reinforces the capacity-building approach adopted by the project. Their feedback offers a strong basis for the project as it moves forward.

## **Reflections and conclusion**

The approach of working with lecturers to offer relevant guest lectures was well received, and offers a good foundation to build on in future phases. Engaging with lecturers in this way offers the possibility of developing confidence and building trust, of making a real contribution to the educators' own targets, and the opportunity to develop and build a wider partnership across business schools in the future. The early lecturer participants self-elected to participate; by definition they were more interested, motivated and able to engage with the subject matter. The objective of mainstreaming the project within the wider business school will be pursued by working closely with the early adopter lecturers, who can help 'champion' the value and benefits of the initiative to their colleagues.

There is evidence of an appetite for inputs of this nature from students with a number opting to focus their thesis or their course projects on aspects of doing business in or with Africa. Outside the classroom, of the eight Enactus Ireland national final projects in 2014, three featured African businesses. The experience in phase one shows there are a set of development education issues which are highly relevant to business *and* relevant in the classroom. These include marketing to base of pyramid (BOP) markets, creating inclusive business, developing sustainable supply chains, cross-cultural management and marketing. The experience from phase one validates the proposition that students and academics want input of this nature.

There are diverse opinions within business schools as to the relevance of development education within business education. While the participating lecturers obviously see the relevance, some lecturers consider that business should be measured purely in financial terms, and see that other metrics are secondary, or not relevant. However this initiative speaks to the ideas in the Principles for Responsible Management Education (PRME) and can support business colleges genuinely seeking to engage with PRME. Capacity building and relationship building require time, as do behavioural change (Lewin, 1947). The change process is inevitably longer than allowed



for in an annual funding cycle. Lecturers also reflected the desire for more time to present the material in advance of class, and for post-class reflection – a constant challenge not only in this context. Time should be allowed for the relationships to develop and for the proposition to be tested, improved and measured.

The partnership between VAA and UCD School of Business, supported by visible senior leadership in the School has proven effective in building awareness and strong levels of participation across departments and at all levels of teaching within the UCD School of Business. It is also helpful as a platform from which to continue to build links to other third level institutions. In conclusion, as the project prepares for its second year and incorporates these lessons learned, it will seek to deepen engagement across four business school by working with lecturers to create a learning pathway for students at the different levels of study. Indications are positive that the project will be able to achieve this in the coming year.

There is a need to continually critique both the intervention and the subject matter itself. This can be achieved by openness to engagement across business schools and with other parts of academia. The plan is to develop content and critical reflection on the intersection of business and development, not merely to act as an uncritical proponent. There are plans to repeat the baseline survey, subject to resources being available, in year three or four. Finally, this paper charts VAA's investigation into influences on doing sustainable business in and with Africa. It presents the background and first results of a third level development education initiative that aims to build the capacity of business lecturers in terms of content on business and development, with a focus on Africa. As well as sharing the progress so far, the aim of the paper is to build knowledge and understanding of the initiative among the development education practitioner and research community. Engagement and feedback from anyone interested is welcomed

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part-time at Masters levels on NGO and Voluntary Sector Management. The Fellowship is funded by Irish Aid, with support from Concern, Trócaire and Gorta. For more information see: [www.proudlymadeinafrica.org/education](http://www.proudlymadeinafrica.org/education).

# **Twelve Years in the Making: An Audit of Irish Development Education Resources**

**Tony Daly and Ciara Regan**

**Abstract:** The production of development education (DE) resources has been a key feature in the work of aid agencies, community organisations and international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) and received widespread support for more than two decades in Ireland. As part of its work programme in 2012, DevelopmentEducation.ie was commissioned by Irish Aid to undertake an audit of available DE resources as part of a broader agenda of creating an annotated online database of such resources. The resulting audit represents an initial attempt to begin cataloguing development education resources in Ireland - encountering some significant challenges while doing so, which are explored in the article below.

The main findings of the audit have been organised by education sector and theme across 236 identified DE resources. The main conclusions of the audit reveal that while many resources have been developed over the twelve year period there are significant gaps and opportunities for resource producers and NGOs to consider. There has been a significant increase in resource production in the past four or five years and the overall quality of resources has increased considerably in the past decade. While NGOs remain the key providers of DE resources, there has been a significant increase in those provided by educational and community structures and institutions.

Recommendations arising from the research include the pressing need for a central resource library/centre through which resources can be identified, accessed and purchased (as appropriate). As educational methods, approaches and ideas continue to change and develop there will always be a need for additional resources. It is hoped that this audit will assist with identifying and responding to priorities within this context and one of the constant issues that arose in the course of undertaking this audit was that of

assessing the value and impact of resources in terms of their stated aims and objectives.

**Key words:** Development; education; audit; resources; Ireland; publications; formal sector; non-formal sector.

“Global issues are viewed as controversial and complex topics, and teachers often feel that their development education efforts are weakened by limited support and resources...

...Teachers often feel they do not possess the requisite resources, knowledge or expertise to translate their positive attitude towards education for global citizenship into classroom practice...

... Research on the scale and nature of development education provision in the adult and community education sector in particular are equivocal. As such, this is an area that warrants further investigation” (Extracts from Fiedler, Bryan and Bracken, 2011).

The production of development education (DE) resources has been a key feature in the work of aid agencies, community organisations and international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) and received widespread support for more than two decades in Ireland. It is often widely assumed as a result that the development education landscape is awash with teaching and learning resources, yet the extracts quoted above suggest otherwise; resource support exists but it is limited and difficult to access. As part of its work programme in 2012, DevelopmentEducation.ie was commissioned by Irish Aid to undertake an audit of available DE resources as part of a broader agenda of creating an annotated online database of such resources. As an online partnership project since 1999, the website was already operating as a reference point for development education in Ireland [1]. The fundamental purpose of undertaking the audit of resources was to research, list, describe and catalogue Irish produced DE resources published since 2000.

In the initial stages of research, it was envisaged by the website's management committee that a number of challenges would be encountered which could potentially limit the research and mediate its impact including: defining what is (and, perhaps more importantly, what is not) a DE resource; obtaining copies of resources (due to their being no 'central reference point' for resources); and identifying 'gaps' in resource provision (deciding on what a gap is in the first place, is controversial) [2]. Recognising that definitions of development education are routinely contested, the following 'working definition' of development education was adopted by those undertaking the research for the purpose of the audit:

“Development education is directly concerned with the educational policies, strategies and processes around issues of human development, human rights and sustainability (and immediately related areas)” (Daly, Regan and Regan, 2013: 4).

### **Challenges in audit compilation**

This audit represents an initial attempt to begin cataloguing development education resources in Ireland and, as such, it suffers from a series of significant challenges and must be interpreted in this light. There were three significant challenges: the timeframe for completion of the audit; defining a DE resource; and categorisation by theme and sector. It was necessary initially to restrict the terms of reference of the audit for very practical reasons – it was simply not possible to audit all resources given the timeframe available to us (the audit was undertaken between September and December 2012). As a result, there are many resources currently in use in Ireland which were not included or were produced by organisations and websites which have since closed down. In as much as it will be possible, these resources will be included in future audit updates on the site.

A second important challenge related to the debate about defining development education and related areas. For the purposes of this piece of work, a fairly restricted definition of a 'DE resource' was adopted (ibid). Resources profiling the work of agencies (both government bodies and non-

governmental organisations) were included if they explicitly focused educationally on such work; this applies also to campaigning resources which had a strong educational strand. There is much to be gained educationally from promotional and campaigning materials once they are used interrogatively. Given that the majority of resources are produced by aid and development agencies, very many of these resources were primarily focused on fundraising and promotion and, as such, were excluded from the audit. As a general ‘rule of thumb’, promotional or campaigning resources which focused 50 percent or more of their content on educational concerns were included.

A third significant challenge in the compilation of the audit relates to the cataloguing of resources by theme and by sector. While it is necessary and useful to identify the dominant theme in a resource, many resources covered more than one or two key themes; in undertaking the audit, we have allocated a key theme to each resource (based on the degree of emphasis) but in most cases there was not an exclusive focus on one specific topic/theme. Equally, each resource was allocated a principal and subsidiary target group (based on the self-declared intent of publishers) but in many cases, the resource identified multiple potential users. As a result it is important to interpret the audit findings flexibly. Despite this, we would argue that the broad patterns identified in the audit remain accurate as regards both theme and sectoral focus.

Despite the challenges encountered in the compilation of the audit, it is hoped that this initial work will continue to be expanded and supplemented in coming years with the overall objective of establishing a national database of annotated resources which can be freely accessed and used.

## **Methodology**

The methodology for the audit was agreed and overseen by members of the website’s management committee who collectively have considerable experience in development education practice, resource production and dissemination. Some aspects of the methodology are considered below.

### ***Data collection***

In order to collect the necessary data on each resource and to keep the information consistent, a standardised template was used and completed for each resource included in the audit. Initially, a pilot phase was carried out to test the template in practice and to discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the data collected. The template was subsequently reviewed based on the changing needs of the project and in consultation with the management committee. A statistical matrix was also designed to capture agreed qualitative indicators, organised by sector. It was also designed to preserve anonymity and establish an overall sense of the general state of DE resources in Ireland. Based on the information from the annotations, the matrix sought to extract the following from the resources included.

**Table 1. Matrix of development education resources (Daly, Daly and Regan, 2013: 22)**

Principle emphasis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Educational activities – are such activities included?</li><li>- Analysis of issues – is ‘analysis’ of development issues included with evidence and argument?</li><li>- Factual data – are facts/basic information included?</li><li>- Onward links – are third party links or sources cited?</li></ul>
Accessibility (purchase and/or download)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Availability – is the resource available?</li><li>- Downloadable – is it available to download online?</li><li>- Is the resource free, or is there a cost?</li></ul>
Target Audience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Who is the principle target audience?</li><li>- If relevant, is a subsidiary target audience identified?</li></ul>

### ***Sourcing of resources***

As there was no single online or offline reference point for DE resources in Ireland, it was agreed that a flexible approach to searching for and obtaining



relevant resources would be necessary. The first 100+ resources were sourced directly from the DevelopmentEducation.ie online catalogue. The collection of data included the following methods:

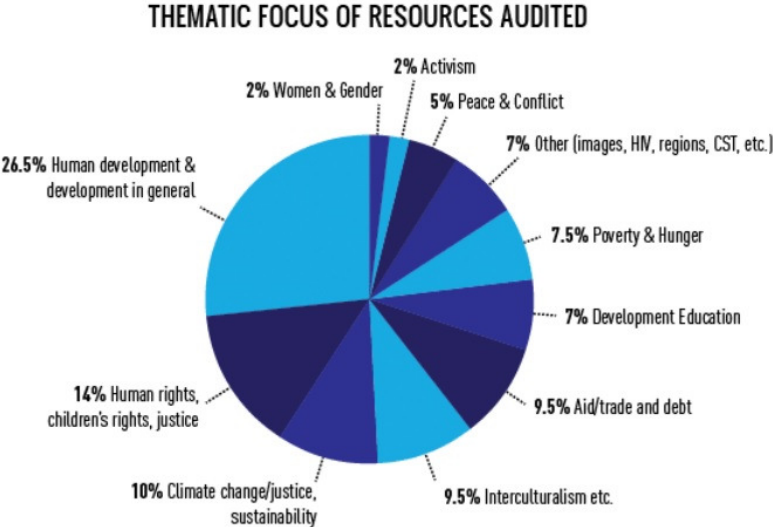
- A systematic review of Irish DE, human rights and development websites, primarily Dóchas members (fifty sites), Irish Development Education Association (IDEA) members (50+ websites), One World Centres, Ubuntu and the Development and Intercultural Education (DICE) project. In addition, the websites and resources of all members of The Wheel were surveyed (10,000+) of which eventually thirty-seven member organisations were included.
- International development organisations' websites (those with local offices in Ireland).
- A search for DE resources or databases produced by educators and/or students from formal education settings (curriculum development units [CDUs], local education centres, colleges, civic social and political education [CSPE] organisations, teachers' associations etc.).
- Visits to libraries and the borrowing of resources directly from organisations (e.g. University College Dublin [UCD] development studies library).
- The websites of organisations and private publishing companies that do not explicitly identify with 'development' or 'development education' but which produce relevant resources, such as those for CSPE, education for sustainable development and human rights education.
- Discussions with a wide range of experienced DE practitioners and educators across the five sectors and with the website management committee.

Additionally, an audit ‘page’ was included on DevelopmentEducation.ie and individuals and organisations were encouraged to contribute details of additional resources that would be of value to users of the site.

**Findings**

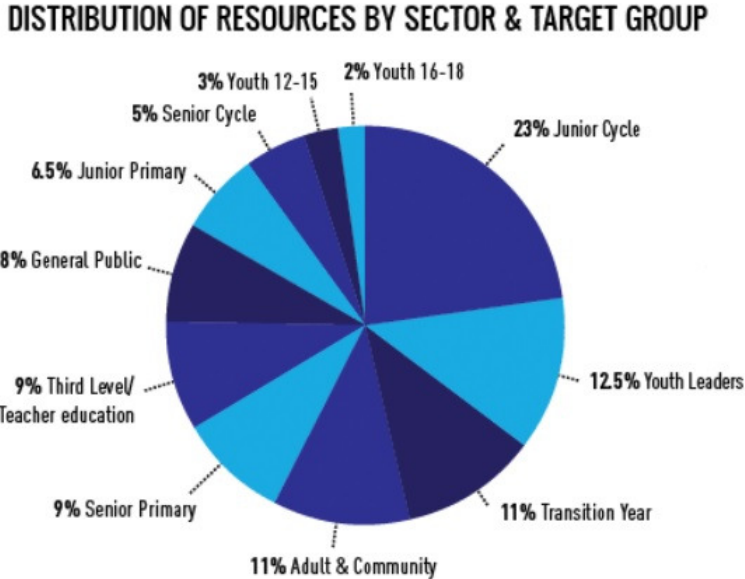
The main findings of the audit have been organised by education sector and theme across 236 identified DE resources [3]. The following pie charts provide snapshots of the associated trends.

**Figure 1. Thematic focus of resources audited (Daly, Regan and Regan, 2013: 11)**

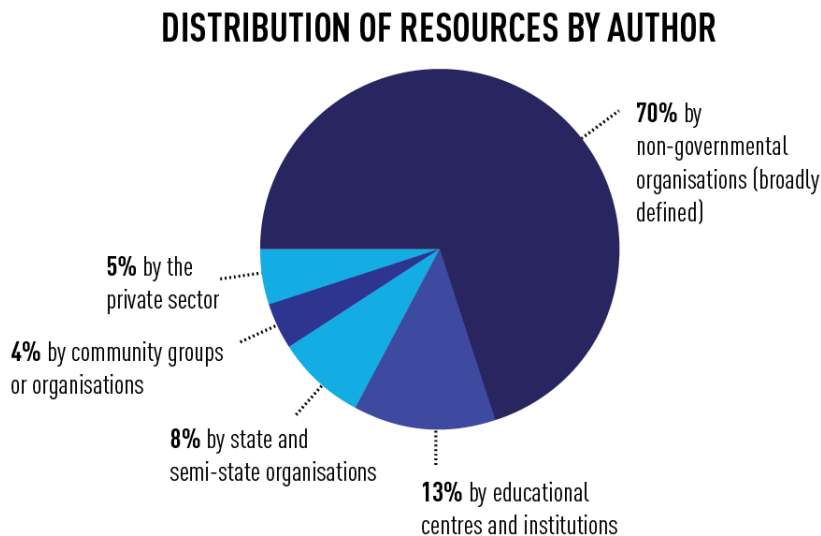


Most notable thematic finding: only three development education resources have been produced in the last twelve years exclusively on ‘Women and Gender’.

**Figure 2. Distribution of resources by sector and target group (Daly, Regan and Regan, 2013: 11)**



**Figure 3. Distribution of resources by author (Daly, Daly and Regan, 2013: 11).**



In many cases, resources were produced jointly; this is especially the case with NGOs and educational institutions. Of the resources audited 40 percent received Irish Aid funding support (and its predecessor, Ireland Aid) and 60 percent derived from non-Irish funding. In terms of sectors, 69 percent were produced for non-formal education sectors and 31 percent for formal education sectors.

In terms of access and availability of resources, a central reference point and/or resource centre(s) is needed. As things stand, key resources are routinely difficult to locate and access, as was discovered in the research phase of the audit. Even with a team of three auditors working on the research for five months, resources were almost certainly missed.

## Conclusions

The main conclusions of the audit reveal that while many resources have been developed over the twelve year period there are significant gaps and opportunities for resource producers and NGOs to consider. There has been a significant increase in resource production in the past four or five years and the overall quality of resources has increased considerably in the past decade. While NGOs remain the key providers of DE resources, there has been a significant increase in those provided by educational and community structures and institutions. The single most serviced sub-sector is junior cycle post-primary, accounting for 23 percent of all resources audited across eleven user sector groups, which stands in contrast to senior cycle as the most underserved sector (notwithstanding youth leader resources also being used extensively by the 12-15 age group in secondary schools).

Additional findings include that the majority of resources are available online (80 percent) and for free (84 percent) but there is still significant demand and need for hard copy resources and there are ongoing limitations with digital resources, especially in the formal sector. While there is no shortage of ‘general’ resources, there are significant weaknesses and omissions in resource coverage sectorally and thematically. For example, there are limited sections as Gaeilge in some resources and the provision of entire resources as Gaeilge is effectively non-existent.

Recommendations arising from the research include the pressing need for a central resource library/centre through which resources can be identified, accessed and purchased (as appropriate). Such a reference point(s) is needed for the long-term agenda of DE as not all resources are available free online and it is unlikely that a central resource library, such as that on DevelopmentEducation.ie, would satisfy demand around resources. The challenges in confronting this need could be considered within the context of support for regional centres and DE libraries as a more practical outcome. It is also recommended that the database associated with this audit be maintained and expanded in the coming years; that it be made available online with a range of associated resources and supports and that producers

of resources be encouraged to submit an annotation as new resources are developed. The database could include a far larger range and diversity of resources beyond those produced in Ireland and those formally recognised as DE resources.

As educational methods, approaches and ideas continue to change and develop there will always be a need for additional resources. Similarly, the need to update materials and analysis of development, environment and human rights issues will require the ongoing production of resources - as will responding to the gaps and opportunities identified in this audit. It is therefore recommended that resource production remains central to strategies and funding streams within Irish Aid and across the NGO sector. It is hoped that this audit will assist with identifying and responding to priorities within this context and one of the constant issues that arose in the course of undertaking this audit was that of assessing the value and impact of resources in terms of their stated aims and objectives. This is particularly the case with the many free resources as no cost is involved. It is recommended that research is initiated into assessing the actual use of resources and their impact among a diversity of sectors and users.

As there is continued evidence (from teachers in particular) of the need for and value of hard copy resources and as there are ongoing difficulties in accessing and downloading soft copy resources, it is recommended that both forms of resources continue to be funded. The audit has also highlighted the educational potential of ‘promotional’ and campaigning resources which continue to form a sizeable proportion of available ‘DE’ resources. It is recommended that both Irish Aid and the NGO sector review the educational components of such materials with a view to ensuring their greater relevance to DE and related areas overall [4]. It is also recommended that: all significant resources produced have an ISBN number; that funded resources remain available for a specified period as a condition of funding (at least five years); that resources remain accessible and visible on websites; and that, where feasible and appropriate, copies are made available to websites such as [DevelopmentEducation.ie](http://DevelopmentEducation.ie). As this audit

was unable to undertake a review of major resources used at third level, it is recommended that such a review be initiated in order to better ensure the effective servicing of resources needed in that sector.

### **The challenge ahead and a DE resources agenda in Ireland**

The general trend over the twelve year period covered by the audit highlighted the fact that a particular sector could expect to find anywhere between five and fifty-five resources produced for it although provision by sector varied hugely. Resource production by both sector and theme has been very uneven and often reflects the concerns and campaigns of the times where, for example the Millennium Development Goals, child labour or the war in Darfur, are chimed with the campaigns and agendas of governments and NGOs. While the changing context and areas of focus in development and human rights change and present new resource needs, there is also an ongoing need for core resources focusing on key cross-cutting themes and an additional need to ensure resource spread across sectors. This represents a very considerable challenge.

The findings and conclusions reached in the audit present many opportunities for educationalists, NGOs and resource producers in terms of which themes and sectors should receive greater focus in coming years. Many important themes remain relatively uncovered, as do key sectors – the overall implication is that there is a need for a more focused and contextualised approach and the audit should provide considerable assistance in this regard. The matrix of qualitative indicators served as a useful tool for assessing broad trends by sector and content, excusing the necessary crudeness of framing diverse resources in this manner. The implications of the matrix are important in terms of making professional judgements about balancing factual content, educational activities, analysis of issues and onward links. Where the audit was not in a position to make quality judgements of resources – separating ‘strong’ DE resources from ‘weak’ resources – it is nonetheless important for resource producers to be challenged in their consideration of the balance between development and human rights content, educational activities, curriculum and syllabus

demands and user needs as early as possible in the resource production process.

To build on this initial piece of research, an annual update of the DE resources audit has been established as an ongoing baseline of data in order to assist and challenge prospective resource producers in Ireland. The update (taking on one of the recommendations of the audit) involves a partnership with Dóchas and IDEA to develop a set of supportive guidelines to be offered to the DE sector as a stimulus for resource planning and production [5]. Following a national consultation with the DE sector and interested bodies in April 2014, the finalised version of the supportive guidelines will be available from September 2014. Rather than closing down the possibilities for future resource production through the application of a set of ‘strict criteria’ or ‘rules’ to be followed (even by funders) it is essential to support heterogeneity and creativity. As the management committee of DevelopmentEducation.ie stated in September 2013:

“Many DE resources produced in Ireland to date are of the highest standard and are recognised internationally as such. All core DE resources should adhere to a basic set of agreed educational guidelines which reflect sound educational practice. However, they also need to adhere to sound development and human rights criteria and values, so curriculum and syllabi provide only one key dimension as regards resources.

It is also important to recognise that all groups have the right to produce resources and to seek to stimulate public discussion, debate and judgement even of conflicting and contrary views. Issue-based groups, campaigning groups, sectoral groups and political groups should be encouraged to produce sound educational resources – our democracy needs it. Which ones should receive state or voluntary organisation funding is a matter for those funders but it is vital that there is not ‘one’ agreed analysis or solution to



world development and human rights issues and challenges” (DevelopmentEducation.ie, 2013)

Despite its limitations, it is hoped that the audit contributes to greater cohesion, relevance and quality as regards resource production in support of development education; the audit itself clearly highlights the ongoing need for such resources.

### Notes

[1] The consortium of NGOs managing DevelopmentEducation.ie in 2012 comprised: Aidlink, Concern Worldwide, Irish Development Education Association (IDEA), National Youth Council of Ireland (NYCI), Self Help Africa, Trócaire and 80:20 Educating and Acting for a Better World. The website is co-financed by Irish Aid.

[2] Many studies in global education, development education and human rights education in Ireland have been produced in recent years yet remained sector specific, uneven and limited (such as over a two year period only). Such studies, however, were vital in informing the work of the audit, which include: Gallwey, S and Mollaghan, M (2008) *Guide to Development Education Resources in Ireland 2006-2008*, Limerick and Maynooth: Irish Aid and Trócaire; Gallwey, S and Mollaghan, M *Guide to Development Education Resources in Ireland 2004-2005*, Dublin and Maynooth: Development Cooperation Ireland and Trócaire; and *Human Rights Education in Ireland: an overview* (2011), a report by Irish Human Rights Commission, Dublin.

[3] A detailed breakdown based on sector with quantitative and qualitative characteristics can be found in the audit findings and we would recommend further reading in that regard. The audit has been made available online and in a downloadable version.

[4] This point expands on previous research and reports by Audrey Bryan and Meliosa Bracken (2011) in relation to assessing global citizenship teaching at post-primary level in Ireland as ‘obedient activism’ through to the

shortfall in linking Civic, Social and Political Education (CSPE) concepts to action projects identified by the Chief Examiner in 2005 and 2009.

[5] Work updates, responses to the audit and information on the guidelines can be found at [www.developmenteducation.ie/audit](http://www.developmenteducation.ie/audit).

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## **OPENING EYES AND MINDS: INSPIRING, EDUCATING AND ENGAGING THIRD LEVEL STUDENTS IN GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP**

**Joanne Malone, Gráinne Carley and Meliosa Bracken**

**Abstract:** Suas has worked since its inception to engage Irish third level students in global citizenship education. This article focuses on the Suas Global Citizenship Programme, setting out the purpose and context of the programme, its innovative design and educational approach and its comprehensive monitoring and evaluation framework. The article presents an analysis of key findings from Suas' evaluation process and a summary of our learning to date on the challenges of supporting third level students in reflecting, learning and acting on global justice issues.

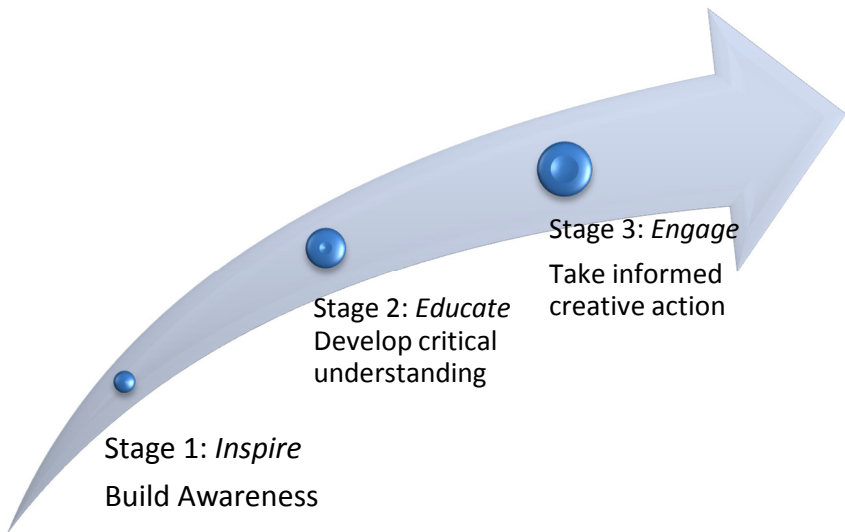
**Key words:** Global citizenship; higher education; tertiary education; global campus; monitoring and evaluation.

“It was the most challenging yet rewarding thing I've ever done. The way I feel now is that I can take up any task which perhaps before the Suas experience I would have thought too difficult for myself. Despite exposure to the harsh reality of the living circumstances of most Kolkata citizens, I feel more positive about life in general and my ability to change the world in a positive manner” (Participant, Suas Overseas Volunteer Programme, 2013).

Founded by students for students in 2002, Suas has worked since its inception to address educational disadvantage in Ireland and abroad. Suas, a charitable organisation based in Dublin, achieves this through working with partner organisations to develop and deliver education programmes for young children in Ireland and the global South; engaging and preparing volunteers to support programme delivery; and building a wider movement of members who share the Suas vision and aims. Global citizenship education (GCE) constitutes a core part of Suas' work. Suas' Global Citizenship Programme initially emerged from its flagship Overseas Volunteer Programme (OVP), as returning volunteers founded local student societies and began a range of

volunteering and awareness-raising activities in Ireland. Fundamentally, the programme seeks to support the progressive engagement of third level students with global justice issues through an integrated programme of activities that correspond to different ‘stages’ of participation and learning.

**Figure 1. Three stages of the Global Citizenship Programme**



Since 2002 the Global Citizenship Programme has grown significantly, focusing on five university locations in Ireland – Dublin City University, National University of Ireland Galway, Trinity College Dublin, University College Cork and University College Dublin. In 2010, Suas joined with three European partner organisations – Suedwind Agentur (Austria), the Centre for the Advancement of Research and Development in Educational Technology (CARDET, Cyprus), and KOPIN (Malta) to extend the Global Citizenship Programme into a further eight university locations

across Europe using the name ‘Global Campus’. In addition to their work with third level students, Suas and partners undertake various development, networking, capacity building and communications activities to promote and sustain non-formal GCE in the third level education sector.

This article focuses on the Global Citizenship Programme in Ireland, setting out the purpose and context of the programme, its innovative design and educational approach and its comprehensive monitoring and evaluation framework. The article concludes with an analysis of key findings from Suas’ evaluation methods and a summary of our learning to date on the process of engaging third level students in GCE.

### **Context and purpose of the Global Citizenship Programme**

Suas’ Global Citizenship Programme is underpinned by a theory of change that is based on two main assumptions: firstly, that the critical engagement and action of Irish citizens is essential in overcoming global development challenges such as poverty, disease, pollution, climate change, inequality; and secondly, that GCE plays a key role in building that active and critical engagement by equipping people with the skills, knowledge, and attitudes to critically engage with global issues and effect change for a more just and equal world. Since its foundation by a group of third level students in the Trinity College Dublin St. Vincent de Paul Society in 2002, Suas has consistently encountered considerable student interest in global justice issues. However, a 2011 thematic review of development education in Ireland, carried out by Irish Aid, showed that less than one percent of 160,000 full-time, third level students participated in Irish Aid funded development education courses (Irish Aid, 2011: 11). This prompted a root and branch analysis of Suas’ experiences to date and an examination of the challenges and opportunities at third level for advancing a more critical engagement with global justice issues.

To gain a better understanding of students’ attitudes, knowledge, understanding, activism and learning on global development, Suas commissioned a National Survey of Third Level Students on Global

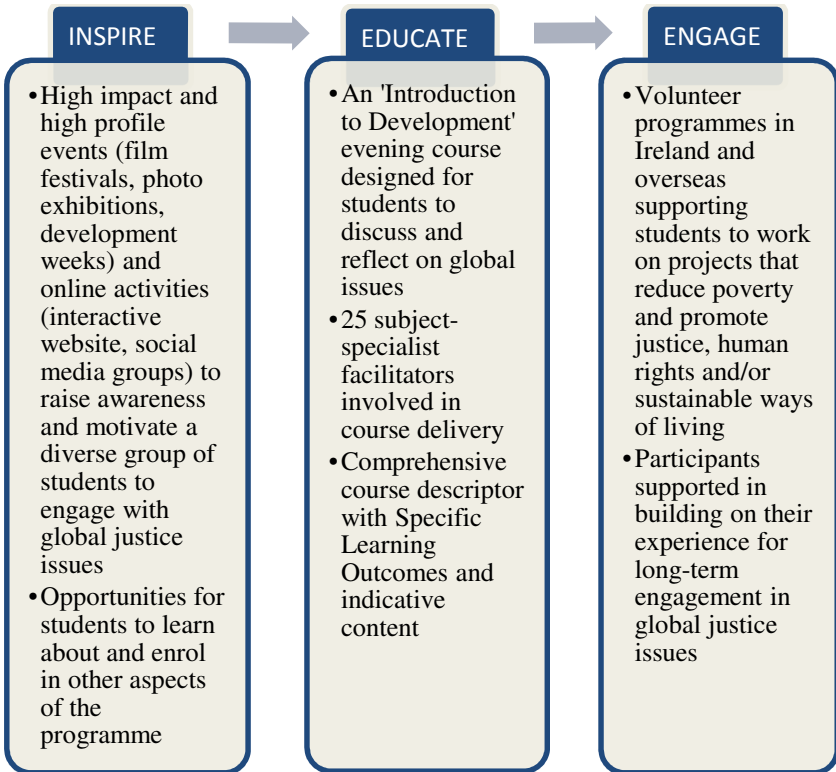
Development in 2012. The National Survey results were extremely encouraging, indicating a strong student interest in global development and justice issues and a positive attitude towards taking action for a more just world (2013: 12). However, the overall student response to the survey highlighted the following challenges:

- Significantly more work was needed to build student motivation and increase student commitment to take action on global justice issues;
- Education providers needed to explore how students could make a positive impact on development issues and draw attention to the different ways in which students' skills could be put to good use;
- Interventions needed to build students' *critical* understanding of global issues and engage students in both individual and collective forms of action that together seek to address not only the symptoms of poverty and inequality but also the structural causes;
- GCE activities needed to expand to include online learning opportunities. They also needed to be promoted more effectively on campus and through social media.

### **Programme design**

In responding to these challenges, Suas and its European partners perceived significant challenges in meaningfully integrating GCE within the formal curriculum. However, the potential of the non-formal space at third level was noted and an integrated, multi-component, non-formal programme was designed to cater to students' interests, needs and availability. The programme combined existing 'tried and tested' Suas activities (courses and volunteering projects) with new activities (large-scale awareness raising and online activities) within the following framework.

**Figure 2. Global Citizenship Programme activities**



The design and delivery of the Global Citizenship Programme has been heavily informed by the original Suas programme - the Overseas Volunteer Programme (OVP) – as well as our European partners' experience of delivering GCE in Austria, Cyprus and Malta. The first key lesson from the OVP has been the critical importance of university stakeholder involvement in engaging students in GCE. Suas maintains strong links with student-based groups in higher education institutions, particularly Suas Societies which are run by interested students including returned volunteers. Suas staff members work directly with society committee officers and



members to deliver GCE activities in their locations, with society officers often taking on key organisational roles. A campus coordinator on the 2014 Global Citizenship Programme remarked:

“I spoke to a large number of students who wanted to know more about the festival, and immediately signed up. Many of these students, after the various showings, asked whether there were any courses, volunteering opportunities or resources available.”

Suas has also maintained links with university staff throughout its existence. Individual staff members have supported Suas activities on campus in an advisory and/or practical capacity. With the development and expansion of the Global Citizenship Programme, Suas extended its stakeholder engagement with university bodies, for example, civic engagement offices, student unions and development bodies. Building on the relationships established by the OVP, Suas set up Global Citizenship Programme advisory groups and working groups on campus to bring key stakeholders together and provide a forum for discussion and working together.

A second lesson from the OVP relates to how the activities are promoted to maximise student participation. Suas particularly seeks to engage the ‘interested majority’ in our programme i.e. students from a wide range of disciplines who are not formally studying development but are interested and want to engage. To promote GCE activities, Suas connects with university students and staff across a range of disciplines and through a range of channels, notably word-of-mouth, social media, staff and student emails and campus media. We have come to understand that students have different interests and needs, and are more available, at different stages in their university life and may be better placed to engage with certain activities at certain times.

The final lesson from the OVP relates to its commitment to sustained engagement. It is extremely important that participants are supported and encouraged to continue their role as active, engaged, critical global citizens. By providing as much information as possible on the

objectives and content of the activities and asking students to ‘apply’ or ‘register’ in advance, Suas encourages students to self-select for activities and take responsibility for their learning. Applicants for the OVP go through an extensive recruitment process consisting of individual interviews, group interviews and Garda (police) vetting given the involvement of children and young people in the projects and the potential mental, emotional and physical impact of placements. Suas believes that a comprehensive application process increases volunteer ‘buy-in’ and commitment and is rewarded with low drop-out rates and long-term commitments from participants. To sustain engagement, information and opportunities are provided to volunteers upon their return. It also encourages previous participants to reengage directly with Suas as programme supporters, organisers and/or facilitators – an accessible next step for returned volunteers with the potential to act as a catalyst for other actions. Katie, a student at the National University of Ireland at Galway (NUIG) said:

“The first time I was ever involved in or heard of Suas was through the Global Issues Course, which I took when I was in first year at college. I’m quite surprised at how big an impact the course has had on my life since then! ... A year later I was accepted on the Suas Volunteer Programme 2013 in Kolkata. I really can’t put the whole experience into words except to say it was definitely the single best decision I have made to apply. I feel as though I gained at least three years’ worth of life experience in three months. I met amazing inspiring people from India and Ireland. Most importantly it has made me realise what is important to me, how I want to live and what I want to achieve in the future.”

In autumn 2014 Katie will act as a Global Issues Course coordinator at NUIG thus deepening and sustaining her involvement with Suas’ on-campus programmes.

## **Education approach**

Social justice theories of development are at the centre of all educational interventions in the Global Citizenship Programme. Particular attention has been paid to ensure that learners engage in a critical and transformative learning experience which actively challenges ethnocentric and modernisation understandings of development. This programme seeks to promote ‘critical’ global citizenship amongst participants by facilitating reflexivity, dialogue and reflection on one’s own assumptions, attitudes and privileges within a globalised world. The programme also seeks to instil a deeper understanding of the rights and duties of global citizens alongside an ethical and moral obligation to take action.

The programme acknowledges the opportunities advanced by the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) framework to engage students with the multiple and interconnected dimensions of poverty and inequality in the global South. However, it endorses the view of Bernardino (2002) that while the MDGs are ‘good themes’ which represent a ‘general global consensus’ on what is needed to eradicate poverty and achieve a more just world, there is a strong imperative to:

“formulate our education program and campaign on a critical understanding of the MDGs’ policy framework and put forward the need for flexibility in adapting paradigms for development that are not dogmatic but more attuned to the experience and needs of many developing countries” (Bernardino, 2002: 40).

Thus, the programme sees the MDGs as a springboard for participants’ critical engagement with global issues, international development policies and interventions. Programme activities seek to take the MDG discourse beyond 2015, addressing the gaps and shortfalls identified in the MDG framework and responding to new challenges and opportunities created by more recent events including inter alia, the impact of technological advances, the effects of the global financial crisis, the consequences of climate change, and the aftermaths of rapidly shifting political landscapes.

This programme conceptualises GCE as an enhancement of key life skills in a complex and increasingly interconnected world, an approach that relates personal and local life to global issues, focuses on the learning process, and actively supports critical thinking, self-reflection, civic engagement and independent decision-making skills in the learner. GCE here aims to develop competencies needed to lead a fulfilling life in a complex and globalised world and equip students with the competencies needed to participate in change processes from local community to global levels (DEEEP, 2010: 7). However, the programme also seeks to embed elements of a more radical form of global education in that it highlights the need for collective as well as individual action and structural change as well as lifestyle change. The programme acknowledges the relatively privileged setting of third level education in which global citizenship is being carried out, and takes on board Spivak's (2004) warning that to avoid projecting and reproducing 'ethnocentric and developmentalist mythologies onto Third World subalterns' educational interventions should emphasise 'unlearning' and 'learning to learn from below'. There is a need to facilitate participants' ability to challenge ethnocentric assumptions and dominant representations of global issues and connect with much deeper narratives. The project therefore draws on Andreotti's concept of critical literacy which advocates:

“providing the space for [learners] to reflect on their context and their own and others' epistemological and ontological assumptions: how we came to think/be/feel/act the way we do and the implications of our systems of belief in local/global terms in relation to power, social relationships and the distribution of labour and resources” (2006: 49).

The teaching approaches that are considered by this programme to be most appropriate for enhancing critical literacy skills are: participatory; creative; active; exploratory and inquiry-based; discursive/dialogue based; collaborative; solution-focused; issue-based/authentic. Consequently, the pedagogical approach in this programme requires educators to abandon

traditional ‘top-down’ teaching methods in favour of collaborative, democratic approaches to student learning.

### **Monitoring and evaluating the Global Citizenship Programme**

Mapping changes in knowledge, skills, attitudes and in the propensity to take action can be a challenging process given that many small interventions may need to take place before a tipping point is reached and observable change occurs. Moreover, outcomes for educational programmes such as the Global Citizenship Programme can often occur in a non-linear, multi-level, multi-dimensional and non-sequential fashion (Bamber, Owens, Schonfeld, & Ghatge, 2009). This makes it difficult (although not impossible) to document how specific interventions can lead to specified outcomes. A considerable amount of time and effort was invested by Suas to ensure that all activities stem from a robust results-based framework which sets out realistic indicators for short-term and long-term outcomes.

It was essential to put in place a comprehensive monitoring and evaluation process to capture credible data on the reach and impact of programme activities. Both qualitative and quantitative methods are used in the approach, and our evaluation framework maps indicators to specific research methods. The programme has worked with partners and external evaluators to refine the methods used for tracking changes in the awareness, critical understanding and informed, constructive action for development of students and other key stakeholders in the thirteen university locations in which the programme is delivered. This section of the article illustrates key findings from monitoring and evaluating the *Inspire* and *Educate* aspects of the Global Citizenship Programme.

#### ***Inspire***

The purpose of the *Inspire* activities is to raise awareness of global justice issues and encourage students to deepen their understanding. Activities are designed to be engaging, interesting and thought-provoking and, within this context, Suas organised a global film festival in five campuses in 2013. This type of event, by its nature, does not lend itself to formal evaluation of what

students have ‘learned’ or gained from attending; rather, it is intended as a first step to draw people in, raise awareness and deepen understanding, and provide opportunities for deeper engagement.

As a consequence, the evaluation process focuses on numbers of students reached and includes information on gender breakdown and fields of study. A snap survey is also carried out with *Inspire* participants immediately after activities to assess the impact and effectiveness of the event. For example, an *Inspire* participant in 2013 said of the activities:

“A great festival that is available to everyone, with a variety of subjects and topics so everyone will find something that interests them...without the 8x8 film festival I might never have been exposed to this subject. I also found that the documentary screenings humanized issues that we hear about on the news and in the media every day. It put a face and a human story behind figures and facts that so often just pass over our heads.”

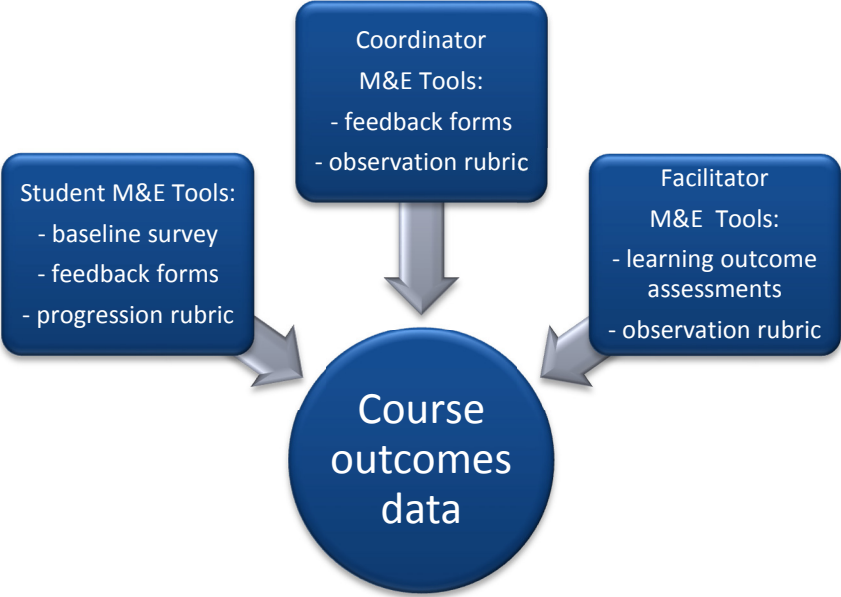
A survey is carried out with participants after approximately six months to assess the effectiveness of the event in acting as a catalyst for further engagement with global issues. Suas also invests in online activities that aim to complement and build on *Inspire* activities. For online engagement, Suas tracks the nature of engagement ranging from signing up to the online network ([www.stand.ie](http://www.stand.ie)), accessing the website/newsletter, and joining social media groups to engaging more proactively in the network, for example, by posting on the website or social media and initiating/having conversations on global justice issues. The stand.ie website has had a readership of over 2,700 in the first six months of 2014 of whom 40 percent are returning visitors, while the website continues to attract new readership and followers as well as new student authors and editorial committee members.

### *Educate*

To monitor and evaluate the seven-week Introduction to Development course, the programme adopts a mixed method, triangulation approach with students, facilitators and course coordinators all reporting qualitatively and

quantitatively on the perceived impact of the course. The resulting sets of data are combined and analysed to assess the effectiveness of the programme in delivering short term and long term outcomes. A number of evaluation tools have been designed specifically to collect data on each of the indicators.

**Figure 3. Course monitoring and evaluation tools**



The evaluation tools take into account the non-formal nature of the evening course and its relatively short duration and were designed to allow creative and practical means of collecting data. Learning outcome assessments and observation rubrics use teaching and learning activities such as debates, simulation games, role plays and quizzes to indicate students’ knowledge and skill in relation to core outcomes. Working with course coordinators, experienced facilitators assess student progress over the course across a range of specified indicators, including the ability to identify complex relationships between local and global issues and the ability to reflect on one’s own position in a globalised world. The tools are designed to capture facilitator

feedback in a systematic and standardised format. Although these tools are unable to capture nuanced and complex information, they provide an accurate and objective snapshot of student progress in a systematic and standardised format. Used in conjunction with a primary evaluation tools such as pre- and post-intervention surveys and qualitative interviews with focus groups and individual participants, the data provides a comprehensive picture of programme impact.

Suas is very interested in student pathways to engagement with global justice issues and to this end the Global Citizenship Programme tracks the number of participants who progress through the three strands of the programme – from *Inspire* to *Educate* to *Engage* activities. Suas also follows up with a proportion of alumni online to ascertain other actions they have taken on foot of their involvement in global citizenship. A new tool, a progression pathway rubric, was introduced by Suas in autumn 2013. The rubric is completed by participants at the end of the global learning course and is designed to support students to reflect on the different opportunities for continuous engagement and what they would like to do as a result of their participation on the course. It suggests a series of seven general action pathways and tracks participants' inclination to engage with each pathway as a result of their participation. The pathway is not intended to compel participants into particular actions; participants are free to opt out of further engagement and/or suggest their own action pathway. However it does provide concrete suggestions and enables Suas to provide tailored support to students wishing to go further.

## **Learning**

Even at this early stage of the Global Citizenship Programme, the first year of delivery has been a steep learning curve for Suas and the team would like to share some of the lessons learnt. Firstly, there is a strong student demand for global citizenship education and providing a mix of activities that cater to students' different interests, needs and availability. The programme has enabled students to progress from one activity to another and achieved positive and encouraging results. In 2013 *Inspire* activities, such as the film



festival, attracted 2,684 student participants, *Educate* activities had 309 participants (an increase of 28 percent on 2012) and *Engage* activities had 91 participants, the highest since 2009.

Secondly, there is significant support for these activities within the third level sector in Ireland and in Austria, Cyprus and Malta where our partners are working. This type of programme benefits from the renewed focus on the purpose of third level education and the desire to produce graduates who are ‘globally engaged citizens’ with associated knowledge and skills. This high level of support translated into the involvement of forty-nine university staff and eighteen student societies/groups in the organisation and delivery of the film festival alone in 2013. Liaising with this number of external supporters created a significant demand for Suas resources; however the success of the event would not have been possible without their involvement.

A third and particularly encouraging finding for the Suas team has been the significant changes in knowledge, skills and attitudes amongst participants. Students emerge with a deeper and more critical understanding of the issues following their engagement with the Global Citizenship Programme. Learning outcome assessments completed by facilitators provided evidence that 88 percent of participants had a deeper understanding of the internal and external causes of poverty, a finding strongly supported by qualitative research and post-course surveys carried out with the students themselves. For example, an *Educate* participant in 2012 said:

“Our beliefs and what we thought we knew was also challenged, because what you thought you knew wasn’t true at all. Your perspectives and your beliefs were being challenged because what you might have thought wasn’t an issue, well, the facts were there for you and you had to re-think it.”

Interestingly, there is evidence that students participating in the Global Citizenship Programme are arriving with a greater understanding of the issues than was previously the case. This is something that requires further

research and analysis in 2014 and 2015 but could well be an indication that ongoing interventions in GCE and development education at primary and secondary level are having a positive, cumulative effect on the knowledge and awareness of students.

In terms of sustained impact, evaluations show an increase of over 60 percent in the proportion of students motivated to take action on development issues after participation in the Global Citizenship Programme. An *Educate* participant in Spring 2014 said: ‘I feel like these issues are important to everyone but they don’t know what to do or how to take actions, and this course can help you see how to do that.’ There also appears to be a correlation between depth of engagement and the level of activism/support with *Inspire* participants undertaking 2.4 actions on average, *Educate* participants undertaking 4.3 actions and *Engage* participants undertaking 6.7 actions (based on a list of thirteen possible actions). Actions varied for the different groups but the most common actions included making changes to lifestyle and consumer habits, engaging with global justice issues online, raising awareness and encouraging others to act on global issues and making charitable donations to global development causes.

At the same time, it is clear that there are limits to participation with competing demands on student time having a particularly negative effect. This is evident from the 25 percent reduction in the number attending the festival compared to the number registered and from the 151 students who withdrew after registering as participants on the Introduction to Development course. It has also proved difficult to recruit a full complement of participants for the long-term commitment of the *Engage* element of the programme. Time constraints could also explain the compensating increase in online engagement. This has underscored the importance of scheduling activities around student and staff availability and of developing online opportunities for engagement.

It is also clear that a robust and well-resourced monitoring and evaluation process is an essential part of the overall programme. As

mentioned previously, measuring changes in knowledge, skills and attitudes in the non-formal learning sphere is a complex task requiring innovative and creative approaches to data collection. Adopting a mixed methods approach has been incredibly useful in producing a multi-layered, multi-faceted analysis of the programme and in providing in-depth information on the full impact of the programme activities. It has also helped unearth discrepancies between perceptions of learning from participants, facilitators and staff, hitherto masked by purely quantitative approaches to evaluation. The monitoring and evaluation process has also generated a reflexive approach to programme content and delivery with ongoing discussions about the impact of activities, the effectiveness of teaching and learning methods, the relevance of curricular content, and the successful achievement of learning outcomes. This in turn provides a strong platform for periodic, independent, in-depth reviews of the programme.

Designing and implementing a comprehensive monitoring and evaluation process was not without its difficulties. The introduction of evaluation tools for facilitators and coordinators into non-formal learning spaces proved challenging at first. Initially, there were concerns that these tools constituted a move towards a ‘standardised testing’ of students with facilitators and coordinators understandably worried about potentially negative implications for teaching and learning approaches. There were also concerns that in-class observations and assessments would ‘take over’ the learning process and divert time and resources away from the course content. A strong communications strategy was needed to reassure staff that the evaluation process was designed to allow a reflective practitioner model of evaluation rather than a narrow testing of students and that facilitators and coordinators would receive ongoing support in implementing the new tools.

It is also important to acknowledge the time, resources and expertise needed to establish and maintain an effective monitoring and evaluation process. As a medium sized organisation without dedicated staff for this purpose, the collection, analysis and reporting of data proves a challenge for Suas and would not be possible without adequate funding or the support of

independent coordinators, facilitators and evaluators involved in the programme.

## **Conclusion**

The experience of delivering the Global Citizenship Programme has been encouraging and convinced Suas and our partners of the continued relevance of GCE for third level students. We have also been struck by the interest and support for GCE among other third level education stakeholders such as academic staff, students unions, civic engagement offices and development bodies. The programme has highlighted the importance of responding to the perceptions, needs and interests of students and taking a flexible approach, which supports students to progressively engage with global justice issues. This student-centred approach remains relevant given the continuing impacts of the financial crisis on young people in Ireland. More third level students are now working part-time during their studies and are concerned about career opportunities upon graduation. Students are also influenced by increased public scrutiny of government expenditure and distrust of state-funded institutions including NGOs.

The process of designing, delivering and monitoring the programme has supported Suas and our partners to refine our educational approach and to better understand the specific changes in knowledge, skills and attitudes that are being achieved. Consequently, we are willing and able to share our experiences and learning with others working in the field of GCE, particularly in the third level education sector. We are still in the early stages of the programme and we will continue to share our learning; together with our European partners, we are developing a website ([www.globalcampus.eu](http://www.globalcampus.eu)), programme resource and articles to communicate the approach, results and lessons learnt in delivering the Global Citizenship ('Global Campus') Programme.

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# GETTING TO THE BOTTOM OF EXTRACTIVE CAPITALISM: A CASE STUDY OF OPEN PIT MINING IN CAJAMARCA, PERU

**Lynda Sullivan**

**Abstract:** This article considers the social and environmental impact of the extractive mining industry on Cajamarca, a region in the northern highlands of Peru, where the world's second biggest gold mining transnational is trying to push through the largest extractive project the country has ever seen. The article traces the company's collusion with the state and media in attempting to suppress and delegitimise community resistance to the proposed mining project which has already taken a heavy toll on local activists. It goes on to suggest that this case study of extractive capitalism being foisted on a vulnerable yet determined community represents an important learning opportunity for development educators. The case study could be used to gain a better understanding of the players and processes involved in the struggle to protect the sustainability of our natural resources, and for the right of local communities to have their voices heard in the debate on how these resources are used.

**Key words:** Extractive; mining; Peru; community; activism; development; education.

“When the last tree is cut, the last river poisoned, and the last fish dead, we will discover that we can't eat money...” (Native American Saying).

Latin America has come through two long decades of neoliberalism, which has to a large degree been funded by aggressive extractivism of the region's rich natural resources – carried out mainly by transnational corporations (Bury, 2007: 49). The impact has been profound – in general the neoliberal agenda has meant a decrease in support for healthcare, education and social services and a shrinking of the state, which has led to an increase in income inequality, unemployment and poverty (Larrain, 2000: 172-173). Many countries are now coming out the other side of the neoliberal tunnel

exploring alternative economic models of development, with the rise of progressive governments sweeping the region. However, one country that continues to labour heavily under the burden of neoliberalism is Peru and this article will consider how the extractive industry in that country embodies the essence of a stubborn and dangerous form of capitalism. I will do this by examining the case study of Cajamarca, a region in the northern highlands of Peru, where the second biggest gold mining transnational in the world is trying to push through the biggest extractive project Peru has ever seen.

I will also consider how the people of the region, concerned about the unwanted devastation the project would bring to their society and the environment, have stood up and rejected this plan. The article will illustrate how this resistance has been met with repression on behalf of the state, which clearly sees its role as protector of the global market and its components (Weyland, 2004: 135). I will briefly turn to how the transnational corporation (TNC), the state and the mass media have all strategically acted to marginalise and delegitimise resistance, including using development discourse to impose their preferred economic model. Finally I will propose how, despite being geographically far removed, concerned citizens in the global North can help to change this situation by critically assessing their own input – through their investments, pensions and purchases. Development education (DE) aims to share with learners a range of global issues toward effecting action toward social change. This article argues that by using a case study such as that of the situation in Cajamarca, which shares many elements with similar environmental and development situations the world over, we can gain a better understanding of the players and processes involved in the fight to protect or exploit our natural resources, and to determine who defines our future.

### **Neoliberalism comes to Peru on the back of extractivism**

In the early 1990s, as Peru was still recovering from decades of internal terrorism and the financial crisis that had just engulfed the region, the then president Alberto Fujimori took the opportunity to embrace neoliberalism with vigour (Bury, 2005). Under Fujimori's tenure Peru was rapidly



subjected to a range of neoliberal ‘reform’ measures, including a privatisation programme which considerably favoured the investment of foreign capital in Peru (Peru Support Group [PSG], 2005). These reforms were enforced through authoritarian repression and human rights abuses carried out by a military death squad. In April 2009, the former president was sentenced by Peru’s Supreme Court to twenty-five years imprisonment for ‘murder, aggravated kidnapping and battery, as well as crimes against humanity’ (Romero, 2009). Fujimori was the world’s first ex-president to be convicted of crimes committed while in office (*Guardian*, 2013) which reflects the level of graft and corruption which characterised his period in office.

Peru’s current president Ollanta Humala came to power with a discourse that seemed to answer the cries of protest from the provinces – the mainly rural population that protested the unequal and unjust social relations between the capital and the rest of the country. However when he entered office he wasted no time in following policies of his predecessors in exacerbating these inequalities to comply with the wishes of transnational corporations. Given Peru’s richness in natural resources – the ex-Prime Minister Pedro Pablo Kuczynski once exclaimed that ‘Peru is swimming in gold’ (*El Comercio*, 2010) – and the global business sector that was most interested in setting up shop was the extractive industry, in particular the mining sector. As Baird succinctly puts it, for more than a decade Peru has been ‘handing out mining and petrol concessions like sweeties’ (2011: 1). As a consequence, the extractive industry quickly rose in importance with regard to the country’s economic growth (Bury, 2005) to the point that institutional circles came to regard mineral wealth as a great potential motor for progress and, indeed, possibly Peru’s greatest asset (PSG, 2005).

In the midst of this extractive frenzy, one venture in particular stood out as one that ‘inaugurated a new area for the Peruvian mining industry’ (Bury, 2004: 80). This was the venture of Newmont Mining Corporation, of Denver, Colorado, which joined with Buenaventura (a company owned by one of the richest families in Peru) and secured a 5 percent investment from the World Bank to form the mining company Yanacocha, with the aim of

exploiting the highlands of Cajamarca. Newmont came with an innovative mining technology known as the cyanide lixiviation process, whereby the mineral – found in great abundance but in very small particles in the soil – was made available for extraction, creating huge open pits in the process. *Yanacocha* is a native Quechua word meaning ‘black lagoon’, and it was a lagoon in Cajamarca until Yanacocha (the company) set its sights on it; now it’s an open pit so huge it can be seen from space (Prado, 2012).

Yanacocha replaced the lagoon that gave water freely to the surrounding communities with an artificial reservoir, a tactic they repeated for other lagoons they would later come to destroy (Celendin Libre, 2012). These reservoirs are now dry – serving no-one – and the mainly agricultural communities that were dependent on them now experience severe water shortages (PSG, 2008: 18). What little water that does flow from descending rivers is contaminated; the rural communities surrounding the mine have complained that the water courses they relied on for human and animal consumption, as well as for irrigation, now carry so much sediment from mining activities that both consumption and irrigation have become impossible (Bury, 2004: 85). The source of the Rio Grande, one of the largest rivers feeding Cajamarca, has now three huge tubes spewing waste water from the mine (Celendin Libre, 2012). As a result of this contamination, local farmers have reported high levels of animal deformities and death; there are numerous instances of tens of thousands of trout deaths because of the presence of heavy metals, arsenic and high levels of acidity in the water (Arana Zegarra, 2004: 2). The population in general has reported unusually high rates of cancer, skin diseases and birth deformities. A mercury spill in 2000 in the small town of Choropampa poisoned 1,200 inhabitants and still to this day the effects are being felt as mothers pass on the toxic heavy metal to their newborns (Cabellos & Boyd, 2002).

Yanacocha has admitted its appalling environmental record: ‘We are not proud of the current state of our relationship with the people of Cajamarca.’ This admission came after a ‘listening study’ commissioned by Yanacocha showed the dismal state of public opinion toward the company.

Yanacocha, the study states, ‘suffers from an inability to listen effectively to the community’ (CSR & CCPM, 2012: 1). However the company continues to press ahead with wringing the earth dry despite an obvious lack of social licence. Having extended into various satellites, and exhausting them, Yanacocha hopes to move swiftly into the neighbouring province of Celendin to initiate a project that would dwarf all preceding operations.

The Minas Conga project, projected to be three times the size of Yanacocha’s operations to date and the largest mega mining project Peru has ever seen, plans to consume 3,069 hectares of land. It would drain and exploit two mountain lakes to extract the gold and copper that lies beneath. The material extracted would be dumped on top of two other lakes, effectively beheading a complex hydrological system and the source of five rivers. Whatever water sources remain would most likely be polluted with heavy metals, particularly as they plan to produce an average of 90,000 tons of toxic waste tailings per day, every day for seventeen years (Knight Piésold Consulting, 2010).

This project, shockingly, was approved by the government as environmentally sound and Yanacocha has been given the go ahead. However experts and locals have rejected Yanacocha’s environmental research, found in the company’s Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) of the project, for its severe lack of essential information needed to understand the real potential effects of the planned extraction activities. World-renowned hydrogeologist Robert Moran has described the EIA study as ‘basically a public relations document, intended to promote the acquisition of permits’ (2012: 1). Although the study failed to address the environmental problems that could arise from the project, it was successful in achieving what the company desired – permission to extract. This is in large part due to the Peruvian state, which makes it very easy for mining companies to exploit the land with the bare minimum of environmental consideration. The partnership between government and the mining company was made very clear by the fact that the engineer who was responsible for writing the EIA while working for Yanacocha, Felipe Ramirez del Pino, then entered the

Ministry of Energy and Mines to approve his own work (Valle-Riestra, 2011).

What was also severely lacking in the study was any meaningful consultation with the local population. The presentation of the EIA, which was the only opportunity for the affected communities to have their say, was held far from and without the knowledge of the vast majority of citizens that would be affected, and was largely attended by people paid by Yanacocha to sign their approval for the project (Hoetmer et al., 2013: 372). In an independent survey by Ipsos APOYO published in August 2012 it was found that 78 percent of the population in Cajamarca is against the Minas Conga project, with only 15 percent in favour (*El Comercio*, 2012).

### **Mega mining district**

It is not just the Conga mining project that is threatening the future of this area of the Andean highlands: there is a whole host of similarly destructive extractive projects planned, and if the Conga project goes ahead, it is possible that the other projects will also be approved. In the provinces of Cajamarca and Celendin the percentage of land concessioned to mining companies is 69.95 and 58.80 respectively. Neighbouring Hualgayoc is 91 percent concessioned (SER, 2013: 54). SER lists the TNCs waiting to begin their mega mining projects and they include Chinese Lumina Copper SAC (part-owned by the Chinese government), British Anglo American, British/Australian Rio Tinto, and Canadian Sulliden Mining Corporation (ibid: 63). If all of these companies realised their projects the region of Cajamarca would effectively be transformed into one of the largest mining districts in the world.

For this extractive haven to become a reality certain elements are needed, for example huge amounts of water and land, which they take from the highlanders, and energy. Eva Arias, president of the National Mining Society in Peru (SNMPE) has stated that Peru needs to increase its energy supply by 40 percent if it is to meet the demands of mining (*La Republica*, 2013b). To serve this demand, in June 2010, three months before leaving

office, Peruvian President Alan Garcia signed the Peru-Brazil hydropower agreement with then-Brazilian President Inácio Lula da Silva. This laid the ground for twenty mega hydroelectric projects to be realised along the Rio Marañon, one of the main rivers flowing into the Amazon. For Brazil, this meant construction contracts for the building of these projects, and the promise that a large portion of this energy would go to meet this emerging power's own energy demands (Celendin Libre, 2013a).

To complement the would-be mega mining district dominated by Yanacocha, the Brazilian company Odebrecht has the rights to build the hydroelectric project Chadin II. Incidentally, Odebrecht has also been awarded the construction contract for the first stage of the Conga mining project – a contract worth more than \$500 million (EPC Engineer, 2011). Chadin II would affect over 1,000 people living along the river valley; many would be displaced due to flooding, others would lose their livelihood as the raising of the river level would significantly alter the micro-climate of the area, making current forms of agriculture unsustainable. Engineers and environmental experts have also documented the rich biodiversity that exists in the region. Many species are unique to the area, some are endangered – all of which will be negatively affected by the realisation of this project (Hoffman, 2013: 1).

### **A blazing example of resistance**

Against these mega threats, the local population has mobilised and organised itself and met with some success – in 2012 Yanacocha was forced to suspend the Conga mining project (*La Republica*, 2012). This is remarkable given the fact that the project is worth \$4.8 billion with the promise of 11.6 million ounces of gold and 3 billion ounces of copper. The locals question the validity of this suspension in light of the fact that the company continues to work on building their reservoirs and their roads. However the credit for this delay goes to the local campaign.

One factor that gives the resistance strength is the existence of the Rondas Campesinas (Peasant Rounds), an autonomous social justice

organisation in rural Peru. This movement began in Chota, Cajamarca in 1976 in response to robberies aimed at the local school. A small number of local farmers decided to organise themselves and carry out rounds to protect the community. The thieves were caught but the Rondas continued. Now it is a national organisation with thousands of *rondero* bases, men and women, carrying out community justice by means of democratic assemblies. They deal with every kind of threat to their communities, and now they have taken on the biggest threat to date – mega mining. The Rondas Campesinas have entered with vigour into the resistance; their rounds now take them to the high altitudes of the mountain lakes to ensure their protection and their assemblies ensure that the resistance is peaceful and democratic. The resistance also includes teachers, students, professionals, housewives, and others, and in Celendin they have all come together with the Rondas to form the Plataforma Interinstitucional Celendina (PIC); a platform from which the united forces can resist the activities of the transnationals, and unfortunately their own government, with the aim of protecting what is vitally important to them – their water.

One person who exemplifies this resistance – in its most dignified form, is a campesino woman by the name of Maxima Acuña Chaupe. Over the past three years she has lead her humble peasant family in the courageous fight against this mega mining company’s desire to possess her land which is right in the heart of the proposed mining site. On three separate occasions in 2011 the national police, along with mining personnel, aggressively entered the family’s land with the aim of forcibly evicting them. The police destroyed the family’s shelter, killed several of their animals, stole others, and violently beat the family – leaving Maxima and her daughter unconscious and putting their oldest son in hospital for six months (Olivera, 2012).

Despite these attacks, the family resisted and refused to leave their land. In response the mining company decided to take them to court on the charge of usurpation. The trial, which took place in Celendin, was riddled with irregularities and the family, and the family’s lawyer Mirtha Vasquez,

were treated with contempt. The judge refused to admit into evidence the main document supporting the family's claim of possession. Not surprisingly he ruled in favour of Yanacocha and the family was ordered to leave their land, and pay a huge fine to the company. The family's lawyer appealed and the Superior Court of Cajamarca annulled the initial ruling due to its extensive irregularities, and ordered the case to be re-initiated in Celendin (Celendin Libre, 2013b).

The retrial lasted for more than a year, with the Public Prosecution overtly taking instructions from the Yanacocha lawyer who sat by his side during the trial handing him documents which the Prosecutor appeared not to have read before. On various occasions the Prosecutor just didn't show up, leaving the family to make the two day travel back to their home only to repeat the journey the next week. The judge showed initial reluctance to accept the family's documentation which did not bode well, and, although he finally accepted their evidence he once again ruled in favour of the mining company, in addition to awarding the family almost three years in a suspended prison sentence as well as again levying them a hefty fine to pay to the company. The family's lawyer immediately appealed the decision and the family await a new round of court hearings. Despite the frequent death threats, police harassment and further charges (which are illegal) Maxima and her family valiantly stand strong, knowing they have every right to stay on their land.

Like the Chaupe family, the movement as a whole has resisted against all the odds. They have managed to date to stand between the mining company and its 4.8 billion dollar investment. What started with a few activists has now swollen to include arguably millions of supporters built by solidarity networks around the world. They have brought the case of Conga to the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights, the United Nations, and the European Union. Conga is now one of the most well-known mining conflicts in the world.

## **Suppressing dissent**

This emergence of resistance is not an anomaly in Latin America. Bebbington speaks of a clear relationship between the rise of neoliberalism – and the consequent extractivism – and the rise of the social protest movement in Latin America (2008: 2889). Mirtha Vasquez, a local human rights lawyer from Cajamarca, also sees a concurrence with these phenomena and the repression and criminalisation of the democratic right to protest. In her report ‘Criminalisation of the protest in Peru’ she details how the state has assumed the role of protector of neoliberal economic interests, and as such, deliberately and systematically tries to eliminate elements that threaten to disturb the working of this model (2013: 7). The arms of the state body that it uses to crush dissent include lawmaking, the judicial system, the police and armed forces, and the intelligence services. Other forces that aid this criminalisation include the companies themselves and the mass media.

Since 2002, successive Peruvian governments have passed a series of laws limiting the right to protest and granting greater power to the police and armed forces in social conflicts (ibid: 12). In 2007, the government passed laws against organised crime, but by classifying the social protest as ‘extortion’ they are able to use the same laws to imprison a protester for up to 25 years, a sentence even greater than that handed down for some murders (ibid: 18). They also charge protesters for disturbing the peace, kidnapping and even ‘psychological damage to the mining company’ (Sanchez, 2014). During the Conga conflict over the past two years there have been over 300 people charged with various alleged crimes. However, as Vasquez states, these are not indiscriminate charges – 90 percent are social leaders or local authorities who have been openly critical of the government (2013: 17).

In stark contrast, the police and armed forces enjoy an increasing degree of impunity for their actions during social conflicts. They can hold a protester incommunicado for over 24 hours; they can remove bodies from a scene without the presence of state investigators; and, as of 14 January 2014, neither the police nor the armed forces can be held accountable in a criminal court for injuries or deaths from using their arms or ‘other means of defense’ while on duty (Organization of American States, 2014: 1).



This is a shocking development but in reality this impunity has long been in existence. Two incidences of social conflict stand out as producing the most serious consequences; the first being 24 November 2011 when 19 protesters were seriously injured at a mass mobilisation at the threatened lagoons. One man lost his sight and another is now paralysed (EarthRights International, 2014). The other relates to events on 3-4 July 2012, when five protesters were shot dead by the state security forces during mass protests in the cities of Bambamarca and Celendin. One of the deceased, Cesar Medina Aguilar, a sixteen-year-old boy and local youth leader, died from a direct shot to the head which was fired from an army helicopter overhead (Public Prosecutor of Celendin, 2012: 24). To date not one member of the security forces has been held responsible. Furthermore, on 28 January 2014 the National Coordinator of Human Rights in Peru announced that the Public Prosecutor had just archived the case seeking justice for the five murdered protesters due to a lack of evidence (Celendin Libre, 2014).

A particularly worrying aspect of this situation is that the police are not only taking orders from the state, but also directly from the mining company. Law 27238 enables police directors to sign agreements with private companies to provide security services. They can do this in conjunction with or separate from their state duties, but are all the while permitted to wear police uniforms and use state-provided weapons (Vasquez, 2013: 22).

Another method of repression is militarisation. On three separate occasions between 2011 and 2012 the government declared a state of emergency in the provinces of Cajamarca, Celendin and Hualgayoc, for a total of eight months (ibid: 23). This allowed for a constant military presence and the establishment of a culture of fear amongst the population. The state of emergency was lifted, but the militarisation continues: recent plans to build police bases around the area of conflict was revealed by the hacking group Anonymous, as well as documents indicating that the state intelligence agency was spying on local leaders (*La Republica*, 2013a).

## **Communicating propaganda**

An essential ally to this strategy of criminalisation, and to the sustainment of the neoliberal agenda as a whole, is the mass media. The main channels of communication including newspapers, television and radio, disseminate constant misinformation and propaganda. The El Comercio media group has shares in construction companies that have contracts with Yanacocha, and this group owns 78 percent of the media market in Peru (*La Republica*, 2013b). An idea often propagated by this monopoly is the idea that anti-mining protesters are ‘extremists’, ‘delinquents’, ‘terrorists’ even (Vasquez, 2013: 8).

The discourse of development is also utilised by the media and the state to isolate the protesters from the rest of the country, especially the capital. Social protests have been portrayed as impeding the progress of the country. Dagnino states how the market has become the equivalent of modernity. Social rights, he suggest, no longer belong in this frame as something modern; rather they present an obstacle to modernity (2005: 19). It seems that the neoliberal state and the corporations have won the fight to define development whereas those opposing the mine’s idea of development, espousing something along the lines of Sen’s (1999) definition of poverty reduction, equality and the enhancement of freedoms, are pushed aside. Traditional Andean living, which includes the knowledge of thousands of medicinal plants, organic and sustainable agricultural practices, community interdependence and respect for Mother Earth, is devalued and attacked under this neoliberal vision. It is not that the local population are against any change, or cannot see room for advances, but it is the direction of these changes that concerns people most. In the documentary *In the Heart of Conga* (2012), environmental leader Marco Arana states that there is great potential in the biodiversity of Cajamarca for the production of organic consumables such as organic cocoa and coffee. What is needed, Arana emphasises, is investment in the region’s best resources, which are not minerals but its people.

Cajamarca represents an excellent example of unequal power relations played out in development discourse in the global South. It also demonstrates clearly the differences between the image of development and progress imposed from the state and the private sector and that which is expressed locally.

### **Global solidarity through local action**

The case of Conga has attracted much international attention, bringing activists from all over the world to share their own stories and experiences of resistance. Similarly, community leaders from Cajamarca have been invited to the US, Europe and other Latin American countries to spread the word, but also to learn from activists there. These connections have shown that the struggles may be local, but they are local in a globalised world. From fracking and oil exploration in Ireland to tar sands in Canada, the extractive industry reaches every corner of the planet. However so does the rejection of this commodification of nature and the determination to prevent destruction before we cause irreversible damage to our chances of survival. The importance of learning from each other's struggles and supporting each other cannot be underestimated. But it is also vitally important that each person realises their own power as an active citizen – as well as the power that comes from our consumer choices – to challenge the exploitative practices of transnational corporations which threaten both the natural environment and the communities it sustains.

Development education could potentially play a powerful role in this effort. Sharing with learners the importance of ethical investment and consumerism to human rights and environmental protection around the world is very empowering, because these individuals are in a position to personally and collectively make a difference. With regards to investments, most working adults have a pension fund, and many also have additional investment interests. Unless we specifically choose an ethical pension or investment fund we cannot be sure what our money is funding. Yanacocha combines interests from a North American company, a Peruvian company and the World Bank, however their top investors and shareholders are

European banks (Facing Finance, 2013: 45). The fund manager's overriding responsibility is to maximise his or her customer's investment at all costs, unless the customer asks differently.

Widening the net even further, the vast majority of people in the global North are consumers. Many may think this footprint is unavoidable (to live is to consume) but it is the choices we make related to this consumption that are the problem. Over 50 percent of the gold extracted from mines goes to make jewellery. In Peru alone 50 percent of *campesino* communities are affected by mining conflicts (Bebbington, 2008: 2). Apart from jewellery, extracted minerals such as gold and copper are used in the electronics industry. China, the factory of the capitalist world, is the main buyer of raw materials; for example, the country imports 41 percent of Peruvian copper. These raw materials are then used to make phones, computers, music players, and many other electronic items. Friends of the Earth (2013) ran a campaign which exposed the human and environmental dangers at an Indonesian tin mine which sold its minerals to Samsung, who then agreed to stop buying from the mine and find a more ethical source. This consumer pressure could be replicated in other situations such as that of Cajamarca.

### **Education ideas**

Cajamarca is a great case study for development educators to use in introducing learners to the wider issues of global inequality, the environmental dangers we face and, more positively, the possibilities for effective action. This could be approached from different angles depending on the group. Learners could act out the power relations in role plays, taking on the roles of the mining director, the government official, the *campesino*, the community leader etc. Research could be undertaken to follow the investments of local institutions such as universities, the church, state pension funds etc. Documentaries exist in English and in Spanish to enrich the study – such as *Open Pit*, *In the Heart of Conga*, and *Choropampa - the Price of Gold*, as well as various books. A project is underway in the north of Ireland to create a resource to use the case of Conga in the classroom as an

example of destructive capitalism, creative resistance and global activism, possibly in connection with local efforts in Cajamarca to create comic books for young learners on the subject [1].

The emergence of new progressive democracies in Latin America suggests that neoliberalism may be loosening its grip on the continent, but it continues to impose a severe burden on the communities of Celendin, Bambamarca and Cajamarca whose entire livelihoods and living environments are at risk. The resistance needs to remain strong, and for that it needs support and observant eyes to denounce the repression that will surely continue. But what is also needed is an underlying understanding of the problems created by the extractive mining industry in northern Peru to inform action and resistance to its activities. This model of responsible global citizenship can be replicated in other, similar battles for human dignity and environmental protection across the globe.

### **Note**

[1] Educators or activists interested in becoming involved in the development and/or piloting of an educational resource exploring the issues raised in this article should contact the Centre for Global Education (info@centreforglobaleducation.com).

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# Viewpoint

## FOODBANKS ARE AN IMPORTANT BAROMETER OF CONTEMPORARY POVERTY: DEVELOPMENT EDUCATORS SHOULD TAKE NOTICE

**Stephen McCloskey**

‘Shelter line stretchin’ ’round the corner,  
Welcome to the new world order,  
Families sleepin’ in their cars in the Southwest,  
No home, no job, no peace, no rest.’

(Bruce Springsteen, Ghost of Tom Joad, 1995)

Two conflicting narratives have dominated the aftermath of the financial crisis, particularly over the past year. On the one hand, the Irish and British governments are suggesting that we are over the worst and on the path to a more prosperous future and, on the other, frontline care providers speak of people cut adrift by the state and left in highly vulnerable, dangerous and impoverished conditions. Barometers of this impoverishment include rising homelessness and the use of foodbanks in addition to the distribution of food parcels and hot meals to those on the poverty threshold. A striking feature of those on the frontline of the recession is the number of working families affected by rising food prices, mortgage arrears, rental increases and flatlining wages. While the notion of class was once considered destined for the dustbin of history, we today find capital concentrated in fewer hands and a swelling of the ranks of the working class; a class which Terry Eagleton suggests creates the social order through ‘silent persistent labour’ and yet ‘can find no real representation within that order, no full recognition of its humanity’ (2011: 166). The recourse to soup kitchens and foodbanks in the twenty first century points to a fundamental flaw in our economic model that can generate so much wealth and leave so many wanting.

Foodbanks are in many ways reflective of the best qualities and values underpinning civil society and the non-governmental sector. They are staffed and supported mostly by an army of volunteers giving selflessly of their own time and dedicating themselves to the welfare of those in urgent need of support. The food distributed at foodbanks is mostly donated by the public as well as schools, businesses and churches. The Trussell Trust, the main supplier of foodbanks in the UK, was named Britain's most admired charity by the chief executive officers of UK charities such as has been its impact on civil society (Trussell Trust, 2013). At a time when public trust in charities has been wavering (NPC, 2014), the Trussell Trust has garnered respect from all sections of civil society for addressing the urgent need for food aid in vulnerable communities.

This article considers the gap between government rhetoric on the recession and the increasing public access of emergency food aid, particularly through foodbanks. It considers the recent spike in foodbank numbers and users, and outlines some of the factors behind this including evidence presented on the operations of a foodbank in north Belfast. Finally the article meditates on the significance of foodbanks for the work of development educators and development workers.

### **A tale of two recessions**

In a recent budget statement, Irish Minister for Finance Michael Noonan said 'We are well along the recovery path and it is time now, as a nation, to begin to look forward' (Department of Finance, 2014). These words probably sounded a bit hollow to Estelle Sweeney, mother of three young sons, who spent eight nights sleeping in her car at the back of Dublin airport after being forced to quit her rented accommodation over outstanding arrears (Holland, 2014b). Her story is not uncommon as a total of 170 families in the Dublin area are living in hotels 'as a combination of rapidly increasing rents, caps on rent-allowance and an unwillingness among many landlords to accept rent allowance is forcing an increasing number of low-income households out of the housing market' Homelessness among families, said Dr Dáithí Downey,

Deputy Director of the Dublin Region Homeless Executive, is ‘bloody awful and about to get worse’ (Holland, 2014a).

The British Chancellor of the Exchequer, George Osborne, appears to be equally divorced from the realities confronting vulnerable families. ‘Britain is turning the corner’ he said, letting the ‘mounting evidence of recovery speak for itself’ (Brogan, 2013). This evidence will presumably not include the statistics on foodbank use in the UK released by the Trussell Trust for 2013-14 which show over 900,000 people in crisis receiving emergency food. This total represented a 163 percent increase on usage compared to the previous year with the number of new foodbanks (45 percent increase) unable to keep pace with demand (Trussell Trust, 2014b). These statistics suggest that the austerity-led response to the financial crisis in Britain, Ireland and most other European Union member states, which has combined cuts in government spending with welfare ‘reform’, has deepened the recession and placed more working families at risk of homelessness, poverty and food shortages. This view chimes with the assessment of recent International Monetary Fund (IMF) research ‘suggesting that it had significantly underestimated the damage European austerity would do to EU growth rates’ (2013). The next section describes how poverty in the north and south of Ireland has manifested itself through the use of foodbanks.

### **Foodbanks in north of Ireland**

In the north of Ireland, there was a dramatic leap in foodbank users from 1,987 in 2012-13 to 11,697 in 2013-14, with the number of foodbanks increasing from just one in 2011 to the current figure of fifteen (Trussell Trust, 2014a). More alarming still is the suggestion from Chris Mould, Chairman of the Trussell Trust, that these figures represent the tip of the iceberg as they don’t ‘include those helped by other emergency providers, those living in towns where there is no foodbank, people who are too ashamed to seek help or the large number of people who are only just coping by eating less and buying cheap food’. A survey conducted by the Trussell Trust and Netmums of 2,178 working families in March 2014 showed that: one in five working parents had to choose between paying an essential bill or

putting food on the table within the past year; 43 percent are ‘just about coping’ with balancing family budgets; and one in forty had used a foodbank, with 70 percent indicating that they would do so as a ‘last resort’ (Trussell Trust, 2014b).

Trussell Trust foodbanks operate on a referral basis where clients can receive vouchers from a frontline care professional. Each voucher can be redeemed for three days’ emergency food which can be accessed on three occasions. At the same time, clients are signposted to agencies that can provide more long-term solutions to their problems. The food is donated by schools, churches, businesses, individuals and through supermarket collections. There are now 423 foodbanks in the UK with two new foodbanks opening every week. They are sustained by 8,000 tonnes of donated food and staffed by 30,000 volunteers (<http://www.trusselltrust.org/stats>).

The north Belfast foodbank is attached to a church hall and staffed entirely by volunteers. It opens for two hours on a Tuesday and Thursday, offering three days’ emergency food to clients bearing vouchers. The food is donated mainly by churches and schools but is also supplied through special collection days at Tesco with shoppers asked to buy extra items as part of their weekly shop. They are given shopping lists of mostly durable items such as canned food, cereals and pasta which are collected by foodbank volunteers. The foodbank opened in August 2013 and by May 2014 had received over 1,000 users by May 2014. The main categories of ‘crisis’ are low income, benefit problems, domestic violence, sickness and debt. The largest category is ‘low income’ which represents people in low paid jobs unable to pay utility bills, cover food expenditure, mortgages and other items of essential household expenditure. The next largest category relates to benefit problems caused either by delays in receiving payments or changes to the benefit system. For example benefits can be withdrawn for failure to attend an appointment which would mean having to process a new claim and lose state support for several weeks. Clients are also categorised by ‘family type’ with the largest being ‘single’ (29 percent) followed by ‘family’ at 21

percent. Almost half of food recipients are children (494) which is unsurprising given Save the Children's (2014) estimate that the number of children living in poverty in Northern Ireland is 110,000.

### **Foodbanks in the south of Ireland**

The main distributor of food through foodbanks in the south of Ireland is the charity Crosscare based in Dublin. Crosscare has operated a food distribution warehouse since 1989, supplying food to charities such as St. Vincent de Paul, Dublin Simon, Focus Ireland and its own centres for the homeless (<http://www.crosscare.ie/>). Given the worsening economic situation in Ireland and increasing demand for emergency food aid, Crosscare established four new community foodbanks in Blanchardstown, Bray, Swords and Tallaght. Crosscare estimates that sixty families per week receive support from each foodbank and so has plans to open foodbanks in Carlow and Cork. In 2013, Crosscare distributed 450 tonnes of reallocated food providing over 180,000 meals based on the calculation that one tonne supplies 400 meals (Crosscare 2013). This surplus food is supplied by manufacturers, retailers and distributors and much of it is normally used as animal feed by pig farmers and has been diverted to families in need.

Additional providers of emergency food aid in the south of Ireland include Twist Soup Kitchen Ireland which has opened premises in Athlone, Galway, Roscommon, Sligo and Tuam collectively feeding 300 people daily (<http://www.twistsoupkitchen.org/>). The Capuchin Day Centre run by the Franciscan Order provides nearly 600 meals a day six days a week as well as distributing 1,200 food parcels weekly (<http://www.capuchinfranciscans.ie/>). The food poverty charity, Healthy Food for All, estimates that one in ten people are living in food poverty in Ireland, which is defined as 'the inability to have an adequate and nutritious diet due to issues of affordability and access to food with related impacts on health, culture and social participation' (<http://healthyfoodforall.com/food-poverty/>). A common message beating out from all of these charities and community groups is that the pressure on their services is growing as the economic recession deepens.

## **Explaining demand for foodbanks**

The Trussell Trust and other emergency food providers identify several factors that have explained the spike in foodbank use. These include: static incomes, rising cost of living costs, low pay, under-employment and problems with benefits. The latter is particularly prominent in the UK due to changes in the welfare system such as the ‘Bedroom Tax’. The Trussell Trust, (2014c) has found that ‘83 percent of foodbanks surveyed reported that benefits sanctions, which have become increasingly harsh, have caused more people to be referred to them for emergency food in the last year’. Another important factor in explaining foodbank use are food prices. A report from Advice NI (2013) found that ‘households in Northern Ireland came the closest to any UK region to spending 10% of their income on food with an average of 9.8%’ with the annual household bill in 2012 ‘joint-highest with London at £3,201’.

At a macro level, the decline in living standards and weakening of social protections has been closely linked to the austerity programmes implemented by Ireland, the UK and many of their European partners. Oxfam’s report, *A Cautionary Tale* (2013) has likened these measures to the disastrous structural adjustment programmes imposed on countries across the global South in the 1980s and 90s. Significantly, many of these countries, particularly in Latin America, have turned their faces away from the ‘slash and burn’ economics of the IMF and World Bank toward more interventionist programmes informed by social need rather than profits.

## **Development educators and foodbanks**

Foodbanks represent an important element in the narrative of contemporary poverty and development educators should take notice for the following reasons. First, the rise of foodbanks signals an increasing derogation by government to civil society of responsibility for the welfare of the poor in both Britain and Ireland to civil society. Rather than interceding on behalf of those on the front line of the recession, governments seem content to allow civil society organisations to take the lead in providing emergency care. This creates a dangerous dependence on emergency aid and often denies full



citizenship to those wrestling with day-to-day survival who are unable to address the fundamental causes of their inequality. As Amnesty International suggests: ‘people living in poverty have the least access to power to shape the policies of poverty and are frequently denied effective remedies for violations of their rights’ (n.d.).

Second, if foodbanks become increasingly institutionalised and woven into community life we may simply manage the problem of food shortages rather than address the deeper structural causes of economic injustice which give rise to these shortages. To remove the need for foodbanks we should change economic trajectory away from the downsizing of government and withdrawal of welfarism. Since the onset of neoliberalism in the 1980s we have seen the gradual removal of the social and economic safety nets that characterised the post-war Keynesian consensus of a more mixed economy that was based on the need for social constraints on market excesses. Third, foodbanks have an intrinsic social stigma linking users to poverty, social under-achievement and economic dependence. The Trussell Trust has suggested that most clients use their services reluctantly and many more refuse help because of the stigma attached to foodbank use. And yet we know that many foodbank users are hard-working, have paid jobs and struggling to manage in these recessionary times. Just as we reject and challenge the stereotyping of the poor in the global South so development educators should reject media profiling of foodbank users as scroungers, skivers or freeloaders (Daily Mail, 2014). Moreover, we should connect the economic factors such as neoliberalism, debt and cuts in public services that create poverty in the global North and South to our development education practice (Ni Chasaide, 2012).

The rising use of foodbanks should be a wake-up call for governments as both contradicting the dominant narrative that the worst of the recession is behind us and pointing to a swelling of the ranks of the poor. Foodbanks are used reluctantly by the majority of users in times of real distress and probably signify a deeper and more widespread level of need that will become more manifest going forward. Development educators should

consider closely the implications of foodbanks as signifiers of government divestment of responsibility for social welfare and a ready willingness to pass on to civil society the cost of emergency food aid in times of distress and need. Foodbanks are further evidence, on the back of the financial crisis, that the neoliberal economic model is failing us and that austerity-driven solutions are exacerbating poverty levels.

Investigations by development educators into the increasingly prominent place of foodbanks in our communities should begin with the following questions: why should citizens in ‘developed’ societies such as Britain and Ireland need recourse to charitable food aid? How can we fashion debate on foodbanks within the wider global context of food shortages in the global South? How can we challenge the stereotyping of the poor forced to the point of food aid having been cut adrift by government? And how do we demystify government and media messages on the economy that fail to square with the lived reality of so many citizens?

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# Resource reviews

## *YOU, ME AND DIVERSITY: PICTUREBOOKS FOR TEACHING DEVELOPMENT AND INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION*

Anne M. Dolan (2014) *You, Me and Diversity: Picturebooks for teaching development and intercultural education*, London: Trentham Books.

### **Review by Marie Moriarty**

Traditionally picture books have been viewed as literary and visual fodder for children aged seven-and-under, and have long graced the shelves of early childhood education classrooms and the children's section of the local library. Bader defined the picturebook genre as an art form that 'hinges on the interdependence of pictures and words, on the simultaneous display of two facing pages, and on the drama of the turning page' (1976: 1). From a literary perspective, picturebooks have long been valued because of their ability to expand children's vocabulary, sentence structures and extend their sense of the world around them (Purcell-Gates, 1988). Whilst the richness and uniqueness of this literary genre lies in the interplay between illustration and text, many teachers focus on the text rather than the images. Arizpe and Styles caution against this very superficial interrogation of the text and underline the importance of teaching students to deconstruct the illustrations. They suggest 'children can become more visually literate and operate at a much higher level if they are taught how to look' (2003: 249). Additionally research on multiliteracies (New London Group, 1996) has demonstrated the disjuncture that currently exists between literacy valued in schools and the current peripheral positioning of multicultural and global literacies.

*You, Me and Diversity* is a response to this current gap in educational practice. Dolan makes a very convincing case for the central place that the picturebook genre should occupy throughout the entire age-range of the primary curriculum to help children and teachers understand and read the world critically, empathically and independently. Dolan argues that

picturebooks ‘can bridge the gap between geographically distant places and the lives of children in the classroom’ (2004: 3). This very accessible book is aimed at student teachers and existing primary school practitioners who are interested in creating a culturally diverse classroom and incorporating development and intercultural perspectives through the genre of picturebooks.

Even if the teacher is a complete novice when it comes to development and intercultural education they need not fear as Dolan takes them on a comprehensive and well researched journey of discovery. Structured into eight chapters, Dolan commences by offering a detailed rationale for the book. In the first section the picturebook genre is defined and critiqued. Whilst acknowledging the limitations of the genre such as Marriott’s (2002) criticism that mediated experiences can hinder a realistic and appropriate appreciation of the natural world, Dolan convincingly highlights the myriad benefits picturebooks can afford to the primary teacher who wishes to promote critical thinking and strives to bring the world into the classroom in a creative, imaginative and thought provoking way. Dolan expertly and succinctly explores the definitions, values and concepts of multicultural, intercultural and development education in the context of culture and culturally responsive teaching. This forms the foundation for Dolan’s vision of the culturally diverse classroom, a space where teachers can maximise opportunities for promoting intercultural understanding through enquiry-based learning.

Research conducted by the United Literacy Agency in 2007 revealed that despite the plethora of excellent picturebooks currently available, many teachers are unaware of what is out there. Teachers lack confidence in selecting contemporary literature for their students and they tend to rely and use books based on what they enjoyed in their own childhood (Cremin et al., 2008). As a result children are being denied access to excellent picturebooks that cover a very broad range of social themes. To address the importance of which picturebooks to select before moving on to the next stage of how to use them, Dolan offers the practitioner clear criteria

for assessing multicultural literature. In the appendices Dolan has compiled a list of available picturebooks organised into target age ranges that will assist teachers to start building a curriculum framework. A comprehensive resource section is also provided to assist school librarians, teachers and student teachers in keeping up to date with recently published high-quality picturebooks. The many resources identified include websites, YouTube clips, blogs and book awards for children's literature.

If the purpose of development education is to prepare learners to participate effectively in society, both locally and globally, with the purpose of inspiring them to bring about positive change for a more just and equal world (Fielder, 2008) then critical thinking is vital. The latter section of Dolan's book thus advocates the use of critical literacy in the classroom and a curriculum framework is offered to the teacher to allow students to critically 'read the world' (Freire and Macedo, 1987) as effectively as possible. Through a range of selected picturebooks, Dolan presents the reader with a detailed application of her curriculum framework and demonstrates how the core concepts of respect, understanding and action can be taught to address a number of development and intercultural themes such as contemporary events, gender, climate change, and displacement/refugee children.

As Dolan rightly states, 'multicultural literature is no longer an option – it is a necessity' (2014: 3) and her book makes a significant contribution to current practice. It is an essential toolkit for teachers who will feel equipped and confident to select and use picturebooks effectively to examine complex global issues in a fun and creative manner in the primary classroom. It will enable teachers to design activities that move beyond the realm of mere description and maximise on the ingenuity of this genre to encourage their students to think deeper, analyse and evaluate the world around them to make a positive contribution in society as responsible citizens.

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## ***DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION IN POLICY AND PRACTICE***

Stephen McCloskey (ed.) *Development Education in Policy and Practice*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

### **Review by Anne M. Dolan**

*Development Education in Policy and Practice* is a new publication which analyses the growth of global/development education in recent decades. It provides the reader with a critical overview of the nature and historical journey of development education. Edited by Stephen McCloskey, director of the Centre for Global Education, the book is informed by ideas and theories from the Centre's journal *Policy and Practice: A Development Education Review*.

Development education is a radical pedagogy which addresses structural causes of poverty, injustice and inequality in our world today. Strongly centred on the global South, development education focuses on empowerment of the learner, groups and society to take action towards social change. Development education provides a space for reflection and this publication argues that development education has an important role to play in interpreting different paradigms of development. The landscape of development education has undergone significant changes in recent decades and as one person who has witnessed many of these changes, I have found this publication thought provoking, challenging and inspiring.

In 1996, two development education non-governmental organisations (NGOs), the Development Education Centre, Birmingham and 80:20 Educating and Acting for a Better World established the Development Education Commission with the core objective of reviewing the state of development education and human rights education in Britain and Ireland. It set about doing this within a 'two-islands approach' i.e. by embracing the experiences of Britain and Ireland comparatively. Almost twenty years later this publication illustrates how development education has evolved both in policy and practice both within and beyond 'the two islands'. It is a

testimony to former and current advocates of this radical educational ideology. Written by a range of development education experts and practitioners from the formal and non-formal education sectors, the book provides a critical overview of the opportunities and challenges facing development education.

Together with a foreword written by Helmuth Hartmeyer the book is divided into four sections. Stephen McCloskey's opening chapters expertly sets the scene by providing the reader with a comprehensive overview of development education. Setting development education in a Freirean context, he documents the evolving nature of development education from the margins to the mainstream. Section One *Soft versus Critical Development Education* interrogates development education and its critical dimension (or lack thereof). Andreotti's chapter illustrates the implicit and explicit differences between 'soft' and 'critical' global citizenship education with a helpful table (28-29). She reminds the reader of the importance of critical literacy, critical citizenship and the inherent concepts of power, voice and difference which need to be addressed unequivocally. She argues that much of the development education discourse in schools falls within the realm of 'soft' citizenship.

Bryan's chapter builds upon this thesis illustrating it with evidence from the post primary education sector whereby she conducted an analysis of text books used for Religious Education (RE) and Civic Social and Political Education (CSPE). Her study highlights the prevalence of the 'personally responsible' and 'soft version' of global citizenship education. This she argues 'reflects the encroachment of neoliberalism in all spheres of life – including education (41). In line with Andreotti's chapter she also argues for the need for reflexive engagement with notions of power, injustice and oppression and the political dimensions of inequality. Bourn's chapter provides a further analysis of development education in schools and further education whereby he produces various typologies ranging from awareness raising to critical global pedagogy. Arguing that all approaches have value, he suggests that one needs to understand the wider context within which

development education takes place including philosophical approaches, school ethos and educational goals. Tormey's chapter explores social, and political philosophical notions of critical thinking and argues that much can be gained from adding insights from the discipline of psychology.

Section two explores developments within various sectors. Adams describes the distinctive nature of global youth work while Waldron addresses the challenges and opportunities of incorporating development education in initial teacher education. Khoo's chapter argues that research and its inherent relationship to development education need to be re-imagined in the interests of potential mutual reciprocity. She states 'some of the most interesting and inspiring examples of critical global pedagogy in practice come from movements for direct democracy in the global South which reposition education centrally in a broader reclamation of politics (135).

Section three examines the relationship between development education and sustainable development with Selby and Kagawa's chapter querying the nature of this relationship and Strachan's chapter examining development education in the context of climate change. Both of these chapters highlight the radical need for a shift in neoliberal practices in the context of the current ecological crises.

Section four discusses new development paradigms from the global South. Kirby's chapter situated in the current global financial crisis critiques our current practices in capitalism which 'have become decoupled from the productive economy' (117). Education he argues has also been complicit as it has failed to provide a critical space to nurture a new social paradigm. He explores some of the tensions and contradictions inherent in new paradigms and draws upon experiences from Latin America. Ronaldo Munck's chapter also draws heavily on Latin America arguing that we need to 'bring politics back in' and he calls for an understanding of Latin American's capitalist development including its inherent contradictions.

Kapoor's chapter examines lessons from development education from subaltern social movements in rural India and their critique of New Social Movements (NSMs) in the global North. Dorothy Grace Guerrero's deglobalisation is provided as an alternative to neoliberalism. Championed by Focus on the Global South it highlights the importance of social, economic, gender and climate justice. Its goals prioritise local needs, sustainable energy production, public transport and peace.

Section five examines the shifting policy landscape for development education. McCann's chapter demonstrates how development education has become mainstreamed into EU policy due to the persistent lobbying of the DE sector. Waituru provides an analysis of the kind of global development framework needed post-2015, the deadline for achieving the Millennium Development Goals. McCloskey's final chapter proposes four possible responses for development education to the financial crisis and he honestly acknowledges some of the limitations of development education to date.

In the current global crisis the glamour of neoliberalism has receded and poverty is an issue for both the global North and South. The global and local crises of finance capital illustrate the contradictions inherent in abdicated responsibility to the capitalist market. For many years development education has constantly challenged the dominant paradigm of neoliberalism and capitalism particularly in the context of an unequal distribution of global resources, environmental issues such as climate change and the implications of an evolving energy crisis. While there is absolute consensus in the book about the need for an alternative development paradigm to neoliberalism, more specifics about the alternative would be welcome. Consumerism, capitalism and neoliberalism continue to inform policies in Ireland and elsewhere even after the shock of the financial crisis. Peterson, Peterson and Liu (2013: 3) describe a situation where we have a global housing bomb due to our addiction to housing. According to the authors, 'the growth in housing numbers is faster than the increase in population in virtually every nation, irrespective of a nation's development status. If the global number of households per capita eventually stabilises at

the current number in developed nations (0.4, or 2.5 people per household), 1 billion new households, would be needed even with no additional population growth'. The implications of this projected growth in terms of consumerism and energy costs are self-evident. Hence, the need for specific visions for the future is all the more important.

*Development Education in Policy and Practice* is an essential reader for those interested in development issues generally and in development education in particular. The book is also of interest to groups and individuals involved in related areas such as human rights, peace education, education for sustainability, citizenship and global learning. Aid agencies, non-governmental development groups, researchers, educationists and individual advocates of justice and human rights perspectives are also urged to read this publication. The chapters together with accompanying lists of references provide multiple perspectives on development education. I strongly recommend this book as a reader for graduate and postgraduate courses on development education or related areas.

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## ***BELOVED LAND: STORIES, STRUGGLES AND SECRETS FROM TIMOR-LESTE***

Gordon Peake (2013, reprinted 2014) *Beloved Land: Stories, Struggles and Secrets from Timor-Leste*, Brunswick, Australia: Scribe Publications.

### **Review by Paul Hainsworth**

Gordon Peake's travelogue-cum-national soul searching of Timor-Leste is a remarkable achievement. It draws upon the author's recent few years living and working in the territory and, in part, examines his experiences therein through the lens of his native Northern Ireland. The headline title 'Beloved Land' is a heartfelt reference from the Timorese people to their own country, and the author appropriates it sympathetically whilst telling the tale(s) of this much-troubled nation. It is not that the author does not find things to criticise and find fault with in the Timor-Leste nation and psyche, but he nonetheless embraces the territory and its people wholeheartedly, warts and all, based on his interactions in the capital city, Dili, and beyond. Indeed, geographically, the narrative takes the reader from the country itself – occupied and liberated – to neighbouring West Timor, to the detached East Timorese enclave of Oecusse (located on the 'blank half of a map' [111] inside Indonesian ruled territory) and further afield to the diaspora of Timorese citizens living and working as migrant workers, over the past decade, in Dungannon, Northern Ireland.

The sub-title of the book accurately sums up the content in that the chapters deal with a variety of tales from Timor-Leste ranging from the historical and political context and the customs, culture and traditions of the territory to more contemporary issues such as the oil-dependency of the nascent state of Timor-Leste and (in Chapter 6 'A Land of Babel') its linguistic situation whereby Portuguese, Tetum, English and Indonesian feature as the competing and coexisting main languages of the Timorese people. Indeed, (in Chapter 7 'Learning the Language') the author spends some time explaining how he came to terms with learning how to speak the

lingo in his new-found home. Another theme that, unsurprisingly, runs through the book is the issue of dealing with the past and concomitant issues such as forgiveness, truth, conflict, and reconciliation within a society that is marked by a terrible history of colonial repression, killings, torture and impunity under Indonesian rule from 1975-1999. In this context, Peake relates a fascinating personal odyssey of crossing the border into Indonesia – Chapter 5 ‘The Other Side of the Border’ – in order to interview infamous, anti-independence, militia men and ask them about their activities in the heady days of the East Timorese voting, in a referendum overwhelmingly, for an independent nation-state in 1999.

Timor-Leste, of course, is a relatively new nation-state – barely a decade old after winning its independence after a quarter of a century of repressive control by the Republic of Indonesia, which itself followed centuries of Portuguese colonialism. The early part of Peake’s book, notably Chapter 1, focuses on the Portuguese legacy and much of the rest of it draws upon the post-referendum Timor-Leste. One of the most illuminating and revealing chapters – Chapter 3 ‘Down from the Mountains’ – tells of how the resistance movement, spearheaded by the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Timor-Leste (FALANTIL), came down from their positions on high and whose leader, Xanana Gusmão, became the President and later the Prime Minister of the new nation. The chapter relates the problems of demobilisation and resistance fighters adjusting to a new post-conflict scenario, which itself was interrupted by serious unrest and rioting in Dili in 2006, that subsequently ended in prime ministerial resignation (of Mari Alkatiri) and subsequent attempts by discontented war veterans to assassinate President José Ramos-Horta, one of the legendary individuals in Timor-Leste’s struggle for independence, and the new Prime Minister and ex-president, Xanana Gusmão. This phase of ‘post-conflict’ Timor-Leste politics and civil unrest was messy, murky and somewhat perplexing. As Peake (71) suggests, in relation to it: ‘If this sounds confusing, it was.’ But the merit of his analysis here is that it is made much clearer and understood by the painstaking and detailed presentation by the author, who picks his way (for

us) through this key interlude phase of regress and uncertainty in Timor-Leste's evolution towards a more stable and resolved independent state.

Within virtually all the chapters, Peake is able to draw upon his contacts and communications with a wide range of interlocutors, who help to tell the stories of Timor-Leste and thereby make the book a good and informed read. Interviews with people, players at the centre of Timorese history, politics and society, are at the heart of the book and they serve to enrich the narrative greatly. They help to make the book a fascinating read and bring the narrative to life. As the author explains (4), 'For both Timorese and internationals, this is a story of intertwining personal histories, hope and despair, ambitions and frustrations, personal flaws and strengths, and, sometimes tremendous hubris and naïveté. At its core, this book is a story about people.' And for sure, the people interviewed are a very diverse constituency: presidents, politicians, and paramilitaries; journalists, migrant workers and non-governmental organisation (NGO) activists; and so on. Moreover, the interviews are enhanced greatly by the author's painstaking approach to them that consists of explaining in some depth the context and the setting behind the interviews.

The author's own experiences of upbringing in a conflict ridden society provide an interesting dimension to the book. Thus, in several places in the book, Peake suggests that the territory of Timor-Leste reminds him of his native Northern Ireland, and that this subjective correlation reinforces in a way his affection for the place and the people that he writes about. As Peake explains (9), 'I felt strangely at home in Timor-Leste almost from the first day I arrived. In many ways it reminded me of a hot and humid version of where I was brought up ... Even though I had travelled far I felt that I had never left home.' In this context, there are obvious commonalities that the author highlights: both entities are small, disputed territories, marked by conflict, border disputes, divided peoples and narratives, with common issues to the fore, such as dealing with the past, reconciliation, forgiveness and so on. Both territories are halves of islands and products of contested history and struggles. Religion too – notably Catholicism – is a marker of identity



and national belonging for the peoples of both territories and family is an important attribute and value therein.

These comparative themes provide an interesting dimension to the book and serve to widen the appeal of it to a larger audience. The Northern Ireland/Timor-Leste connection is particularly explored in Chapter 10 'Far from Home', wherein the author narrates the story of his visit 'back home' to meet with Timorese migrants in the mid-Ulster small towns of Dungannon and Portadown. Benefitting from Portuguese passports and hopeful of finding work, given the high unemployment and limited opportunities in contemporary Timor-Leste, many Timorese have come to these areas in Northern Ireland to achieve a better level of living for themselves and their families. The book provides some interesting material on the migrants' experiences in their new-found homes: their problems of housing overcrowding, social exclusion and racism, balanced though (for some) against their acquisition of much needed financial returns. One of Peake's interviewees here is the well-known political activist and former Westminster MP Bernadette McAliskey (possibly known still to some by her maiden name, Devlin) who, as the coordinator of the South Tyrone Employment Programme (STEP), explains her own experience of working with and on behalf of Timorese migrants. Interestingly, McAliskey had characteristically critical words of observation to say about the Timorese political officials who came from afar briefly to visit their citizens in Northern Ireland (231): 'Many of the Timorese politicians struck me as being as craven, pompous and self-interested as our own are nowadays!'

As an entity, the book is a difficult one to pin down and put on a dedicated library shelf – although, to be fair, this is not really necessary, nor intended. It is a mixture of things, a pot-pourri, by intention and by design: a travelogue; a personal odyssey; a historical-cum-cultural-cum socio-economic analysis; a book about nation-building, about family, tradition, language, social mores; and much more. If it misses out on one thing in particular, it is the absence of photographs – photos of the key characters and venues at the centre of the stories and travels that would have helped to put

faces and places to the stories and struggles. One or two more (enhanced) maps to add to the solitary basic one of the island of Timor would have been useful props for the reader too, especially for those unfamiliar with the lie of the land. But, overall, these are not too serious omissions from the book. Again, it is not specifically an academic research book (nor does it pretend to be one), but it does inform this realm and some useful sources are included at the end. As already intimated, it's a very personal and subjective contribution to understanding the nature of Timor-Leste and its people. Well-written and well-informed and positively received globally, it appeals to readers steeped in Timorese matters, but it should also whet the appetite and thirst for knowledge for the interested and inquisitive uninitiated. Indeed, already the book is into its second print – a veritable sign of successful uptake. A book of many parts, it is quite a unique offering that reaches the parts that some approximate competitors do not do so.

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