Policy & Practice
A Development Education Review

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CREATING NEW ECONOMIC PARADIGMS: THE ROLE OF DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION

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Introduction

Development education (DE) has always operated on the interface between the local and the global. The primary beneficiaries of DE practice are largely located in local education sectors, formal and informal, with the content of education programmes mostly focusing on global issues. However, recent discourse in development education has signalled a growing concern in the sector that practitioners should be questioning the development process at home as well as interrogating social justice and equality issues overseas. Mags Liddy, for instance, has suggested that:

> "[W]e as the development education sector need to think of the local connections in our messages. Much of the focus of development education remains on the global level, relating to Africa or Asia. While the global perspective is essential to development education, the local connections need to be named and strengthened" (2012: 5).

This shifting focus in development education thinking has undoubtedly been influenced by the global financial crisis in 2008 and the subsequent, spectacular collapse of the Irish 'Celtic Tiger' economy (*Irish Times*, 28 November 2010). Issue 12 of *Policy and Practice* questioned why the development non-governmental sector largely absented itself from the debate on Ireland's loss of economic sovereignty and failed to address the consequences of the International Monetary Fund's (IMF) role in brokering an €85billion loan to the Irish economy (McCloskey, 2011; Storey, 2011). Storey argued that development organisations missed an opportunity to bring their knowledge of structural adjustment in the global South to public awareness work in Ireland. He also suggested that they missed an opportunity to learn *from* the global South 'especially with respect to innovative strategies of resistance to economic austerity' (2010).

This issue of the journal aims to add to this debate on the local/global interface in DE and the sector's specific role in response to the current

economic downturn by considering the contribution that it can make in facilitating a public dialogue on alternative economic paradigms of development that are sustainable and equitable. The global financial crisis has shaken fundamental beliefs in the neoliberal model of growth that has been rampantly ascendant since the end of the Cold War. For example, the former Chair of the United States Federal Reserve, Alan Greenspan, admitted 'that he had put too much faith in the self-correcting power of free markets and had failed to anticipate the self-destructive power of wanton mortgage lending'. He added, 'I have found a flaw [in my ideology]. I don't know how permanent or significant it is. But I've been very distressed by that fact' (*New York Times*, 2008). If there are doubts in the efficacy of the neoliberal model from an ideologue at the heart of the financial system then, surely, now is the time to reflect upon alternative economic paradigms rather than contrive to resume 'business as usual'.

This article will consider the background to the Irish financial crisis and how the turmoil since 2008 has manifested itself in rising poverty levels and increasing social inequality in Ireland. It will assess the globally influenced interventions of the left in response to the crisis and outline how the articles in this issue of *Policy and Practice* contribute to the debate on creating alternatives to the neoliberal model of development.

Background to the Financial Crisis

From 1993 to 2007, Ireland was the international exemplar of economic success fuelled by corporate inward investment attracted by low tax rates and a well educated workforce producing commodities for exports in sunrise sectors like information technology (IT) and pharmaceuticals. As Kirby suggests, the boom years 'saw employment expand dramatically, and average living standards rise to some of the highest levels in the European Union' (2011: 1). Ireland had seemingly accomplished a dramatic transition from a closed, protectionist and stagnant economy in the post-independence period to an open, buoyant and liberalised economy in the 1990s (McCann, 2011). From the 1920s through to the boom years in the 1990s, Ireland experienced regular cycles of high unemployment and emigration with an economy largely dependent on agriculture and declining sunset industries like textiles. As McCabe suggests:

> "Up until the 1980s, cattle was to Ireland what the car industry was to Detroit and, although the Irish Free State gained partial independence in 1922, its economy, via the cattle industry, remained intertwined with that of the UK" (2011: 11).

From the 1950s onward, Ireland moved toward a strategy of attracting inward investment as a substitute for indigenous industry with a view toward broadening its export market beyond Britain. When Ireland joined the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1973 it became a more profitable destination for overseas corporations as a bridgehead into the expanding European market. But it was largely the strategic targeting of leading corporate players in high-technology sunrise industries by the Industrial Development Agency (IDA) Ireland in the 1980s that galvanised inward investment (MacSharry and White, 2000). The IDA provided an attractive package of incentives to corporations that included: a corporate tax rate of 12.5 percent which helped to undercut European rivals for investment; generous government grants for locating in Ireland; a well educated and English-speaking workforce which appealed to firms from the US, the source of most of the new investment; and the provision of new education programmes designed to train the skilled personnel needed by the new investors (Ibid).

However, even at the peak of the boom a critical literature emerged that challenged the sustainability and benefits of Ireland's new economic strategy (Allen, 2003; Kirby, 2002; O'Hearn, 1998). Kirby and Murphy identified three key weaknesses in the Celtic Tiger model. First, the approach to capital accumulation in the Irish model did not result from 'capabilities developed within the economy' but was rather based on adapting to the needs of corporate investors. State economic policy failed, therefore, to 'build resilient capacity in the Irish economy' and mostly supported capital accumulation by foreign firms which repatriated most of their profits. Second, the Celtic Tiger model generated weak links between the 'productive economy and investment in social services'. Although a lot of attention was drawn to increases in living standards and job opportunities, for many the boom years were characterised by 'increases in relative poverty and in inequality'. And a third weakness concerned the ineffectiveness of the Irish state in the area of welfare and regulation which saw priority given 'to the maximisation of competitiveness and profitability over investment in the welfare of society' (Kirby and Murphy, 2011: 75-77). These weaknesses in the Irish model contributed to the financial crisis that enveloped Ireland in 2008 and was triggered by an unravelling of the financial sector in the United States to which it was so intertwined.

The depth of the 2008 financial crisis in the US was revealed by the collapse of Lehman Brothers investment bank, one of the country's biggest financial institutions, which went into bankruptcy and was 'allowed to fail' by the Federal Reserve (*Business Spectator*, 2008). An investigation launched by

the US government into the causes of the 2008 crisis titled the *Financial Crisis Inquiry Commission* (FCIC, 2011) found evidence of:

> "widespread failures in financial regulation, dramatic breakdowns in corporate governance, excessive borrowing and risk-taking by households and Wall Street; policy makers who were ill-prepared for the crisis; and systemic breaches in accountability and ethics at all levels".

In a financial sector continually and obsessively consumed with placating and ensuring the wellbeing of 'the markets' which are often described in terms approximating the ethereal and treated accordingly with god-like reverence, the report was quite candid as to where the blame lay for the crisis:

> "The crisis was the result of human action and inaction, not of Mother Nature or computer models gone haywire. The captains of finance and the public stewards of our financial system ignored warnings and failed to question, understand, and manage evolving risks within a system essential to the well-being of the American public" (FCIC, 2011: xvii).

For development educators interpreting the events surrounding the crisis as part of their learning programmes, it is important to emphasise the human hand behind the financial collapse and the importance of asserting developmental needs over the financial sector rather than capital dictating the terms of human development. Within the neoliberal model of development, government intervention in the economy is minimised, public services privatised and regulation of the business sector reduced. It was mostly the deregulation of the US financial sector that resulted in the 2008 economic crisis and in turn created a contagion of instability in the global financial sector. Given Ireland's dependence on US corporate investment and trading in financial services, the crisis inevitably impacted severely on an Irish economy experiencing banking problems of its own. The next section considers how the crisis impacted on Ireland.

The Irish Financial Crisis

In identifying the key factors that underpinned the financial crisis in Ireland, McCabe suggests:

> "The State's role as a conduit for international finance; as a tax haven for both domestic and foreign enterprise; the promotion of construction and land speculation as entrepreneurship, and the

development of services to exporters rather than the development of actual exports – these were the deep-seated problems that exacerbated the crisis in Ireland" (2011: 163).

David Begg, General Secretary of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU), succinctly described Ireland's new economic position: 'we were the poster child for globalisation. Now we are the poster child for austerity' (*Guardian*, 27 November 2011). Ireland's newfound commitment to austerity followed a government agreement in 2010 with the International Monetary Fund and European Central Bank for an €85 billion loan to recapitalise its banks (*Irish Times*, 11 November 2010). This loan aroused enormous public anger both at the loss of economic sovereignty concomitant with such hefty dependence on international financial institutions and the belt-tightening expected from the tax payer to divert large sums of public money into repaying what was mostly private debt. Anglo Irish Bank, in particular, became synonymous with the casino capitalism that contributed to Ireland's economic collapse. Although rebranded the Irish Bank Resolution Corporation (IBRC), Anglo's debt looks set to become an enduring drain on the public finances with the Fine Gael-Labour coalition government elected in 2011 having recommitted the state to paying €3 billion a year for at least a decade to pay off the cost of the bank's collapse (*Irish Times*, 2 March 2012).

Unsurprisingly, Ireland's economic collapse has generated a publishing snowstorm of texts attempting to satisfy the public's anger and questions as to how a 'poster child' of neoliberalism could become the European Union's model of austerity. We have had books on: Fianna Fáil's role in the crisis as the dominant force in Irish politics since shortly after the civil war in the 1920s to 2011 (Leahy, 2009); the bankers and 'how they brought Ireland to its knees' (Ross, 2009); the 'wasters' described as those who 'squander your taxes on white elephant projects, international junkets and favours for their mates – and how they get away with it' (Ross and Webb, 2010); political and financial corruption (O'Toole, 2010); a book entirely on Anglo Irish Bank, subtitled 'inside the bank that broke Ireland' (Carswell, 2011); the crisis in an historical perspective (McCabe, 2011; McCann, 2011); and then texts taking a more rounded view of the future and suggesting how we might move forward into a different kind of Republic (Kirby and Murphy, 2011; O'Toole, 2010).

Despite the profound levels of political and economic mismanagement outlined by this burgeoning literature on Ireland's economic crisis, the biggest winner in the 2011 general election was Fine Gael, a centre-right party that

pledged to adhere to the Fianna Fáil programme of austerity and debt repayment. While Fine Gael has sought to renegotiate the terms of the loan from the IMF-ECB it did not offer, and has not delivered, a significantly divergent view of how to manage the crisis. Nor has the new government sought to steer the economy away from its dependence on investment from overseas firms. Indeed, the Tánasite (Deputy Prime Minister), Eamon Gilmore, has been determinedly warding off efforts by France and Germany to introduce tax co-ordination in the EU arguing that Ireland's position on corporation tax at 12.5 percent was 'soundly based' and 'we are determined to defend that position' (*Irish Times*, 20 January 2012).

The political and economic situation in Ireland post-election therefore remains markedly similar to that which prevailed under the last government. Consequently, the social welfare situation in Ireland continues to deteriorate and that is what we turn to in the next section.

Social and Economic Inequality

The European Anti-Poverty Network Ireland (EAPNI) found that even during the Celtic Tiger years 'the number of people experiencing poverty remained persistent' and the poverty gap has continued to widen as the recession has started to bite. A recent EAPNI document (February 2011) showed that the top 1 percent of the Irish population held 20 percent of the wealth, the top 2 percent controlled 30 percent and the top 5 percent disposed of 40 percent of private assets. This statistic is borne out by a report from Merrill Lynch, the wealth management division of Bank of America, which found that the number of millionaires in Ireland peaked at 20,400 in 2007, a figure which fell by more than 4,000 in 2008, but increased again to 18,100 in 2009 (*Irish Independent*, 22 June 2010).

The most commonly used measurement of income inequality in the European Union is the Gini Co-efficient which varies between 0 representing complete equality and 100, indicating complete inequality. In 2009, the Gini Co-efficient for Ireland was 29.9 percent which indicated greater levels of social inequality than experienced in Slovenia (23.4) and Slovakia (23.7). But perhaps a more worrying indicator of inequality in Ireland is the distribution of income within the country as measured by the income quintile share ratio. This indicator assesses the ratio of the total income received by the 20 percent of the country's population with the highest income against that received by the 20 percent with the lowest income. As with the Gini Co-efficient, the higher the ratio the greater is the level of income inequality in the country assessed (EAPNI 2012). In 2010, Ireland had a quintile share ratio of 5.3 percent, which is: in

the top five of the EU's twenty-seven states; higher than the EU average of 4.6 percent; and a marked increase on the total for 2009 at 4.2 percent – all indications of a trend toward greater income inequality as the recession and public expenditure cuts deepen (Eurostat, March 2012).

There is a similar narrative emerging from statistics on the percentage of people or households considered to be at risk of poverty when their income is less than the EU threshold which is set at 60 percent of median income. In Ireland in 2010, the percentage of 'people at risk of poverty or social exclusion' was 29.9 percent, which is well above the EU average of 20.4 percent and a marked increase on the 2007 figure of 23.1 percent (Ibid). A report from the Center for Economic and Social Rights (2012) has assessed how these statistics have translated into a weakening of social and economic rights in Ireland:

> "A poorly managed recession, followed by a series of austerity budgets characterized by retrogressive cuts to social spending and an aversion to tax increases have markedly undermined the rights to education, health, housing, work and an adequate standard of living. Poverty levels are rising fast, just as Ireland's already struggling health and education sectors are being stripped of their resources" (CESR, 2012: 4).

The report adds that 'the most vulnerable populations, such as women, children, Travellers, migrants, older persons and the disabled, are suffering the human rights impacts of the crisis disproportionately' (Ibid).

Another, more traditional indicator of social and economic inertia in Ireland is emigration and a total of 40,200 Irish citizens emigrated in the year to April 2011, a substantial increase on the figure for 2009-10 (27,700) and 2008-09 (18,400) (*Irish Times*, 29 December 2011). While the decision to emigrate can often be taken out of choice rather than necessity, the correlation between rising unemployment and emigration should not be ignored and, by the end of 2011, Irish unemployment stood at 14.4 percent, an increase of 30,200 (*Irish Times*, 12 December 2011). The next section considers some globally inspired interventions in the economic crisis in Ireland and around the world before proposing possible future interventions on the part of development education.

How the Global Influenced the Local

The wave of popular demonstrations and new social movements that have challenged the old authoritarian order of several states in North Africa and the Middle-East, dubbed the 'Arab Spring', have inspired popular responses to the

economic crisis in the global North. The most prominent and international of these responses is the Occupy Wall Street (OWS) movement which established a camp in Zuccotti Park in New York's Wall Street district to protest against the perceived greed and corruption in the banking sector, believed by the protestors to be a key factor underpining the financial crisis. The rallying call of the protestors is 'we are the 99% [of the population] that will no longer tolerate the greed and corruption of the 1%'. The connection with the Arab Spring is made explicit: 'We are using the revolutionary Arab Spring tactic to achieve our ends and encourage the use of nonviolence to maximize the safety of all participants' (Occupy Wall Street, March 2012).

Occupy Wall Street in turn inspired the organisation of similar camps in other parts of the US and Europe, including outside St Paul's Cathedral in London and in front of the Central Bank on Dame Street Dublin. In a speech to the Occupy Movement, the activist and author Naomi Klein said:

> "Only when you stay put can you grow roots. This is crucial. It is a fact of the information age that too many movements spring up like beautiful flowers but quickly die off. It's because they don't have roots. And they don't have long term plans for how they are going to sustain themselves. So when storms come, they get washed away" (*The Nation*, 6 October 2011).

Klein was possibly referring to previous mobilisations of the left like the World Social Forum which 'developed as a response of the growing international movement to neoliberal globalisation and the effects of neoliberal economic policies being pursued in most countries' (WSF India). The Forum was first held in Porto Alegre, Brazil in 2001 and although the venue sometimes moved to other cities, it was always held in the global South. Although it generated thoughtful actions and meaningful learning, the Forum was annually timebound to five or six days and had obvious limitations as a vehicle for challenging globalisation.

The Occupy movement by contrast attempted to organise permanent camps to support awareness raising activities like marches, leafleting, non-violent direct actions and lectures. However, when the storms came the camps were washed away in Zuccotti Park, St. Paul's and at Dame Street as official state authorities in each jurisdiction removed the protestors. At Dame Street just twenty people remained in the camp (*Irish Times*, 17 March 2012) when it was dismantled, raising questions as to its capacity to become a means toward the kind of mobilisation and change needed in response to Ireland's widening

poverty gap. It suggests that rather than creating new communities, the best means of effecting meaningful and permanent change is within existing communities at the most acute end of neoliberal policies. Tactically, the Occupy movement was divided on this point – to build agency within the camp or move out into communities. It would seem that the latter strategy may have produced more meaningful outcomes. In either case, the apparent collapse of Occupy should provoke reflection and discussion on how best to create paradigm change outside mainstream political structures.

Ireland's Debt Crisis

Another local response to Ireland's new economic reality was a debt audit inspired by the practice of Ecuador which established a Debt Audit Commission in 2007 and subsequently allowed the government to write down its debt substantially in 2008 (Jubilee Debt Campaign, September 2007). In September 2011, the University of Limerick published *An Audit of Irish Debt* (Garvey, Killian and Shaw) that set out to quantify the scale of Irish debt 'for which the Irish state has direct or indirect liability' (Ibid: i). The audit's overall conclusion was that:

> "[T]he bulk of Irish government debt has arisen directly from the banking crisis, the decision in September 2008 to rescue all of the Irish banks, and the subsequent ELG (Eligible Liabilities Guarantee) and ELA (Emergency Liquidity Assistance) operations" (Ibid: vi).

The audit described the issuing of promissory notes by the government to repay the debt of Anglo Irish Bank and Irish Nationwide Bank as a 'liability, similar to an IOU' (Ibid: v).

The audit subsequently informed the establishment of a campaign called Debt Justice Action (DJA) calling for the suspension of all further repayments of debt incurred by Anglo Irish and Irish Nationwide Building Society as a first step towards renegotiation and write down of this debt. The campaign estimates that repayments to Anglo Irish Bank could total €47.9 billion by 2031, a sum to be levied on the Irish taxpayer as a result of the government's blanket bank guarantee. The campaign argues that this debt was incurred on the back of reckless lending practices by private banks that fulfil no positive role in Irish society. Debt Justice Ireland calculates that 'Over 2% of GDP will be drained out of the State each year up to 2023 to make the promissory note repayments – this will be through an additional €3 billion to €4 billion of fiscal tightening' (Anglo: Not our Debt, 2012: 5).

The Debt Justice Action campaign has been supported by faith, community, development, human rights and academic organisations although, notably, there is limited support from leading trade unions and development agencies. While there is a compelling logic to the campaign's objectives and immense public concern at the ramifications of the bank guarantee for public services, many leading civil society organisations have hesitated to openly challenge the government's position on the promissory notes. This begs the obvious question as to why civil society is not seizing this opportunity to engage the public in an awareness raising exercise and advocacy campaign to write down the debt.

In reflecting on the role of civil society as an effective agency of change, Kirby and Murphy suggest that the practice of social partnership since the late 1980s has drawn state, business and social organisations into collaborative initiatives aimed at tackling acute social problems. However, some of those who have participated in these initiatives have grown frustrated with their limitations and lack of agency. Kirby and Murphy assess the effects of social partnership this way:

> "Twenty years of social partnership, therefore, have shown its success in facilitating, not the emergence of an activist civil society able to move public policy towards the achievements of its goals, but, rather, the taming of civil society, the severe restriction of its sphere of activity, the effective silencing of alternatives to the dominant neoliberal policy paradigm, and the development of a stultifying narrow consensus that has allowed elites to inflict severe damage on Irish society with few critical voices being raised" (2011: 38).

Given Ireland's current economic plight, the stakes for Irish society could hardly be higher and the need to find a voice never more urgent. The draining of the public purse to repay massive loans to insolvent banks which economics Professor Morgan Kelly suggests were 'purely conduits for property speculation' (*Guardian*, 24 January 2012) will blight Irish society for generations to come. In the next section we consider the role that development education can play in helping to mobilise civil society and fostering the emergence of new economic paradigms.

The Role of Development Education

A recent Trócaire report identifying future trends in international development suggested that 'Power and politics are central to the work of INGOs [international non-governmental organisations] at home and abroad' (2011: 63).

It added that INGOs 'need to engage more directly with the political implications of their work in the countries where they operate' (Ibid). This is particularly the case in Ireland where development organisations have been reluctant to engage with political issues in the domestic arena beyond the issue of overseas development aid. Similarly, development educators for the most part have been largely focused in their practice on international development issues rather than attempting to link the local to the global or vice versa. Yet, there are immense pedagogical benefits to be derived from linking the local to the global as Liddy suggests:

> "highlighting local and global links reinforces learning as this makes our learning applicable to our own context not just to different countries, and can make global connections across communities that go far beyond mere awareness raising" (2012: 5).

By using education to illuminate the global resonances in our local communities, development education can enable learners to understand more fully the international issues that influence all our lives. For example, it is difficult, if not impossible, to fully explain the financial crisis in Ireland without placing it in an international context and outlining the global economic forces that contributed to the country's economic demise.

Issue 12 of *Policy and Practice* posed the question: 'What are the implications of retaining a politically detached stance on crucial policy issues that the sector is ideally positioned to respond to?' (Bryan, 2011). The emergence of the Debt Justice Action campaign and completion of a debt audit suggest that there are development organisations and individuals in Ireland prepared to engage with domestic policy issues on which they have both credibility and expertise based on their work in the global South. Development educators have contributed to the public awareness raising work that has been part of the debt justice initiative. However, they now need to more formally engage in education activities that can enhance public economic literacy on the issues surrounding the debt crisis and provide a learning environment that can debate alternatives to the neoliberal model of development that has so clearly derailed the global economy.

One of the consequences of the global crisis has been a raised level of public knowledge and engagement with economic issues in Ireland. This can be augmented with development education courses, seminars, workshops and debates on economic models that are informed by practice in the global South and the needs of communities in Ireland. Development educators need to be

conversant in the needs of those who have been marginalised and disempowered by Ireland's recent economic trajectory. This means relating global issues to the realities of people's lives in local communities and agreeing new models of development rather than imposing solutions. This issue of *Policy and Practice* is offered as a contribution to the process of stimulating debate on how we navigate our way toward an economy governed by the needs of its people rather than the needs of capital.

Issue 14

The three Focus articles in this issue of *Policy and Practice* have distinctive yet complementary approaches to paradigm change in the local and global economy. As an author and academic who has written extensively on the Celtic Tiger, globalisation and Latin America, Peadar Kirby considers the readiness of education to address the challenges presented by the current crisis and the need for social transformation. He looks beyond the mainstream narrative of the crisis that limits its source to the recklessness of a deregulated banking sector to consider 'the deeper structural issues that the crisis reveals'. These issues include the role that our consumer society and personal indebtedness played in causing the crisis, something largely ignored by the reform agendas in the countries affected. They also include the role of energy in 'creating the model of financial and highly indebted capitalism' that helped spark the current crisis. Rising oil prices are set to pose policy-makers with the unpalatable decision to either 'reduce the amount of money in circulation to maintain its energy-purchasing power or else reduce dependence on oil-based energy'. Either way, this analysis challenges the assumption 'that things are going to return to a state of continuing improvement before too long'.

Kirby discusses the limitations to paradigm change within our mainstream education system:

> "[B]y and large, our forms of education are failing society as they remain far too subservient to the dominant paradigm and therefore are unable to provide the critical space to begin incubating a new social paradigm."

And yet he believes that education 'has always produced challenges to the dominant orthodoxies and been a space for inculcating alternatives to the "common sense" of the era'. A region that appears to have succeeded in this regard is Latin America where governments have come to power committed to paradigm change and education has contributed to this process. The article considers some of the tensions that have emerged in the process of contested

power between new paradigms and the old neoliberal model, particularly in the 'relationship between human activities and environmental sustainability'. The article concludes by challenging development education 'to expand its horizons and become a space for debate and new thinking' as we consider the paradigm options confronting Irish society.

The second Focus article, by Nessa Ní Chasaide, the Director of Debt and Development Coalition Ireland (DDCI), reflects on how her organisation responded to the reality of Ireland's new status as a highly indebted country that had fallen into the clutches of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). While DDCI had hitherto focused on debt justice issues in the global South, the article describes how the organisation felt that it could not retain credibility in educating people in Ireland on Southern debt issues without taking a position on Ireland's debt crisis. However, the decision was not taken before consultation with DDCI's members on this shift in the organisation's remit or before it helped commission an independent audit of Irish debt. The audit's findings outlined the extent of Ireland's financial liabilities arising from the debt crisis and questioned its legitimacy, prompting DDCI members to endorse the organisation's engagement in education and campaigning on Ireland's debt.

Importantly, DDCI has not abandoned its work on debt in the global South but has rather brought a Southern perspective into its development education work on Irish debt. This has included supporting the establishment of a new Debt Justice Action group to engage the public on Ireland's debt crisis based on lessons from the global South. Ní Chasaide suggests that DDCI's development education work on Irish debt 'has demonstrated that sharing lessons from the global South has resulted in important new working relationships between local and global justice groups, and in concrete education and campaigning actions in Ireland'.

The third Focus article discusses another important facet of the global economy, the power of transnational corporations which in some cases exceeds that of national governments. Andy Egan considers the extent to which development education organisations have addressed corporate power and practice in their learning activities. His article reflects on research with development education centres (DECs) and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) on their practice in this area and considers the opportunities and constraints for greater development education engagement. His research found that 'there is an absence of literature that explicitly considers the issue of corporate power within DE, and only a relatively small body of work that addresses the issue indirectly'. Egan's suggests that given the radical origins of

development education in the pedagogy of Paulo Freire and its commitment to social justice issues, the role of corporate power in our everyday lives should be part of its natural terrain. The article considers how and why controversial issues are sometimes mediated out of mainstream education practice and helpfully proposes a development education framework for critical literacy on corporate power to strengthen learning in this area.

Latin America is perhaps the one region at present from which we can draw both inspiration and learning given its engagement in paradigm change and contesting of the traditional neoliberal model of development. In her Perspectives article, Patricia Muñoz Cabrera reports on feminist alternatives to neoliberalism in Latin America under the auspices of Women in Development Europe (WIDE). Muñoz Cabrera presents eight case studies documenting the experiences of a diverse range of women's organisations across the continent. These case studies show how women have challenged the 'financialisation' of their economies that has exacerbated social polarisation and competition. The case studies have drawn inspiration from the *Buen Vivir* paradigm which 'is rooted in indigenous epistemology and bears a strong relation with the emancipatory struggles fought by indigenous peoples since the Spanish conquest'. The case studies will interest all development educators interested in exploring economic models that 'are based on values such as respect for nature, dialogue between cultures, and human dignity'.

The Irish development organisation, Comhlámh, has been actively engaged in development education activities for many years, particularly in the area of economic justice, which is the focus of a Perspectives article by Ruth Doggett and Fleachta Phelan, who work for Comhlámh in the area of policy, advocacy and education. The article argues that development education has a role to play in 'supporting people in Ireland to debate and discuss alternative economic paradigms, and to use our democratic voice and take action to bring about change'. In addition to debating the importance of trade justice the article outlines some forthcoming opportunities in the policy landscape both locally and globally for education and action. The article suggests that:

> "This policy environment clearly provides the development education sector with a role to support the making of local-global links, and joining the dots between public debates around economic approaches, policies and orthodoxies here in Ireland and those in the global South."

Linking the local and global is also a prominent theme of the Perspectives article by Alan Hayes and Eimear McNally which 'examines some challenges and opportunities that the Occupy movement by its very presence raises for us as development educators'. Development education shares with the Occupy a commitment to global learning, critical awareness, social justice and public action. The article asks if development educators could strengthen their practice by adopting the more linear approach to learning prevalent in the self-organising model used by Occupy? The article encourages new thinking in the light of the progressive social movements that have responded to the global financial crisis.

While the theme of this issue has been preoccupied with global connections of an economic nature, Anna Bernacka offers us a Perspectives article that focuses on cultural links mediated through the translation process. Her article suggests that 'rather than merely supplanting one form of words for another, the translator has the capacity to enhance our understanding of development issues and indigenous cultures by mediating ideas across cultural and national boundaries'. Using case studies from India and South Africa, Bernacka suggests how translation has brought wider understanding to 'rich indigenous cultures' and can play a positive unifying role between the global North and South.

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Focus

EDUCATING FOR PARADIGM CHANGE

Peadar Kirby

In this Focus article, **Peadar Kirby** examines the challenges for social change posed by the current financial crisis locally and internationally. The article particularly focuses on the deeper, underlying causes of the crisis while drawing attention to the kind of paradigm change which the crisis demands of us. He specifically considers the challenge to education provision posed by the crisis and considers its readiness to support the process of paradigm change. The article then discusses the emergence of the left in Latin America and the role of education and social movements in leading action for paradigm change. It concludes by debating the larger challenges of paradigm change that now confront us and the need for development education to become a space for debate and new thinking.

Introduction

Though we talk much in contemporary discourse about social change, in fact our culture is suffused with the most naïve notions about what this involves. We live in an era, very likely already at an end, in which our basic assumptions about change are evolutionary and optimistic: our horizon of expectation is that standards of material comfort and quality of life are going to improve for ourselves and for our children. When, as is currently the case, many face a decline in income and opportunity, there seems a generalised instinct to treat this as temporary and a presumption that things are going to return to a state of continuing improvement before too long. Indeed, many of the fundamental disagreements in public debate about today's crisis relate to how soon this is likely to happen and what means are most likely to bring it about. Development discourse, whether it relates to development theory and practice or to development education, is particularly prone to these evolutionary and optimistic assumptions, reflecting the optimism of the post-war era in which the development project was born.

This article takes issue with such assumptions through examining the challenges for social change raised by the contemporary financial crisis, both nationally in Ireland and internationally. It begins by drawing attention to some of the deeper features of the crisis, features often hidden in mainstream

analyses. In doing this, it draws attention to the nature of the paradigm change to which this crisis challenges us. In its second section, the article examines the role of education in addressing this challenge, asking how adequate are our forms of education for the transition to a new paradigm of society. Section three turns to Latin America where new left governments are leading action for paradigm change; examining the process that led to the emergence of the new left, the role of education is highlighted. However, this section also points to the tensions and contradictions that are increasingly evident as political leaders seek to lay the foundations of what some of them call '21st century socialism'. These tensions and contradictions, it is argued, raise questions about the nature of this new paradigm and, indeed, about our dominant notions of development. The final section focuses on the larger challenges of paradigm change that now confront us.

Crisis, what crisis?

The general reading of our contemporary crisis is that its origins lie in the financial sector, which, due to the deregulation of the Reagan and Thatcher era, was incentivised to indulge in ever more risky and complex speculative practices. The many bubbles through which it created wealth eventually exploded with severe effects on the wider productive economy, resulting in high levels of debt both public and private, high unemployment, austerity politics and economic recession. This was worst in those countries that went furthest in deregulating their financial sectors, Ireland being one of the very worst both in terms of the reckless behaviour of the banking sector (rivalled only by the actions of the banks in Iceland) and the extent of the reliance of the national economy on the housing sector.

As far as it goes, there is nothing wrong with this account; the problem is that it avoids the deeper structural issues that the crisis reveals, instead putting the blame on the excessive greed of bankers and the inaction of regulators. It therefore leads to the impression that with a tighter regulation of the financial sector, action to return the banks to a sustainable business model and a period of austerity to ensure the debt crisis is brought under control, society can soon return to growth and prosperity. This impression has, unfortunately, become widely accepted thereby deflecting attention from the deeper systemic causes of the crisis. In a deeper probing, the founding chairman of the UK's Financial Services Authority (FSA) and former director of the London School of Economics (LSE), Howard Davies, identified thirty-eight distinct causes of the financial crisis, among them the deep-seated inequality of contemporary capitalism and the unsustainable levels of personal indebtedness built up by many households as they tried to maintain high levels of

consumption while real incomes were declining over time. As Davies put it, 'the rich get richer – the poor borrow'.

He also draws attention to the weaknesses of the political system, unwilling to impose stricter conditions on financial practices as politicians were captive to a naïve belief in the benefits for society of extreme market freedom (Davies, 2010). This analysis therefore focuses on inherent features of today's dominant form of capitalism – the profound inequalities being generated by a free market system and the ways in which political authority has become deferential to the power of these markets (namely powerful economic corporations). Nothing in the reform agendas being implemented in Europe and North America promises to address these features; indeed, as the evolution of the euro crisis illustrates only too clearly, the needs of markets are taking precedence more and more over the needs of society.

Just a few years after the crisis struck, therefore, it is difficult not to conclude that the bulk of the reform effort is designed to salvage the very model of speculative financial capitalism that caused the crisis in the first place. This form of capitalism that became dominant from the 1970s onwards is based on a financial system that is to a large extent decoupled from the productive economy and, instead of making its money from productive investments that create jobs, goods and services, makes its money from highly complex financial instruments such as derivatives (which include futures, options and swops) traded by an array of new and often unregulated actors such as hedge funds and investment banks. It has been estimated that ninety percent of global financial transactions are now speculative and have nothing to do with productive investment (Castells, 2001). This has been made possible due to the application of the microchip to financial transactions, allowing instantaneous and real-time transfer of limitless amounts of money to anywhere in the world at virtually no cost. But also implicated, of course, are the political authorities who liberalised their financial systems, often under severe pressure from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), so as to facilitate these operations.

The other major feature of the crisis that is generally overlooked means that attempts to salvage the model of speculative financial capitalism, if successful, are likely to result in a future crisis the magnitude of which will dwarf what we are now living through. Few analysts of the crisis have examined the role of energy, either in creating the model of financial and highly indebted capitalism or in sparking the present crisis. The sociologist John Urry links inflation in the price of United States (US) housing in the 1990s to the declining price of oil and claims that house price inflation, which was around

2.5 times greater than increases in per-capita income at the time, was linked to the fact that the real price of oil was falling. This meant that households could afford to spend more on housing since they were saving on fuel costs. However, as petrol prices began dramatically to increase in the mid 2000s it brought the US housing boom to a shuddering halt as it 'tipped financially weak households over the brink' (Urry, 2011: 84). As Urry writes:

> "The house price reductions in far-flung suburbs were most marked where there were no alternatives to the car and hence there was the greatest dependence upon the price *and* the availability of petrol. Households were spending up to 30 per cent of their income on travel. House prices in commuter belts dropped very steeply, so much so that some suburbs came to be known as 'ghostburgs', full of 'For sale' signs. This generated a more general reduction in consumer spending, similar to 1990-1 during the first Gulf War, and it led to the escalating collapse of especially investment banks in the US and then around the world, as this house of financial cards came tumbling down" (Ibid: 85; emphasis in original).

As Urry concludes, 'the probable peaking of oil has *already* had major economic and social consequences that could be a harbinger of future catastrophes' (Ibid: 82; emphasis in original).

Richard Douthwaite's work on money and energy helps further elucidate this dimension of today's crisis and underlines just what a fundamental crisis it is. For him, the crux of our problem is that the relationship between energy and money has broken down. For example, gold was essentially an energy currency 'because the amount of gold produced in a year was determined by the cost of the energy it took to extract it', resulting in a 'neat natural balancing mechanism between the money supply and the amount of trading' (Douthwaite, 2010: 58). However, increasing energy prices (due to increased demand especially from countries like China and steady if not declining supply) has added new pressures to the value of money today that pose a dilemma for policy makers: either reduce the amount of money in circulation to maintain its energy-purchasing power or else reduce dependence on oil-based energy. Either option has major consequences for economic growth.

So most developed countries have resorted to debt as a way of paying for their energy needs, according to Douthwaite, who supplies figures to show that Ireland's debt tripled over five years and had the worst external debt per

$1,000 of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) among a range of Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries in 2006. With Greece and Spain, Ireland also had the biggest balance of payments deficit at the height of the boom in 2007. For Ireland, fuel costs rose from 2.26 per cent of GNP in 2001 to 4.17 per cent in 2008 thus accounting for more and more of the country's foreign exchange, whether borrowed or earned by the sale of exports. He concludes that 'without equitable, locally and regionally controllable monetary alternatives to provide flexibility, the inevitable transition to a lower-energy economy will be extraordinarily painful for thousands of ordinary communities and millions of ordinary people. Indeed, their transitions will almost certainly come about as a result of a chaotic collapse rather than a managed descent ...' (Douthwaite, 2010: 82).

Understanding the full nature of the crisis we are living through, and the many factors that impact upon it, is therefore vital if we are to find solutions that are socially just and equitable, and sustainable. It is clear that there are now at least two fundamental challenges to the dominant paradigm of development that has emerged from the industrial revolution 250 years ago and been implanted throughout the world in the nineteenth and especially the latter part of the twentieth century. One is the relationship between the political and economic systems and, in particular, the issue of which of them is dominant; the second is the role of cheap energy in fuelling a growth-based economy. How these link with the growth of a speculative financial form of capitalism that has built up enormous levels of debt particularly in those countries that are most intensively locked into this high-growth model, may be complex but it is certainly a central factor in the crisis. Our future as a global society therefore depends on recognising that it is our central paradigm of development that is in deep crisis and on moving to a new paradigm. It is this challenge that brings the role of education to the fore.

Challenges for Education

A central role for education has always been to socialise people into the dominant culture and development model, making these appear 'normal' and inculcating the disciplines to allow people to live within their constraints. Development education focused on socialisation into the worldview of the project of international development that emerged as a successor to the system of European colonialism after the end of the Second World War. This was essentially a project that purported to be attempting to help the majority of countries in Asia, Africa, the Caribbean, Latin America and the Pacific to 'catch up' with those countries that had developed more industrial economies and, based on this, societies that were deemed more 'modern'. In its more

progressive versions, development education brought issues of economic, social and cultural inequality to the fore and sought to ensure that processes of development benefited disadvantaged groups in society. However, both mainstream and progressive versions presumed a model of evolutionary economic growth that would eventually lift the majority out of poverty and offer a better standard of living to them.

Yet, education has never been wholly subservient to the society it served. It has always produced challenges to the dominant orthodoxies and been a space for inculcating alternatives to the 'common sense' of the era. Different eras have therefore posed different and varied challenges for educators. At a time when religious institutions dominated society, education was the space in which new ideas emerged often at great personal cost to those developing and teaching them. Similarly, it was educators who pioneered the methods of scientific enquiry that came to challenge the dominance of speculative philosophical approaches to the generation of knowledge. In more recent decades, educators have developed new social scientific approaches that have greatly deepened our knowledge of society and of processes of social change. All of these developments, though they emerged from the educational sector, went on to exercise major influence over public thinking and policy development. Education, therefore, as well as socialising people into dominant paradigms, is the space in which these paradigms have been challenged and new paradigms emerged. We can say that educators, being closely attuned to the intuitions and aspirations of emerging generations, are often the first to pick these up, deepen and systematise them, and seek to respond to them. And, of course, this is always done in an active and often very vibrant interchange between educators and their students. Education must always be essentially dialogical.

Paulo Freire is a towering example of such an educator. When I interviewed him in his apartment in São Paulo in the summer of 1980, he emphasised that many of those who purported to use his theories completely misunderstood them because they failed to realise that the objective was people's liberation rather than the correct implementation of Freirean theories as outlined in the books he wrote. 'I sometimes come across a praxis with the name "conscientisation" but which is really very manipulative', he told me. 'What I'm referring to are very paternalistic types of teaching activity. They might be called "conscientisation" but really they have nothing to do with it. They imply, despite how well-meaning those who use them might be, the preservation of the status quo, divorcing so-called poor people from the process of liberating themselves' (Kirby, 1988: 59). This is an essential insight which

can be applied to all education: what matters is nurturing people's curiosity and critical insight so that they become powerful and wise change makers in their own right, not the 'correct' communication of some previously defined body of knowledge. The former leads to paradigm change whereas the latter reinforces dominant paradigms.

Another major educator of the same generation as Freire is Thomas Berry. His analysis of education focuses on wider horizons than that of Freire but is similarly critical of its destructive effects. Education, for Berry, 'became more an external conditioning than an interior discipline, more a training in manipulative techniques' and functional to the imperatives of our scientific-technological age. 'The creators of the scientific-technological age had only minimal awareness of what they were doing. The industrial civilisation that came to dominate this period has required some centuries of functioning before its creative and destructive aspects could be revealed in any effective manner' (Berry, 1988: 94). We are now facing a transition from this manipulative age to establishing a new and more sustainable relationship with the biosphere on which our survival depends. This is the challenge for education today: 'Education must be a pervasive life experience. Yet formal education must be transformed so that it can provide an integrating context for the total life functioning', he writes, enabling people to understand 'the immense story of the universe' and especially their role in the next phase of that story (Ibid: 96-97). For Berry, therefore, the paradigm change that education has to assist, is a fundamental transition away from a narrow scientific-technological civilisation that is destroying the planet towards a wholly new and mutually nurturing relationship between the human venture and the rest of the biosphere. And, as he tellingly puts it: 'At such moments of cultural transformation, the educational process must go through a period of groping toward its new formal expression' (Ibid: 96).

If education is the space in which dominant paradigms are challenged and new ones nurtured, then the acute social, economic and cultural crisis through which we are passing raises central questions for educators. Where, in our extensive forms of organised education from the formal to the informal sector, do we find examples of liberatory education that challenge the dominant paradigm of change and create the conditions for exploring a new paradigm? For many working in the formal state sector, it is acutely depressing that, at the very time when education needs to explore new possibilities, it has been battered into complete subservience to the dominant neo-liberal, commercial paradigm that is the fundamental cause of the crisis. As Berry puts it, 'the university may be one of the principal supports of the pathology that is so

ruinous to the planet' (Berry, 1999: 76). And, it appears, the more acute the crisis gets the more determined are policy makers and educational managers to ensure that education serves no ends other than equipping students to succeed within this paradigm. The great fear is that we are educating young people for a world that is fast disappearing and failing to equip them with the critical thinking and practical skills to prepare them for a world of acute crisis and fundamental change.

While such a critique of education is shared by many educators, at least in the university sector, what is perhaps less widely appreciated is just how serious this crisis is. For not only is a new generation being denied an education to prepare them for the world they will live in, but society itself is being robbed of the space which is essential if it is to begin to face the fundamental challenges that now confront it. As outlined briefly in the previous section, we are amid the breakdown of a model of development based on high levels of debt but part of the reason for this debt is the increasing price of the model's principal source of energy, namely oil, which is beginning to run out. This, then, alerts us to the fact that things can never return to 'business as usual' simply because the era of cheap energy, on which our present model of development was built for the past 250 years, has come to an end. Added to that, is the related challenge that our energy-intensive model of development has emitted such high levels of greenhouse gases that it is altering the climate in very dangerous and unpredictable ways.

Predictably, in a technology obsessed society, our instinct is to seek solutions in technology while neglecting the social structures in which such technology is embedded; one obvious reason for this is that we would like to think we can adjust to the challenges we face without the wrenching change in values, lifestyle practices and social structures that will profoundly impact all our lives. It is very revealing that we like to think we live in a scientific age in which we make decisions, both private and public, on the best of evidence. However, when that evidence is screaming at us that we cannot go on living as we have done we bury our heads in the sand and live as if the evidence of peak oil and climate change did not exist. This predominant social response indicates the failure of education to provide the spaces in which these challenges can be discussed, their implications for how we organise our economies and societies critically and thoroughly examined, and responses generated. Yet, this is only being done on the margins and superficially; by and large, our forms of education are failing society as they remain far too subservient to the dominant paradigm and therefore are unable to provide the critical space to begin incubating a new social paradigm.

Lessons from Latin America

The one region of the world where paradigm change does seem to be taking place is Latin America. Contradicting all the presumptions of neo-liberal thinking, country after country began electing left-wing governments from the late 1990s onwards so that some ten countries are now ruled by the left, and countries like Venezuela, Bolivia and Ecuador are experimenting with what their presidents call a '21st century socialism'. While major debates are taking place among social scientists about just how significant are the changes taking place in the region, a consensus is beginning to emerge that this is not just a minor modification of the neo-liberal model that has been dominant in the region for three decades but that a fundamental change of model is taking place, even though the contours of the new emerging model are not yet clearly visible (Wylde, forthcoming).

What is important for the purposes of this article is to appreciate the process that resulted in governments coming to power committed to a change of paradigm and the role that education played in this process. Understanding the process draws attention to the importance of a mobilised citizenry, the emergence of which characterises Latin America like no other region in the world over recent decades. As political scientists Philip and Panizza acknowledge in their recent book on the new left, as the power of the military has waned, 'the importance of mass protests in shaping the outcome of institutional crisis has made mobilised civil society the new *moderating power* of Latin American politics' (Philip and Panizza, 2011: 41; emphasis in original). Yet, these authors fully appreciate that what is needed is far more than simply spontaneous protest in resistance to particular governmental actions; for civil society to be effective, it must be a permanent presence turning grievance into concrete and realisable political, economic and social demands that help to unite a wide cross-section of citizens. It is the ability of civil society to do this that marks out Latin America and that explains the rise of the new left throughout the region:

> "Underlying socio-economic factors and political opportunities are important but insufficient factors in explaining the resurgence of movements of mass protest. The social movements' new role cannot be properly understood without taking into consideration the collective action strategies, institutional environment and framing processes that made it possible for localized social movements to expand their political reach and to challenge the political order" (Ibid: 50).

Silva has offered the most detailed analysis of how this process happened over about two decades in Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador and Argentina, and why it did not succeed in Peru and Chile (though in both countries this now seems to be changing). This analysis focuses attention on what distinguishes these new movements from the labour movement, traditionally seen as the backbone of social protest:

> "People come together around a shared identity of place (village, indigenous community, working-class neighbourhood or *barrio*) intertwined with shared cultural and material concerns. Equally novel is the fact that these organizations joined streams of national mobilization and that their contentious action has significance beyond the locality" (Silva, 2009: 269).

In doing this, he adds, they challenged 'theories that argue that their heterogeneity and precarious livelihood strategies absolutely prevent the development of their associational, not to mention collective, power' (Ibid). What is clear therefore is that new forms of empowered action have emerged from the grassroots which have been able to find common cause in identifying neoliberalism as their common enemy, across the many class, ethnic, gender and ideological issues that inevitably divide them. In doing this, they have not followed any pre-set blueprint, indeed they have defied the accepted wisdom that such forms of empowered common action could not emerge from such heterogeneous sources.

What none of these analysts examine is the contribution of the practices derived from the work and influence of Paulo Freire on creating the conditions, particularly the empowered and socially aware consciousness, that is a necessary precondition for these movements to emerge. Yet, for anyone who has experienced at first hand the widespread impact of these practices throughout Latin America, this is an obvious dimension requiring attention. For Freire's work is oriented precisely towards fostering a consciousness that probes social reality to identify fundamental causes, that develops the ability to respond in a creative and novel way to the injustices identified, that links people and groups to each other in a broad horizontal awareness of common cause, and that fundamentally inculcates a deep sense that people have power and through this power fundamental change is possible. All of these are precisely the dimensions that are identified by political scientists as the surprising and novel features of the contestatory social movements that have so dramatically changed the political landscape of Latin America and led the world in challenging the dominant neo-liberal paradigm.

Yet, of course, these processes are also full of tensions as is inevitable in any process of contesting power. Central to these tensions in today's left-led countries in Latin America is just how far one goes in challenging the dominant neo-liberal paradigm. Essentially, one can identify two competing alternatives emerging. All agree on the need for more state direction of the economy, more social investment and more recognition of multiple identities, especially in countries with large populations of indigenous origin. However, where real differences are emerging is in the balance to be struck between economic development and environmental protection. Recent examples from Ecuador and Bolivia have highlighted these. In a forthcoming book, de la Torre highlights the differences that have emerged between the left-wing Ecuadorian government and indigenous and environmental groups over attitudes to mineral extraction: while the former sees this sector as providing jobs and economic development, the commitment of the latter to create a new relationship between humans, nature and development lead them to oppose the government's plans (de la Torre, forthcoming).

In Bolivia, while the left-wing government of Evo Morales has deep roots in the country's powerful indigenous movement, Schilling-Vacaflor and Vollrath conclude that 'the compatibility between extractivism and a *Vivir Bien* (living well) regime (including harmony between nature and society) has increasingly been questioned' and they give examples of standoffs between local communities and government agencies on these issues (Schilling-Vacaflor and Vollrath, forthcoming). The reference to *Vivir Bien* relates to the fact that the country's new Constitution declares this to be the primary aim of the state. What essentially we see emerging is a more fundamental paradigm clash between those sectors of the left who see their project as being a more socially just version of modern technological society and those who see the urgency of moving beyond that paradigm into a society based on a more balanced relationship between human activities and environmental sustainability.

Taking Paradigm Change Seriously

In essence, therefore, we face a challenge not just of paradigm change but of disputing, at a most fundamental level, how far that change must go. Indeed, this is what makes our age so unique. Our human civilisation has passed through a number of very wrenching changes of paradigm, going back to the early settled societies of Mesopotamia, central and southern Mexico and the Andes, and China. Most recently, we have moved from feudalism to capitalism and, within the latter, from a largely agrarian capitalism to an industrial capitalism. The principal challenge to the latter has come from the socialist tradition and, indeed, there was the claim for most of the twentieth century that

a new socialist paradigm was emerging in communist-ruled countries. The collapse of these countries and the promise that for some they embodied, resulted in the naïve belief that the era of paradigm change was at an end in Francis Fukuyama's famous 'end of history' claim. But what is unique about the present moment is not that our hubris led us for a brief moment to believe that paradigm change is no longer necessary but, rather, that our mental map of what kind of paradigm change is needed is in dispute.

The socialist tradition continues to provide a very telling critique of the inequalities that are a systemic part of capitalism and so to inform one set of principles to guide a transition to a new paradigm. Indeed, the collapse of 'real existing socialism' as it used to be called has given new life and creativity to that tradition, nowhere more evident than in Latin America. However, might such a new paradigm be enough? This is what is in dispute as some draw disquieting attention to the fundamental challenge to our industrial societies posed by peak oil and the ever more intensive emission of greenhouse gases that are changing our climate in ominous ways. For those who take this challenge seriously, what is urgently required is a far deeper paradigm change, to a steady-state economy using far lower levels of energy and achieving low-carbon ways of producing and consuming goods and services. As with any true paradigm change (such, for example, as the transition from the Roman Empire to the Middle Ages, or from subsistence agriculture to industrial society), the contours of the new society are only perceived in the faintest of ways.

Kirby and Murphy outlined the paradigm options that now face Irish society as a developmental social-democratic model or an ecological or ethical socialist model (Kirby and Murphy, 2011: 205-7) and they identified various sectors of civil society that espouse these models, though often only vaguely. However, as this paper has argued, what will be crucial in developing society's awareness of these options and what they entail, and in empowering society to act so as to move decisively towards paradigm change, will be the contribution of education. Development education is particularly challenged to rethink what development means in this new context and how to expand its horizons and become a space for debate and new thinking. Environmentalists also are challenged to move beyond what is often a narrow 'green' agenda to join debates about political economy models and how we move to a new paradigm in a constructive way. Fundamentally, we all need critically to examine the often optimistic and evolutionary assumptions we have about social change and to realise that paradigm change is a process of very fundamental struggle which more often than not involves great upheaval, destruction and violence. What can make the difference between collapse and transition is education; perhaps

never before have educators been more challenged to provide the spaces for society to grope towards a new future, to use Berry's telling and very accurate term.

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FROM DEBT AUDITS TO DEBT JUSTICE: DRAWING LESSONS FROM THE GLOBAL SOUTH IN DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION IN IRELAND

Nessa Ní Chasaide

Ireland's new status as a highly indebted country has fundamentally changed the context for development education work in Ireland on economic justice issues. This new context presents a set of challenges and opportunities to the development education organisations working on economic justice. The key challenge is one of maintaining relevance and credibility in Ireland, where people are suffering increased economic hardship, while educating people on the need for economic justice in the global South. The main opportunity presented by this new context is to engage with this moment in Ireland in a way that succeeds in linking learning and action for greater justice at home and in the wider world.

As an organisation primarily focused on the theme of debt injustice in the global South, Ireland's debt crisis presents this challenge and opportunity to Debt and Development Coalition Ireland (DDCI) in a particularly immediate way. This article sets out the steps which DDCI has undertaken to respond to this challenge and opportunity. This is in order to share DDCI's early experience with the development education sector of bridging the gap between local and global learning and action.

The Case of Debt and Development Coalition Ireland

Researchers and debt justice activists' work on debts of the countries of the global South have for some time highlighted the impending 'first world debt crisis'. This work warned that the mounting debt in the global North would lead to unsustainable debt levels, while also becoming a major cause of economic instability in the global South (Pettifor, 2006). However, mainstream public discourse, especially in the media, did not highlight this concern, not least because the Northern debt crisis had not been forecast by key financial overseers, including the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (Independent Evaluation Unit, IMF, 2011). However, when Ireland became a recipient of European Union (EU)-IMF loans in December 2010, members of the public and the media in Ireland began to actively compare the European debt crisis with experiences of debt crises around the world, such as Argentina and Ecuador, and sought to draw lessons from the global South. Principles of debt justice, long debated within the global debt justice movement, became part of mainstream public debate.

DDCI engaged with this new context in a range of ways that included producing and sharing analysis drawing lessons from the South. These steps were important in firstly, supporting DDCI to remain credible in a changing context in Ireland, and secondly in enabling DDCI to support a response from those sections of independent civil society in Ireland which did not have a public position on the problem. These steps are outlined below.

Learning about the Irish Debt Crisis

In December 2010, DDCI produced analysis comparing the debt policies applied by lenders in the Eurozone to those being applied in Southern countries (DDCI, 2010). The purpose of this work was two-fold. Firstly, to initiate a process of learning and debate among its members (faith-based, education and development organisations) that had previously only focused their education and campaigning energies on the debt problems of countries of the global South. And secondly, to support learning among other civil society groups, especially within the community sector, who represent the people in Ireland hardest hit by the debt crisis, but who organisationally had not previously worked on debt justice issues.

Through this analysis, DDCI identified three key policy issues that are central to its members' concerns regarding international debt justice, and that mirrored the concerns being raised about the debt problems of Southern countries: the scale of Ireland's debt; the impact of loan policy conditions on Irish society; and the legitimacy, or otherwise, of Ireland's debt. Drawing these analytical comparisons was an important educational process for DDCI members in order to fully recognise the relevance to Ireland of learning from Southern countries' experience of debt crises.

The next section deals briefly with the scale of Ireland's debt and the impact of loan policy conditions on Irish society, and then specifically focuses on the legitimacy question, which is the area of most interest to DDCI as a debt justice organisation. This is because the legitimacy question goes to the heart of issues of international responsibility in relation to the creation of unjust debts both in the global South and North.

Mirroring Issues with the global South

The Scale of the Debt

The increasing scale of the debts in countries of the global South is a core concern of the international debt justice movement. This is because the outflows of debt repayments continue to represent a massive expenditure for Southern states already facing major budgetary shortfalls. The continued high

debt distress levels of Southern states also points to a deeper problem of the multi-faceted nature of economic underdevelopment which is causing Southern states to continually run up high levels of sovereign and private debt. By 2008, the combined debt of borrowing Southern countries stood at US$2.85 trillion, up from US$1.3 trillion in 1990 (Eurodad, 2008). By 2011, Ireland's debt had actually surpassed that of the sovereign debt levels of many Southern countries. The IMF, using conservative measures, estimates that Ireland's debt will reach 115 per cent of gross domestic product (GDP) by 2012 (Taft, 2011). By comparison, the average public debt of Caribbean states combined is estimated at 108 per cent of GDP (Hurley, 2010). The comparison between Ireland and that Southern region is particularly striking, as Southern nations are currently of most concern to the IMF and United Nations (UN) in terms of their public debt distress levels (Ibid).

Loan Policy Conditions

The debt justice movement has carried out significant research on the impact of loan policy conditions promoted by the World Bank and IMF in Southern countries. The evidence from countries of the South is stark – that loan policy conditions have contributed to increased poverty and suffering among vulnerable groups, and have weakened the capacity of states to deliver public services for their people. This is due to high levels of privatisation of public services, and the erosion of accountability between governments and citizens due to the dominant influence of external lenders in policy-making processes (DDCI, 2010). The debt justice movement is therefore deeply concerned about the content of loan policy conditions and the way in which they are agreed between lenders and governments.

In December 2010, Ireland signed a Programme of Agreement with the EU-IMF lenders based on a wide set of loan policy conditions including cuts to social welfare, pensions, university grants, jobs in the public sector, among many others (Ibid: 20). Like people living in heavily indebted Southern countries, the Irish public are now facing the challenge of analysing the social and economic impact of the types of policy conditions attached to the Agreement. This includes analysing the processes through which the Irish government and its lenders arrived at an agreement on an economic plan for Ireland.

The Legitimacy of Debt

By 2011, as a result of massive and sustained campaigning around the world, US$122 billion of Southern debt was cancelled through multi-lateral agreements (World Bank and IMF, 2011). By agreeing to some debt cancellation, lenders

acknowledged that some Southern debt was not payable. However, they did not address the fact that lenders and borrowers had acted irresponsibly, and regularly in a knowingly exploitative manner. The global debt justice movement therefore worked to incorporate the concept of illegitimate debt into the international debt justice debate.

The concept builds on the idea of 'odious debts' developed by early 20th century law professor, Alexander Sack. Sack applied the argument to despotic regimes, and to loans that do not serve the people paying for them. Sack proposed four key points relating to odious loan contracts. First, a condition of legality of a loan is that 'it is employed for the needs and in the interests of the state'. Second, that odious debts fall with an (odious) regime and are not owed by successors. Third, that debts can be considered odious if they are used for personal rather than state purposes, and fourth, that creditors commit a hostile act when they make an odious loan (Hanlon, 2002).

The concept of 'illegitimate debt' or 'unjust debt' further developed the odious debt argument to apply to situations beyond despotic scenarios. The illegitimate debt concept captures a range of moral problems that have resulted from various types of irresponsible loans. The concept has been formulated drawing upon evidence-based experience of the large variety of recorded circumstances that have created failed loans. This evidence has revealed that these circumstances include: loans given to repressive regimes and/or to known corrupt officials; loans extended for dubious purposes and/or obviously useless projects; loans for damaging or overpriced projects; or those granted on unacceptable terms and conditions (See for example Christian Aid, 2007; Eurodad, 2007; Hanlon, 2002; Mandel, 2006). A review of concrete cases of illegitimate debts extended 'for development purposes' to Southern countries by the governments of Canada, France, Germany, Japan, Italy, United Kingdom (UK) and United States (USA) found that:

> "In many cases, these governments lent money to regimes they knew to be corrupt or repressive in order to buy political allegiance, or they were loans designed to help rich country companies do business abroad and development was never their original purpose. In still other cases, loans were provided at exorbitant interest rates. Under the current system, these debts must always be repaid and there is no consideration of whether these loans were responsibly extended by creditors or the funds responsibly used by debtors.... In national law...it is the responsibility of the creditor to exercise 'due diligence' when he/she extends a loan to an individual (for example a bank must

ensure that the client has a sound business plan or sufficient income with which to repay the loan)" (Eurodad, 2007: 3).

The Case of Ireland and Illegitimate Debt

It has been acknowledged by the Independent Commission of Investigation into the Banking Sector in Ireland, and the new governor of the Irish Central Bank, among others, that Ireland's sovereign debts are causing systemic economic instability in Ireland and that a range of actors , including the banks, the Financial Regulator, the Irish Central Bank, and the previous Irish government, including the Department of Finance, were involved in the irresponsible accumulation of unsustainable bank debt (Commission of Investigation, 2011). The Commission of Investigation also highlights a dangerous international erosion of credit standards, and a herd mentality between financial and public institutions and groupthink within them, reinforced by a widespread international faith in the efficiency of financial markets (Commission Of Investigation Into The Banking Sector In Ireland, 2011: i). Specifically, the Commission pointed to the lower credit standards adopted in Ireland and internationally and the 'speculative mania' in Ireland in the property market where 'even obvious warning signs went unheeded in the belief that the world had changed and that a stable economy was somehow automatically guaranteed' (Ibid). The Commission also termed external auditing companies who were responsible for monitoring the accounts of the banks that subsequently required emergency lending assistance, as 'silent observers' and public authorities as 'enablers' in creating the crisis.

Ireland's large debt is due to the socialisation of unpayable private debt by Irish banks. This socialisation happened as the Irish government decided to guarantee the deposits and senior bondholder debt of six pillar Irish banks, thus socialising commercial debts, meaning that people in Ireland were made responsible for repaying the bank debt for years to come . The social impact of this debt burden and the impact of the loan policy conditions accompanying international 'bailout' loans has been disastrous. Andy Storey argues that:

> "The social price being paid is catastrophic, not least because the austerity policies are sending the economy into a tailspin: national income is already down over 15% from its peak level. Unemployment stands at almost 15%, close to half a million people.... Emigration is estimated to be running at 40,000 per annum. The economy is mired in recession, with investment down from over €48 billion in each of 2006 and 2007 to a little over €18 billion in 2010. Bank loan

approval rates fell from 95% in 2007 to 55% in 2010.... Meanwhile, Irish banks, despite their newly cautious lending practices, are highly dependent on short-term loans of over €150 billion from the ECB and the Irish Central Bank as bank deposits have fallen steadily. If Ireland were to try and return to the private financial markets, it could probably only borrow at a very high rate of interest" (Storey, 2012).

The decisions that led to the socialisation of private debt, and the social impacts thereof have raised serious questions regarding the justice or legitimacy of Ireland's debts. From a debt justice perspective, the key question that arises is how responsibilities for dealing with this unjust debt could or should be shared fairly.

Co-responsibility of Failed Loans?

In sovereign debt crises, lenders currently function as judge and jury regarding whether a debt can or should be repaid. This is because there is no international legal mechanism to deal with unpayable or illegitimate sovereign debts. Lenders argue that debts should always be repaid without any shared responsibility when they prove difficult to pay or when the loan had a negative social impact. This is because lenders wish to ensure that repayments of debts are prioritised and that the rules of the lending – borrowing system are not undermined. A notable exception to this trend is the government of Norway which cancelled some US$80 million of debt owed to Norway by five Southern countries as a result of a Norwegian Ship Export Campaign (1976-80). The Norwegian government declared its 'shared responsibility' in creating a 'development policy failure' (Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2006) and called for the establishment of a United Nations (UN) taskforce on illegitimate debts (Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2009). This led to deepening discussions at the UN on the problem of illegitimate debt.

As a result, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) has initiated a programme called Responsible, Sovereign Lending and Borrowing which includes as a core part of its objectives, the development of guidelines and criteria for assessing the legitimacy of both past and future sovereign debts (UNCTAD, 2009). In December 2011, the UN Annual Resolution indicated that 'creditors and borrowers should share responsibility for the creation of unsustainable debt situations' in Southern countries (UN General Assembly, 17 October 2011). These official views in support of shared responsibilities have given rise to a focus on debt audits in countries of the global South. Debt audits have become important instruments

to ascertain the circumstances of loan agreements, the scale of the debt, the content of lending contracts, and the impacts of the use of loans.

Learning from the global South

Debt audits have been carried out by citizens groups in the global South such as in the Philippines. One national, government-led, debt audit has been carried out, by the government of Ecuador, the first government in the global South to establish a national debt audit commission to examine the scale, nature and legitimacy or otherwise of the country's debts contracted between the period 1976-2006 (Comisión Para La Auditoría Integral Del Crédito Público, 2008). Interestingly, the audit examined the scale of Ecuador's debt but also its political nature, such as the social impact of loans to Ecuador during that period. Ricardo Patiño, former Economy and Finance Minister in Ecuador and key backer of the independent audit outlined the audit's intended wide-ranging nature:

> "[The audit] will consider all relevant legal, political and economic factors which have led to the accumulation of illegitimate debt in this country. The audit commission must also consider social and environmental damages to the local populations caused by debt. Debts which are found to be illegitimate must not be paid. Debts which are legitimate must be reimbursed."

The audit report details a litany of lending failures and exploitative loan contracts and after the audit, the Ecuadorian government refused to repay two global bonds worth about US$30 million, not because of an inability to repay, but because the government believed they were illegitimate and should not repaid (Ibid; Hurley, 2007).

Education and Action in Ireland

Inspired by Ecuador's example, Debt and Development Coalition Ireland, Action from Ireland (Afri) and the trade union Unite commissioned an independent financial audit of Ireland's debts as a first step toward enabling people in Ireland to understand the scale and nature of Ireland's national debt (Killian, Garvey and Shaw, 2010). Working with a team of researchers from the University of Limerick, this was the first time that DDCI had worked with local and global justice groups on an Irish economic issue. The purpose of DDCI's involvement was to support the development of the debt audit approach within the context of unjust debt situations, and to support greater transparency in Ireland on the debt question. This would support future action for debt justice

in Ireland, which would in turn enable the international debt justice movement to learn lessons from the Irish case.

The findings of the Audit of Irish Debt (addressing the period up to the first quarter of 2011) found that Ireland's debt, including contingent liabilities, had reached a staggering €371.1 billion (Ibid). Andy Storey of Afri highlighted the commissioning groups' political interpretation of the audit project results:

"This [the 371.1 billion] is equivalent to almost 300% of Irish national income. Of this, €279.3 billion (over 75%) is accounted for by the state-covered debts of the Irish banks, and this, as the audit notes, is before taking into account the likelihood that much of the direct government debt of €91.8 billion may itself have arisen from the banking crisis. In other words, the audit proves conclusively that the Irish debt crisis is a crisis of private (subsequently socialised) debt, not public debt – the allegedly 'bloated' nature of the Irish public service, or 'generous' welfare entitlements, did not cause this crisis. As the audit puts it, 'it is clear that the bulk of Irish government debt has arisen directly from the banking crisis, the decision in September 2008 to rescue all of the Irish banks'".

He continued:

"Alarmingly, the audit notes that the headline figure of €371.1 billion may be an underestimate. For example, the audit does not count unguaranteed bonds issued by the banks (and therefore not legally the responsibility of the Irish state) as part of the debt but, to date, the Irish government, presumably at ECB insistence, has been repaying these bonds also. As recently as Wednesday of this week, the government repaid in full a debt (unguaranteed) of $1 billion (approximately €731 million) owed by a now defunct bank to an unknown creditor, a debt which had been traded on the secondary market for little over half of its value i.e., an anonymous speculator has just made an enormous profit. And the Irish government seems insistent that it will not seek any debt relief despite such relief having been extended to Greece" (Storey, 2011).

The Irish debt audit was valuable for three reasons. It provided clear evidence from independent researchers that the Irish debt crisis was caused by

the socialisation of commercial banking debt. Secondly, the audit outlined the various facets of Ireland's complex sovereign debt. Thirdly, it highlighted that while much of Ireland's debt is resulting from debt owed to private bondholders, it was not possible to identify who the bondholders are.

Lessons for Development Education Work

The audit provided a clear evidence based piece of research with which to engage DDCI members and civil society organisations more widely. As a result, DDCI, along with many organisations in its membership worked to form a new network in Ireland of local and global justice groups called Debt Justice Action (DJA). DJA is an unprecedented coalition of organisations – including from community, global justice, faith-based, environmental, academic and trade union perspectives. The grouping also includes committed individuals as members and has embarked on education and campaigning work relating to what DJA view as a particularly immoral facet of Ireland's debt – that of Anglo Irish Bank/Irish Nationwide Building Society. This now nationalised bank, which is being closed down, lent recklessly to Irish property developers and borrowed recklessly from international banks who if repaid in full will cost people in Ireland at least €47.9 billion (McDonnell, 2012).

In order to reach a stage of public campaigning work, the organisations involved engaged in intensive learning on the Anglo debt issue, by planning technical education sessions with economists and sharing their knowledge with each other – on how Southern countries have dealt with their debt problems and on the ways that communities in Ireland are coping with the debt. Since the launch of DJA, international debt justice organisations from around Europe and in the global South have also engaged with DJA to learn about Ireland's debt situation, and to take action in solidarity with people in Ireland, including by carrying out solidarity work against the Anglo debt in Argentina, in the UK, Germany and the USA.

This formation of DJA has been one of intensive dialogue between its members which has challenged isolated ways of working for the organisations involved. It is a nascent initiative and time will tell if DJA's approach is a sustainable mode of working. However, in a relatively short timeframe, it has demonstrated that sharing lessons from the global South has resulted in important new working relationships between local and global justice groups, and in concrete education and campaigning actions in Ireland. DDCI hopes that this will support increased solidarity among people in Ireland and in the wider world in achieving international debt justice.

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THE ELEPHANT IN THE ROOM: TOWARDS A DISCOURSE ON DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION AND CORPORATE POWER

Andy Egan

In this article, **Andy Egan** examines the extent to which corporate power is included within the current discourse and practice of development education (DE) in the UK. He highlights the contradiction between the aims of DE and the lack of attention given to issues of corporate power in either literature or practice. He reports on research with Development Education Centres (DECs) and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) on their practice in this area and considers the opportunities and constraints for greater DE engagement. He argues that issues of corporate power should be central to DE theory and practice and suggests a pedagogical framework for critical literacy on corporate power.

Introduction – The World in which we Live

Global corporations have a big influence on the daily lives of the seven billion people that live on our planet. Whether it is what we eat and drink, or even whether we can eat and drink, what we wear, what we watch on television, what music we listen to, what we learn at school, college or university, how we travel, what type of work we do, our health, our finances, the public services we have access to, and the type of environment we live in. The influence of global corporations compares to or even exceeds that of national governments; and global corporations and national governments are often working closely together to shape the lives we lead and the world in which we live (Bakan, 2005). Recent research has revealed that 147 global corporations, 75 percent of whom are financial corporations, form a core tightly-knit 'super-entity' that exerts disproportionate control over the global economy (Vitali, Glattfelder and Battiston, 2011).

Global corporations have been the driving force of neoliberal economic globalisation and are very much the face of capitalism in the global South (Keet, 2010). Makwana has described how these economic policies and practices have determined the reproduction of poverty and injustice and the growing inequalities between rich and poor across the world (Makwana, 2006a). While small elites have undoubtedly benefitted – the growth in the number of millionaires and billionaires in Asia has been trumpeted by *Business Week* and *Fortune* magazines as evidence of the success of corporate globalisation - many communities have been fighting sometimes life and death battles to prevent the

destructive impact of global corporations on their lives and their environment (Korten, 2001). Inequalities of wealth and income are now greater than at any time in recent human history (Ortiz and Cummins, 2011), and we are living in an era of the fastest mass extinction of species and destruction of biodiversity in Earth's recent history (WWF International, 2006).

As the power of global corporations has increased over the past 40 years, so the power of governments and ordinary citizens to determine or influence policies in areas such as trade or the environment has diminished (Allen, 2007; Beder, 2008; Schwab, 2008). External dependency has been an enduring feature of many economies in the global South, particularly in post-independent African nations. Their governments are often more accountable to global corporations, international financial institutions (IFIs) and even development NGOs than their own people. In Mozambique, for example, foreign sources contribute half of the national budget (Quartapelle, 2011). Indeed, we can now see this to be a growing phenomenon in Western countries, like Greece and Ireland, particularly in the wake of the 2008 financial crisis (Douzinas, 2010; Kirby, 2012).

This dependency is a consequence of neoliberal policies – promoted by think tanks and lobbyists funded by global corporations – including deregulation of financial transactions, privatisation of public assets and utilities, cutting public expenditure and reducing corporate taxation (Cerny, 2008; Plehwe and Walpen, 2007). The hegemony of neoliberalism has resulted in Western governments having little option but to bail out failing financial corporations – such as Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac in the United States (USA) and the Royal Bank of Scotland in the UK – for fear of the entire capitalist system collapsing (Kiersey, 2011). People worldwide are being asked to pay the cost through increased taxes and prices for food and other essentials, job losses and pay and pension cuts. This has led to mass protests in countries across the world. A spike in food prices was a contributory factor in the uprisings in the Arab world which have toppled the government in Tunisia and President in Egypt (Zurayk, 2011). These uprisings together with protests in Spain and Greece inspired the Occupy movement against corporate greed and the inequities of capitalism, which is now active in more than 1,500 cities across the world (Occupy Together, 2011). Whether this global wave of citizen protest, and its leaderless, horizontal and non-violent ethos, will lead to meaningful change is a critical debate for the DE sector to engage with, as Jacobs states:

> "The uprisings in Egypt and everywhere remind us that direct action is an important pillar for the poor and the oppressed all over the world.

Direct action needs to be combined with a radical emancipatory politics to free humanity and mother earth. Otherwise, this whole thing becomes an exercise in impacting the media, and then we go away and the corporations and the state continue to run the show" (*Pambazuka News*, issue 567).

This article is based upon research with DE organisations in the UK, which sought to identify how the phenomenon of the growth of corporate power features within both DE discourse and practice. Given the increasing dominance of private corporations over the global economy, national and international policy frameworks and the lives of citizens across the world, one might expect that the role of global corporations in relation to democracy, citizenship and human and planetary wellbeing would be a central issue for DE. The findings from my research suggest, however, that corporate power is a peripheral issue for DE in the UK.

Development Education and Corporate Power

DE as a concept was inspired by the desire to create a relationship with the global South based on more than just aid, recognising the need for social justice, self-determination and the importance of solidarity. The key aims of DE include 'increasing understanding of the global economic, social and political environmental forces which shape our lives' and 'working to achieve a more just and sustainable world in which power and resources are equitably shared' (Lancashire Global Education Centre Ltd). The pedagogy of DE has been largely influenced by the popular educationalist Paulo Freire. Bourn defines this pedagogy as: 'recognising dominant and subordinate cultures and consequent influence on power and ideology; questioning dominant myths and ideas to go beneath the surface and look at root causes and social contexts' (Bourn, 2011).

It would seem inconsistent therefore that, based on my research, there is an absence of literature that explicitly considers the issue of corporate power within DE, and only a relatively small body of work that addresses the issue indirectly through discussion of the economy, neoliberalism, globalisation and questions regarding the radical or conformist nature of current DE practice. To take one recent example, even when Selby and Kagawa point out that current DE discourse fails to give explicit attention to issues of economic growth, neoliberal globalisation and consumerism 'when so clearly complicit in deepening poverty and injustice and harming the environment', they do not include the role of global corporations in promoting these policies and structures that enable them to drive and accrue ever increasing profits and power from this global growth machine (Selby and Kagawa, 2011: 25). This

indicates an analytical deficit, which Bryan suggests has been accompanied by a depoliticisation of DE practice through its mainstreaming into school curricula (Bryan, 2011). It is pertinent therefore to consider whether DE can still be effective without raising awareness of the underlying structural causes of poverty, inequality and injustice.

The DE sector has generally welcomed the inclusion of global citizenship within school curricula. We need however to consider whether the orientation of subjects like citizenship has limited learning to identifying what opportunities exist for young people to act as citizens without also critically analysing how that democratic space has shrunk over recent decades as the power of global corporations has grown. Schattle contrasts school based global citizenship which has been largely individualistic – seeking to cultivate informed and ethical citizens – with collective notions calling for the development of institutions and processes of global governance that would establish a collective model of global citizenship and stewardship for governments and corporations (Schattle, 2008). We need to question the relevance of the concept of citizenship promoted by DE to rapidly changing economic and technological contexts and in enabling people to understand, question and engage with the diverse new forms of social movements for global justice. Is a focus on personal issues rather than active involvement in political issues resulting in a failure to engage young people in a meaningful way with issues of power? Should DE therefore be seeking to give greater attention to making explicit that the 'prerequisite for global citizenship is...knowledge about the uses and misuses of power' (Harford College Centre for Peace and Global Citizenship, quoted in Schattle, 2008: 76).

We can further contemplate whether the various redefinitions of DE in the formal sector as a 'global dimension' or 'global citizenship' have resulted in a mollification of the more radical roots of DE. Andreotti described the form of global citizenship being promoted in schools as 'soft' rather than 'critical' (Andreotti, 2006). The official guidance in England on the eight global dimension concepts – including interdependence, globalisation, human rights, social justice and sustainable development – makes no mention of the role of global corporations (DfES, 2005). The obfuscation of the issue of power through the use of euphemistic terms such as 'interdependence' may have limited the scope of DE in practice. This 'softening' of DE and a consequent disjuncture between education and action is viewed by Cameron and Fairbrass as partly due to a political agenda by government. They argue that the Department for International Development (DfID) – despite providing statutory funding for DE work – has played a pivotal role in narrowing the space for

more radical approaches to DE by channelling its funding to awareness raising activities and proscribing 'initiatives which involve direct lobbying of the UK government or of international organisations of which the UK is a member, or which involve lobbying for or against activities of particular companies individuals or institutions' (DfID, 2000: 3, quoted in Cameron and Fairbrass, 2004).

Neoliberal globalisation has had a huge impact on education and Bryan expresses concerns that DE has been co-opted into the normalisation of neoliberalism by tacitly accepting the brief to prepare young people to compete and consume in the global economy, and to view development aid as a virtuous moral endeavour rather an integral element of neoliberal globalisation (Bryan, 2011). Is DE, as Bryan argues, accepting rather than questioning 'the ideologies and institutions that have created excessive wealth and persistent poverty'? (Bryan, 2011: 9) Is it equally the case that DE is not enabling young people to develop 'the skills and capacities for resistance and transgression'? (Selby and Kagawa, 2011: 20) Some believe so, with Ellis advocating that education 'should raise awareness of exploitation, corporate power, the state-consumer-media-military construction of desirers, identities, values, and the place of global citizenship' (Ellis, 2010: 6). Such concerns are reinforced by a recent Think Global publication 'Cultivating a global outlook for a global economy', in which any consideration of the ways in which the current global economy generates inequality, injustice and unsustainable consumption is strikingly absent. Instead the report concludes that 'all young people should have access to high quality global learning to promote social mobility and ensure the UK economy remains competitive' (Think Global, 2011). Think Global appears to be accepting a neoliberal globalisation agenda for the early twenty-first century and is promoting 'global learning' as a pedagogical tool for reproduction, preparing young people with the global skills required by the corporate sector, rather than transformation.

Postcolonial theory has perhaps had the greatest impact on reaffirming the centrality of critical thinking and dialogue within current DE discourse and practice through the writings of Andreotti and development of methodologies such as open spaces for dialogue and enquiry (OSDE). Advocacy of critical literacy is also evident in the adoption of initiatives such as Philosophy for Children by a number of DECs including Cumbria Development Education Centre (CDEC) and Development Education Centre South Yorkshire (DECSY). While postcolonial theory emphasises unequal access to power and resources, and the reproduction of this inequality through education (including global citizenship education), Lazarus observes that the discourse has tended to be

framed in cultural and social rather than economic and political terms (Lazarus, 2011). It has perhaps also fallen into an artificial North-South binary that does not correlate to the reality of global economic structures and institutions (Bryan, 2011).

While postcolonial theory provides an essential framework in terms of understanding the continuing legacy of colonialism and its reproduction through present day globalisation, it can be argued that it does not adequately capture either the supra-national characteristics and operations of global corporations, the impact of migration on societies in the global North, and the impact of neoliberal globalisation on both the global North and global South. This deficit can preclude people seeing the struggle for justice being both local as well as global, and understanding that the fermenters of injustice both North and South are one and the same. McCloskey highlights the importance of DE engaging with local as well as global issues, citing the example of the European Union/International Monetary Fund (EU/IMF) loan to Ireland: 'development educators need to be more proactively and overtly political in their operations' (McCloskey, 2011: 41).

The predominant discourse in DE has been located within the 'development' narrative. DE's gaze on the global South has therefore tended to focus on the symptoms of unequal power and resource distribution in terms of the negative human and environmental impacts. DE has to some extent been co-opted into the development aid paradigm and not engaged with and reflected through practice the voices from the global South who see both 'development' and 'aid' as externally imposed concepts and part of imperialist strategies to sustain continued subjugation and impoverishment (Tandon, 2012). Manji views 'development' as a fraud promulgated by Western powers and well meaning but misguided NGOs that serves to legitimise the continued exploitation of Africa to provide the necessary raw materials for globalisation (Manji, 2002). Perhaps the historical relationship between DE and development NGOs discourages DECs from shining a critical light on the 'role NGOs have played in expanding and consolidating neo-liberal hegemony in the global context' (Ibid: 13). DECs have perhaps been overwhelmed by the dominant culture of development NGO-fuelled and celebrity-adorned charity and paternalism. A combination of these factors likely explains why DE has struggled to popularise a culture of solidarity as a more just and equitable basis for engagement of young people in the UK with their counterparts in the global South.

Ní Chasaide proposes that the challenge for practitioners is to reassert DE's principles of joining learning with action for global justice (Ní Chasaide, 2011). Two key questions arise from this. How can DE provide open learning spaces to consider and develop critical understanding of the relationship between corporate power and global justice? And 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? DE can also play an important role in enabling people to explore more just and sustainable alternatives to the neoliberal capitalist growth model.

DECs and campaigning NGOs, like Friends of the Earth and the World Development Movement (WDM), share the aim of helping to create a more just and sustainable world. Yet there are few examples of collaboration in recent years and there appears to be a growing disconnect between learning and activism for global justice as a result. Gyoh argues that the increasing professionalisation and specialisation of both sectors may be one of the factors at play (Gyoh, 2011). DECs have become more focussed on formal education delivering in-service training (INSET) for teachers and curriculum based learning for students. Campaigning NGOs that employ staff have become increasingly focussed on research, policy analysis and lobbying of politicians, governments and corporations. They often devise pre-determined campaigns (based on their research and analysis) with prescribed ways of how people can engage in advocacy by, for example, signing letters and petitions to their Member of Parliament (MP), member of the European Parliament (MEP), government ministers or Chief Executive Officers (CEOs) of corporations. It is easy to see how the mainstreaming of DE and the professionalisation of campaigning has had the (unintended) result of reducing interaction. The two sectors have also become increasingly focussed on different constituencies with DE concentrating on work with young people in schools, and campaigning NGOs largely concentrating on running campaigns and mobilising adults. The result is that 'the relationship between DE and NGO work around knowledge-based advocacy has remained underutilised in building a constituency of active global civil society' (Ibid: 93).

Within campaigning NGOs there is recognition, shared by some within the development NGO sector, that some of their methods have limited their role in educating and mobilising new activists for global justice (Darnton and Kirk, 2011). The need to reach out and build movements as well as running campaigns is acknowledged. Within DE, voices are being raised that the concern with promoting awareness of international efforts to address global

poverty such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) – which address the symptoms rather than the root causes of global poverty – has taken precedence over the need to engage learners in critical analysis and reflection on existing development paradigms (Gyoh, 2011).

One of the conceptual challenges for DE practitioners is facilitating critical understanding of the increasing complexity of the economic system and the practices of global corporations; an essential task if DE is, for example, going to 'critically examine the conditionality imposed by financial institutions in accelerating the pace of privatisation, and focus on institutional capacity building and provisions that would compel multinationals to act responsibly' (Ibid: 91). The recent ActionAid campaign on tax avoidance highlights the complexity of the operations of global corporations such as: use of tax havens, subsidiary royalty payments, subsidiary management service fees and offsetting interest payments (ActionAid, 2011). With this excellent source material it would be interesting to explore why ActionAid's own education section has not produced any educational resources about this issue or more generally on corporate power.

Within larger development NGOs there has been a degree of incorporation – induced by increased funding – into the government's development agenda, and a shift towards working in partnership with the corporate sector (Lownsbrough, 2009; Rugendyke and Hearfield, 2011). It is likely that DfID's promotion of the role of the private sector in development will accelerate these processes (DfID, 2011). Development NGO relationships with citizens has become more transactional as they seek to sustain funding levels for their international aid programmes (Darnton and Kirk, 2011). Even their more limited campaigning work (since Make Poverty History in 2005) has usually been tied to encouraging the public to donate money. ActionAid is the one of the few large development NGO that has continued to invest in new high profile campaigns to highlight the role of global corporations in exacerbating global poverty. The smaller campaigning NGOs that focus on transformation, such as War on Want, WDM, People & Planet and the Jubilee Debt Campaign, view the preoccupation with development aid as weakening the global justice movement in terms of both creating a new generation of activists and in pressing for fundamental institutional change.

The contraction of statutory funding for both DECs and NGOs may serve as a further disincentive for collaboration, compounded by a narrower DFID focus on DE in schools (DfID, 2011; NCVO, 2011). With many DECs and NGOs losing staff and cutting services as a result of the economic

downturn and reduced support for DE, the need to find alternative sources of funding or different ways of working has become more urgent. However, this challenge could also present an opportunity for DECs and campaigning NGOs to work together to create 'dynamic spaces for envisioning common political goals and collaborative approaches to achieving them' (Ní Chasaide, 2009: 33).

Review of Current DE Practice on Corporate Power

The primary research I conducted on this issue in the UK consisted of online questionnaires sent to all recognised Development Education Centres (DECs) and other key DE and global learning organisations – assessing inclusion of corporate power themes within their educational activities, identifying educational resources produced and gauging the impacts of their activities. I also included in the survey eighteen selected NGO campaigning organisations specialising in action on corporate power with a view to identifying educational resources produced, evidence of collaboration with DECs and the impacts of their activities (Egan, 2011). The DEC and NGO response rates were 70 percent and 56 percent respectively. This was followed by semi-structured interviews conducted with staff from two DECs and two NGOs to obtain perspectives on: the relative importance of corporate power as an issue for DE and potential constraints; suggestions for the attributes that young people need to develop in relation to the role of global corporations in society; ideas for DE activity on corporate power; and views on the potential for greater DE and NGO collaboration in this area.

While the literature is silent, there is evidence of some DE practice on corporate power. Exactly half of the DEC respondents indicated that they have done some educational work on issues of global corporations and power (Egan, 2011). Responses suggested, however, that activity has decreased in recent years. Furthermore, only 19 percent of DECs have produced educational resources relating to corporate power, with more having run training courses or workshops (39 percent) or produced lesson plans (23 percent). In contrast, 70 percent of NGO respondents have produced educational resources on corporate power and 60 percent have delivered training courses or workshops. While more DECs use the term 'corporate power' rather than 'corporate responsibility' or 'corporate accountability' to refer to the role of global corporations in society, nearly 30 percent of DECs use no term at all, reflecting its absence from their agenda, with one respondent stating 'we haven't thought about it – hence no term' (DEC30).

A small number of DECs have implemented specific projects on themes of business, commerce, the economy and globalisation. The most

notable was Norwich Education and Action for Development (NEAD)'s 'Just Business' project funded by DfID and The Esmée Fairbairn Foundation until 2004 (Just Business, http://www.jusbiz.org/). Powys Environment and Development Education Centre (PEDEC)'s business links project, 'Trade Without Tragedy', which was funded by DfID from 2004-2007 and aimed to help businesses and trade unions understand the impacts that 'every business deal or operation' has on 'the lives of people in far off places and...upon the ecology of our fragile planet' (PEDEC, http://www.pedec.org.uk/commercial/). Reading International Solidarity Centre (RISC) has produced a number of resources including 'Xchanging the World' (1997) and 'Cost of Coffee' (2005) and contributed to a resource pack published by Baby Milk Action, 'Seeing Through the Spin' (2001) (RISC resources, http://www.risc.org.uk/education/risc_publications.php). A current EU funded partnership including Cumbria Development Education Centre (CDEC) has produced the 'P2P (Poverty to Prosperity) Challenge Packs', with the 'Climate Change and Economy' pack including content on the role and impact of global corporations with a case study on Apple Inc. featuring the 'Journey of an iPad' (P2P: Climate Change and Economy, http://poverty2prosperity.eu/packs). The degree to which issues of corporate power are considered in these resources varies, and there is a tendency in most of the food themed resources to promote fair trade as the primary solution to exploitation.

A number of constraints were identified by DECs to undertaking activity on issues of corporate power. A key one is a perceived lack of capacity and expertise with the following response from one DEC typical of many:

> "Difficult to keep properly up to date with corporate issues and factual information to make sure the activities are right. This is costly in staff time, and means that these activities become simplified" (DEC11).

Several DECs explained that issues of corporate power were not a priority in their work: 'As a small organisation we are largely driven by what schools want and they don't come up with this' (DEC9). Politics was identified as a constraint from two different perspectives. One is that issues of corporate power are regarded as too political or controversial by schools, the main clients of DEC services. The other is that many DECs are themselves politically conservative as illustrated by the following comment: 'The DE sector is so conservative; reluctant to challenge power with a few honourable exceptions' (DEC5). The fear factor was raised by some respondents as a related inhibiting

factor based on the past record of some corporations in making complaints, issuing threats or taking legal action against any criticism of their activities.

Access to funding was identified by a number of DECs as a constraint: 'Issues to do with corporate power are not popular with funders however we do think it is of increasing importance in today's society' (DEC28).   Despite the various constraints identified there was a unanimous response from both DEC and NGO respondents that issues of corporate power should be given more priority in DE:

> "The current economy is unsustainable and corporate power is a big part of the problem. If we don't curb some of what is happening we will be leaving a bad future for the children we are currently asking to be good global citizens" (DEC7).
>
> "The world cannot be properly understood without understanding the central part that corporate power plays" (NGO5).
>
> "If the main aim of development education is to work towards a fairer and more sustainable world it is imperative that issues of corporate power be explored, discussed and challenged" (DEC23).

This finding should, however, be seen in context with responses to another question which asked respondents to rank a list of 27 global issues on a scale of 1 to 5. While corporate power was ranked equal first by NGOs it was only ranked eighteenth by DECs. This finding suggesting that corporate power is not regarded as central to the aims of DE perhaps reflects the lack of discourse on the significance of global corporations in relation to justice, equality and sustainability.

A Framework for Corporate Power in DE Pedagogy

The research, particularly the interviews, gathered suggestions on the skills and knowledge people should acquire in order to critically analyse and assess the role of global corporations in society. These can be summarised as:

- considering our historical, present and future relationships with global corporations as citizens, consumers and workers;

- expressing empathy and solidarity with communities damaged by and challenging corporate abuses of power;

- and taking collective action to help ensure that the operations of global corporations are ethical, equitable, just and environmentally sustainable.

The challenge is to apply existing DE pedagogical frameworks to devise methodologies for presenting information about corporate power, and it's underpinning neoliberal ideology, so that people can research and explore, engage in dialogue and make their own assessments and conclusions. A synthesis of ideas from the research suggests the following possible framework of attributes that DE could seek to encourage people to develop in relation to corporate power.

A DE Framework for Critical Literacy on Corporate Power	
KNOWLEDGE & UNDERSTANDING	History of corporations, including their involvement in colonialism
	The legal status of corporations
	The neoliberal ideology that supports corporate power
	The political, economic, social, cultural and environmental dimensions of corporate power
	Positive and negative impacts of global corporations on society and the environment
	The role of corporations in education
	The methods used by corporations to develop young people as consumers
	The scope for ethical corporate behaviours
	Differences between corporations and ethically orientated private businesses and social enterprises

SKILLS	Thinking critically about complex issues
	Analysing the media
	Giving space to different perspectives and voices
	Making informed choices
	Creativity in ethical and sustainable behaviour
	Imagining different futures
VALUES	Commitment to global justice
	Respect for human rights
	Respect for the natural environment and the Earth's biocapacity
	Motivation to take action

Conclusions

After three decades of economic globalisation and the inexorable rise of global corporations and hyper-consumption, we live in a world where a tiny minority enjoy unprecedented wealth while almost half the population is denied basic goods and services, and the natural environment is being ravaged. The future actions of global corporations will be crucial in determining the well-being of humanity and the Earth's ecosystem. It seems improbable that 'the commercialisation of all resources and their distribution through a tiny number of oligarchic corporations' will ensure a healthy outcome (Makwana, 2006b). So where does DE fit into this picture? Of what value will our efforts be to help create tomorrow's global citizens if democracy continues to exist in name only? For as long as the DE sector remains largely silent about corporate power in both its discourse and practice, the answer is likely to be very little. We ignore this elephant in our room at all our peril.

I believe that DE can offer a pedagogy of hope to educators and citizens that can question and challenge the hegemony of corporate power, as Giroux states: 'Critical pedagogy currently offers the very best, perhaps the only, chance for young people to develop and assert a sense of their rights and

responsibilities to participate in governing, and simply being governed by prevailing ideological and material forces' (Giroux, 2010). The research I have conducted indicated that there is for example scope for greater DEC and NGO collaboration to develop resources, curricula and activities on corporate power that enable both deeper learning and link learning to engagement in action for justice and sustainability. DE can provide expertise in designing educational resources and participatory methodologies appropriate to engaging people in learning and motivating them to take action. NGOs can provide the expert and up-to-date knowledge of corporate practices, economic and political systems, and expertise in developing effective campaigning strategies. Further, the new Development Education & Awareness Raising (DEAR) strategy adopted by the EU provides the promise of resources to facilitate collaboration on global learning, advocacy and campaigning on corporate power (Development Education and the European Commission, 2010).

Understanding corporate power should be central to DE's aims of enabling people to understand global development issues, and enabling active and effective global citizenship. In practice this can be achieved through developing critical literacy to enable: a deeper understanding of how global corporations secure and sustain their power; engagement with global corporations to promote justice and sustainability; and a global civil society that demands corporate accountability and supports alternative ethical economic and business models.

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Perspectives

ECONOMIC ALTERNATIVES FOR GENDER AND SOCIAL JUSTICE: VOICES AND VISIONS FROM LATIN AMERICA

Patricia Muñoz Cabrera

Introduction

Women in Development Europe (WIDE) is a Europe-based network advocating for gender and social justice in trade and development policies in Europe and globally. WIDE's work on feminist alternatives to the neo-liberal economic model dates from the establishment of our network in 1985. More recently, WIDE has engaged in a process of documenting evidence on the role women are playing in the construction of alternatives to the neoliberal economic model at the macro and micro levels which resulted in a series of publications under the title 'Economic Alternatives for Gender Equality and Social Justice'. The first in the series is titled *In search of Economic Alternatives for Gender and Social Justice: Voices from India* (ed. Wichterich, 2010) and the second, on which this article is based, is titled *Economic Alternatives for Gender Equality and Social Justice: Voices and Visions from Latin America* (2011: see http://www.wide-network.org). The latter showcases in eight case studies the practical experiences of a diverse range of women's organisations in Latin America specifically: Asociación Lola mora (Argentina), Centro de Estudios de la Universidad central de Venezuela (REMTE Y CLACSO), Red Comuincacol (Colombia), Coalición Ecuador Decide/Centro de Estudios e investigaciones Mariátegui (Ecuador), Instituto de formación femenina integral – IFFI (Bolivia), REPEM (México), ADC (Perú), and IGTN (Guatemala).

This article begins with a macro-political analysis of current challenges affecting Latin America in the aftermath of multiple and interconnected crises (food, energy, climate, financial). The second section engages in a discussion on alternatives to neoliberalism being put forward by feminist and women activists and scholars. The third section maps the alternatives being implemented by women on the ground as documented by the eight case studies. It also draws linkages between experiences from the field and feminist rethinking of the current neoliberal economic model in Latin America.

Mapping Alternatives in Latin America: Current Challenges

In spite of the evident failure of the current neoliberal model to release Latin America from the legacy of social inequalities informing its economies, the ideology of macroeconomic growth remains as pervasive as it was before the recent crises. Several studies demonstrate that the interlocking crises of the past four years have brought forth a new cycle of disciplinary policies which include improving the monitoring of financial markets (Katz, 2010; Gallagher 2008, 2010) and stabilising national economies through programmes that ensure macroeconomic efficiency, competitiveness and maximisation of profit in the short term. It is hoped that an improvement in the image and credibility of Latin American economies will attract greater flows of direct foreign investment to the region; these are desperately needed to sustain macroeconomic growth (Katz 2010). One major aspect of the policies adopted by governments is that there has been little or no concern for the social, political and environmental implications of the policy reforms undertaken.

The situation has been worsened by an overemphasis on boosting consumption power and liberalisation of key sectors such as extractive industries and agriculture. The latter has boosted speculation in the commodities market, thereby exacerbating the volatility of prices of basic grains (Wise et al, 2012; GRAIN, 2010). At the systemic level, one can note that the austerity measures are designed to mitigate the financial crisis rather than replace the dominant economic model. This is clearly the case with current anti-cyclical policies, which reflect governments' preoccupation with adjusting to the present crises rather than contemplating that they result from systemic failure.

Like a reflection of the global economic landscape, Latin America is currently affected by what has been called the 'financialisation' of its economies. This refers to the increasing levels of investment which are being directed towards speculation and short-term profit in financial markets (Harvey, 2008). Several analysts have drawn our attention to the fact that financialisation not only transforms the functioning of the economic system at the macro and micro level; it also perpetuates structural inequalities. In this sense, Palley refers to financialisation as 'a process whereby financial markets, financial institutions and financial elites gain greater influence over economic policy and economic outcomes' (2007). Others have criticised what they call a reordering of the economy affecting even so-called progressive governments (particularly in South America). Acosta (2009) contends that in Ecuador the official discourse promotes a sovereign economic model that respects the rights of people and nature, whereas in practice, the government has not moved away from the 'extractivist logic' which is 'predatory' in terms of human rights and the

environment. Ruiz (2011) suggests that this trend has also expanded to the rest of the continent when he criticises Colombia's strategy of opening up its mineral resources to foreign direct investment (FDI).

Empirical evidence shows that the neoliberal model has gained momentum in Latin America, and it is precisely in the area of economic, social and cultural rights of millions of women and men workers where its disenfranchising impact is most noticeable. Macroeconomic policies and policymakers continue to ignore the fact that the current economic model is perpetuating social inequalities in a region that ranks among the most unequal in the world. Egan (2003) refers to a 'hegemonic transnational order' which is exacerbating social polarisation and competition. In this hegemonic order, public and private actors collaborate towards an accumulation of capital which is empowering multinational conglomerates, while foreign investors compete to gain control over sectors such as communications, energy, water, banking services, the extractive mining industry and agriculture (Gallagher, 2010; GRAIN, 2010).

Regrettably, governments continue to overlook the fact that foreign direct investment in agriculture and the mining sector has exacerbated social conflict, dispossession, and varied forms of violence against women. An evidence-based study conducted in Brazil by the World Rain Forest Movement (WRFM) shows that the situation is particularly critical in areas inhabited by indigenous and Afro-descendent men and women:

> "These regions have seen the growth of poverty and unemployment; both have exacerbated violence and an exodus from rural areas. In terms of specific impacts on women, an increase in prostitution has been observed in areas where monoculture plantations are most prevalent" (2010).

This study corroborates the need to further expose the correlation of land-grabbing and extractive mining with economic and sexual violence against women. Moreover, the growing wave of violence generated by trends in FDI demands critical analysis of the impact of the current policies and practices of multinational enterprises and international financial institutions (IFIs) and urgent action from governments and multilateral institutions.

Building Alternatives in Latin America: Another Economy is Possible

Building viable alternatives to global capitalism is a long process and not without dilemmas and contradictions. Taking this complexity into account, the

alternatives emerging in Latin America cover a wide range of issues which cannot be fully addressed in the limited space devoted to this paper. Generally speaking however, many of the proposals include elements of solidarity economy as alternatives to the neoliberal economic paradigm. One specific alternative that has gained momentum is the paradigm of food sovereignty, proposed by Via Campesina, which movements such as Movimento sem Terra (MST) in Brazil and the Network of Women Transforming Economy (REMTE), among others, have adhered. Another approach has been that of Matthei (2002), the Brazilian Women's organisation (AMB) and the Mercosur feminist network (AFM), which has recently begun to rethink the current economic and development models from a feminist standpoint that is anti-capitalist, anti-racist and anti-heterosexist (http://www.articulacaodemulheres.org.br).

At a governmental level, no economic models have emerged which can be fully considered alternatives to the current neoliberal capitalist model. However, one should acknowledge the work done by some governments to pass new policies and legislation that see the rights of workers, indigenous and Afro-descendent peoples as central to social and economic policymaking. Such is the case of Venezuela, where the very idea of the nation-state has been redefined. As a result, at the national level, the state has been repositioned as an overarching regulator of economic and financial activity. However, efforts by the Venezuelan government to reshape the national economy occur within a global arena of increased speculation and short-term investment in which the state also participates through its companies (De la Fuente et al, 2008).

Two other countries where paradigmatic changes have taken place are Bolivia and Ecuador. Even though these two governments have not escaped the logic of the extractivist model, the inclusion of nature as a subject entitled to rights – within the paradigm of *Buen Vivir/Vivir Bien* – in the new constitutions represents a significant step towards shifting the social and cultural mindset of the region.

In fact, the *Buen Vivir* paradigm represents a transformation without precedent in more than five centuries of history of the continent. *Buen Vivir* is rooted in indigenous epistemology and bears a strong relation with the emancipatory struggles fought by indigenous peoples since the Spanish conquest. At its core is the struggle against racist, cultural and economic hegemony and the disenfranchisement caused by capitalism-driven colonial power. Concretely, *Buen Vivir* redefines the nation-state as pluri-cultural and pluri-lingual with the primary task of promoting and regulating a social, cultural and economic model driven by equity, human dignity, and social and

environmental justice. In this paradigm, the issue of entitlements is a crucial one. This means that not only people but also nature are subjects entitled to rights. From this perspective, nature becomes a global, finite common, which means that we are all responsible for its protection and preservation.

Another important aspect of *Buen Vivir* is that it is dialogic; that is to say, it rejects the false oppositions inherent in capitalism (the economic versus the social; the productive versus the reproductive; the micro versus the macro). *Buen Vivir* is driven by the idea of redistributive justice: equity in the distribution of wealth and resources and equality of conditions, not only of opportunities. Within this paradigm, redistributive justice is fundamental to make labour and production contribute to the economic, social and cultural well-being of human subjects, the full enjoyment of their human rights and the well-being of nature. Just like any other complex paradigm, *Buen Vivir* presents some important challenges: one of them relates to the emphasis on women as reproducers of life. This idea creates controversy if we consider women's historical struggle to have the right to full enjoyment of their sexual and reproductive rights regardless of their roles as procreators.

At the geopolitical level, *Buen Vivir* is in line with holistic approaches to the interlocking crises affecting our planet. In this sense it echoes the paradigm of degrowth which has gained momentum in Europe. Both paradigms converge into an idea of economics for a finite planet, to put it in Jackson's terms (2010). These economic paradigms regard the environmental, financial and food crises as inextricably linked, and suggest that we are undergoing a systemic crisis which is a symptom of the collapse of a hegemonic worldview that continues to push for a predatory model of economic development as if the current crises had not happened.

Significantly, these two paradigms share a concern with the depletion of global ecosystems due to irresponsible overconsumption of resources and the ensuing generation of waste. They are also contributing to the weaving of transnational knowledges from the distinctive perspective of social movements and women's rights. This confirms the fact that although alternatives to hegemonic models take a long time before yielding concrete results at the macro level, the thinking and acting to transform unequal patterns of production and consumption has already begun.

Proposals from a Feminist and Women's Rights Perspective

The first proposal echoes the ideas articulated in the *Buen Vivir* and degrowth paradigms. This proposal calls for a radical abandonment of the logics of profit

maximisation and capital accumulation imposed by the neoliberal model, summoning us to embrace a new economy, wherein the human activity of production and social reproduction benefits both individual and collective well-being, is based on values such as respect for nature, dialogue between cultures, and human dignity (Mejías Flores, 2010). As Irene León (2010) explains, the need is to envisage theoretical and political frameworks that redefine the economy on the basis of an idea of sustainability of human life and the planet's resources. This entails transformations in 'the productive matrix, in visions and policies relating to who shapes the economy and how it is put into practice, what and how to produce, what and how to consume; finally, how to reproduce life'.

A second key recommendation is to approach gender as endogenous to macroeconomics and to revamp the solidarity economy paradigm with the distinctive perspective of women's cultural, economic and social rights. In both cases, the gender blindness affecting economic policies and practices has been exposed (Azar et al, 2009; Sanchís, 2004). In both cases, the proposals redefine the spaces in which economics operates, demonstrating how macroeconomic policies interact with institutions and the microeconomic level: households, community, labour markets, the couple (as affected by unequal power relations). This first achievement has been referred to as a two-way relationship or the macro-meso-micro nexus (Azar et al, 2009; van Staeveren, 2010; Elson, 2009).

Third, women's works and activism have also exposed the 'omnipotent patriarchal system' inhering neo-classical economic theory, showing that this power system operates in global, national and local spaces; shapes the mindset of economic decision-makers, international financial institutions and public institutions; defines economic policies and practices at macro and micro level (Carrasco, 1999; León, 2005; Quintela, 2006; Palacios and Guevara, 2011); and makes women workers vulnerable to multiple forms of violence, which, in many cases, take place with impunity (Monárrez Fragoso, 2002; Muñoz Cabrera, 2010).

Fourth, they have demonstrated the primacy of the market over development agendas, exposing the pitfalls of neoliberal capitalism and its disenfranchising impact on the rights of women workers in the labour market. A major argument is that this model perpetuates unequal distribution of wealth and resources, discriminatory access to public goods, and privileges those agents of power who rule over the predominant division of labour (Espino, 2007; Azar et al, 2009).

A fifth gain is the reposition of social reproduction as a fundamental element of macroeconomic theory and in clear rejection of neo-classical economic theory which limits analysis to the productive, monetarist and mercantile aspects (Azar et al, 2009; Farías and Nobre, 2002). The concrete proposal here is two-fold: to reconceptualise labour so as to dismantle the false opposition between the productive and the reproductive and which defines social reproduction as an essentially feminine endeavour; and to rethink the economy in order to ensure an equitable redistribution of productive assets and of the work involved in social reproduction. This proposal echoes that of European feminist economists who have incorporated social reproduction into economic thinking by means of three main parameters of inclusion: recognition, reduction and redistribution of the responsibilities involved in social reproduction (Elson, 2009 & 2010).

Reinterpreting Marxist theory, some feminists have highlighted the importance of equality and social equity in the construction of models that can supersede neoliberal capitalism. In their re-interpretation, solidarity economy is located in sharp contrast to the individualist capitalist economic model (Farias and Nobre, 2002) and promotes economic activity rooted in the culture, knowledge and production patterns of those who produce the goods (Sanchís, 2004). The call has also been made to work towards deconstructing the fundamental tenets of neoliberal capitalism from a transdisciplinary feminist analysis of the economy; this in order to critically examine the sociological, historical, cultural and political implications of economic policies, in particular, those policies that insist on the cultural myth of the heterosexual nuclear family. It is argued that the global challenges we are facing today are too complex to be fully comprehended by macroeconomic analysis. Hence, the need to assess the wellbeing of society by incorporating all the human activities that contribute to its pursuit, not only economic activity (Quintela, 2006).

One cannot speak of alternatives to neoliberal capitalism in Latin America without referring to the proposals put forward by indigenous and Afro-descendent women. From their perspective, a fundamental issue is to reshape the cultural mindset in a way that racist ideologies at work in daily life, in public policies and in society as a whole can be dismantled. Another key goal is to transform a consumerist, highly individualistic culture into a culture of care at two levels: care and protection of the human rights of people and the rights of nature (Tauli-Corpuz, 2005; Chancosa, 2010). It is argued that this transformation is an indispensable step towards a new logic of accumulation. In this new logic, women's human rights as individual subjects are understood as complementary with their collective rights as people. For indigenous women

in particular, *Buen Vivir* is especially important for two reasons: first, it has provided them with an opportunity to validate their discredited knowledges; and second, it has permitted them to occupy social and political space locally, nationally and internationally.

Even though much remains to be done, we can argue that feminist analysis has been highly beneficial to women in Latin America. In the first place, it has demonstrated that women have been incorporated into the labour market in conditions of structural subordination. Second, it has shown that because of the patriarchal segmentation of labour markets, women are highly invisible as productive agents and hyper-visible as being primarily responsible for social reproduction and as providers of cheap labour. In extreme cases, and because of their constructed inferiority, they are perceived as expendable subjects, as evidenced in the impunity surrounding violations of the human rights of indigenous, black and lesbian women.

Proposals Emerging from the Latin American Experiences

Echoing many of the proposals discussed in the previous sections, the eight experiences contained in WIDE's publication take us on a journey through alternatives to the neoliberal economic model currently being designed and implemented by grassroots women in alliance with researchers, members of national parliaments, activists and other women and men committed to social justice and gender justice. Their struggle bears witness to the transformative power of women on the ground: the ultimate goal is to construct a society based on the principles of redistributive justice and a life free from the manifold forms of violence generated by the current neoliberal economic model.

The methodological and strategic approaches used by these women reflect their power to transform oppression and discrimination into opportunities for individual and organisational collective empowerment. Undoubtedly, these experiences follow the proposals put forward by feminist academics and activists who have stated that there can be no social justice or *Buen Vivir* without gender justice, and that this can only be achieved through equal distribution of wealth, resources and the work involved in social reproduction.

The case studies show varying degrees of criticism, a fact that reflects the complex heterogeneity of the region, the power asymmetries defining economic, political, social and cultural relations, and the different degrees of liberalisation of their economies. Responses to the dominant economic model also vary: some women construct alternatives of economic emancipation from

within the model, others adopt hybrid models, and others, such as the Guatemalan experience, propose an alternative that is anti-systemic in that it rejects the current pattern of capital accumulation engrained in the development model implemented by the State.

Altogether, the eight good practice models demonstrate that social, political and economic empowerment continues to be a key issue for grassroots women; along with agency, they pave the way to enforcing legislation so that economic policies and practices do not hamper women's human rights. The key issue is to exert various levels of social, economic and cultural influence so that women can effectively intervene and transform the very structures of local markets and the mindset of those power agents shaping economic policymaking.

Moreover, the case studies offer valuable insights into a vision of development which has been defined from the specificity of women engaged in a daily struggle to transform themselves as well as their environment. For instance, the Guatemalan case study raises two fundamental issues: food sovereignty and the right to water from the perspective of indigenous women, and in conformity with United Nations (UN) and other international protocols and conventions. It highlights the key role of indigenous women farmers in sustainable agriculture, showing their power to negotiate spaces for political, cultural and economic change despite the conditions of structural vulnerability affecting their lives and livelihoods. A striking feature of the Guatemalan experience is women's power for social transformation. Confronted with the threat of agribusiness, land-grabbing and extractive activities of big companies, they respond with development strategies that are sustainable in the short and the long term. We see how elderly rural Mayan women validate their accumulated knowledge of resilient food systems, improve their livelihoods and those of their communities, and contribute to shifting the political and cultural mindset: the good results achieved through agroecology has caught the attention of the local authorities and men producers, who are requesting training from these women in order to improve their techniques of organic agriculture. As agents of political transformation, they have joined forces with others to question local authorities for the alienating development model being imposed upon them and to claim their right to water as a human right.

The Argentinian case study stresses women's crucial role in agricultural markets inspired by food sovereignty and solidarity economy. It tells us that these food markets designed as a strategy for the impoverishment of farmers resulting from the neo-liberal policies of the 1990s. Today, these markets have improved the livelihoods of thousands of women and men

farmers and their families, have revalorised local markets and are contributing to the preservation of healthy consumption patterns.

Importantly, these markets promote women's participation (eighty percent of those who are trading during market hours are women) and the production chain is controlled by 'family production units'. Members are organised as non-profitable associations and there are no intermediaries: the relationship between producer and consumer is direct and the prices are fair. This market model also promotes agroecology and protection of the environment. It also strengthens the social fabric of the community; and leaders use their bargaining power in their relations with local authorities. This bargaining often deals with models of local development which are appropriate to the context and culture of those who produce and trade in food markets. To these important gains one should add changes in gender relations among young women, specifically in terms of the sexual division of labour in the household, violence against women, and sexual and reproductive health.

Another gain is an increase in women's participation in mixed organisations working in solidarity economy. However, despite the achievements, important challenges remain. For example, greater involvement from local authorities is needed so that these food markets do not end up as marginal palliatives to a structural problem. Another big challenge is changing the cultural mindset in a sustainable way. The patriarchal myth of the male breadwinner continues to relegate women producers to a secondary economic role or simply to the domestic space. There is also a great imbalance in leadership positions within the organisations, since most of their top leaders are men. Critically aware of these challenges, women are implementing strategies of awareness-raising in order to shift the mindset of their male peers. At the broader level, this struggle reaffirms women's capacity to struggle against patriarchy from within, to assume gender equity as endogenous to solidarity economy and to envision creative options to the capitalist-driven agribusiness which is impoverishing them.

From Ecuador and Mexico the authors present two cases of ecotourism led by indigenous women entrepreneurs. These experiences show different levels of development, and both highlight the significance of solidarity economy in ecotourism businesses led by indigenous women. With Guatemala, these experiences share a vision of economic development based on the accumulated knowledges, culture and values of indigenous women and a strong concern with *Buen Vivir*. To women, production and biodiversity conservation are inseparable. The case study from Ecuador documents the case of twenty-two

Kichwa women who decided to create a small ecotourism business as an alternative way to economic and cultural empowerment. The women have gradually managed to develop a micro-model of socioeconomic entrepreneurship which has broken their isolation, has made them more assertive, has enabled them to occupy public spaces and generate income for themselves and other community members.

The experience from Mexico is perhaps one of the most effective experiences of ecotourism led by indigenous women entrepreneurs in the region. This business project was born out of the desire of a group of Nahua women to set up an organisation through which they could empower themselves politically, socially and economically; this without losing sight of the necessary dialogue with indigenous cooperatives and the national indigenous movement to which they belong and identify with. Even though the struggle against racism and class discrimination united Nahua men and women farmers, they had problems making their voices heard within indigenous cooperatives and were confronted with the incapacity of male leaders to assume women as capable leaders.

The experience from Colombia documents three examples of women's organisations inspired by a vision of community entrepreneurship that breaks with normative models of micro-entrepreneurship. It explains that the main objective is to enhance the organisational and bargaining power of women miners, women farmers and other women living in conditions of acute social exclusion in urban and rural areas. Many of these women are girls and elderly migrants, factory workers, seasonal workers, indigenous and Afro-descendent women who have survived the violence generated by armed conflict, land dispossession, forced displacement, poverty-led migration and exploitation in labour markets. Through their activities, these women claim their right to produce according to models that do not harm human beings or nature. With this goal in mind, they are struggling to empower themselves, reconstruct the social fabric of their communities, and defend local models of socioeconomic development which can offer an alternative to the growing individualism brought forth by consumerist capitalism.

The Venezuelan experience presents a model of microfinance which seeks to empower women economically, politically and culturally. This model is implemented by Banmujer, a public microfinance bank led by women and inspired by a national project of socialist popular economy. Their goal is to use microfinance as a means to transform the power relations subordinating women and denying their enjoyment of their fundamental rights. The political

framework defining this model assumes women as 'subjects entitled to rights' and 'gender equity' as a normative principle in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of financial instruments, development policies and programmes.

The case study clarifies that what distinguishes this microfinance model from the poverty-alleviation programmes implemented by the World Bank and other international organisations; namely the degree of ownership of the activities carried out by women. Women decide the projects they want to submit on the basis of their own priorities and culture of production. The main idea fuelling Banmujer's microfinance model is to help women out of the poverty circle through what they call 'the economy of the small'. This means facilitating financial resources to satisfy individual and collective needs, improve the livelihoods of men and women living in popular areas, energise local development and contribute to equity in women's and men's social and productive power. In short, micro-credit is assumed as a solidarity tool through which social transformation can be achieved at three levels: in women's livelihoods, in the economic sphere and the cultural mindset. To achieve this, Banmujer has developed an intersectional vision of public microfinance which assumes that women's exclusion and poverty are the result of the interaction of gender, class and ethnic discrimination.

The study from Peru presents the struggle for organisational strengthening and leadership of women workers in the informal economy. It highlights the increasing feminisation of poverty in the informal market. The already precarious condition of many women in poor households is worsened by the inconsistent behaviour of local authorities who deliver little, if anything at all. This case study emphasises the transforming power of networking as a means to enhance the political influence of women in the informal economy (agency). It shows how transformative models of advocacy work can be an effective means to convince local authorities of the urgency to enforce the labour rights of these women. The advocacy and lobbying strategy proposed is highly relevant to the realities of women workers on the ground, and it has helped them to enhance their assertiveness and knowledge of issues that are central to their political agenda. Moreover, they have successfully raised awareness among members of parliament (some have even taken their demands to parliament), union workers and political decision-makers. Thanks to their sustained lobbying, their case has become known among the general public.

The Bolivian case study documents the experience of Ricomida, a women-led chain of food distribution set up in 2006 in poor areas of

Cochabamba. This income-generating project promotes economic justice for women through three main strategies: gender, interculturalism and political influence. The idea driving this project is solidarity economy, and the goal is to provide an alternative to women who would otherwise be forced into taking poorly paid, highly risky temporary jobs. Ricomida promotes individual and collective profit-making, the possibility for women to work near their family, and family and community access to nutritious food. A revolving fund ensures access to credit to improve service delivery and the quality of meals offered to the public. Ricomida offers low-income community members the possibility of accessing good-quality meals at affordable prices. The feminist organisation that accompanies this initiative follows the model of 'feminist critical economy' whose main features are: eradication of the economic invisibility of women in neoclassical economic thought; conceptual redefinition of labour and deconstruction of the androcentric world vision that locates men as the only subject and agent of economic, social and cultural change; and rejection of the false opposition between production and reproduction. On a broader level, the Ricomida project stresses the importance of urban spaces in transforming patterns of food consumption, especially if one considers the devastating impact of junk food in our eating culture.

In line with our discussion on alternatives, a relevant question at this stage is, what do these case studies offer in terms of proposals for alternative economic and development paradigms in the region and globally? We turn to these proposals in the next section.

Transforming from Below: Solidarity Economy from the Perspective of Grassroots Women

In the first instance, the eight case studies compel us to rethink the economy from the complexity of women's everyday existence. In this sense, they expose the fissures of the capitalist system from below, unveiling the logics of domination at work in local spaces and their interconnection with power structures at the macro level. They also validate the experiential knowledge of women who have been key contributors to socioeconomic development but who nevertheless remain invisible subjects in macroeconomic analysis. At the local level, they document innovative examples of micro-models of solidarity economy which are designed according to women's contextual realities. These models aim to fulfil the practical, productive and strategic needs of women, emphasising the importance of rights-based development models. Moreover, they stress the need to achieve a culture of violence-eradication, in particular the forms of violence against women generated by the neoliberal economic model. In the

same way, the experiences highlight the added value of holistic visions of development, suggesting that rooted integral approaches are more appropriate for they take stock of the multidimensional nature of economic development, the power relations affecting economic policies and practices, and the complex heterogeneity of women and men on the ground.

The micro-models highlighted women's leadership in local production, promote hybrid modes of trading goods/produce, and foster socio-productive models that promote cooperativism and production for local markets. These are all strategic options that ensure food security for many households in the region and strengthen the capacity of small-scale producers and entrepreneurs to counteract the multiple crises affecting their livelihoods. These initiatives deserve serious and sustained support from governments and donor agencies.

Food Sovereignty from a Grassroots Women's Rights Perspective

Echoing the critique made by feminist and women activists and scholars, the case studies suggest that it is urgent to rethink the current agricultural model from the lens of food sovereignty. The different development modalities proposed are bound by one important tenet: women's rights to produce and trade in accordance with their own priorities, culture, and contextual realities. A fundamental issue here is that economic activities must be enshrined in an idea of development with dignity and solidarity. To grassroots women, the human rights dimension of economic policies is a key issue, which continues to be overlooked by macroeconomic theory. Consequently, they stress the need to lobby governments so that they comply with commitments made in the framework of women's social, cultural and economic rights (for instance, the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women – CEDAW – and Beijing) and with conventions protecting the rights of indigenous and Afro-descendent women as people.

The case studies emphasise the complex heterogeneity of women informing the reality of local development, providing insights into how we can enrich gender analysis by incorporating intersecting variables such as race/ethnicity, social class, age, gender and sexual identity. In this specific sense, the case studies expose the pitfalls of orthodox economic analysis which has failed to engage in analysis of the overlapping hegemonies at work in the neoliberal economic model: class, patriarchal and racial hegemonies collaborate under a common banner. This common banner is profit maximisation at the lowest possible cost regardless of its human consequences. The case studies suggest that these overlapping hegemonies affect women in distinctive ways. For instance, because of their constructed inferiority, black and indigenous women

pay a heavy price. Clearly, grassroots women's grounded interpretation of the intersections of power affecting the economy permits a more complex reading of women's trajectories towards empowerment and agency.

From this angle, the case studies suggest that economic analysis and development models that do not include a concern with intersectional gender justice are doomed to be flawed. The major risk would be to privilege women of a specific social group in detriment of others who are less visible or socially constructed as doubly or triply inferior.

Decolonising and 'depatriarchalising' the Nation-state: The Need to Shift the Cultural Mindset of Latin America

Another proposal emerging from the eight case studies is the fact that participatory processes of economic transformation are also political and cultural. It is not enough to transform the economy; systemic transformation requires deconstructing the dominant mindset. In this sense, the studies reposition the key role of the state as regulator of the economy and as the one that must ensure the equal distribution of wealth and resources. Parallel to this, they propose to decolonise and depatriarchalise society and the state, meaning to put an end to gender blindness, racism and the heteronormative, patriarchal culture-shaping policymaking. This is an important political project in many countries, and it is women who have led the struggle.

In this respect, they confirm the feminist critique that social and cultural aspects are inextricable from the economic models at work in a given context and that the divide between the social, the economic, the ethical and the ecological is not only ideological but also contributes to allowing human rights abuses by multinational enterprises to go unpunished. One specific proposal here is not to dissociate production and reproduction: they are two humps of the same camel. In line with feminist criticism, it is suggested that policymakers should refrain from assuming women to be altruistic providers of care in public spaces and quintessential providers of care in private ones (Molyneux, 2007). The experiences reject a purely economic approach to the issue of care, stressing the need to include an ethic of caring for people and nature in economic thinking.

Towards a New Pattern of Accumulation: An Economy of *Buen Vivir*

Overtly or tacitly, the case studies situate women's experiences with the economy in a conceptual and value frame that recalls the paradigm of *Buen Vivir*. The idea of economic development proposed is inseparable from value structures that are beneficial for society as a whole. To borrow from the Venezuelan

experience, economics and the economy should be at the service of 'the highest possible sum of happiness for everyone and nature'. In this way, the experiences redefine the economy as a human exercise affected by power relations and where the struggle to acknowledge and respect the limited nature of our planet's resources is central.

Here again, they follow the anti-systemic critique engrained in the degrowth and *Buen Vivir* paradigms: economic activities, agricultural production, food chains and any business activity involving an effect on nature must be consistent with the idea that nature's resources are finite and that ensuring the well-being of people and nature is the responsibility of men and women (Gudynas, 2011; Ramírez, 2010). The issues raised situate the debate on economic alternatives in the framework of broad and intertwined social aspirations: economic, social, gender and environmental justice.

To governments and international institutions, women recommend working towards the consolidation of a long-term development model. This model must reflect national priorities and break with the logic of agribusiness led monoculture and unfettered extractivism – both are threatening the daily existence of women, their families, their communities. Some policy recommendations pointing in this direction include a new approach to the relationship between capital and labour. This involves ensuring that men and women workers are the primary beneficiaries of their work and guarantee their right to invest their surplus in the social well-being of their families and communities. Other recommendations include the following:

- Production and social reproduction are inseparable: policy reforms and cultural change are needed in order to achieve an equal redistribution of the rights and responsibilities associated with social reproduction. The main argument is that only then will progress have been made in terms of equal levels of emancipation for men and women.

- Economic models should be enshrined in a two-fold ethic of care (caring for human life and nature). Models should also be informed by women's accumulated knowledge of sustainable solutions to the current food and climate crises.

- Economic models should enforce the human rights of women workers and reject financial speculation on natural resources. Concrete policy

proposals here are: ensure that policies promote production patterns that are based upon local and national development agendas; ensure that economic activity on the ground guarantees the self-sufficiency of women and their communities; ensure that it corrects gender-unjust relations between men and women (mindset shifting); ensure it preserves biodiversity and seeds which are fundamental to the right to adequate food and water of future generations; ensure it protects women's right to develop endogenous models of production and redistribution, and their right to productive assets (land tenure being a crucial asset).

Moving on: Challenges Ahead

Like other alternatives reflecting the complexity of Latin American social reality, those put forward in the eight studies are not free from dilemmas. All experiences raise the issue (without resolving it) of how to value women's contribution to the care economy away from the monetary logic driving the current neoliberal economic model. The cases of Colombia, Peru and Bolivia raise the important question of how to incorporate, with justice and equity, women workers of the informal economy in a labour market that is structurally segmented due to gender and racial prejudice. The experience from Venezuela raises two major questions: can an alternative model of microfinance really exist outside global capitalism? And, how can we negotiate the tension between a state's efforts to empower excluded women and its participation in speculative global financial markets, oil markets in particular?

The case study from Bolivia leaves us with the question of how to preserve a national culture of healthy food consumption at a time when global food trends tend to homogenise our eating cultures. The Guatemalan experience poses two major questions: why are so many people enduring food insecurity and hunger in countries with sufficient resources? And, how can national governments develop economic models which promote food sovereignty, social justice and the rights of nature in a global context of unfettered trade and financial speculation? Finally, the experiences from Ecuador and Mexico leave us with the question of how resilient innovative micro-models can be when the mainstream tourism industry views environmental protection as unprofitable. The Colombian case study raises the issue of how to construct strategic alliances with trade unions in countries where unionism not only has been demonised but is also affected by a patriarchal bias against women workers, let alone women union leaders.

Throughout the eight experiences, grassroots women insist on the necessity to advance in the construction of holistic models which consider their economic, social, cultural, sexual and reproductive rights. These experiences also raise important challenges to economic analysis in general and feminist economic thinking in particular. A first challenge is to pursue work on interpretative frameworks that bring the experiential knowledges of grassroots women to the forefront of mainstream economic theory. Second, analysis should move beyond gender-based discrimination to include intersectionality. The experiences show that even though gender continues to be a primary vector of oppression, it is not enough to fully explain the complexity of women's subordinated status in economics and the economy. Clearly the challenges are great but so is women's power to transform social conflict into opportunities for gender and social justice. The experiences show that women are designing and implementing alternatives for sustainable economic development in local spaces and that these deserve serious consideration by national and international policymakers.

Note:

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THE TIMES THEY ARE A CHANGING: WHAT ROLE FOR DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION IN TIMES OF ECONOMIC CRISIS?

Ruth Doggett and Fleachta Phelan

"The only truth is music". Jack Kerouac.

Introduction

Lately, it seems the music reflecting most truth is the Bob Dylan song released in 1964, titled 'The times they are a changing'. As development educators in Ireland, we find ourselves acting in a rapidly changing local and global context. Opportunities for change are tangible, the big development frameworks are being renegotiated, new and transformative social movements are gaining momentum in different parts of the world, and the 2012 World Economic Forum theme called for 'a great transformation'.

This article will argue that if development education (DE) is in support of a society – that is: 'critically aware of, knowledgeable about and responsive to the issues of global interdependence; that expresses meaningful actions in solidarity with those who are oppressed or poor, and through actions that support local change in support of sustainable development, human rights, social justice and the eradication of poverty' (Krausse, 2010: 19) – then we desperately need to heed Dylan's call to 'keep [our] eyes wide [for] the chance won't come again'. The article will begin by exploring the assumptions inherent in the current dominant economic paradigm and present evidence that a shift in thinking may already be underway. It argues that development education is well placed to support and nurture a debate on economic approaches, and to broaden and enrich it with a global perspective.

We discuss Comhlámh's (the association of returned development workers and volunteers in Ireland) approach to, and rationale for, educating for economic justice and argue that the global economic crisis clearly opens up an opportunity to explore new and alternative economic paradigms. In particular, we consider the importance and impact of global trade on development and poverty eradication, and the ongoing opportunities for change at policy level. International trade policies are one practical expression of the current dominant and damaging economic framework and thus we see DE as having a role to play in supporting people in Ireland to debate and discuss alternative economic paradigms, and to use our democratic voice and take action to bring about change.

The ancient Greek word 'krisis' (the root of the word 'crisis') itself calls for judgement, turning points and new beginnings. Can development education embrace the new reality, and live up to its potential by creating ongoing local-global solidarity, supporting people to develop a real understanding about the root causes of global injustice and supporting action at a local and global level to address them? At such a crucial time globally, wouldn't it be irresponsible not to?

Development Education's Role in Nurturing a Shift in the Dominant Economic Paradigm

In the period since the industrial revolution, and particularly since the last comparable global crisis, the Great Depression of the 1930s, a focus on economic growth for development has become the norm and the dominant index for human development. Sustained growth is a central tenet of the current global economic system. Until the recent global financial crisis this principle seemed sacrosanct, and went largely unquestioned by the general public and most commentators or experts, along with an acceptance of the importance and efficacy of privatisation, free markets, economic globalisation and deregulation. This paradigm reinforces and feeds the notion of *Homo Economicus*; that is, the assumption that people are primarily motivated by self interest and the desire to maximise their own wealth. It is also the model underpinning dominant models of development, which depend heavily upon gross domestic product (GDP) as the primary indicator of development. If development education is to play a role in creating new economic paradigms, we must first recognise the pervasiveness of these assumptions and acknowledge our role in supporting society's need to undergo a fundamental shift in how we see ourselves and understand our interdependence in a globalised world.

There is, however, evidence to suggest that this shift is in process. History shows us, as for example with the historical move away from Ptolemy's long believed theory that the earth was the centre of the universe, or more recently the international acceptance that climate change is a real and pressing global problem, that change begins as a slow shift, with emerging evidence giving rise to gradual questioning. This questioning eventually achieves momentum and the acceptance of a new paradigm. Within development discourse, Amartya Sen's (1999) description of *Development as Freedom* and subsequent contributions by scholars such as Martha Nussbaum (1995, 2000, 2003a), may be seen to reflect changing perspectives, with the emergence of the capabilities approach as a predominant model for human development and wellbeing. The creation of the United Nation's (UN) Human Development

Index, inspired by the capabilities approach, and the emergence of the New Economics Foundation's 'Index of Human Well-being and Environmental Impact' or its 'National Accounts of Well-being', challenge the assumption of *Homo Economicus* and highlight the fact that averaged GDP figures or economic growth rates can mask huge inequality within nation states.

India, for example, is much-cited as a model of development engendered by economic growth, with supporters of this approach arguing that the gradual liberalisation of its economy since the 1990s has resulted in sustained high growth rates which have in turn propelled development. However, it is important to note that during this period income inequality increased in India, while 43 percent of Indian children are currently deemed to be underweight or malnourished. In fact India contains more malnourished children than all of sub-Saharan Africa, and one in every three malnourished children in the world lives in India (Alliance Against Hunger and Malnutrition, 2011). Moreover, World Bank development indicators note that over 75 percent of people in India live on less than $2 a day, which severely challenges the notion that increased economic growth results in poverty reduction (World Bank, 2011).

Beyond the individual approach to development, concepts of ecological debt attempt to establish and raise awareness about the economic value of ecosystem services to the planet. Also, the work of Richard Wilkinson and Kate Pickett in *The Spirit Level*, argues that more equal societies result in healthier, happier and more successful populations, and contributes to an ongoing debate on the role of economics, growth, profit and wealth distribution in human society and development.

As development educators, in this context, we should also draw on recent research outlining the importance of frames theory and cultural values in ensuring the efficacy of our work. The *Finding Frames* (2011) and *Common Causes* (2010) reports reinforce the need for development educators, as part of wider civil society, to play a direct role in championing values such as 'empathy towards those who are facing the effects of humanitarian and environmental crises, concern for future generations, and recognition that human prosperity resides in relationships – both with one another and with the natural world' (Crompton, 2010: 5). At the same time, development educators should challenge the primacy of the values of self interest dominant in the industrialised global North espoused within mainly economic paradigms of development. The questioning of global and local economic systems is taking place more widely than in a long time, and it is our role as development

educators to nurture it, to activate and reinforce 'beyond-self values', encourage diversity of perspectives and increase the capacity of the public to engage in a critical analysis of, and debate on, our current economic frameworks and paradigms.

The Importance of Trade Justice for Development

Both the priorities which trade rules and policies seek to promote and protect, and the very structures and regulations (or lack thereof) that govern our international trading world, are a direct reflection of the values and assumptions of the dominant economic paradigm. The current global trade system keeps the global South poor, stuck in the role of exporters of unprocessed goods, which the global North then uses to fuel its industries and continued economic progress. Historically, rich nations reached their level of economic development through developing (and at times protecting) their economies, continually expanding their capacity for value addition and moving into more lucrative industries and sectors. However, impoverished nations are being prevented from climbing up the economic ladder in the same way as a result of the economic paradigm which insists that free trade, liberalisation and competition are paramount. A global 'race to the bottom' in terms of wage rates has also had negative impacts for workers in the global South and North.

Fundamentally, trade justice matters if we are serious about moving towards a world without poverty. Statistics on global trade, such as the potential value of trade to impoverished countries compared to aid, are contested and sometimes hard to come by. However, most commentators on all sides of the political spectrum seem to agree that increased and fairer trade would be of benefit to countries of the global South and could lead to reduced poverty. The European Union's (EU) latest communication on trade and development shows that Least Developed Countries (LDCs) only account for 1.3 percent of world trade, with their share of world GDP having declined from 0.7 percent in 2000 to 0.6 percent in 2010, despite containing 12 percent of the world's population, (Directorate General for Trade of the European Commission, 2012). Europe, by contrast contains 7.3 percent of the global population, but accounts for 20 percent of global trade.

Addressing global trade injustices could help to narrow these trading inequalities and make a big difference to the economies of Southern countries. For example, the Fairtrade Foundation UK has estimated that addressing US and EU trade distorting cotton subsidies could result in an increased income of $250m each year for LDC and cotton-dependent Benin, Burkina Faso, Chad and Mali. In the US, subsidies go to 25,000 cotton farmers, while 10 million

farmers depend on cotton for their income in West Africa (Fairtrade Foundation, 2010). In another example, Comhlámh's policy report (2010) notes that Kenya's use of export taxes as a tool for development resulted in the creation of 7,000 more jobs, increased incomes for another 40,000 people, and boosted earnings of €8million in the leather processing industry, over a short number of years. And yet the EU is asking Kenya and other poor countries in trade negotiations to sign away their right to use export taxes as a pro-development economic policy tool.

Trade Policy from Global to Local

Bearing in mind Ireland's position as a member of the EU, there are numerous opportunities for local action supported by development education having a global impact. At an international policy level, a lot is happening on trade and there are a bewildering number of processes to follow. Significant civil society protests in 1999, aligned with a strong line from countries of the global South in trade talks, resulted in the World Trade Organisation (WTO) negotiations launched in 2001 being announced, with much fanfare, as the Doha *Development* Agenda (our emphasis). And yet a decade has passed without wealthy countries agreeing to a global trade deal that addresses the concerns of impoverished countries. In response to the lack of movement at the WTO, rich countries have embarked on a series of separate, bilateral or multilateral free trade agreements with individual countries or smaller regions. These agreements conveniently enable them to adopt a 'divide and conquer' approach, securing trade policy concessions from smaller groups of countries which had refused to yield under pressure in WTO negotiations, where there is greater strength in numbers among countries of the global South. The intricate and complex web of these bilateral trade negotiations and agreements makes it much harder to follow and monitor what is happening in terms of trade policy and its impact on development.

The next level of international trade policy is European. The key actor defining the trade policy of EU member states is the European Commission. For many years, concerns have been raised that Europe's trade policy rides roughshod over the rights of countries of the global South to define their own economic policy, and to develop their own economies, just as EU member states did over decades previously. Comhlámh believes that Europe's current trade policy undermines the EU's laudable commitment to development, and may in fact perpetuate poverty, inequality and hunger in some of the poorest countries in the world. Moreover in recent years, while development policy debates have stressed the importance of policy coherence for development, it is arguable that

EU development policy is becoming more coherent with trade policy, rather than the other way around.

The Directorate General (DG) for Trade of the European Commission recently published (in January 2012) a communication on Trade and Development, which does nothing to address the substantial and numerous issues and concerns raised by development activists in the global North and South. Disappointingly, it appears to be more informed by European business interests than by promoting pro-poor economic development or respecting the right of impoverished nations to use the same economic policy tools that European nations used while developing their own economies. Moreover, it blithely ignores the ongoing public and intellectual debate around economic orthodoxies, the wisdom of deregulation and the relationship between economic policy and society. Amazingly, the communication does not even mention or acknowledge that there are different schools of thought when it comes to how trade can promote poverty eradication.

As regards Irish policy on trade and development, there is much to engage with and pay attention to. Just under a year ago the traditional junior Ministry for Development became the Ministry for Trade and Development (note that trade comes first in the title). The increased Irish focus on the linkages between trade and development is also to be seen in the new Ireland-Africa strategy, published by the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade in September 2011 at the first ever Ireland-Africa Economic Summit. The strategy outlines a move to deepen and develop Ireland's connection with the continent of Africa, towards a strong political and economic partnership that is mutually beneficial, and in particular supports development in Africa. There is much positive development potential in the strategy, but other parts raise concern for those who work on trade justice issues, that Ireland's relationship with Africa could move to prioritising economic benefit for Ireland over poverty eradication outcomes for our partner countries. There has been surprisingly little discussion and debate on these policy developments among development sector actors in Ireland to date.

This policy environment clearly provides the development education sector with a role to support the making of local-global links, and joining the dots between public debates around economic approaches, policies and orthodoxies here in Ireland and those in the global South. Many complex economic justice issues, such as the role and extent of taxation of different actors in economies, the legitimacy and payability of debt, the appropriateness and efficacy of external economic policy conditionalities, such as liberalisation,

privatisation, deregulation, global competition etc., are being debated and discussed as Irish people feel the impact of the current economic paradigm at home. Such a debate is important, and development education can bring its expertise to bear in supporting a deeper, more critical debate, and in promoting a long global view on these interconnected issues.

It is also key in DE that as well as fostering critical engagement and debate, we also discuss and promote the potential and possibilities for action outcomes. At a surface level it may seem impossible to identify exactly how civil society can play a role in shifting the current economic paradigm to one which places human and ecological well being at its core. But focusing on trade injustice, as one example that has a huge impact on development, can provide a practical avenue for focussed attention allowing people in Ireland to demand the foregrounding of beyond self values and the advancement of human well being across the globe.

Comhlámh's approach to Educating for Economic Justice

For many years, Comhlámh has questioned and debated the way that international economic, finance and trade policy operated, pointing in particular to the devastating impact on impoverished countries of current trade injustices. Using interactive development education methodologies we have emphasised concepts such as interdependence to our participants, outlined the role of global trade rules and structures in perpetuating inequality and injustice, and highlighted our capacity to influence those structures as consumers, citizens and community members. Although an engaged core of our learners have been active on these issues, the perspectives we highlight in our work of Southern movements challenging global economic injustices, have at times seemed abstract to participants who have lived lives of material comfort and lack of economic want during 'Celtic Tiger' Ireland.

In contrast, today we find people in pubs, bars and around the kitchen table, debating and questioning the finer points of international economic and financial policy, the relationship between economic policy and society, the role of international financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the European Central Bank (ECB) and others in defining global economics, and the importance of economic sovereignty. Arguably, countries in the global North, from Ireland to the United States to Greece, are finally catching up on debates on the functioning of economics that have been taking place in the global South for decades, if not for generations.

People in Ireland are now experiencing the structural adjustment, policy conditionalities, diminished public services, enforced privatisation and sell-off of national assets that many countries of the global South have struggled with for decades, often as a result of the trade polices mentioned above, or as a result of policy conditionality from international lenders like the IMF (see for example Christian Aid, 2004 and 2005; Debt and Development Coalition Ireland, 2010; Afri, 2010). The debate around development, and the role of economic policy and its impact on society, has now returned to the global North. Many people are eager to question global and local economic systems, policies and institutions in a way that they never would have a decade ago, understanding at a personal level the potentially devastating impact of adhering to a flawed economic orthodoxy on human life and well being. The formation of Debt Justice Action, a new alliance of academics, community groups, faith groups, Irish trade unions and crucially, global justice organisations, to campaign on Irish debt issues with a global perspective, is just one example of the potential for positive local-global links and action for change in the current economic situation, nationally and internationally. The ability of people in Ireland to make these connections may also have contributed to the recent findings of the latest Eurobarometer poll on development aid published by the Directorate General for Communications in November 2011, which found that Irish people identified trade and finance as the most important policy area apart from development aid in terms of having the biggest impact on impoverished countries.

As international development and trade policy becomes more complex, but also more immediately relevant to a nation undergoing its own structural adjustment, Comhlámh believes development educators are well placed to draw out the local and global connections, and facilitate the ongoing public discussion about economic policies towards reflection, action and engagement. For development and democracy to work, citizens must be engaged, active and constructively question their political representatives on their policy choices. Development education's discursive, open, experiential and participatory approaches can help to create a safe and inquisitive space where active citizens question the rules and orthodoxies of trade, finance, and economic policy. As educators interested in bringing about a more equal world, we can promote constructive questioning, and deconstruct the Thatcherite notion that 'There is no alternative (TINA)' to the current economic paradigm, while not necessarily advocating for any particular 'right answer'.

Perhaps the most useful role that development education can play is highlighting and reflecting the experience, perspectives and policy alternatives of

communities in the global South who are living through poverty, debt, economic policy conditions and lack of economic sovereignty. These people and movements have challenged the economic orthodoxy locally and globally for decades, with concepts like Mother Earth, illegitimate and odious debt, and alternative trading patterns, rules and approaches. A conversation on alternative visions for the world must be nurtured, highlighting positive alternative approaches at grassroots or international level, where economic policy is balanced by social and environmental need.

Comhlámh's forthcoming report, 'Southern Alternatives on Trade and Development', aims to highlight a range of alternatives to current trade rules and policies, as proposed by people and organisations in the global South. We hope that it will provide policy makers, politicians, educators and most importantly people interested in local and global development with ideas and inspiration for alternative economic models that support and develop all strata of society. Comhlámh's activities include an annual Trade Justice Course, monthly development debates on topics such as economic growth and development paradigms, and issue-based workshops, which aim to facilitate critical discussion in Ireland on economic justice. We also try to provide ideas on how people can engage for change through advocacy, lobbying, awareness raising or campaigning. In doing so we see our development education work as responding to the need for people to be critically aware of issues related to the current economic paradigm and ready to respond to the injustices perpetuated by it.

Global and Local Solidarity with 'the Oppressed'

For many years Comhlámh has engaged in development education, policy and advocacy work on international trade and economic justice issues. It has not always been the easiest topic to campaign or communicate on, but we continue to believe it is a primary root cause of global injustice and poverty which deserves attention. As development educators, we must acknowledge the complexity of development and the realities facing the global community, recognising with honesty that there are no quick fixes or easy campaign wins. Supporting people to express meaningful actions, engage in solidarity and contribute to the development of a new global economic paradigm requires us to understand that, as the New Economics Foundation observes, 'people are not like the passive automatons of economic textbooks. They have goals, beliefs and aspirations and they actively construct the world around them through the ways in which they talk, behave and make meaning' (NEF, 2009: 15).

Supporting the public to come to a point of critical understanding of the root causes of global injustice and poverty requires that we do not shy away from what can sometimes seem impossibly technical and complex, or underestimate the willingness and capacity of the public to engage with these difficult development areas. Our experience of working on international trade demonstrates the importance of providing a space for people to take meaningful action in solidarity with communities in the global South, enhance their capacity to make local-global links, and to become citizen experts on complex issues. Many development workers and volunteers returning from time overseas identified unfair trade as a key obstacle to development in their discussions with Comhlámh staff. Sean, a long-term member of our Trade Justice Group, often speaks of being shocked to see Italian tinned tomatoes for sale in markets in Botswana, where he was volunteering, at cheaper prices than those grown locally by subsistence farmers. Stephen, another trade justice activist, spent time in St. Vincent and the Grenadines, and observed there the economic challenges faced by small farmers, making the connection and joining the Trade Justice Group when he returned in order to take action on the issue.

These returned development workers have greatly contributed to the voices of people in Ireland concerned about development, bringing the perspective of activists and movements in the global South. Over the years trade justice activists and movements in the South have appealed to us and other European actors to maintain pressure on our governments to introduce trade policies that are pro-development. Comhlámh is affiliated to an ad hoc but effective global trade justice alliance, which collaborates with civil society groups in the global South and shares information and analysis with European actors, who then amplify the concerns of Southern movements and governments and call on EU and national governments to factor development in when defining trade policy.

The ongoing debates about the real purpose of an economic system in terms of its impact on human well being, the poorest and most vulnerable people locally and globally and the planet, the viability of alternative approaches and the ability and opportunities for all sectors of society to influence economic and trade policy equally will no doubt continue. But the current national context, and possibility for people in Ireland to learn about and from, the experience of their counterparts in the global South, is clearly full of potential for demonstrating beautifully the local-global links, exchange and interdependence which development education strives to make real.

Supporting local and global processes of change

Opening up a complex issue of injustice for people without providing them with options for engagement and action towards change can leave participants depressed at the scale of the problem and feeling disempowered. However supporting participants to think about the power they have as individuals, community members, consumers and citizens can spark people to act for change. Comhlámh has regularly encouraged participants in our development education work to engage in the range of actions available to them to address this issue. This can include buying Fairtrade products, raising awareness among their communities about economic injustice, asking shops they purchase items in about their supply chain, and of course, crucially, engaging as active citizens with their political representative at both national and European level.

As a local action they also have the opportunity to discuss how Ireland and Europe's trade policy can have a positive impact towards reducing global poverty and inequality, and the potential for thinking differently about economic paradigms and orthodoxies. Politicians from all political spectrums who have heard from our supporters have highlighted the importance of citizens raising this topic with them, and been very complementary about their engagement. For example former Member of the European Parliament (MEP) for Dublin, Eoin Ryan, in the lead up to the 2009 European elections, wrote to a constituent saying that 'I think that it is of the utmost importance that people such as yourself bring your concerns and these issues to our attention' after he had been in engaged in discussion on trade justice. Similarly, former Minister of State with responsibility for development Peter Power wrote to Comhlámh's Trade Justice Group in 2009 saying:

> "I would like to take this opportunity to complement the members of the Trade Justice Group who give up their time to campaign on the important issue of fairer international trade rules and practices which hold such potential for developing countries."

Training participants have described how positive and inspiring they have found the experience of discussing alternatives with their TDs (members of the Irish parliament) and MEPs. For example, one participant said: 'it made me feel more involved in the democratic process,' while another observed: 'I truly feel more empowered with regards to "politics" which hereto was a bit of a scary arena for me!'

Please Heed the Call: Don't Stand in the Hall

It is clear that the time is now for development educators to engage with the difficult but important conversations around economics, finance and society, which are taking place here in Ireland and in other nations of the global North. We have a tremendous opportunity, and perhaps a responsibility, to bring a global perspective to bear in public discussion, towards the development of a new economic paradigm which places values other than profit, growth and wealth at its centre and enables an equitable and sustainable world. If we in development education truly believe in a world where people understand the importance of, and take action for, sustainable development, human rights, social justice and the eradication of poverty, then now is a key moment. While development education alone can clearly not save the world from runaway climate change or eradicate global or local poverty, the consequences of inaction for the planet, and for local and global communities everywhere, are stark and devastating, with the continued acceptance of the current economic paradigm putting the economic and social interests of the few above the many. If we do not respond to this opportune moment for development education moment, surely we will kick ourselves in years to come! Let's be brave, roll up our sleeves and believe in our power to change the world.

To give Dylan the final words:

Don't stand in the doorway
Don't block up the hall
For he that gets hurt
Will be he who has stalled
There's a battle outside
And it is ragin'
It'll soon shake your windows
And rattle your walls
For the times they are a-changin'.

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OCCUPY DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION

Alan Hayes and Eimear McNally

Introduction

On Wednesday, 25 January 2012 I walked past the Department of Finance on my way to a meeting to plan a development education (DE) training event. I was in a rush. When I saw the ten or twelve young people chained to the entrance of the Department, I smiled my support to them and hurried on; I was late for my meeting to plan a training that would engage young people in learning and action for a more just and sustainable world. Immediately, the juxtaposition struck me and I felt a strange combination of delight and shame; delight that this was happening and shame that I was not sitting beside them. How many of us have had a similar experience since the Occupy movement began last year?

As development educators, we are working hard to raise awareness of global justice issues, working through educational processes to empower and enable learners to become agents of change – to become active, engaged citizens. We are busily focused on our strategies and our objectives trying to prove the impact of our work, while an improbable activism explodes on the streets around us. Is this the result of years of development education work or has it happened despite DE? What does Occupy mean to us as development educators? What could it become? How can we relate to this curious and exciting phenomenon?

This article examines some challenges and opportunities that the Occupy Movement by its very presence raises for us as development educators. A number of assumptions underpin this article: that our current models of economic development are failing us and the rest of the world; that a deep shift in values and worldviews is urgently needed to enable us to make the transition to new models of development; and that education is central to this shift.

Development Education (DE) and Occupy: Challenges and Opportunities

DE and the Occupy Movement share a common synergy built on their desire for action and change in the way the world works. Development educators seek to identify the root causes of poverty and inequality, encourage people to take a critical look at the world around them and take action to bring about a more just and equitable world. Historically, DE has had a focus on the

Third/Developing/Majority World or global South – namely the parts of the world most adversely affected by the development of the global North.

The Occupy Movement, like DE, asks questions concerning social justice and equality. It demands a redistribution of power and wealth from the 1 percent back to the 99 percent. Occupy has a particular focus on ending corporate greed and influence over democratic structures (NewYork City General Assembly, Sept 29 2011). It has sparked a debate about how decisions affecting our lives are made behind closed doors and how dominant fiscal and political systems in the world have failed us. The desire to address issues of injustice in our society is nothing new yet the realities of how and who experiences these issues are changing. The global economic recession of 2008 has impacted on millions of people across the world who never expected to be what Brother Kevin Crowley of the Dublin Capuchins describes as the 'new poor'. A critical mass of citizens in the United States (US), where Occupy first emerged in September 2011, is beginning to comprehend the vast inequalities within their own society (Plutocracy Now, 2011). The initial protest camp, was prompted by a call from Adbusters, (a Canadian media activist group) to occupy the largest financial centre in North America, Wall Street in New York City. (www.occupytogether.org/occupy-wall-st/).

The first challenge to us as development educators relates to the historical origins of DE as an activity of non-governmental development organisations (NGDOs), raising awareness about the realities of the communities with which we work overseas. Awareness raising activities on poverty in the global South have supported NGOs' fundraising efforts but have also helped to create public support for Ireland's programme of Overseas Development Assistance (ODA). Today, Irish Aid devotes a percentage of the ODA budget towards development education, the key aim of which is to inform the public and encourage them to be critically engaged with Ireland's ODA programme (Irish Aid, 2007). Furthermore, Irish Aid expects a portion of the funding it gives to Irish NGDOs to be spent in Ireland on DE. Many Irish NGDOs, such as Trócaire, have always had a strong emphasis on DE and continue to do so. The increased investment in DE over the last twenty years is a considerable achievement for and tribute to the passionate educators and activists who began this work when there was no official funding (Bracken, Bryan and Fiedler, 2011). Today, many organisations that deliver DE are not NGDOs but recognise the value of embedding a global perspective in the education work that they do. However, critics argue that DE presently runs the risk of becoming de-politicised and detached from current local development issues as a result (Bryan, 2011).

This raises the first key challenge that Occupy presents to the DE sector, which is two-pronged. Firstly, how can we engage more effectively with local development issues? Secondly, how can we engage the public critically with both local and global development issues? These questions have been recently raised by NGDOs and educators alike. The fact remains that many people are unaware of what development education is. Why have the public not been more critically engaged with development and global justice? Why do so many people still feel that what happens 'over there' or 'out there' has nothing to do with their own lives? Recent research in the UK has highlighted the lack of progress since the mid-1980s in engaging the public critically in development (Finding Frames, 2010). Development NGOs are consequently seeking new and more meaningful ways to involve their donors and supporters in their work. Think Global, the UK-based DE organisation, analysed this research and proposed that 'deliberative engagement' was needed in classrooms to properly engage learners in the complexity of development (Hogg, 2011).

In issue 12 of *Policy and Practice*, Andy Storey (2011) criticised the blind spot that NGDOs have developed in relation to Ireland's current economic crisis. This relates not only to DE work, but also the advocacy work of NGDOs. Did they not have first-hand experience of the damage wreaked by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) through its lending conditionalities and economic restructuring programmes in countries like Zambia? How could they not see this as an opportunity to apply their knowledge and experience of the global South to Ireland's economic plight? Why have they not added their voice to the debate about Ireland's relationship with the IMF? Arguably, these difficult questions create a divide between those doing DE in NGDOs and those whose DE practice is rooted in activism on particular issues like trade and debt.

As the global context of development changes it creates more reasons and opportunities for us as educators to strengthen the links between the local and global. Occupy is an opportunity to make this connection clear. Our understanding of development and progress, in Ireland and elsewhere, must evolve and be regarded as a shared responsibility if we are to generate sustainable means of moving forward as a society (Giri and Qarles Van Ufford, 2004: 20). The major challenges we face over the next ten years require responses on multiple levels: personal, local and global. These challenges are compounded by the increasing complexity and interdependence of our world, and our inability to devise appropriate ways of responding to this. Many NGDOs still rely on a linear model of cause and effect in their approach to development, a model that is not appropriate for all development challenges in today's world (Green, 2008: Annex).

Climate change, to take one important example, is the key context which will shape, if not determine, what can be achieved in terms of development in the future (Trócaire, 2011: 12). However, despite knowledge of and expressions of urgency regarding climate change, there remains a concerning lack of decisive action at a global level on this issue. We are already feeling the consequences of climate chaos here in Ireland (floods, changing seasons, etc.) and we know it has been affecting poorer communities in Africa and Asia for years. The world urgently needs a rapid transition to low-energy ways of living based on a new understanding of progress and wellbeing. Moreover, the shifting power centres, from a rich North and poor South polarity to a multi-polared world with the growing BRIC economies of Brazil, China, India and Russia increasing their influence in global decision-making, requires new thinking in how we address global issues (Fiedler, 2011).

For countries like Ireland to reduce their consumption of fossil fuels and carbon emissions to the level required, we will need engaged and informed citizens. Duncan Green argues that what is needed are active citizens engaging with and co-creating effective states (Green, 2008). At an individual level, active citizenship means developing self-confidence and overcoming the insidious way in which powerlessness can become internalised. In relation to other people, it means developing the capacity to negotiate and influence decisions. And when empowered individuals work together, it means involvement in collective action at various levels of society. Ultimately, active citizenship means engaging with the political system to build an effective state and assuming some degree of responsibility for the public domain (Ibid: 19). Echoing one of Albert Einstein's renowned quotations, Etienne Wenger says:

> "We cannot address today's challenges with yesterday's perspectives. We need new visions of what is possible. We need new models to learn how to learn at multiple levels of scale, from the personal to the global. Increasing our capacity to learn (individually and collectively) is taking on a special urgency if we see ourselves caught, as I believe we are, in a race between learning and the possibility of self-destruction" (Etienne Wenger, 2006).

An additional challenge, therefore, that Occupy presents to us as development educators is to rethink our theories of change. How does change happen, at a local, national and global level? When we think about attempts to enact 'top-down' global solutions to development challenges such as climate change, we see the disillusioning watering-down of promises and commitments. This makes it difficult to be optimistic that a binding agreement to lower

emissions will emerge from the United Nations (UN) Rio+20 meeting this year. In fact the lack of progress made by international institutions like the UN forces us to consider how do we scale up local solutions? As development educators, we often raise awareness about the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), a set of eight overarching global development goals that were agreed in 2000 and are due to be achieved by 2015. However, are these goals really tackling the root causes that perpetuate global poverty and inequality? How relevant or empowering are they to communities in the global South? As we engage more critically with proposed global solutions to our common challenges we seem to be struggling to resolve them, particularly with the expediency that is required. This challenges our understanding of leadership and questions the kind of leadership needed to make the transition to a sustainable, just and more equal world. It challenges us to distribute decision-making power about development back to communities themselves. Do we need individual superheroes to carry us into the new world or collaborative models of leadership that include all perspectives in forging a common path to the future?

What is Occupy?

Occupy is a leaderless grassroots movement, that is based on local development and justice issues. It is also consciously a global movement, recognising other communities affected by similar injustices. These communities connect in solidarity with each other in horizontal lines of communication; there is no global headquarters or central command. It is therefore a truly a self-organising network that, in many ways, challenges traditional notions of where power lies and who we need to influence to access it.

What would be different about our work as development educators if we saw the world as a complex living system, in which even a small change can have a big impact? Rather than scaling solutions up we could we scale them across. Real learning is taking place in Occupy, learning that can be disseminated across to other communities using new communications tools. Social media, for example, enabled communities of resistance to mobilise themselves in the Arab Spring, with the wonderful result of protesting Egyptians buying pizza for picketing union workers in Wisconsin as an act of solidarity (Gawker, 2011). This immediate 'translocal' learning (community-to-community) using new technology is central to Occupy as a movement. Occupy seems to be a site for learning to learn our way out of self-destruction, as Etienne Wenger calls for in the quote above.

In *Walk Out, Walk On*, Deborah Frieze and Margaret Wheatley (2011) describe communities who have taken the bold step of walking out of the

systems that were failing them and walking on to create systems that worked for them. They describe a 'Two Loop' theory of change whereby people begin to walk out of a system as its unsustainability becomes increasingly apparent. These people meet and begin to walk on together to co-create and experiment, forging the way for a new system to emerge and replace the old. During this phase of change no-one knows how the new system will evolve. It is a phase of experimentation, struggle, failure and creativity. Often what the pioneers are doing is difficult to understand from the perspective of those who are still embedded in the old, dying system. As these networks develop, they evolve into communities of practice and eventually into systems that have influence.

Occupy is a movement that seeks to make a transition out of a failing system and into a new system that is viable. Those at the Occupy camp in Dublin and elsewhere have literally walked out of the spaces that have failed them. They are now co-creating this indefinable, mercurial, frustratingly slippery creature of a movement on our behalf. Who knows what Occupy is or could eventually become? But one thing that is certain is that the protestors have reclaimed a space on the streets and opened up a space in our imagination. If we enter this imaginative space, we can start to leave behind our assumptions and conditioning from the world that has failed us. We can begin to unlearn the ways of thinking that created our problems in the first place. Crucially, we can begin to relearn new ways of thinking that may lead us to solutions that are sustainable. We need this space, physically and imaginatively, to exist long enough for us to shed the old assumptions – it takes time, they are deeply embedded! – and begin to formulate new ways of seeing and being in the world.

Education and Action

Another challenge that Occupy presents to us is the relationship between education and action in the DE experience. Where does the action element of DE occur? Is it after a learning process or is part of the learning process? Is it a linear model (education leading to action) or a spiral model (action/reflection – praxis)? Occupy resembles the popular education movements of Latin America, with their opportunities for assembly and discussion. Many Occupies, for example, run Occupy universities – ongoing talks, lectures and conversations about related topics.

Occupy is like a research laboratory for social change. When you enter the Occupy space you can see experimentation at work – new economic models such as gift culture and new ways of organising and relating to each other such as consensus-based decision-making. Occupy is demonstrating new societal models (Shareable, 2011) and though these models will not always work

perfectly – in fact, they may often fail and provoke criticism – we must embrace the possibility of failure in order to be creative and develop new paradigms (Robinson, 2010). Importantly, feedback loops exist in the Occupy camps that allow the camps and the broader movement to learn as it goes, to continually reflect and act and evolve, much like living systems do. What would our DE practice be like if we modelled it on a living cell?

The analogy of the 'imaginal cell' seems apt for Occupy. Imaginal cells are those that become active when a caterpillar dies and they continue to exist by eating the dying carcass of the caterpillar. They find each other and cluster together eventually reaching a critical mass. When this happens a dormant gene is awakened that triggers the metamorphosis from caterpillar to butterfly. Imaginal cells do not themselves know what the caterpillar will become, but they are compelled to assist transformation. They unlock the inner potential of this living being to renew itself (Cohen and Chopra, 2007). Educators cannot predict the result of facilitating a learning process with others but they need to approach the task with 'mature innocence and creative commitment' so that the solutions can emerge (Ibid). This is another challenge that Occupy presents to us: how do we see ourselves as educators? Are we heroes with the 'right' answers or hosts of a process of discovery for learners? Most development educators are passionate about the transformative methodologies that they use, which distinguishes DE from formal teaching. But, when is the right time for structured teaching with specific learning outcomes and when is the right time for learner-led discovery and experimentation?

Future Challenges

Looking to the future, there are some key challenges and questions for us as development educators. How do we bring the conversations taking place at Occupy sites around the world from the protest camps into our own communities? There is a hunger to engage in authentic dialogue about the justice issues affecting our lives. While some people are more concerned with local issues because that is what they are ready to deal with, others understand that local issues are inextricably linked to global issues of debt, trade, environment, education and human rights; just some of the strands creating the web of connections we live in. How do we continue to walk out of the systems that have failed us and work collectively to create resilient ways of living? How do we use the sparks of the debate that has begun to light more fires, to ignite more powerful conversations and build a truly public forum for discussion and action? We are more interdependent and connected to the rest of the world

and its people than at any other time in history, when we shake our part of the web it will shake theirs too. Surely this is the right time to try something new?

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Alan and **Eimear** were part of a group of development educators and activists who hosted a series of World Café conversations at Occupy Dame Street in November 2011. The conversations explored the questions "What does Occupy mean to you?" and "What is the potential for Occupy?" You can read more about their experiences of this on their blogs. Both authors are writing

in an individual capacity and their views do not represent those of the Irish Development Education Association (IDEA) or the National Youth Council of Ireland (NYCI).

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The Importance of Translation Studies for Development Education

Anna Bernacka

In this Perspectives article, **Anna Bernacka** considers the role of the translator as a mediator between cultures. Rather than merely supplanting one form of words for another, the translator has the capacity to enhance our understanding of development issues and indigenous cultures by mediating ideas across cultural and national boundaries. The article presents case studies where translation has played a crucial role in bringing new learning and wider understanding to rich, indigenous cultures in India and South Africa thereby enabling languages to become more widely 'utilized and promoted through education, working towards formal protection by the respective state constitutions and curricula'.

Introduction

Translation is not merely an interlinguistic process. It is more complex than replacing source language text with target language text and includes cultural and educational nuances that can shape the options and attitudes of recipients. Translations are never produced in a cultural or political vacuum and cannot be isolated from the context in which the texts are embedded (Dingwaney and Maier, 1995:3). As David Katan in *Translating Cultures* puts it: '...the translator is a bilingual mediating agent between monolingual communication participants in two different language communities' (2004: 16). Therefore translators not only have to be intermediaries between different language systems, but also have to be intercultural mediators – or as it has been stated by Aniela Korzeniowska and Piotr Kuhiwczak in *Successful Polish-English Translation Tricks of the Trade* – they have to be both 'bilingual and bicultural' (2006: 71). Thus, translation performs a crucial role in our understanding of the cultural 'other'.

The role of the translator in mediating source ideas across cultural and national boundaries places him or her in a unique position in particular for understanding a range of development issues. Translating narratives from the global South is an invaluable source of knowledge about unfamiliar languages, indigenous cultures and experiences, and is immensely useful for gaining an understanding of non-European societies. Moreover, translation can also have a critical influence in politics and can act as an agent for reconciliation or social

integration. Translations can therefore have a distinct effect on how global and human rights issues can be conveyed and communicated.

The aim of this article is to emphasise different aspects of the translation process that are often misunderstood during a mainly linguistic and uncreative operation where one set of textual material is replaced by another. I will firstly focus on 'unifying' aspects of translation in view of the current situation in South Africa where there are eleven official languages recognized by the constitution, but where English has become a dominant language. Secondly, I will discuss the newly discovered Koro language and the difficulties that accompany its translation, a perception based on the Whorfian hypothesis that language is shaped by the world in which we live. This is where the translation of a language will allow us to open the doors to unknown cultural and linguistic environments. The results will arguably introduce rich developing world reference points to translation methodology and development education. Finally, in summary, I will stress the translator's creative role, which often involves creating a new vocabulary in order to successfully convey the message of the source text. In doing this the interaction between the disciplines of translation studies and development education will become more apparent.

Interpreting Meaning

Translations are never a product of a cultural void and there is a general agreement between translation scholars that 'in seeking to transport words (and sentences and texts) from one language to another, the translator cannot merely search for equivalent words in the target language to render the meaning of the source' (Dingwaney and Maier, 1995: 3). Therefore, as stated by Aniela Korzeniowska and Piotr Kuhiwczak, translators not only have to be intermediaries between different language systems, but also have to be intercultural mediators. The role of the translator is to mediate source ideas across cultural and national boundaries placing him or her in a unique position to understand various development issues. Thus translating narratives from the global South is an invaluable source of knowledge about unfamiliar languages and cultural experiences and is immensely useful for gaining an understanding of different societies for development education purposes in particular.

In the case of South Africa, the social as well as political need for translation is immense. At present, there are eleven official languages confirmed by the constitution in South Africa, not two as in previous years, although some critics would argue that official multilingualism is a façade given the dominance of English. The government has been ill prepared for a complex linguistic project where all the indigenous languages could coexist

simultaneously on an equal basis. In consequence, English has regularly become the only means of communication in everyday political, business and educational life. The other languages, most prominently Zulu and Xhosa, have become neglected in the social, cultural and political spheres as well as 'the historically compromised Afrikaaner population' which is still is 'witnessing the decline of Afrikaans' (Tonkin and Frank, 2010: 17).

The urgent need for the translation of indigenous books and other forms of literature in South Africa was the central topic of scholarly debate in 2009 at the Institute for Comparative Literature and Society at Columbia University (Ibid: 17). At this symposium Antije Krog, Rosalind C. Morris and Humphrey Tonkin discussed an ongoing initiative to translate African literature into English. They all concurred that in such a multilingual country, the translation of African literature and culture should be treated as a matter of primary national importance in that it would contribute to spreading the knowledge about lesser known social and linguistic groups such as Zulu or Xhosa. Furthermore, such a project would 'not only make other voices heard but also... broaden the cultural base of English, the other cultures and peoples of South Africa in a multilingual discourse' (Ibid). Translation can be seen in this context as an act of mediation and 'a form of reconciliation' between the periphery and centre, the dominant and aspiring cultures.

This translation initiative encompasses not only the translation of African literature, but also introduces and incorporates indigenous African languages into the South African education system. When implementing the project, which comprised of work ranging from African poets to astronomers, the scholars identified some frequent difficulties with the absence of equivalents and a vocabulary 'gap' in Afrikaans in particular. One of the linguistic difficulties encountered was the translation of the term 'black hole' that literally 'in a direct Afrikaans translation would be "swartgat" – the infamous derogatory term for indigenous Africans' (Ibid: 18). Antje Krog, who was in charge of the translation into Afrikaans, had to create new words borrowed from Dutch and to incorporate them into the target language.

Moreover, she identified a similar phenomenon in African languages such as Xhosa and Zulu related to scientific vocabulary. The absence of words describing not only the universe and the planetary system, but also the key terms used in maths or geography would restrict the implementation of these languages into the South African educational system. In consequence, the team of translators used their creative skills and constructed new words instead of 'simply Zulu-ifying the English word' (Ibid: 19). However, the concept of the

vocabulary gap does not only occur in the translation of English terms into African languages. It can also be observed in the reversed process where the English language lacks an equivalent term as in the case of the Afrikaans word 'mede-menslikheid' which literally means 'fellow-human-ness'.

Some scholars in South Africa claim that 'the officialization of the various African languages was more a gesture than anything else' (2010: 21), that it was politically motivated rather than culturally enhancing. Officially African languages were supposed to be treated equally, but in practice nothing much was being done to popularise lesser known African languages. Currently, however, scholars such as Antje Krog, Rosalind C. Morris and Humphrey Tonkin are undertaking an initiative to promote the translation of African languages – such as Zulu or Xhosa – in order to spread a better knowledge of these cultures.

Innovative Translating for Cultural Understanding

Another example where translation facilitates the understanding of global South cultures is in the case of the newly discovered Koro language, an indigenous language that linguists have stumbled upon while researching Aka and Miji – two minority languages spoken in India. Koro was discovered during an expedition in 2008 that was a part of *National Geographic's* 'Enduring Voices' project (Morrison, 2010: 1). The linguists reported that the newly found language distinguished itself from the widely known ones in terms of words, sounds and structure. What is even more interesting is that it would appear that the territorial proximity of the Aka tribe has not influenced Koro to a significant extent and that the differences in sounds between the two languages can be compared to the difference between English and Japanese. Linguists have expressed concerns over this endangered language spoken only by an estimated one thousand people, especially because of the fact that Koro does not have a written form (Ibid). This crucial feature might also appear to be one of the prime difficulties that translators will have to face in this regard.

However, the challenge of translation in this case amounts to more than the lack of the written form. Gregory Anderson, who stressed that Koro depicts 'reality in very different ways', stated that Koro 'uniquely codes knowledge of the natural world in ways that cannot be translated into a major language' (Hotz, 2010). One of the possible reasons for this interesting means of describing the surrounding world and environment might be the isolation of the Koro speakers who as a community have been 'hidden' from external influences. Therefore, from a linguistic point of view, Koro could be a great example of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis that language is strongly influenced by

the reality we live in. Koro words reflect the unique perception of the surrounding world by this north eastern Indian tribe. Thus, the translation of this indigenous language can be seen to be an invaluable source of knowledge about this fascinating culture and their existence. The language could provide an invaluable insight into their world view, their values system and their perception of the environment in which they live. In effect, sensitive and culturally appropriate translations can act as methodology for development in its most innovative sense. The role of translation in development education becomes self-evident as K. David Harrison, who introduced Koro to the rest of the world, suggests: 'Language revitalization will prove to be become of the most consequential social trends of the coming decades. This pushback against globalization will profoundly influence human intellectual life...' (2010: 12).

Conclusion

As these two examples have shown, translation can play a number of different roles such as a 'unifying' or constructing new words but also, most crucially, as a source of knowledge about foreign, lesser known cultures. Thus, translation is not merely a linguistic process, but can also make a political and social impact - as in the aforementioned cases in South Africa and India. The translation process can be viewed as a way of introducing linguistic as well as cultural equality by enabling Xhosa, Zulu, or Koro, to become languages utilised and promoted through education, working towards formal protection by the respective state constitutions and curricula. Moreover, translation can act as a 'bridge' between the global North and the global South. If it were not for the translators' investigations and research into Asian indigenous languages we would never have heard about the Koro language. Indeed, it is through translation that we will eventually be able to become acquainted with the world of the Koro. The translation of this language will allow us to open the doors to an unknown cultural and linguistic world. It will also introduce a rich developing world reference point to translation methodology and development education alike.

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Resource Reviews

TEACHING GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES: INTRODUCING STUDENT TEACHERS TO DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION

Review by Sally Inman

This publication is concerned with the integration of development education (DE) and education for sustainable development (ESD) in initial teacher education (ITE) and the impact of provision for development education on teachers' practices. The book draws from the action research projects undertaken by teacher educators involved in the Ubuntu Network during 2008 – 2010. Ubuntu is a network of teacher educators in the Republic of Ireland aiming to 'Enhance the capacity of teacher educators to effectively integrate DE/ESD into their professional practice'.

The contents of this book are close to my heart not just in terms of the focus on the challenges of embedding DE and ESD into initial teacher education and evaluating the impact achieving this has on new teachers, but also in the way in which the various contributors are part of a wider collective network working together to develop an education that is part of the solution to global challenges rather than remaining part of the problem. As chair of a UK network – Teacher Education for Equity and Sustainability (TEESnet) – with very similar aims I read this publication with great interest and empathy.

The book is aimed largely at teacher educators but will also be of interest to teachers and student teachers, policy makers and researchers as it provides a rich mix of theory, research and practical case studies. As Tormey outlines in his introduction the challenge addressed by the contributions to the book is to develop a curriculum and pedagogy that integrates DE and ESD into the training of new teachers. It also aims, through action research, to produce evidence of impact that, as Tormey says, will help us to identify 'what, where, how or when' our practice can have maximum impact.

The book has a number of sections. Liddy provides a very useful discussion on the context in which this work is located and outlines both the current obstacles and the opportunities that exist in the wider political environment within the Republic of Ireland. This is followed by sections on interdisciplinary and subject approaches; theory and pedagogy; active learning

methodologies; and a final section on Information and Communications Technology (ICT) and media education. Nearly all the contributions describe and analyse curriculum projects with student teachers. The section on interdisciplinary and subject approaches includes chapters on Biology, Technology and Home Economics, and each chapter gives the reader some useful insights into how we can most effectively embed ESD and DE into the subject.

The second section on theory and pedagogy is somewhat curious as it consists of just one chapter outlining one element of a large scale Citizenship Studies Project. In this chapter Cusack evaluates and compares the impact of training programmes on student and practising teachers aimed at helping them to develop the Civic, Social and Political Education (CSPE) curriculum for secondary pupils. The third and largest section focuses on active learning methodologies and includes some fascinating accounts of innovative, powerful and challenging curriculum development work in the arts including Art and Design, English and Drama. Some of the work outlined here is, for me, the most exciting and vibrant and provides some extremely useful ideas that can be replicated and adapted by others. It is a pity, however, that there is no case study material on subjects sometimes wrongly seen as 'marginal' to DE and ESD. It would have been very useful to have seen some projects based in Mathematics, History or the languages.

The final section concentrates on how we can use ICT and media to develop DE and ESD. All three contributions in this section are both excellent examples of innovative practice and challenging to educators and learners. I shall certainly be using some of the ideas in Bryan's piece on using the documentary *Darwin's Nightmare* (2004) with student teachers.

In conclusion this book is a welcome contribution to the growing literature on how we might best embed DE and ESD in the training of new teachers. The research base of the contributions is particularly important at a time when we need to demonstrate that 'powerful' teacher education programmes (Darling – Hammond 2006 quoted by Tormey) in which DE and ESD is core and properly embedded can develop teachers who can work with young people to help shape a more equal and sustainable world. I will certainly recommend this book to colleagues and student teachers.

Batteson, Tamzin J. and Tormey, Roland (eds.) (2011), *Teaching Global Perspectives: Introducing Student Teachers to Development Education*, Dublin: Liffey Press.

Sally Inman is Professor of Educational Development, Head of the Centre for Educational Research and Director of Centre for Cross Curricular Initiatives (CCCI) within London South Bank University. Sally has been director of the UK Initial Teacher Education (ITE) Network for Education for Sustainable Development/Global Citizenship (ESD/GC) since its launch in 2007 and chairs the UK steering group. Sally's curriculum work and research has focused predominately on educational policy and practice in relation to the broader personal and social development (PSD) of young people in formal and non formal settings. This has included citizenship education, Personal Social Health and Economic Education (PSHEE), student voice and sustainable development/ global citizenship education. She has worked extensively within ITE teaching PSHEE and citizenship and developing curriculum and research around ESD and global citizenship. She has led a number of national and regional ITE ESD/GC projects funded by World Wildlife Fund United Kingdom (WWF – UK) and by the Department for International Development (DfID).

CHOCOLATE NATIONS: LIVING AND DYING FOR COCOA IN WEST AFRICA

Review by Neil Alldred

It is encouraging to read Ryan's primer on the political economy of cocoa in Ghana, particularly as it complements development educators' ethical positions on the iniquities and inequities of international trade with an essential empirical element. A financial journalist for Reuters in Accra from 2006-2007, she filed dozens of stories on different aspects of the cocoa sector and has since been able to compile this interesting, informative and stimulating review of the sector. Her introduction and first chapter provide many of the facts of chocolate production that could effectively support development education work in the area of trade and globalisation. A later chapter takes the story of cocoa over to Europe and the United States (US), as we see how a commodity (cocoa beans) becomes a product (drinking chocolate) which then becomes a service (a cup of hot chocolate), with value added at each stage.

Ryan provides the reader with useful information on the finances of cocoa: Ghana earns over $1 billion a year from its 750,000 tonnes of cocoa, grown by 720,000 farmers, but the global market for cocoa-based products is worth more than $75 billion. Farmers' earnings from cocoa are estimated to be about $0.42 per person per day. Production is low, at around 300-350 kilograms (kgs) per hectare, though fully one third of cocoa farms produce less than 150 kgs per hectare, and an estimated 40 per cent of all cocoa pods are lost to disease and pests. Implicit here are the issues of value-added, of supply chain management, of redistribution, of smallholder production, of poor technology and inadequate training, but none of these themes is investigated in any depth.

A chapter is devoted to the death of Guy Andre Kieffer who was an investigative reporter enquiring into the politics as well as the economics of cocoa production when he disappeared in Cote d'Ivoire in 2004. The details of this story are well documented elsewhere and do not integrate well into Ryan's analysis of the political economy of cocoa in Ghana. Nevertheless, she brings a healthy critique to some of the myths we swallow unthinkingly about chocolate. For example, she discusses child labour and concludes tellingly with a statement development educators will recognise and relish: 'Solve the problem of poverty and you solve the child labour problem'. She quotes the International Labour Organisation (ILO) but seems unaware of much of the excellent work done by the ILO's International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC)

which is funded by Irish Aid and has partners in the trade union movement and in the Global March Against Child Labour. She similarly mentions in passing the big three cocoa traders – Archer Daniels Midland (ADM), Cargill and Barry Callebaut – but does not examine their role in determining how little of the overall value of cocoa production in Ghana is distributed to Ghanaian interests, including the farmers.

There is a thoughtful and thought-provoking chapter on Fair Trade: Ryan scathingly notes that 'simply choosing one bar instead of another will not help resolve long-standing issues'. Even though Fair Trade certification offers a guaranteed minimum price whatever the fluctuations in the international market price, she claims the Ghanaian government regularly pay more than that guaranteed price anyway – though in 2011 alone, world cocoa prices tumbled from $3,700 a tonne to below the guaranteed price of $2,200 a tonne. She deprecates the $200 per tonne premium offered by the Fair Trade movement as it represents scarcely $36 to a farmer's typical cocoa earning of $420 a year. And she almost exults in the fact that Kuapa Kokoo's Divine Chocolate sales resulted in a dividend of barely £1 for each of its 40,000 farmers in 2007.

Her book is occasionally repetitive and fragmented, with the same themes being treated more than once – and sometimes with statistics from different dates, which is confusing. The editing is weak and inconsistent, and there is a price to pay in writing a book in 2011 based on anecdotes, vignettes, data, reportage and news items from 2006-7.

These criticisms should not detract from an overall positive assessment of the book: it is accessible, informative, counter-intuitive and helpful in sorting out myth from reality. Ryan's book touches on economics, politics and consumer studies, and teachers in those fields will need to supplement her material with their own specific supplements and up-to-date data. Development educators need not share all of Ryan's conclusions to recognise that here is a useful text to introduce students and learners to the unpleasant nuances of international trade where unorganised smallholder producers are pitted against multinational corporations within a rigged international trading framework – and are thereby bound to lose out.

Ryan, Órla (2011), *Chocolate Nations: Living and Dying for Cocoa in West Africa*, London: Zed Books.

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HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION: REFLECTIONS ON THEORY AND PRACTICE

Review by Anne M. Dolan

Human Rights Education Reflections on Theory and Practice is a comprehensive, insightful book about human rights education. It presents the proceedings of a conference *Human Rights Education for a Sustainable Future* which took place in St Patrick's College, Drumcondra in September 2008. Organised by the Centre for Human Rights and Citizenship Education located at the college and in association with Amnesty International, the conference was organised to celebrate sixty years of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). The conference brought together human rights educators from a range of formal and non-formal education settings, from theoretical and practical perspectives and from a range of local, national and international agencies. The book captures the essence of the conference (which I attended) efficiently and effectively and represents an excellent overview of the proceedings.

A central aim of the book is to explore the idea of human rights education as a situated practice in Ireland, and to extend its research base which the contributors acknowledge is in its infancy in terms of theory, research and dialogue with other disciplines. The book achieves this aim coherently and persuasively while addressing three interrelated themes: the role of human rights teaching in citizenship education and education for sustainable development (ESD); the rights of children in education and the concept of 'voice'; and Human Rights Education in the context of curriculum design and school practice.

Topics covered include the historical and philosophical origins of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the concept of human rights itself (Starkey, Ch. 2); the relationship between the UDHR and the lived experiences of people in a multicultural society (Banks, Ch. 3); the relationship between human rights education and education for sustainable development (Kirchschlaeger, Ch. 4); children's rights and the Individual Education Plan (IEP) (Prunty, Ch. 5); the role of drama in human rights education (Murphy, Ch. 6); children's rights and local communities (Pike, Ch. 7); Irish teachers' understandings of human rights education (Ruane et al, Ch. 8); human rights and journalism education (Kenny, Ch. 9); and a practice perspective on citizenship and human rights education (McCutcheon, Ch. 10).

The reader is left with a well-rounded overview of human rights education, its origins, context and definition, its relationship with other educations, including development education, citizenship education, education for sustainable development and intercultural education. Human rights education and development education have much in common including methodologies, global and justice perspectives and theoretical frameworks making this book is a valuable resource for development educators. However, the book calls for greater dialogue between human rights education and other areas of education and education theories. Therefore continued reflections and research findings on the interface between development education and human rights education must be explicitly articulated rather than implicitly accepted.

Essentially, the book achieves a good balance between theoretical perspectives and practical examples, which showcase a variety of dimensions and interpretations of human rights such as the right of children to participate in the development of their locality (Pike, Ch. 7), and the importance of consulting children with special needs in the design and implementation of their IEP (Prunty, Ch. 5) . Hugh Starkey's chapter on the background of human rights and human rights education is particularly strong and it provides a useful first reading for any novice who would like a coherent overview of the area. A study conducted to assess Irish primary teachers' knowledge of and attitudes to human rights education (Ruane et al, Ch. 8) interestingly revealed a lack of conceptual clarity among teachers. In light of Starkey's assertion (Ch. 2) that knowledge of the UDHR is an important requirement for teachers and educators, this book has very important implications for colleges of education and teacher educators.

While all of the authors are united in their passion and commitment to human rights education and to the UDHR, the book misses an opportunity to illustrate the critiques of human rights which exist in the literature. For instance, there are debates about universality versus relativity of human rights in the context of different socio-political, cultural contexts. The relationship between human rights and culture has been raised. Enshrining rights without duties or obligations and the extent to which rights and duties are thought to be interdependent are common questions. The divergent interplay between individual and community rights and between liberal and socialist interpretation of human rights are key issues.

Notwithstanding this, the book is compulsory reading for all those with an interest in human rights education. It makes an important contribution

to our understanding of human rights education in the context of the UDHR, the Covenant on the Rights of the Child, education theory and its relationship with other educations including development education. The book is a well-researched contribution to human rights education and is particularly timely in the context of education reform which is currently taking place in Ireland. The publication will be of interest to teachers who are interested in promoting democratic models of education in their schools; teacher educators; non-governmental organisations and anyone who has an interest in the relationship between human rights education and general educational theories and ideas. In light of the new B.Ed. Degree Programme, which will be introduced in all colleges of education in Ireland from September 2012, this book should feature prominently on reading lists for all student teachers.

Brian Ruane & Fionnuala Waldron (eds.) (2011), *Human Rights Education: Reflections on Theory and Practice*, Dublin: The Liffey Press.

Anne M. Dolan is a lecturer in primary geography education at Mary Immaculate College, Limerick, Ireland. Her research interests include primary geography, development education, and participatory approaches to education and lifelong learning.